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RECORDS OF
STIRRING TIMES

1726-1822



RECORDS OF STIRRING TIMES

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QUEEN CHARLOTTE

RECORDS OF
STIRRING TIMES

Based upon Unpublished Documents from
1726—1822

BY
THE AUTHORESS OF "OLD DAYS IN DIPLOMACY"

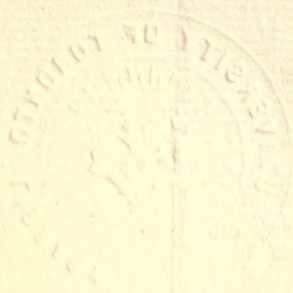
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*To the many friends in many lands who
gave a kindly welcome to "OLD DAYS
IN DIPLOMACY" I dedicate these further
"RECORDS OF STIRRING TIMES"*

C. A. A. DISBROWE

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INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the kindness of my cousin, the authoress of "Old Days in Diplomacy," a rich treasure store of letters and papers has been confided to me for publication; many of these are of historical value, and all give an insight into contemporary European events. The letters emanate from various well-known personages belonging to the inner circle of Court and political life. Their owner is not only the daughter of an eminent man, who may be said to have been "on active service" during the whole of his diplomatic career, and eye-witness of some of the most dramatic scenes of the most eventful years of the last century, but she is also the granddaughter of Queen Charlotte's Vice-Chamberlain, Colonel Disbrowe, the close friend and adviser of the family of George III., when anxiety was their daily portion. In addition to this, her father's eldest sister married Sir Herbert Taylor, the confidential secretary in turn of the Duke of York, George III., Queen Charlotte and King William IV. As may be supposed from the foregoing statement, she has an abundant store of recollections to fall back upon, and whilst I have repeatedly acknowledged, and do most gratefully acknowledge, my indebtedness to different writers in helping me to elucidate various points concerning the topics, with which I have been dealing, I can but say that it is to my cousin herself, that I have looked above all, and always with the best results, for information and data.

The present volume begins with the latter half of the eighteenth century, and includes the first twenty-two years of the nineteenth. After that period the whole tone of life

became rapidly more modern, whilst a fresh set of actors occupied the stage of European politics. The material at my command throws, I believe, new light on many more or less obscure phases of life during this period, and Queen Charlotte's letters to her old friend Colonel Disbrowe are certainly of very real value and importance.

I am profoundly aware of my own responsibilities in editing the present collection of letters and papers. The best qualification I bring to the task beyond my pleasure in undertaking it, lies in the fact that I have had an intimate knowledge, from my earliest days, both of Continental life and languages. Already as a little child, I was taken to the Baden Court, my mother having a sincere attachment for the Grand Duchess Sophie of Baden, daughter of the dethroned King of Sweden, to whom reference is made in these pages. From nursery days I have been acquainted with the small country house at Rohrbach, near Heidelberg, given to the Margravine Amelia of Baden by King Maximilian of Bavaria as a summer residence, and visited by the Emperor Alexander of Russia in 1814 and again in 1815, when the Russian Headquarters were at Heidelberg. I have been in touch all my life with those closely connected with international Court and political life, and I can only hope that the knowledge thus acquired may have proved of service in the work I have undertaken.

M. MONTGOMERY-CAMPBELL.

November, 1906.

PART I

CHAPTER I

ON THE BANKS OF THE TRENT

5

APPROACHING from Staffordshire, and crossing a bridge erected in 1836, which spans the "bounteous Trent, that in himself ensembles both thirty sorts of fish and thirty sundry streams," the wayfarer reaches the picturesque village¹ of Walton, an old-world spot not devoid of historic interest, and where, amongst greater folk, Samuel Rae, the skilful clockmaker, made his well-known timepieces, which were remarkable for having only one hand. Rae followed his calling in a house adjoining a certain ancient hostelry, yeleft the "Old Swan." At a later period this was transformed into three cottages. Before the erection of the present substantial bridge, communication with the village of Walton was carried on from the Staffordshire side by the aid of a ferry, under the control of mine host of the "Old Swan," to which fact a field named Boat-stake Meadow bears witness unto this day.

Walton-on-Trent is mentioned as a Royal manor in Domesday Book. In 1329 King Edward III. granted it to Lord Ferrers of Groby,² and the latter's descendant, Sir John Ferrers of Tamworth Castle, obtained "an exemplification" of the "Manor of Walton-on-Trent" from King Charles II.,

¹ The following interesting details are supplied by the authoress of *Old Days in Diplomacy*, the present owner of Walton Hall. M. M.-C.

² See Appendix A.

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whose devoted adherent he had always been. The next heir, Sir Humphrey, was drowned in the Trent in 1678. As this sad event took place during the lifetime of Sir John, the latter was succeeded as owner of the property by his granddaughter, Anne Ferrers, who married Robert Shirley, heir-apparent to Lord de Ferrers of Chartley, afterwards created Viscount Tamworth.

At a later period, Horace Walpole referred to the restoration of Tamworth Castle by the Lord Ferrers of his day. In Anne Ferrers the lines of Groby and Chartley became united. A second heiress is to be found in Anne's daughter Elizabeth, who married James Compton, only son of the Earl of Northampton; and yet a third and still greater heiress in her grand-daughter, Charlotte, the only issue of this marriage. Charlotte Compton succeeded her mother in the baronies of Ferrers, Bouchier and Lovaine,¹ and her father in the barony of Compton. She brought two hundred and fifty quarterings² to her husband, George Townshend by name, created Marquis of Townshend in 1787, and she brought him in addition the manor of Walton-on-Trent and the castle and manor of Tamworth, by direct descent from Robert de Marmion, who was made lord thereof soon after the Conquest of England by William of Normandy. The Walton Hall of to-day, a lofty, red-brick structure, faced with white stone, stands on an eminence above the river. It commands a far-stretching view extending to Lichfield Cathedral and beyond, and was built about the year 1712 by William Taylor—erected, if all tales be true, with money made in the South Sea Bubble. It was, however, the Old Hall that was the home of the lords of the manor, and in

¹ Some authorities add, "and Basset Drayton," the latter barony being derived from Isabel, wife of Sir Thomas Shirley, the "great founder of the family of Shirley," and member for the county of Warwick in the fourteenth year of Edward III.'s reign. Dame Isabel was heir to her brother, Lord Basset, and mother to Sir Hugh Shirley, grand falconer to Henry III., by whose side he was killed at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1400. (Vide Burke's Peerage.) M. M.-C.

² This included the right of quartering the Royal Arms acquired through the marriage of Sir Henry Shirley, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, with Dorothy, daughter of the ill-fated Essex, who descended maternally from Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge and grandson of Edward III. M. M.-C.

the first instance of the Ferrers family. It is said to have been inhabited by the notorious Lord Ferrers, who paid the death penalty in 1760, at the age of forty, for the murder of his steward, Mr. Johnson. Various writers have told the ghastly tale of the murder, preceded by the cruel mockery and torture of the victim, dragged from room to room in his last agony. They have told also of the half insane lord's gruesome drive to the place of execution in a landau drawn by four black horses; of the scaffold hung with black by the wish and at the expense of the Ferrers family; of the silken sash substituted for the rope of hemp as a concession to the condemned man's worldly position; as well as of the drunken orgies of the sheriff and his friends, which took place on the very scaffold itself after the carrying out of the capital sentence. Another reputed and more worthy resident at the Old Hall was Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, also a member of the Shirley family, and foundress of the religious "connexion" which bears her name. Her efforts were unremitting to bring the wicked lord, her undisciplined cousin, to a better frame of mind ere he met the death his crime entailed upon him. Alas, there is no proof extant of the success of her labours, beyond the fact that Lord Ferrers permitted his chaplain to say the Lord's Prayer at the supreme moment, declaring that he had always deemed it "a good prayer."

There is but little left of the Old Hall of Walton. During the years 1830-1840 the greater part of that ancient residence was pulled down or turned into cottages. At that period, special leave had to be obtained from the civil authorities before additional cottages could be built. This was probably on account of the then almost universal parochial relief and the system of its distribution. In the case of the Old Hall such difficulties were got over, and a strange transformation scene took place in the home of the Ferrers and Townshends. Cottage rooms, the great height of which bear witness that they once formed part of one of the "stately homes of England"; remains of old oak, now rendered hideous by paint; a curious madrepora chimney-piece; an extensive walled garden and traces of fish ponds: all contrive to tell a tale of auld lang syne to the observant

visitor to the site, covered formerly by the Old Hall. But its glory has departed. Once, according to the testimony of a worthy dame of advanced age, long resident in the parish, it had, as she termed it, been "*motted* all down to the river." Probably the moat was done away with, when a road was made by the side of the Trent in the second decade of the eighteenth century. The dame, Anne Wood by name, had heard the account from her grandfather, George Wilkinson, who died in 1805 at the respectable age of a hundred and four years, just after having been chaired round a neighbouring town on the receipt of the news of the battle of Trafalgar. We are not aware of the reason that singled him out for such an honour, but the resulting emotion was, seemingly, too much even for the well-matured constitution of a centenarian.

Near the site of the Old Hall stands a large sycamore tree, amongst the branches of which Cromwell is reported to have sat, and watched his troops crossing the Trent. Little did he reckon, that his sister's descendants would one day own the land adjacent to his point of observation. No less an authority than the late Samuel R. Gardiner,¹ in a letter addressed in 1899 to the present owner of Walton Hall, expressed his conviction that the tradition was most likely true, and based his opinion on the fact that Cromwell was "a good deal about in those parts early in the war," and in 1651 passed through Burton-on-Trent on his march from Scotland previous to the Battle of Worcester. It is impossible to prove beyond controversy whether Mr. Gardiner was right in this opinion. It is certain, however, that two fords are visible from the tree in question. The most important of these is now spanned by the bridge aforementioned, and was crossed on one occasion by King Edward II. and his brother, the Earl of Kent, and their forces. According to Sir Oswald Moseley, this took place on the 10th of March, 1320, or, as other authorities maintain, on the 10th of March, 1322. The King's army compelled Thomas, the Earl of Lancaster, to surrender the town of

¹ See *Oliver Cromwell*, by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D.

Burton. Edward II. had marched from Coventry, and was halting at Caldwell,¹ when he learnt that the bridge at Burton was fortified and being defended by the Earl of Lancaster's troops, and that the royal vanguard had been repulsed. The King was preparing to take the town by marching over Salter's Bridge, near Croxall,² when a tenant of the Abbot of Burton informed him of the existence of the ford at Walton-on-Trent, thus helping to shorten his road and enabling him to surprise the enemy and take possession of the town. It was during the flight of the Earl of Lancaster's disorganised troops, that his military chest was lost in the river at Tutbury, and, after a lapse of five centuries, in June, 1831, three hundred thousand crowns were recovered from the bed of the river.

In addition to the Townshends, the family of Taylor were also part-owners of the parish of Walton, where their residence can be traced back with certainty to the year 1640, and it is probable that they were amongst the buyers when John Ferrers, of Tamworth Castle, sold land in Derbyshire to raise £12,000 for the marriage portion of his daughter Dorothy, who was about to wed Richard Butler, Earl of Arran. The house inhabited by the Taylor family was

¹ Caldwell Hall, property of the late Colonel Milligan.

² The present owner of Croxall Hall, on the banks of the Mees, is T. Levett-Prinsep, Esq., whose eldest daughter is married to Mr. H. E. D. Wise, only son of Sir E. C. Disbrowe's youngest daughter. It was at Croxall that Queen Henrietta Maria lodged on the 7th of July, 1643, bringing a troop of horse as her escort from Bridlington Quay to Oxford. She went a little out of her way that she might meet Prince Rupert at Stratford-on-Avon.

This was not the only circumstance which connected Croxall with the Crown.

Mary, daughter of Sir George Curzon, of Croxall, had married Edward Sackville, who became fourth Earl of Dorset and Lord Chamberlain to Charles I. This accomplished woman was appointed governess to the King's children, an office which she was allowed to retain under Cromwell's rule, despite her ardent devotion to the Stuart cause. She died in May, 1645, and though it is probable that her body had been previously buried, public funeral honours at Westminster Abbey were accorded her by the order and at the expense of Parliament. The cost was £600. The details of this singular occurrence are given with various interesting details in Usher's *Historical Sketch of the Parish of Croxall*. There is a natural terrace at Croxall where the poet of the Restoration, Dryden, was fond of indulging in exercise and meditation, and which goes by the name of "Dryden's Walk." M. M.-C.

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called High Hill House. A portion of it stands to this day, forming the outbuildings of the present Hall.

In 1726 William Taylor, the last of the male line, was High Sheriff for Derbyshire.

A letter addressed to him by the second Duke of Devonshire, "Lord Warden of all Forests, Parks, and Chases beyond the Trent, and Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Derby," proves that gentlemen called to serve as High Sheriffs were as much harassed then by red tape and pecuniary exactions, as they have been in later days. On these grounds, and as giving the Duke's opinion on the matter, this relic of old times may bear transcribing:—

" For William Taylor, Esq.,
High Sheriff of the County
of Derby at Walton,
near Derby.

LONDON, *Jan. 21st, 1726-7.*

SIR,

I had the favor of your letter, but Ld. Chancellor being out of town, it was a fortnight before I could see him, but we have at last got the mistake set right, which was only that of the (N), for the (L) was plain, only the Exchequer Officers will read nothing that is not writt in their hand, there will be no fees at the Councill Office, and Ld. Chancellor said he would take care to prevent any other, as far as was in his power, it is verry hard that gentlemen should be put to unnecessary charge in serving the publick. I am verry glad of the opportunity to assure you that I am

Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servant,
DEVONSHIRE."

William Taylor died before his father, Thomas Taylor, who left the property in consequence to his three daughters, Sarah, Ann, and Abigail, in succession. On the death of the last of these ladies, the Walton estate passed to the descendants of Dr. John Taylor, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, who had been Secretary to King James II. when Duke of

York. The learned Doctor had more than one daughter; one was married in 1693 to the Rev. Charles Jones, rector of Plumstead, Kent, and vicar of Isleworth and Twickenham, in Middlesex, those being the good old days of pluralities.

Mrs. Charles Jones lived under no less than seven different monarchs, being born in the reign of King Charles II., and dying in that of George III. In 1720 she was defendant in a lawsuit arising out of the bursting of the disastrous South Sea Bubble, which caused even the soberest-minded people to be bitten with the mania for wild speculations, and by means of which a well-nigh bankrupt government connived at emptying the pockets of the public.

Before us lies the informal paper by which Mrs. Jones disposed of certain of her worldly goods. The spelling is as given, and it is written in a clear, round, almost childish hand.¹ She must have been nearly a hundred years of age when she traced these lines, which are amusing from their mingling of naïveté and shrewdness—

“December the 2, 1760.

I give to my niece Mrs. Marget Disbrowe, my silver cainester and my chiniea, that I have either in the bufet or in any roome in the house and all the china that is upon that cabinet in the parlor, and what stands under A cabinet or any wheare, about, the house, and a six and thirty peice of gold to buy a ring, a seale that is set in gold which is in my purs, in the strong box, one of the silver cainesters I gave her a great while ago, so i gave her the fellow, to it as witnes my hand, ANN JONES.

I gave her the
seale since I wrote
this, she may have the
chaine whenever she pleases
all but what stand uppon
the tea table, that I shall
use, while I live, but
when I Dye it is hers

ANN JONES.”

¹ Miss Disbrowe possesses a note written by a lady of 103. Matter and writing are absolutely clear, though the latter is rather wavering.

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The niece to whom these treasures were bequeathed was the daughter of Mrs. Jones's sister Louisa, married to Samuel Disbrowe, grandson of Cromwell's sister Jane and of Major-General John Disbrowe. This leads us to the consideration of the link between the family of Oliver Cromwell¹ and Colonel Disbrowe, the subsequent owner of Walton, and recipient of most of the earlier letters reproduced in this volume.

The Colonel's father was George, son of the aforementioned Louisa and Samuel Disbrowe, who married Margaret, daughter of Arthur Vaughan, of Trederwyn, in the county of Montgomery.

John Disbrowe, the distinguished forebear of the family, to whom reference has already been made, was Major-General of the West and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports during the Protectorate, and it is said that having great influence over his brother-in-law, he kept the latter from proclaiming himself king. The figure in the foreground of Benjamin West's picture of Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament is believed to represent the General urging his relative to refuse the crown.

The fourth volume of Thurloe's State Papers contains letters from Major-General Disbrowe² to "the Protector," and to Secretary Thurloe, and others from Mr. Thomas Grove to the General, whom the latter describes as "honest and able, tho' tender." This is in contrast to others, whom he credits with "much forwardness and averseness," and to Lord Seymour, regarding whom he does not seem confident that "he can cordially close with the people of God." The correspondence refers to the steps being taken by the General to requisition money from the landowners of the West,

¹ The authoress of *Old Days in Diplomacy* having lent her Cromwellian letters to other writers in former years, they have not been reproduced in these pages. Another sister of Oliver Cromwell, Margaret by name, married Valentine Wauton, one of whose descendants owns the living of Holliwell, near Hitchin, Herts. He is the youngest of three brothers, the only other assured descendants of the Cromwell family, whom I have met personally. M. M.-C.

² This correspondence is signed "Disbrowe," which spelling is held to by his descendants, although some printers in both earlier and later times have given the spelling erroneously as "Desborough" and "Desboro." M. M.-C.

THE LORD OF THE CINQUE PORTS 9

together with the disposition shown by them regarding it. The General, though a staunch partisan of the Parliamentary party, would not, to his honour be it said, join the regicides in signing the death warrant of the King.

General Disbrowe descended from John Disbrowe, of Hargrave, in Northamptonshire, brother of Richard, Lord Disbrowe of Desborough, in that county, whose only child Jane married John Pulton, and carried the Northamptonshire estates into the Pulton family.

John Disbrowe, Lord of the Manor of Eltisley, or Ellesley, in Cambridgeshire, who died in 1610, was son of John Hargrave and the General's grandfather.

The date of Major-General Disbrowe's death is not known, but his will, dated March 28th, 1678, was proved on the 28th of September, 1680.

Edward Disbrowe, M.P., Colonel of the Stafford Militia and Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Charlotte, was born at Vauxhall in January, 1754, and baptised at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He succeeded to the Walton estate on the death of his father in 1773, and was the first of his name to reside on it. Possessing the tastes of a country gentleman, soldier and courtier, he was a typical man of his time, both as to faults and virtues. There is much evidence of his success as a military disciplinarian and of his popularity with his neighbours, as also of the degree in which he enjoyed the confidence of Queen Charlotte and her children in the troublous times caused by the clouding of George III.'s intellect, the dissensions between the King and his heir, the mutual recriminations of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the family discord which they entailed.

In 1789 Colonel Disbrowe married Charlotte, daughter of George Hobart, third Earl of Buckinghamshire. Lady Charlotte died in 1798, leaving three sons and three daughters. Her parentage recalls a circumstance that must fall strangely on twentieth-century ears. Her mother's¹ dower house, described as "quite in the country," stood near where St. Peter's, Eaton Square, now raises its head, and friends were invited to the Dowager-Lady Buckingham-

¹ Albinia, wife of the third Earl of Buckinghamshire, daughter of Lord Vere Bertie, son of the second Duke of Ancaster.

shire's, to partake of syllabub, which was a concoction of wine and other ingredients mixed with milk drawn straight from the cow. Sir Algernon West, in his delightful, gossipy *Recollections*, describes such a pilgrimage as made by his mother, Lady Mary West, *née* Walpole, and says she crossed a rustic bridge over a stream "to reach her destination." I am indebted to Lady Buckinghamshire's grandson, Colonel Hobart,¹ for recalling this fact to my mind, and for much painstaking research as to the exact site of the villa of the great lady, who was such a notable figure in her day, and famous for the card parties given at her town residence in St. James's Square. Colonel Hobart says of his grandmother's villa that it stood close to the spot, now covered by his own house in Hobart Place, and he fixes the site as at "about the junction of Grosvenor Place and the King's road going west through the fields of the Ebury estate." The sentence has a delightfully idyllic sound about it; one seems to feel the breezy freshness of other days, and to dwell amongst buttercups and daisies instead of houses and streets.

Of the six children of Colonel and Lady Charlotte Disbrowe, be it said in passing that the youngest son became a clergyman, whilst the second joined the Grenadier Guards in 1810, was wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom, and present at Waterloo. He married the Hon. Louisa Browne, daughter of James, second Baron Kilmaine. The diplomatic career of Colonel Disbrowe's eldest son, afterwards Sir Edward Disbrowe, has been sketched in *Old Days in Diplomacy*,² and his correspondence with various diplomatists during the Napoleonic Wars and the years that immediately followed them is embodied in the present volume. Of the Colonel's daughters, Harriet died in early middle life; Charlotte Albinia became the wife of Sir Herbert Taylor, mentioned in my introduction as the confidential secretary of King George III., Queen Charlotte, the Duke of York, and King William IV.; and, lastly, Louisa,³ who effected an exchange

¹ On going to press we hear with deep regret of this distinguished officer's sudden death.

² Published by Jarrold & Sons, Ltd.

³ To meet the wishes of George IV.

in 1820 of the house at Windsor, allotted by George III. to her father, with remainder to his unmarried daughters, in favour of rooms in Kensington Palace. She remained a well-known personage in the neighbourhood of her new home for sixty-two years, had a very strong individuality, and was decidedly unconventional. Long years before "slumming" had become fashionable she would go at all hours, wrapped in a watchman's cape, into the worst parts of Kensington, if by so doing she could reclaim the intemperate. As a child, I more than once heard her say, that the police often watched for her safe return from visiting dens¹ into which they cared but little to penetrate themselves, till they learnt that she was a privileged person, who seemed to find an "open sesame" everywhere. With all this she was sociable, genial, full of anecdote, and a great favourite with the older generation of the present Royal Family.

The following interesting touches in reference to her are from the pen of Miss Ella Taylor, sister of Colonel du Plat Taylor: "I had the privilege of seeing Miss Disbrowe several times, when I was at Kensington Palace on a visit to H.R.H. Princess Mary, Duchess of Teck, and I was in attendance on Her Royal Highness and also on H.R.H. Princess Frederica of Hanover when these Princesses went to see Miss Disbrowe in 1879. Their Royal Highnesses were much interested in Miss Disbrowe's conversation and the anecdotes she told them of King George III. She amused the Princesses greatly by relating that, when she was quite a little girl, she had been taken on board the King's yacht at Weymouth by His Majesty's special desire. She sat next to the King. As luncheon proceeded she became impatient, and exclaimed, 'When is the pudding coming?' George III. gave orders that the pudding was to be served *at once*, tho' it was not pudding time. Miss Disbrowe talked of the Princes—of Prince Adolphus (Princess Mary's father), of how pleasant he was and so popular, adding, however, that Prince Ernest² (Princess Frederica's grandfather) was not at all liked."

Miss Ella Taylor concluded her remarks as follows: "On

¹ Certain rookeries, since pulled down, were notoriously bad. M. M.-C.

² The Duke of Cumberland.

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another occasion Princess Mary took her children to see Miss Disbrowe. A friend of mine, Mrs. Barrett, often went to see her at the special request of Mr. Glyn, the present Bishop of Peterborough. I wish I had written down all the venerable old lady told me of King George's days."

A number of letters received by Colonel Disbrowe from the first Marquis of Townshend, and from his son, Lord Leicester, are in preservation ; some are dated from Rainham, in Norfolk, which is still Townshend property, others from Ball's Park, Herts, which the present Marquis sold to Sir G. Faudel-Phillips. The correspondence ranges from the years 1785 to 1802. Written with somewhat wordy courtesy, though not without an occasional touch of humour, these letters deal chiefly with two points, dear to the heart of a country gentleman of the old school, namely, fox-hunting and the acquisition of land. Both the Marquis and the Colonel were ardent followers of the chase ; and foxes being plentiful at Walton, and blank days few, were mutual sources of rejoicing to the two friends, although gout was not the only impediment in the way of the Colonel's complete satisfaction. His favourite pursuit resulted on one occasion in his breaking his nose. Family tradition hath it, that a piece of skin was taken from his forehead to repair the injured member, and Lord Townshend remarks : "Mr. Willington tells me you have had a bad fall, which has flattened yr nose, no matter for that, when a man bears a very good-natured intelligent countenance it is no great defect." And he adds that, were he a female, "he would certainly look upon his friend as an eligible man." This must have been a decided consolation to a bachelor, whose courting days were at hand. The accident happened not long before the Colonel's marriage, and his grand-daughter has heard him described as tall and good-looking, with a fine figure, which description is fully borne out in the pictures that exist of him at Walton.

Referring at a later date to the Colonel's mishap and love of sport, the Marquis says : "Your ardour for fox-hunting is a good proof of your recovery, unless you are speculating upon it like many a great general upon field operations without getting on their horse." Lord Townshend adds that

he will seek to influence one of his tenants to have "such ridings" cut in a certain wood as will satisfy the Colonel's requirements regarding the dislodging of foxes, though he himself hardly sees the necessity for it in a wood of moderate size.

The land mentioned in the letters was on the one hand a portion of the Townshend property, of which Colonel Disbrowe desired to become possessed, and on the other, the Drayton Basset estate, which Lord Leicester coveted, possibly with a view to counteracting the rising influence of the Peels in the Tamworth district.

In regard to his own land, Lord Townshend expresses his readiness on more than one occasion to meet his correspondent's wishes, but for questions of entail and other difficulties in the way. Lord Leicester writes in the same strain, and seems at one with his father on that point, although there is no unity of thought between them regarding the new creation, through which "Viscount Townshend, of Rainham," became "Marquis of Townshend in the county of Norfolk," in recognition of his military services, which began at Dettingen, and culminated in the Conquest of Quebec, after the death of General Wolfe. Lord Leicester, who had inherited the title of Baron Ferrers of Chartley, from his mother, and had been created Earl of Leicester in addition in 1784, was in favour of the new honours being connected with the revival in a fresh form of one of the ancient titles belonging to his mother's family. His father says, however, to his friend at Walton Hall: "I have had a painfull struggle with my son, what it [the title] should be, but as I never heard of a Scoundrell, a Coward, or a Pergerer [*sic*] amongst ye Townshends I could not take another title (which I much wished to oblige him), *unless* his eldest son cd effectually bear ye family name, and here it ends."¹

In regard to the land desired by Colonel Disbrowe, the difficulties in the way of his purchasing appear to have been insurmountable, but in 1789 he secured a lease from Lord Townshend, which extended to the days of his granddaughter. Writing from Rainham in August of that year,

¹ Clearly this fear was groundless.

the Marquis says: "As to the request you make, your character and conduct, since I have had the honour of your acquaintance, would leave me no alternative, had I the least disposition to hesitate upon a proposition, wherein your immediate convenience and comfort is so much interested. In truth, Dear Sir, I have always looked upon that piece of land, however contiguous to the old family mansion, where we do not reside, as an huge broad shouldered fellow that monopolises your view, or what perhaps may be more excruciating to an Amateur at the Opera, a fashionable Head-dress, which intercepts one-half of the Performers."

This letter ends with the assurance that all steps shall be taken to conclude the matter as early as possible to their mutual satisfaction, and with expressions of "sincere regard and congratulation," on Colonel Disbrowe's marriage.

Subjoined are two letters from Lord Leicester and one from the Marquis of Townshend, still dealing with questions concerning landed property, and containing some allusions that may interest readers fond of studying the thoughts and ways of bygone generations.

From LORD LEICESTER to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"BRIGHTON,

Nov. 21st, 1786.

DEAR DISBROWE,

Not having your address in town, I take the opportunity of Mr. Hamilton's going to town to-morrow to send you this letter, to let you know, that I have had an answer from Ld. Townshend to my letters, in which he expresses the utmost readiness to agree to the Purchase of Lord Weymouth's Estate near Tamworth, and Willington also writes me word that it is certainly to be sold, that there was a report at Tamworth that Sir Sampson Gideon was in treaty for it, but he believed without foundation. Lord Townshend having therefore expressed his concurrence in this measure, there can be no impropriety *now* in your applying to him for the refusal of Walton.

We hope that you will return to your old quarters here, tho' one cannot be surprised if you do not. Lady Townshend desires her compts. to you.

Ever most faithfully yours,
LEICESTER."

"GROSVENOR SQUARE,
Dec. 27th, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I am very happy to find you have succeeded so well in getting a long Lease from Lord Townshend of the Land lying contiguous to your house, and I have only to repeat how happy I shall be to perfect and complete your wishes on that head, in return for the civilities I have received from you, and as a proof of my sincere friendship and regard for you. I know there are many people, and some of very high rank and fortune, who do not scruple to take advantage of the locality of little parcels of land, and exact an exorbitant price for them of such gentlemen as are eager to purchase them for that reason, at any price, but such paltry motives shall never operate on me, who have always held that one gentleman should on these occasions never require from another more than the fair market price, which may easily be settled by any two persons commissioned for that purpose by the parties.

I am likewise to thank you, Sir, for the information you give me of the probable sale of Drayton Basset, but I fear the same impediments to my securing that property will equally occur now, as on a late occasion, viz., that I can by no means accomplish it without Lord Townshend's concurrence, and to obtain that would be attended with so much difficulty, if it was to be obtained at all, as to deter me from all thoughts of it. However, I will see what I can do, and if anybody can, I dare say Wyatt (who is of the country) will put me into the way of accomplishing it, if it can be done without any material loss of present income to me. If I could but get Drayton Basset, I could soon have some kind of a mansion there, and by residence and attention, I could

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take very good care to keep up my family interest at Tamworth, in spite of all manufacturing newcomers.

Lady Leicester joins with me in the compliments of the Season to Mrs. Disbrowe¹ and yourself.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very faithful, humble

Servant and Friend,

LEICESTER."

"I saw the other day at a picture Dealer's in Piccadilly a curious Portrait of a Mrs. Disbrowe,² a daughter of Oliver Cromwell, in which the likeness to the father is very striking. The man asks ten guineas for it, but I think he would take less, it is, however, a very good Picture; it is a three quarter's length.

Could you inform me pretty nearly what is the annual Produce of the Drayton Estate, if it should be offered for sale?"

From the MARQUIS OF TOWNSHEND to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"RAINHAM,

11th Jan., 1802.

DEAR SIR,

I would not delay answering your letter of the 8th Inst., and shall have great pleasure in complying with what you wish altho' at this period it might particularly oblige some of my Tamworth friends, and hope the Manor will afford you much sport and contribute to your health, for which Lady Townshend as well as myself will ever be sincerely interested. Your information of the good state of their Majesties' health gives us great pleasure.

I much fear I shall not be able to meet you on the 18th, being laid up with a swelling in my knee, I believe the gout. But I have just sent my keepers in this deep snow to kill

¹ Lady Charlotte Disbrowe's father succeeded his brother as third Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1793. At the date of this letter he was still a younger son.

² Daughter she cannot have been, but sister. M. M.-C.

some pheasants for His Majesty, as Lady Townshend informs me they agree with him, and shall not fail to supply Him with them during the season. We have had much sickness in our family as well as in the neighbourhood. Lady Townshend joins in best wishes those of your obliged and

Faithful hble. Servt.,

TOWNSHEND."

Colonel Disbrowe's connection with the Stafford Militia had begun in 1778, when he joined the regiment as captain, and he was with it till its disembodiment in 1783. In 1793, owing to Great Britain being at war with France, the Major, for that was the rank to which he had attained at that date, served again with the Stafford Militia, which was re-embodied at Plymouth, where it was first quartered. Afterwards it was sent in turn to Shrewsbury, Liverpool, Dorchester, Weymouth and Winchester, and, owing to attracting the attention of King George III., the corps was ordered to Windsor, where it did duty in 1798 and on subsequent occasions. The King showed himself at all times exceedingly well disposed towards it. After the Peace of Amiens, it returned to Stafford, and was disembodied once more. The King himself accompanied it for two miles out of the borough on its departure from Windsor.¹

In 1803, on Napoleon's refusal to evacuate Holland, bringing about the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens, and plunging England once more into war, the regiment was called out again and despatched afresh to Windsor "to assume the Royal duties," as stated by its careful chronicler, who adds, "King George III. met the Regiment on its arrival, and placing himself at its head, proceeded to Windsor Barracks." The regiment was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants of the Royal borough. It was then, that Major Disbrowe was appointed Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Charlotte, and he retired soon afterwards from military service. The piece of plate bearing their badge, presented to him on the

¹ See *Historical Records of the 1st King's Own Stafford Militia*, by Captain C. H. Wylly.

occasion by the "Staffords," in recognition of his devotion to their interests, is now in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Wise.

At that time defaulters were made to wear their coats inside out throughout the day, a disgrace to which a certain fierce martinet of a peer of the same date was in the habit of sentencing his daughters if they ventured to disobey him. I had it from one of them in her old age. These young ladies were required to march up and down the paternal park with their spencers reversed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe, as he had become in 1807, was a severe disciplinarian. One punishment recorded as decreed by him was for a man to be "confined in the black hole for twelve hours, and then confined to barracks and drilled for six months." When one considers the barbarous floggings of many hundreds of lashes inflicted on soldiers in those days for slight offences,¹ causing some Parliamentary speakers to say that death were preferable, one feels the Colonel's sentence may have been thought lenient. It is not on record of what the transgressor in question had been guilty.

From first to last Colonel Disbrowe evinced a keen interest in all that concerned the honour and general good of the regiment, and his private correspondence gives evidence to his loyal attachment to and personal regard for Lord Uxbridge, notably so when some friction respecting an unpopular appointment by the Lord-Lieutenant to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy was mooted. The same spirit appears to have animated Colonel Disbrowe's brother officers. Amongst those with whom he was on close terms of friendship, we find the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Sneyd, who was with the corps as Captain as early as 1776, when, at the time of the war between Great Britain and America, the Stafford Militia was again called out after having been disembodied for seventeen years. In the year 1793, the occasion of the

¹ So late as 1817 three young soldiers under twenty-one years of age were sentenced to eight hundred lashes each for engaging in a public-house brawl, and in the case of the eldest, six hundred and seventy-five were inflicted. Two hundred lashes were administered to a lad of seventeen.

outbreak of hostilities with France, we find Colonel Sneyd as second in command of the gallant Staffords. It was he, again to quote Captain Wyllly, who, having "brought the Regiment to a high state of discipline and efficiency," published the following order:—

"Windsor, 14th June, 1798—Parole 'Staffordshire.' His Majesty having been pleased to make choice of the Staffordshire Regiment to do the Windsor duty this summer, the Colonel wishes to observe to the men how necessary it is to appear as a Regiment ought to do, which is particularly selected to be near the person of the King."

It is evident from the royal appreciation that the men responded to this call upon their soldierly behaviour in the most loyal spirit. The name of the Sneyds of Keele¹ is a household word in Staffordshire, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sneyd was called "the Father of the Regiment." His retirement in 1805 caused the most unfeigned and widespread sorrow. He had not confined his interest in the men to the question of their appearance on parade and their general smartness. His kindness went so far as to consider what articles of clothing would be most serviceable to them, and he suggests, that when they are possessed of "two good suits of cloathes, that it will be well to seek the Colonel's permission to have dealt out to them on the next occasion: two pairs of cloth pantaloons, one waiscoat, two pairs of short black cloth gaiters, one exceeding good black leather cap and tuft, a black leather stock and rozette for the hair, a foraging cap, and half a guinea allowance in money." These are to be substituted for the regulation uniforms. He also exercises vigilance over the moral tone of his men, stating that he has been shocked since he has lived in camp by the expressive and constant habit of swearing he has observed among the soldiers, a habit wicked in its effect and disgraceful to those who practise it! Being determined as far as he can to stop their foolish vice, he lays down the following rule for its

¹ Keele Hall is at present occupied by the Grand Duke Michael of Russia.

correction and suppression: for the first offence "a proper reprimand"; for the second "a duty of fatigue"; for the third "an additional guard; and, after that, confinement in barracks, and the offender to be reported to the commanding officer."

Granville, first Marquis and second Earl of Stafford, was born in 1721, dying in 1803. He was called to the House of Lords in the lifetime of his father, under the title of third Baron Gower, of Stittenham. He was thrice married, first in 1744 to Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerly, Esq.; secondly in 1748, to Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter and co-heiress of the first Duke of Bridgewater; thirdly, 1768, to Lady Susannah Stewart, daughter of Alexander Keith, Earl of Galloway. As Lord Trentham he was unanimously returned for Westminster in 1747, but in 1754 relinquished Westminster and became Member for Lichfield. He was also Lord Chamberlain, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord President of the Council.

Colonel Disbrowe assumed for a short time the name of Taylor, in connection probably with the acquisition of the property, and his commission as Captain in the Staffordshire Militia is made out to him under that name, "on the sixteenth day of July in the eighteenth year of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith," and so forth. This is "in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Eight." It is signed, Gower. The preamble reads as follows:—

"Granville Leveson Gower, Baron of Stittenham, President of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Stafford."

The "Right Honble. Henry, Lord Paget" is mentioned in this document as Colonel of the regiment.

Twelve years later, "in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety, the Right Honble. the Earl of Uxbridge" being the Colonel, we find a commission made out to "Edward Disbrowe, Esq.," showing that the name of Taylor has been abandoned. This commission is signed,

Stafford, whilst commencing "Granville Leveson Gower, Marquis of the County of Stafford, Earl Gower, Viscount Trentham, Baron of Stittenham, etc., etc.," which points to the change in the titles of the Lord Lieutenant.

Another commission in Miss Disbrowe's possession, that of Lieutenant G. Hamilton, is made out by Henry Earl of Uxbridge,¹ Baron Paget of Beaudesert, in the year of Our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Ten, and omits the title of *King of France*, because King George III. resigned the title of King of France on the 1st of January, 1801, a title which had been used by the Kings of England since the reign of Edward III. This points to another landmark in English history.

Colonel Disbrowe's interest in things military was not confined to the Militia. A document exists of which we give a copy in the appendix, relative to a meeting, held at Burton-on-Trent on the 26th day of April, 1798, to "take into consideration the most advisable method of protecting the Property of individuals of the neighbouring towns and villages. Edward Disbrowe, Esq., in the Chair." The result was the forming of a body of Volunteer Cavalry.²

In those troublous times, when the fear of an invasion by Napoleon was ever present, public-spirited country gentlemen occupied themselves greatly with the consideration of national defence, and the unsettled state of the country rendered it also necessary in their eyes to be prepared to withstand any sudden lawless outbreak at home. A mutual friend of the Marquis of Townshend and Colonel Disbrowe, the distinguished member for Norwich, William Windham, to whom we shall have occasion to allude more at length in the next chapter, was also keenly interested in such questions, and was Secretary of State for War when the Colonel was busying himself with his Volunteer Cavalry. Windham was a man of singularly independent judgment. It was impossible to say beforehand what view he would take of any given subject. He looked on everything from the ethical

¹ Father of the first Marquis of Anglesey, who lost a leg at Waterloo. M. M.-C.

² See Appendix B.

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side, evincing in that a high-mindedness such as one finds in Samuel Romilly.

In soldiers, as individuals, he took a keen, personal interest, much in advance of the general state of feeling amongst men of his day; for instance, he gave his attention, as War Secretary, to arranging for communication to be kept up between the men on foreign service and their wives and families, and also advocated fixed periods, instead of life service.

On the coast defence of his own county of Norfolk he spared neither time nor trouble, raising a company of volunteers at Felbrigg. But it was chiefly to the Militia, in addition to the regulars, that he pinned his faith. He did not hold with an entirely voluntary system, and declared that what was built on zeal alone was not for perpetuity. On this account he expressed his belief that it was not men, but discipline, that made an army; discipline being its very life and soul. "You might," he said in one of his speeches in the House, "as well suppose, that flour and eggs and butter and plums would make a plum pudding, as that men alone could make an army." Of the militia, however, he said to his future constituents on one occasion, that if the enemy came, "that force would prove a most valuable part of national defence." What he considered necessary for such men to be taught was firing at a mark, cleaning arms, methods of lining hedges, firing from behind hedges, retiring upon call and reforming. Too many minutiae he did not believe in, and doubted whether in Marlborough's time the troops were all expected to start with the same leg at once.

"Eyes right" and "left" seemed also no essentials to him, though he allowed that in some circumstances of life it might be a most valuable accomplishment. The same thoughts that are in many minds to-day were in Windham's more than a hundred years ago, namely, regarding such an amount of general drill as would bring the knowledge of the subject and the realisation of its usefulness into every farmhouse and cottage, making national armament the subject of conversation at home and village gatherings. Calm he

believed in, but not in unpreparedness, or, as he puts it, he did not believe in "a calm of the nature of the wretched lodger's, who, hearing robbers, hides his head in the bed-clothes, and hopes they will go off with their booty without coming into his apartment." In this, as in many things, Colonel Disbrowe and he appear to have seen face to face.

CHAPTER II

SOME EMINENT MEN

COLONEL DISBROWE'S position as Member for Windsor and his residence in that ancient borough, not to speak of family ties, brought him into contact with various statesmen and politicians, and, as we have just seen, with William Windham of Felbrigge Hall,¹ near Cromer. The name of de Wymondhame can be traced back to the days of Henry I., and the family bought the Felbrigge property on the wild Norfolk coast during the reign of Henry VI. Mr. Windham was born in 1750, and was the son of Colonel Windham, who was noted as a man of culture, the friend of Garrick and a traveller in many lands. Young Windham was sent to Eton at the early age of seven, which seems inconceivable to twentieth-century notions, but was the age at which my own father went to that famous school, when the nineteenth century had already reached the middle of its second decade. Windham remained at Eton till he was sixteen, and the headmaster of his day, afterwards Provost, was fond of recounting that the last two boys whom he had "swished" were the future Secretary for War and his still more distinguished friend, Charles Fox. The misdeed which brought the dread penalty upon them was going off without leave to a play at Windsor. Windham did not give early evidence of a turn for politics; indeed at Oxford he was thought so little of as a politician that it was said he would never know who was Prime Minister. It was at Norwich on the 28th of November, 1778, that he made the first speech that augured

¹ Felbrig was the old-fashioned spelling.

future greatness, and it was as Member for Norwich, a constituency for which he was repeatedly re-elected, that he began his Parliamentary career. After having served his constituents in the old cathedral city for eighteen years, he had to give way to Mr. W. Smith.

Norfolk ways and customs were dear to Windham's heart, as evinced by the grace with which he yielded to the peculiar mode of treating successful Parliamentary candidates at Norwich, where they were not merely chaired, but tossed from their seats as schoolboys were tossed in blankets. Tradition hath it that Windham was an adept at resuming his place on such occasions, after having been shot with vigour into the air. He loved the honest folk of the country-side, and was very jealous of any interference with their pleasures, for which reason he would not support the Bill on Bull Baiting, deeming the occasions few and far between against which it was aimed, and believing that few cruelties were perpetrated which outvied those inseparable from the sports of richer men. With sounder reasoning he upheld boxing matches, and resented magisterial prohibitions of village "hops" and such-like enjoyments, wishing to see the English peasant "vigorous on the green, respected for his loyalty, and formidable for his prowess." To attain this end he believed that rough and tumble sport must not be too readily put down. He was War Secretary under Pitt from 1794 to 1801, but did not always see face to face with his chief. Amongst other matters, they did not agree concerning the terms of the Peace of Amiens. Windham was a Whig of the old type with a touch of Toryism; indeed he appears to have been a man who could not help seeing two sides of a question, and therefore liable to be misunderstood. His liberality of thought and desire to be fair come out strongly in the copious description given by Madame d'Arblay of her conversations with him, at the trial of Warren Hastings. One cannot help noticing, by the way, that lively Fanny Burney, in spite of her deeply expressed sympathy for the prisoner at the bar, was by no means averse to a war of wits with Windham when an opportunity for this offered itself. She may well be pardoned for it, for the sake of the graphic portrait of him

with which her facile pen has been able, in consequence, to supply us.

It was, however, Windham, in fairness be it stated, who first sought the acquaintanceship of the popular authoress, having noticed her from his place in the Committee Box. And he was amply rewarded by being immortalised in her Diary as "one of the most agreeable, spirited, wel-bred and brilliant conversers I have ever spoken to," and again as "a man of family and fortune, with a very pleasing, though not a handsome face, a very elegant figure, and an air of fashion and vivacity." Their mutual interest in Dr. Johnson became at once a bond of union, for it is known how the young statesman devoted time and care to that venerable doctor, putting his own carriage at his disposal, and offering to bring him back to London from Lichfield in it, when infirmities and sickness took hold of the great man. Whether Miss Burney influenced the opinion of Windham regarding Hastings as much as she would appear to wish to have us believe, or whether she laid a fictitious value on what was only the outcome of ordinary courtesy and gallantry, is another matter. Be that as it may, the evidence of Windham's own letters to Colonel Disbrowe shows us a man of fine susceptibilities and genuine feeling. And if we need further testimony there is that of Dr. Johnson, who dubbed him *inter Stellas Luna minores*.

After Pitt's death, Windham became Secretary of State for the War Department, and remained so till his own death in 1810. The respective attitudes taken up by Pitt, Fox and Windham, when the House met in the week following the murder of Louis XVI., is clearly set forth in the third volume of Tomline's *Life of Pitt*. George III.'s message to his faithful Commons was to the effect that M. Chauvelin, the French Minister, had received an order to quit the kingdom, in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris. This was accompanied by a statement, that His Majesty had thought it necessary to increase his military and naval forces, and looked to the Commons to enable him to do so, for the sake of the protection of his dominions, the support of his allies, and to defeat the dangerous ambitions of France. Pitt

expressed his horror of the murder of the French King on moral, religious and humanitarian grounds, and looked on the object-lesson as useful, if gruesome, to those who leaned towards wild and delusive theories, and rejected the wisdom and experience derived from former ages. He declared that Jacobinism had given a more fatal blow to liberty than the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch, and in view of the aggressiveness of the French policy, he advocated vigorous opposition and a strengthening of the forces by sea and land.

Fox could not contradict the complaints against France, but deprecated war as an additional evil to the country as well as bad in itself, and, whilst most strong in his condemnation of the execution of Louis XVI., of whom he said that he had been tried and condemned in violation of all the rules of criminal justice, yet he was against interference in a case, which he contended concerned the French nation alone as being an independent State. Further, he maintained that the people were the sovereigns in every State, and that they had a right to change the form of government, and to cashier their governors for misconduct.

Mr. Windham opposed his former friend and schoolfellow most decidedly, and protested against the teaching, that the people had a right to unmake governments according to their caprice. He looked on war as unavoidable, to safeguard this country and to oppose by force the pernicious doctrines propagated by force. The King's address was accepted without a division.

Fox had a personal attraction for Windham; not so Pitt, as may be gathered from the following letter; but Windham was, as usual, making personal and party predilections subservient to principles, a trait which not unfrequently put him in opposition to those whose colleague he had been, or became, on other occasions.

From WILLIAM WINDHAM, M.P., to COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P.

“DEAR DISBROWE,

If two letters begun and not finished might count as one complete one I should not have at this moment to reproach

myself in the way I do. The fact is, I assume, literally, as I stated, that I have in this moment two letters lying somewhere, which I began to you at different times, and had been obliged by some interruption to leave unfinished. I feel that this and any other circumstance that I can mention is not more than is necessary to excuse the apparent neglect and ingratitude of leaving your very friendly letter so long unanswered. Let me beg you only, to be assured, that I am not insensible to the kindness of it. The delay has been owing to such a state of occupation and interruption, the consequence of these unnatural times, such as I have never experienced before, and am therefore more harassed and oppressed by. Everybody is on foot and calling on everyone else. The necessity of seeing some persons obliges one to leave one's door open to others, so that instead of those retired habits which you know I used to like, the whole of one's time when I have happened to be at home has been taken by a succession of morning visitors.

But I won't go on longer with excuses and explanations, but repeat only how much I feel obliged and gratified by your letter.

The times are undoubtedly such as to make it very difficult to know what course to steer. My own course is pretty distinctly marked to my own mind, though in attempting last night to make it more clear, I got, I am afraid, into a degree of refinement, which left some of my hearers behind, and gave occasion to a reply on the part of Fox, which many people will perhaps call a dressing, but which I am sure was not intended to hurt me, and did accordingly not hurt me, nor in fact, in my opinion, even my argument. I wish only in that latter view, that I had felt as fresh and had my recollection about me last night, as I have it this moment; I would have shown, which perhaps is not now so apparent, that I was perfectly in the right.

My general opinion is, and which was the subject of discussion I allude to, that every circumstance and consideration should now give way to the great object of resisting the progress of French power and principles. If that cannot be done without letting Pitt stay in, let him stay. If to that

purpose support to govt. is necessary they from me shall have it. Attachment to party must give way to that which is the foundation of such attachment, the good and safety of the country. These are principles which I am sure you will understand, though I won't so well answer for you being able to read them. I have at this moment an example of what I mentioned above; for if I had not caught, as I have, the present moment for writing this letter, I must have deferred it probably till next Monday.

Upon looking at your letter again, I see that my neglect has been more scandalous than I was aware. I had remembered only the kindness of it, and, having intended fully upon that to send an answer directly, had totally forgot the commissions.

Will you forgive me such inattention, and will you feel assured that I am ever very truly and affectionately yours?

W. WINDHAM.

HILL STREET,
Jan. 6th, 1792."

From the SAME to the SAME.

"PARK STREET,
WESTMINSTER,
Aug. 23rd, 1796.

DEAR DISBROWE,

I have just received your letter and am not the less obliged to you for it, though I hope it is founded upon a mistake. I did not at first perceive who the friend was that was making me this good offer; but when I came to the quiet room and boiled chicken I began to suspect whereabouts I was. If, contrary to my present prospects, I should be obliged to go to Weymouth, I shall not reject without consideration so promising an offer, and made known with such good-will.

Our friend Legge,¹ though in a state of health to require attention, is not, I hope, in any way to excite alarm. I am just come from the neighbourhood of Bristol, viz. Bath,

¹ Probably Hon. Henry Bilson Legge, at one time Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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whither I went to visit another sick friend, and but for a sudden call to London, should have been with Legge probably at this moment. The last letter that I have received about him described him as I have done above.

My prospects about Mr. Mainwaring are neither better nor worse than when I wrote or spoke to you last. There has not been a single Barrack-master made since that time. I have a letter now before me from Lady Anne Fitzroy,¹ to which I must make the same answer, though I don't know that she will equally believe its sincerity, as I trust you will.

Yours, dear Disbrowe,
Most faithfully,
W. WINDHAM."

From the Same to the Same on the occasion of the death of Lady Charlotte Disbrowe.

"Sept. 20th, 1798.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

You must not impute it to Legge if the enclosed letter has not reached you at the time when it might have been expected. It was sent to me before I left Town, and having been set apart at the moment, for a purpose, which I will proceed to explain to you, was blended with other papers, with which it has only now reappeared, after an interval of several days, and when the period of its being received will be further delayed by my change of place in the meanwhile.

The purpose which made me forbear to forward it at the moment when I received it was the wish of saying in a few words what I beg you on no account to think of answering, that few of your friends can sympathise more sincerely in your present most bitter affliction, or feel more sensible of the magnitude of the loss which you have pertained,—a loss, which I have learnt to appreciate, not only by universal regret, but by such opportunities as had fallen to my share, of knowing the excellent person of whom you have been deprived.

¹ Sister of the Duke of Wellington; we shall meet her again as Lady Anne Smith. M. M. C.

Let me again repeat my request that you would not think of answering this. It is enough that I recall a subject so painful, while I am wishing to convey that satisfaction which can arise from knowing how much your friends participate in your distress.

Believe me ever, dear Disbrowe,
Most truly and affectionately,
W. WINDHAM."

These letters make us acquainted with the true Windham, with no artificiality, yet a keen sensitiveness, which we also trace in the finely chiselled features and mobile mouth of the portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds for Mr. George J. Cholmondeley,¹ a friend both of the Windham and Disbrowe families, and who, failing issue to Mrs. Windham's nephew, Captain Lukin, was mentioned in the statesman's will as heir to Felbrigg. Tall, well-proportioned, graceful, with penetrating vivacious eyes, so Windham has been described by a contemporary. He had the happy gift of addressing all classes of persons, from royalties to plain country folk, with absolute naturalness. His language was well chosen and idiomatic, and never irreverent. He liked plain Saxon, and did not use a French word where an English one could do duty, even to preferring a "sally" to a "sortie." He was a man who saw all round a question, which made it sometimes difficult for tongue to keep pace with his thoughts, on account of the many side-issues which occurred to him; and he saw below the surface of things with the keen, subtle insight of a philosopher and logician. Yet he never let his talents run away with his common sense, and a homely simile was his delight. He would bring one forth in the House, fearless of its simplicity, if it only clinched his argument, and he was always eagerly heard, though his voice was none of the strongest. Once he said in Parliament that a pistol was undoubtedly a more effectual weapon than a bludgeon, but if the lock was out of order and the powder bad, the bludgeon was unquestionably better; again, "nothing was more like a

¹ Receiver-General of Excise and founder of the Cholmondeley Trusts and Charities; born 1752 and thrice married.

man than a picture, yet it was not a man ; nor were grapes so well painted that birds would peck at them, grapes for all that." Such modes of speech must have been grateful to some at least of his hearers, at a time when stilted phrases were used on most occasions, even for lovers' vows and babies' epitaphs. Equally independent of the undesirable fashion of the day was Windham's reverence. Profane language was thoroughly distasteful to him, and where in writing he found the name of the Deity lightly used, it was his habit to erase it.

His death at the age of sixty was the result of an act of heroism, inspired by the warmth of his friendship and depth of his sympathy. At midnight, July 8th, 1809, he was walking home through the streets of London from a party, when he became aware that the house of a friend, the Hon. Frederick North, was on fire. Mr. North was cruising in the Mediterranean. Knowing how he cared for his valuable library, Windham, with the help of some volunteers amongst the bystanders, worked unceasingly at the risk of his life for the space of four hours, and ended in saving four-fifths of the precious books. Two of his helpers died of their burns, and he himself was struck on the hip, which resulted in the formation of a tumour that proved fatal. When he became aware, in the following spring, of the necessity for an operation, he took his wife to his friend Mr. Burke's house at Beaconsfield, and, making a light excuse for his absence, went up to London, where he received the Sacrament, and then devoted himself to making sundry last arrangements, which included writing an urgent letter to Colonel Harvey of Catton, Norfolk, begging him to lift up his voice against Parliamentary reform, which Windham had always held to be undesirable, though evincing liberal sentiments on so many points. The operation followed almost immediately and was successful, but it was soon evident that the patient could not survive the shock ; his wife was called to his side and he died on June 4th, 1810.

Many people have used the term a "sneaking" kindness or affection, not knowing perhaps whence it hailed ; it was used by Windham in reference to his feelings for Sir Francis

Burdett, whose defence of John Gale Jones, and subsequent commitment to the Tower, were the cause of both agitations and riots in 1810.

Another letter which seems well worth reproducing comes to us through Colonel Disbrowe, although it was not addressed to himself, but to Pitt, and that by the Colonel's brother-in-law, Lord Hobart, who was summoned to Parliament in his father's lifetime under that title, but who became eventually fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire. His first wife was Margaretta, daughter of Edmund Burke, Esq., and widow of Thomas Adderley, Esq., and by her he had a daughter, Sarah Albinia Louisa, who married the Right Hon. Frederick John Robinson, afterwards Earl of Ripon,¹ whose famous Budget earned him the sobriquet of "Prosperity Robinson." Lord Hobart's second wife, called "Pitt's only Love," was Eleanor Agnes, daughter of the first Lord Auckland, Secretary of State for Ireland. The Hobart family has contributed several eminent men to the service of their country, and its members have generally been persons of highly cultured taste. A later Lord Hobart than the one referred to here, namely Vere Henry, born in 1818, who died before his father, the sixth Lord Buckinghamshire, filled several important posts in the Civil Service, and was Governor of Madras, and also a delightful essayist. His descriptions of both Highland and Italian scenery show the insight born of a nature open to the highest and most poetical influences.

Robert Lord Hobart, afterwards fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire, with whom we have now to do, is represented in the picture at Walton, painted by Sir William Beechey, with his hand on papers appertaining to Ireland. In that country he took a keen interest, and together with his father-in-law, Lord Auckland, he occupied himself much with the business of the Act of Union in 1799. He was a strong advocate of the Union both in and out of the House of Lords, and the question of Catholic Emancipation did not commend itself to him as a necessary concomitant, as will be seen in the letter which follows, and in which there is a

¹ Father of the present Marquis of Ripon, at one time Viceroy of India and made Lord Privy Seal in December, 1905.

strong touch of Toryism. Yet despite these views, with the essential fairness which seems to be a Hobart characteristic, he was a warm advocate of endowing the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church with suitable stipends. This was then likewise the view of John Wilson Croker, who also desired that the Irish priests should be State paid and free from foreign control. On the last point both Buonaparte and, at a later period, Bismarck would have evinced sympathy. "Not to go to Canossa" is a thought that will be ever connected with the remembrance of the Iron Chancellor, and though Buonaparte realised the power of the Holy See so thoroughly that he would have gladly had its seat at Paris, a study of the Concordat shows that he meant if possible to be Pope himself to the "Successor of Saint Peter."

Lord Hobart's attitude towards the Catholic question was not that of Pitt. The latter felt that with the Union all disabilities should cease. This caused an estrangement between the illustrious statesman and George III., in consequence of which all possible influence was brought to bear on public opinion, even to emphasising the evil effect likely to be produced on the King's health. In addition, a sentimental appeal to let his old age close in peace was brought forward to seek to crush the measure. As is well known, the Court influence was for the most part against Catholic Emancipation, a word which in itself condemned the existing state of things as unjustifiable in a country which boasted of its freedom. For the King to remove the disabilities under which his Roman Catholic subjects were groaning would have seemed to violate his Coronation oath, which, however, was evidently framed with a quite different purpose, namely, for the protection of his Protestant subjects from persecution or interference, but not for the oppression of their fellow Christians. Even the Regent, though usually at variance, agreed with his father on this point, and gave his consent to the final Catholic Emancipation Bill at a much later date, only grudgingly and of necessity. After the overthrow of the Ministry of "All the Talents," on the Duke of Portland becoming First Lord of the Treasury, the Regent wrote to the University of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor,

urging the petitioning of Parliament against the Catholic Bill, and the Duke of Cumberland made use of a like opportunity in connection with Dublin University, to seek to procure a similar result. The Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cambridge were also hostile to any alteration of the existing state of things. The Duke of Sussex alone of the King's sons showed a fearless independence in the matter, displaying a thorough knowledge of the subject and an abhorrence of intolerance. And many men of light and leading were with him in this. Dr. Johnson indulged in sarcasms at the expense of those who were against removing Catholic disabilities, saying, that they who cried popery in the present time would have cried fire in the time of the Deluge.

There were bishops for and against the movement, though one of the Irish bishops was liberal-minded enough to declare, that without justice to Ireland there could be no security to the establishment. The *Edinburgh Review* was one of the best friends of the Irish Catholics, yet restrained and guarded in its advocacy of their rights. The eminent writers who contributed to its columns said plainly, that the exclusion of Roman Catholics from all high offices of State and civic life, as well as from the chief posts in the army and on the bench, and the difficulties put in their way when acting as jurors and guardians of minors, were all bound to foster disaffection and discontent, depriving the country of the services of many persons of ability, and disheartening young men possessing the laudable and legitimate ambition of rising in life.

England has been wiser regarding the Jews than it was at one time concerning the Roman Catholics, and confidence has engendered loyalty and brought out the finest qualities in the members of a kingly race, who, when down-trodden and held in light esteem, have been a frequent source of trouble to the countries, which denied them the advantages and respect which they have received on this side of the Channel. It was not likely that Pitt's penetrating intelligence would overlook the practical question of expediency in regard to the treatment due to the Catholics of Ireland, which compelled the consideration of the question quite apart from moral grounds. On May 7th, 1789, a petition had been presented to the

House of Commons by persons styling themselves Catholic dissenters, praying for exemption from penal laws on account of being supposed to hold doctrines which they distinctly repudiated. This led to Pitt's despatching his famous questions to the six leading Roman Catholic Universities of Europe,¹ which one and all, and the Pope in addition, denied that their Church taught her children, that they need not keep faith with heretics, that excommunicated princes might be murdered by their subjects. They averred that the highest ecclesiastical authority, either individual or collective, could not absolve the subjects of Great Britain from the oath of allegiance. In addition to this it was shown that the Students' Class Book at Maynooth, intended for the private use of Roman Catholics, insisted on all these things most emphatically, adducing arguments in support of them from Scripture, tradition, and the writings of theologians. To kill a person or sovereign excommunicated by the Pope was spoken of as a horrible and detestable crime, and, contrary to a prevailing fallacy, a Romanist taught that confession and absolution were ineffectual without penitence, whereby alone the act of the priest could be expected to be ratified in heaven.

Lord Hobart's views on this question so closely concerning the welfare of Ireland are given at considerable length.

From LORD HOBART to MR. PITT.

“NORTON,

November 2nd, 1799.

DEAR SIR,

Finding by letter from my Father, that if I postponed my journey to Lincolnshire until after the probable date of the next meeting upon the Irish business, I could hardly arrive before his leaving the country, and family considerations making it highly necessary that I should come here, you will, I hope, excuse my being absent from Town for a short time. The interest I take in the success of the plans in contempla-

¹ Louvain, Douay, Alcalá, Valladolid and Salamanca.



WILLIAM PITT
1759-1806

tion, and the satisfaction with which I shall always do your commands, have made me feel considerable regret at having been obliged to quit the neighbourhood of London, but as so little now remains to be done, it is almost presumption in me to suppose that my presence is worth the notice I have given it, and it is only from an apprehension that you should think me inattentive to your wishes, that I trouble you with this. Lord Auckland¹ has been so good as to say he would apprise me of such further proceedings as may be expected, and I shall certainly communicate my sentiments upon them if I conceive they are of any use. Knowing how much difficulty you must have upon the Catholic Question, and how much more easy it must be for you at present to leave it to take its chance under a conviction that you have not authorised the decided encouragement to the expectations, that seem now to be indulged, I should not touch upon it if my fears of the consequences of your silence were not very great indeed.

I do not see the necessity of any public, nor even what may properly be called an official declaration from you upon the subject. The terms upon which you have proposed the union, explained and illustrated by your speeches, preclude the possibility of the Catholics being justified in laying their future disappointment at your door. If they are deceived, it must proceed from a wrong construction of the opinions you have delivered in Public, but unless you think the disappointment will not happen, I am sure you ought privately to apprise Lord Castlereagh of your real sentiments, for I am certain that the Irish Government is acting under a dangerous error upon that business, an error which if persevered in will be fatal to the peace of the British Empire, and I am persuaded extremely injurious to you personally.

Many people are of opinion that the late Rebellion may be attributed to Lord FitzWilliam's conduct, a conduct that might perhaps have been prevented had he not fancied himself more at liberty to follow his own ideas than he in fact was, upon the Catholic Question—and I have little doubt of

¹ Secretary of State for Ireland and father-in-law to Lord Hobart.

similar effects from the game now playing. . . . The Leaders of the Catholics of Ireland are decidedly hostile to British Connections; those who have any religion are bigoted Papists; those who have none (I believe the largest part) are Jacobins. Their hatred to England induced the former to acquiesce with the latter in a conspiracy with the Protestant Dissenting Denominations to separate Great Britain and Ireland. To abolish Tithes and destroy the existing Establishment in Church and State. These were common objects for the Disaffected of all persuasions in Ireland, and for the attainment of this object they all united, but the vigilance of the Government, assisted by the Protestants of Ireland, detected the Conspiracy and with the aid of England the Rebellion, which was the fruit of it, was so far suppressed as to leave an impression unfavourable to a second attempt, at least for the present. It has, however, not left much good-will to the Irish Parliament tho' not merely on account of its exertions against the Rebels, but from the manner in which the House of Commons is composed, which completely shuts out every possibility of dissenting Influence. Under the circumstances, a proposition for a Legislative Union opens new grounds of expectation to the Dissenters, and more especially, as the first point established has been a popular representation for Ireland, which if the Catholics shall be allowed to partake of, must throw nearly the whole weight of representation of Ireland into the Dissenting scale, and principally into the hands of the Catholics. Possessed of such a power, the Protestant Dissenters will see the advantage of uniting with them for objects common to both Parties, and having already done so exactly; with the same view upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform, an apprehension of their doing so again would not seem unreasonably speculative. The Catholics of Ireland are a body of men formidable only in proportion to the way in which they are treated. Many circumstances of late years have led to their entertaining a very enormous idea of their own strength—an idea which originated with and was punished by the Government, acting under the influence of Mr. Burke. They have been allowed to argue, and with effect, as if

Ireland was really separated from Great Britain by their means, they were able to assume a tone correspondent with the situation in which they then imagined themselves placed. Whereas formerly they always felt that the Power and the Property of the Country being in the Protestants of Ireland forming a part of a large Protestant Empire, the Government was vested where it naturally ought to be in their hands.

For the former of these situations they fought under James II., and having been defeated they quietly submitted to the latter; the advantage of the Legislative Union between the two Countries, in my mind, chiefly depends upon the restoration of the true principles with respect to the Irish Catholics. A Principle that may by that means be maintained without the necessity of impressing upon them any of the severe and cruel restrictions under which they laboured for so many years, but the state of the Parliament and the Church should at all times be exclusively Protestant, and, whatever is best calculated to secure these objects I consider the best policy.

Under this impression, however I may lament it, I cannot but admit, that you must always have a body of men living under your Government who are disaffected to it, but as you cannot extirpate them it is an evil that must be borne, and the end to be arrived at is to make that evil as little dangerous as possible. I believe upon a former occasion I said to you that no man could suppose that seats in Parliament would be ye Ultimatum of the wishes of the Catholics. I therefore take it for granted that there must be some post at which you must take your stand.

The great Principle (I ought perhaps to use a stronger expression) of the Revolution will bear you out fully in maintaining a Protestant State and Protestant Parliament. It completely unites the Protestant strength of the Empire in one common cause—and it appears to me there is no point for which Catholics could struggle in which (having already the right of voting) they would act with so little energy as in a contest for Representation. Indeed, I carry my opinion much further, having the most perfect conviction that, unless

they are mismanaged at this time, they will quietly submit to whatever may be the determination of the United Parliament.

This subject has been so forcibly brought to my mind by the enclosed address, and the answer to it, that I felt it a sort of Duty as concisely as I could to state my sentiments to you, and satisfied that you must give me credit for the motives by which I am actuated, I shall not apologize for having taken up so much of your time."

The letter is endorsed "to Mr. Pitt," in Lord Hobart's writing, and docketed as from him by Sir Edward Disbrowe. The signature of Lord Hobart is missing.

To think of the days of Pitt and Fox without also recalling the Prince Regent's wild, witty companion, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, would be well-nigh impossible. Whether he was a personal acquaintance of Colonel Disbrowe's or not I am unaware, but amongst his papers we find a delightful piece of humour regarding the attitude he took up in the House of Commons in regard to the fall of the short-lived Grenville Ministry, which went out on the Catholic question in March, 1807. The verses bear the message: "From Mrs. Charles White, with her best regards," and the heading,

"ON THE LATE CHANGE OF MINISTRY IN 1807."

"I've heard very often, shrewd Sheridan said,
Of a man who against a stone wall ran his head—
But my friends had no wall, so with wonderful pains
They built one on purpose to beat out their brains."

Answer :

"No, no Master Shery, tho' pleasant thy wit,
For once it has failed the true matter to hit,
For men who thus wantonly built up a wall
Have convinced the whole world they have no brains *at all*."

The author of these rhymes is unknown to us.

Of all the literary memoirs of recent years few contain more solid matter than those of John Wilson Croker. What he has written carries weight, even with people who cannot endorse all his opinions. That he was not the evil creature Miss Martineau and Macaulay would have him be is clear

to any careful reader of his life. No man of so hateful a character as they paint him would have kept the memory of a little son, who had passed away, green and holy through the lapse of years as Croker did, or have possessed the strong touch of reverence in his nature that we find in him. The information which he sends to Colonel Disbrowe belongs to the commencement of his Parliamentary career as the brilliant young Member for the Borough of Downpatrick. We have no further light to throw on the matter than what his own statement contains, not having been able to trace the circumstances of the counter-charge of undue influence, which was apparently brought against Mr. Croker to damage his petition against Mr. Ruthven for corrupt practices in reference to his Parliamentary candidature.

From the RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN WILSON CROKER, M.P.,
to COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P.

“DEAR SIR,

The impatience of the Committee is by no means unnatural when you consider the length of their labours prevented me from urging *vivâ voce* the request and arguments contained in the annexed paper. In it I have endeavoured to state my reasons as shortly as I well could, and I have to request that you will have the goodness to lay it before the Committee as a request formally made to them, and if they do not think fit to accede to my opinion, as a protest against their permitting such evidence as McLaughlin's to go (not unrefuted indeed, but) unpunished after refutation.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your obliged,

J. W. CROKER.

DISBROWE, Esq.”

“LONDON, *May 17th*, 1808.

The sitting member is reluctantly obliged to recall the attention of the Committee to the evidence given before them on Monday, the 16th May, 1808, by Neale McLaughlin, which evidence was to this effect : that about 12 o'clock in the

night of the 23rd of April, 1807, the Sitting Member (then petitioner) came to the Witness's house, and there asked to see Witness's father-in-law, adding that as he (Mr. Croker) had the Castle Interest, he could procure for Witness's father-in-law a good place in the [illegible] etc., etc., etc.

The Sitting Member must here most solemnly declare on his honour (and he is ready, if necessary, to do so on his *oath*) that not one of the above-mentioned circumstances are true, either as having occurred on the 23rd April, 1807, or on any other day whatsoever; that he never knew till he had heard the said evidence given on the 16th May, 1808, where the McLaughlin resided in Downe; that he had never heard of his (McLaughlin's) being married; that he had never known anything of his father-in-law, and above all that he never spoke with any person whatsoever in the terms alledged by Mr. McLaughlin, and during near two months that he (the Sitting Member) resided in Downe, he never was out of his own lodgings later than 11 at night, as he best recollects, but certainly never so late as 12, and as certainly never, after nightfall, *alone*.

To these assertions ever so solemnly given the Sitting Member cannot demand of the Committee to give implicit credence until they have been proved on oath; it is therefore necessary to see what has been so proved.

Alexander Miller, Esq., swears positively that the Sitting Member spent the day and night of the 23rd April, 1808, at the village of Brainsford, about 14 English miles from Downe; that the Sitting Member and Mr. Miller did not return from this village to Downe till the afternoon of the 24th, and he has detailed the circumstances, which at this distance of time enable him to speak with certainty to these dates and facts.

Mr. Craig corroborates Mr. Miller's evidence, that some days between the 20th and 27th April Mr. Croker left Downe for, as Mr. Craig understood, Brainsford; that as well as he recollects Mr. Croker went on the Tuesday, was absent the whole of Wednesday and Thursday, and returned on Friday. Mr. Craig does not recollect the dates, but in

reference to the almanach of that year, it appears that Thursday was the 23rd April.

It is further proved that a commission had been sitting in Downe for the trial of Mr. Croker's petition against Mr. Ruthven, and it appears from the minutes that an adjournment took place on or about the 20th, and that this adjournment continued some days, and that it was about the time of this adjournment that Mr. Croker was at Brainsford.

In addition to this the Sitting Member offered in evidence that it appeared by a diary which he has been for some years in the practice of keeping regularly, that he was not in Downe on the 23rd April, 1807, and lest this diary should be suspected of being made for the occasion, he offered to produce the diaries of 1806 and 1808, as well as for that for 1807, in order to show that there was no intention of creating evidence, and further he offered to prove that these diaries had not been altered by himself, or by any other person, and that no erasion, addition, or change whatsoever had been made in, or to, them.

But it was said by an honourable Member of the Committee, 'That the Sitting Member should disprove the *fact*, and not the *day*, because McLaughlin might mistake a day.'

To this there are many answers. 1st, that McLaughlin *voluntarily* and *unmasked* mentioned the 23rd of April, and when repeatedly questioned as to the date, as repeatedly asserted without *hesitation* or *doubt* that it was the 23rd. A date is, to be sure, easily mistaken, and on that account persons of conscience do not without good reason swear to distant dates; but when the person so swearing positively and gratuitously and pertinaciously fixes on a certain day, did any court of justice ever undertake to extenuate the perjury thereby committed; did it ever say, 'This witness swears with *equal certainty* to the date and to the fact, and we will try to believe him as to the *fact*, because we know he swears falsely as to the date'? The Courts of Westminster Hall would say, he has sworn falsely in *one* instance, we can believe him in *neither*.

The 2nd answer is this: that it is only by refuting the

date that you can refute the *fact*, because if a person swears that a certain secret transaction took place between himself and one other person, but refuses to specify the time, that other person never can refute the calumny, and in vain may he prove that it could not have taken place on Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday, for it might on Saturday; in vain does he prove it did not on *one* Saturday, for it might on *another*; he still proceeds, and proves that it did not take place on any Saturday in any particular month, but he is to be turned round and told it might have happened on any of the 52 Saturdays of the year, and if he should be able to account for the 52 Saturdays of any one year, he should be told he must account for every day of every year of his life.

The Sitting Member appeals to the Committee whether it is not mere justice that the accuser should be bound by the words of his accusation;—he had his choice of all the days in the year, and might, *with equal truth*, have chosen any one of the 365, but he was pleased to fix upon the 23rd April; it happens by a fortunate but unusual concurrence of circumstances that this particular day can be accounted for, and then it is to be said for him (*for he does not say it for himself*) that forsooth he may have mistaken a day. If he were now called upon, no doubt he would be glad to adopt the excuse, and would fix on some other day on which, it *now* appears, it might be more difficult to contradict him.

Many other and as forcible observations occur to the Sitting Member, but he forbears to urge them, they are almost self-evident; but upon the whole he hopes that the Committee will consider, whether in justice to the public, as well as to the individuals concerned, they should not reconsider McLaughlin's testimony.

The Sitting Member has reduced this request to writing as affording the most formal and concise way of urging his reasons for making it.

J. W. CROKER."

CHAPTER III

THE LADIES OF THE VALE

THE name of Plas Newydd is known far beyond the confines of Wales, and the romantic history of the "Ladies of Llangollen," or "Ladies of the Vale," as they were designated locally, will never lose its charm. It was in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that these fair immigrants from the Green Isle began transforming a humble cottage into a palace of delight, making it beautiful with exquisite carvings and many curios. In this old-world spot they were visited by many well-known personages, which included their famous literary contemporary, Madame de Genlis, Mademoiselle d'Orléans (daughter of the Duc de Chartres), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whose name is associated with the Irish Rebellion, and who died of wounds received in struggling with his captors in 1798. Lord Edward was the husband of the beautiful Pamela, the reputed daughter of Madame de Genlis and Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans, who was unenviably notorious for voting for the death of Louis XVI. Other visitors to Plas Newydd were the Duke of York and the Duke of Wellington. As a memorial of the latter's visit in 1814, the date with the ladies' initials remains carved above the fireplace in one of the rooms.

Lady Eleanor Butler was about thirty-eight years of age when she fled to England, and her friend, Miss Ponsonby, was some seventeen years younger. Though generally given her courtesy title by those who spoke to or of her, Lady Eleanor's father *de jure*, sixteenth Earl of Ormonde,¹ never

¹ Vide Burke's Peerage.

assumed his rank. His wife was the daughter of Nicholas Morres, Esq., of Lataragh, County Tipperary. According to at least one writer, it was from the guardianship of her aunt, Lady H. Kavanagh, that she desired to escape, but the headlines of the letter in our possession, which bears on the subject, and which is evidently a *contemporary* copy of one of Lady Eleanor's, and possibly in her own writing, is docketed as written "to her mother."

Through the Vaughans, Colonel Disbrowe was possessed of property on the borders of Wales, and it will be seen by the correspondence we reproduce that he was the valued friend of the "Ladies of the Vale," to whom they turned in their troubles with the full assurance of meeting with ready sympathy and help. He owned Malverley and Bausley, which were contiguous to their land.

An eighteenth-century newspaper cutting attributes the flight of Lady Eleanor from her home entirely to her romantic attachment to Miss Ponsonby, which so enraged her parents, because it made her resist all offers of marriage, that, with the Spartanism prevalent in their day, they put her in confinement. Her first attempt at escape was ineffectual, but it was succeeded by a second, a few months later, which proved successful, and through the instrumentality of the faithful Mary Caryll her family was informed of her safety, and an annuity was conceded to her. In addition to this, Mr. Secretary Steele's list of benefices for 1788 contained "the names of Elinor Butler and Sarah Ponsonby for annuities of fifty pounds each." It is possible that Colonel Disbrowe's influence effected this. The newspaper cutting goes on to say :

"About twelve months since, three ladies and a gentleman stopping one night at an inn in the village, and not being able to procure beds, the inhabitants applied to the female hermits for accommodation for some foreign strangers. This was readily granted, when lo! in the foreigners they descried some of their own relatives. But no entreaties could persuade the ladies to quit their sweet retreat."

From the same source we learn that "Lady Eleanor was tall and masculine, wearing a riding habit and hanging up

her hat with the air of a sportsman in the hall, and appearing in all respects a young man, bar the petticoats." Miss Ponsonby was, on the contrary, "polite, effeminate, fair and beautiful." She did the honours and duties of the house, whilst her friend superintended the gardens and the rest of the home.

Lady Leighton's well-known drawing shows Lady Eleanor wearing the orders presented to her by the Duke of Orleans, and, what was still more dear to her, the loyal badge of Ireland, the Harp and Crown, for, as everybody knows, the Harp without the Crown bears a very different interpretation. The orders and ribbon give Lady Eleanor the appearance of a Cabinet Minister, or distinguished diplomatist. She died June 2nd, 1829, at the ripe age of ninety, and her devoted friend had to be content with solitude, till the doubtless welcome hand of death touched her in 1831 in her seventy-fourth year. The faithful maid's grave had long grown green, the sheep making it their browsing place, for she had passed away in 1809. Subjoined is—

A copy of LADY E. BUTLER'S letter to her mother on leaving her.

"MADAM,

Whatever has been the treatment which has induced me to quit my parents, my friends, my native country, and all those flattering hopes to which I once thought I had been born—however indifferent I shall endeavour to make myself as to the opinion of those to whom I shall never return—while, Madam, I cannot refrain justifying my reputation if you have entertained a thought that any unworthy attachment or any tumultuous passion has been the cause of my elopement, you may set your heart at rest as to these particulars.

I shall never do anything to dishonour my family or justify the rigour and restraint in which my youth has been withered and my heart has been broken. No, Madam, I am now far from your power and your cruelty. It remains for me to show that that cruelty was as unnecessary as it has been intolerable. You may assure my once kind but unhappy and infatuated father that I never will disgrace him.

If he will enable me to live in decent retirement, I shall be grateful for his bounty, much more grateful than for having given me life, which has hitherto been to me a burthen. If he refuses it, I can bear the bitterest shafts of poverty without repining. The labour of my hands can support me without infamy, and the thoughts of liberty can sweeten my situation. But if he gives me any support it must be without knowing the place where I am—or the name I shall go by, etc.

I shall know the declarations you shall make and you shall hear from me again, if I find it shall be for any purpose. Wherever I shall be, it shall be out of your reach. I need not tell you what reasons I have to keep myself concealed from you. I will not reproach you, Madam, I hope even that you may forgive yourself. May my family enjoy every happiness. I do not ask forgiveness; I feel myself too fully justified in what I have done. If I hear that your deductions are such as I hope for, you shall have methods to communicate your thoughts to me. But let your letters to me contain anything except persuasions to return. No distress, no accident shall ever force me to do so, every other act of despair would be far preferable to that. If I die under the present conflict or any of the misfortunes which may attend my situation, the friend who shall close my eyes will inform you she has done so.

E. B.”

To modern ears such a letter sounds grandiloquent, but did not doubtless appear exaggerated to eighteenth-century readers.

As the two following letters bear a joint signature, it is impossible to determine with certainty by which of the two ladies they were written. There was a very great similarity in their signatures, only Lady Eleanor's writing was usually larger and bolder. The purpose of the following letter to Colonel Disbrowe was to get a direct bulletin of Queen Charlotte's health, when the sorrow of losing her youngest daughter, the bright Princess Amelia, had come to the Queen, and grief had plunged the King in hopeless insanity.

The internal evidence of the letter seems to confirm the statement about the Civil List Pensions bestowed on the ladies of Llangollen, for it points them out as recipients of special favours from the King and Queen.

“DEAR SIR,

We will not apologize to you for naming any Occasion wherein it is possible for you to confer an important favour on *two* very old and very affectionately attached friends.

There are few persons who have juster rights than ourselves to feel the deepest interest in all that relates to the Happiness of the best and most beloved of Sovereigns, and any individual of His family. And we can only assert that there are very few who lament more acutely or more sincerely than Ourselves the sad interruption to that happiness under which it at present suffers. Motives still more powerful than these share in the universal anxiety inspired by the accumulated sorrows of your royal Mistress, and induce us, Dear Sir, to request the favour of a line of information from your Hand. Her Majesty was graciously pleased, so we were informed by Mr. Stuart of Armagh, to think of us in our heavy affliction, but indeed we wanted not that strong and additional inducement of that claim upon our gratitude to make us feel the most anxious Solicitude for even a tolerably comfortable report of Her Majesty's state of health and spirits. We know, Dear Sir, that you will not withhold this cordial if in your power to bestow it upon

Your ever Obliged—affectionate and

Faithful humble Servants,

EL. BUTLER AND S. PONSONBY.

Llangollen Vale, Llangollen,
15th November, 1810.”

The import of another letter concerns a *protégé* of the good ladies, whom they desire to buy free from military service, in which anxiety it is only natural that they should turn to their friend the Colonel, aware of his keen interest in all questions concerning the army.

“Llangollen Vale,
29th December, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

We fear you will dread the sight of the Llangollen Post mark, it having been the Bearer of ten thousand times more trouble to you than We had the very remotest idea of when we first implored your assistance in this most troublesome business. But we must refer you to a better Exchequer than that of our inexpressible gratitude for the reward of your most humane and unwearied exertions.

We have had the kindest possible assurance from Lady Anne Smith,¹ that if it is in the power of interest to effect it, Hugh Jones shall be released, and with the sister of Lord Wellington on our side, in addition to your powerful support, how can we possibly doubt of success, though for fear of any unforeseen impediment we still keep the poor mother from being too sanguine in the indulgence of her hopes. But as we know, she will deem herself too happy if the £40 under your compassionate influence should be adequate to her son's release, And as We understand from those who are well acquainted with such transactions, that the attempting to procure a substitute in Wales would be at least equally costly and lead to much hazard. We implore you, Dear Sir, to employ the money (if you will complete our obligation by so doing) in obtaining this very troublesome young man's discharge, instead of sending it back. And we hope you will excuse our Soliciting this favour added to all the others, because the poor woman Would be almost as competent to raising a whole regiment (or attend² Sir Watkin into Holland) as to engage a Substitute for her son, and secure his fulfilling his engagement without her incurring a great variety of incidental expenses on which it would be unnecessary to expatiate and 'food for powder' has become quite as costly in Denbighshire as it has in other places.

Truly happy should We esteem ourselves, Dear Sir, were

¹ The Duke of Wellington's only sister, married first in 1794 to the Hon. Henry Fitzroy, secondly to Charles Culling Smith, Esq., of Hampton. She died December 16th, 1844.

² Welsh readers will appreciate this touch.

it in our power to make any return that would be acceptable to you, both for the value of the obligation we now acknowledge and the manner in which it has been conferred, it would therefore be greatly enhanced if you would at any time tell us that a Welsh Hare or a Saddle of Welsh Mutton would not be unwelcome in Hertford Street. We should then feel, if possible more than we are at this moment, Dear Col. Disbrowe,

Your grateful and affectionate

Humble servants,

EL. BUTLER AND S. PONSONBY.

23rd Dec., 1813."

The date of this letter tells its own story as to the anxiety of the mother for her son. Colonel Disbrowe's London house was in Hertford Street.

CHAPTER IV

KING GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE

MISS DISBROWE was brought up to cherish a deep respect for the memory of George III., whose malady she attributes in great measure to the mental strain caused by the American War and the unquiet state of France, and also to his Majesty's anxiety concerning his personal duty in regard to dealing with the revolutionary spirit, with which his own realm was infected. Now that so much is accepted as right and equitable, which the most advanced thinkers, even of William IV.'s time, would have looked upon as rank anarchism, it is hard to do justice to the King's difficulties, just as it is hard to realise how much, as Lord Hobart's letter reminds us, the perennial Catholic Question agitated men's minds a hundred years ago. To be either Romanist or Dissenter in Georgian days was to be indeed without the pale. To be zealous in religious matters was not held to be over-desirable, when the Church and the world were having a tussle and the world seemed for the time the better man.

The personal piety of George III. and his Consort was most genuine, and they may be said to have revelled in sermons; but with the general public, worldliness and yet intolerance were the order of the day. An article in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* of May, 1827, would form strange reading for readers of Blackwood to-day, and yet "Maga" was the mirror of the times, giving the most cultured verdict attainable. The article begins: "On one point at least the new House of Commons has spoken the sense of the country; it has decided against what is called

Catholic Emancipation." The name of "Mr. Plunkett,"¹ the Attorney-General, occurs again and again, and he does not find favour with the writer, to whom the "doctrine that the disabilities ought to be removed on the ground of abstract right is stale." It is curious to recall that Mr. Plunkett's own grandson, the Most Reverend William Cunyngham Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, was the great friend of Catholic reform, but not, as was the idea in old days, by alienating Roman Catholics from the Church of their Baptism, but by seeking to purify national branches of the Roman Communion from within. The Old Catholic movement was a plant of altogether later growth than Georgian days. Church feeling was at its lowest ebb in the early part of the nineteenth century.

George III.'s education was a peculiar one, in spite of the love for Great Britain which his father, Frederick Prince of Wales, tried to instil into him, and of the oft-quoted lines which he recited at a dramatic representation, in childish days.

"Should this superior to my years be thought
Know—'tis the first great lesson I was taught.
What! though a boy! it may with pride be said
A boy—in England born, in England bred,
Where freedom well becomes the earliest state," etc.

And if his mother was not his evil counsellor, she was at any rate no help to him in preparing for his future career.

The King did not realise that it was not freedom but oppression which had caused the French Revolution. Though born in England, he was in blood a German, and to this day Germany tolerates a modified absolutism which England could not accept, for reasons which we must seek in the seventeenth century, and in the days of Cromwell and Major-General Disbrowe. The latter's descendant finds Croker in agreement with her in not thinking meanly of George III.'s abilities. In the year following the King's death Croker was dining with Lord Melville and together they looked over some of his late Majesty's correspondence. Croker says, "The King's notes shew a good deal of shrewdness of thought and

¹ The Review gives two "t's" to his name.

terseness of expression." He adds that they evince considerable knowledge of details of the army and of other branches of the public service, aversion to and fear of the French Republic, and a great inclination to Colonial aggrandisement, also that his note declaring his resolution not to accede to the Catholic claims is well written and dignified, and his subsequent acceptance of the resignation of the Pitt Ministry cool and formal, and that in the earlier notes especially the King's observations are cool and sometimes satirical.

Miss Disbrowe's autograph collection contains the following, in King George III.'s own writing :

" Windsor, *Dec. 15th*, 1800.

The illness of Major Disbrowe not having given the King an opportunity of paying him the last quarter, and as the Major's journey to Bath will prevent his being here at Christmas, the two quarters are being forwarded to him with hopes that the Waters may prove efficacious.

GEORGE R."

Again :

"I received with infinite satisfaction your Dutiful and Affectionate Congratulations on this Day, as also on the re-establishment of Peace. The Prosperity of my Dominions has always been the warmest wish of my Heart, and I look on the preservation of our excellent Constitution, both in Church and State, as essential to that great object."

This note is without date ; possibly it refers to the peace of Amiens.

A favourite accusation to bring against Queen Charlotte has been that of parsimony, or, to throw fine language to the winds, right down ugly stinginess, a fault which causes men and women to be held in contempt more than many a graver vice would lead them to be. A close study of material from the most varied sources and an intimate knowledge of the country of her birth incline me to look on the criticism as hasty and shallow in the Queen's case. Yet the allegation seems to have come to stay. A lady whose forebears were

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much at Windsor told me recently, that she had always understood that Apple Charlottes took their name from the frequent puddings made by Her Majesty's order to use up the crusts of the week. It may be so; my informant has every reason to be well posted in what happened in the royal establishment; but the question arises, if this be the explanation of an Apple Charlotte, how about a *Charlotte Russe*? On the other hand, according to Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's narrative, there must have been some connection in the childish mind of the Princess Charlotte of Wales between the thought of the Queen and of apples, for he gives us the following quaint remark from the Princess's baby lips: "There are two things that I do not like at all: one is apple tart, the other is my grandmother." The wayward little maiden cared neither for homely fare nor homely discipline, yet we believe her grandmother loved her dearly, though accused of hating her and even of being accessory to her untimely fate, which was a moral impossibility. By his pleasant volume, *The Good Queen Charlotte*, Mr. Fitzgerald shows that he has grasped the Queen's character truly, and sets the right value on the criticisms passed upon her. Her detractors' accusations of stinginess seem to rest on reasons as paltry as that of a note, written from the Queen to one of her equerries, saying, the servants going out with the royal carriage were not to wear their best liveries if it rained. No allowance is made for the love, indeed the pride of detail, of the true German *Hausfrau*. This last, every princess of the lesser German Courts was expected to be. Necessity demanded it, and Mecklenburgh-Strelitz was no exception. The way in which Lord Harcourt was received, when sent to Mecklenburg, gives ample illustration thereof. When ushered into the Princess Charlotte's presence he found her engaged in the homely occupation of sewing a seam, or as some authorities aver, darning a stocking. The North Germans have a frugality all their own, and when a Prussian princess, who is still living, espoused the ruler of a certain wealthy, though small, South German Court, many were the stories current amongst the more easy-going Southerners regarding the ideas which she brought from her northern home.

People who have only been acquainted with Germany during the last thirty years or more have but little idea of the extreme simplicity of life existing amongst all ranks before the heavy French indemnity brought more gold and with it the spirit of luxury into the land. In older days life was very *gemüthlich* and pleasant, and with learned professors, nobility, and princes alike, plain living and high thinking were the order of the day. Only those who knew the smaller German Courts as they were then know how much their influence helped to foster literature, music, and the drama. And whether the princess to whom allusion has been made pressed her signet ring on the remainder of the pat of butter after a meal, to prevent waste and pilfering, or whether she sometimes remarked, that what was left of a bottle of wine would do for "Fritz," her princely spouse, for supper, she knew how to set a true example as wife and mother, and how to further education and housewifery in the land where she had made her home.

The constant desire to help some person whose needs appeal to her is shown repeatedly in the letters from Queen Charlotte to her Vice-Chamberlain, who had often, to his great personal inconvenience, to advance money for her many charities. Being devoted to the memory of the House of Stuart, through ties of blood and family tradition, I am in no wise afraid of being accused of being unfairly in favour of a Queen of the House of Hanover, but I am fully persuaded, after much study of the question, that any grave aspersions of Queen Charlotte's character are utterly unworthy of serious consideration. Lady Harcourt, admitted to close intimacy with her, held her in the highest esteem. If there had been anything of moment to find out it would not have escaped the sharp eyes of Fanny Burney, nor would she have omitted to refer to it, in some measure, in her Diary. What carries most weight with me in approaching the question, is the opinion of Sir Herbert Taylor, a man of great ability and such high integrity that both his public and private character were absolutely above suspicion. Lord Brougham, though breaking a lance with him in regard to this very question, said that "his nature was as utterly incapable of sycophancy

as dishonesty," and again, that "the whole course of Sir Herbert's exercise of such a delicate office and such an important one, as never before fell into the hands of any courtier, was throughout marked by the most unrevoked honour towards all parties with whom he came in contact, whether monarchs, or their families, or their ministers, or private individuals." This refers, of course, to Sir Herbert's close connection with the reigning family as confidential secretary to various members, and notably to Queen Charlotte during the King's malady. And what is Sir Herbert's view of the Queen's character? We have his endorsement of it in a private letter to his brother-in-law, Sir Edward Disbrowe, written from Cadenabbia in the year 1838. It is to call Lord Brougham's remarks in the *Edinburgh Review* of that year "calumnies," and he tells how he has written a pamphlet on purpose to refute them.¹ In that pamphlet he denies that the Queen was spiteful, or unforgiving, or stingy, or fain to mingle in intrigues, or of a boundless pride, only allowing that she was of a suspicious nature, not readily giving her confidence, or recalling it when once, "after due experience, she had conferred it." It was no attractive picture which Lord Brougham drew of the Queen, but when one has read over the Chancellor's invectives, and made allowance for his ready command of language, one notices that the most weighty charges he makes are of obstinacy, "not untouched with spite," of being "unforgiving, not undesigning," and of being able to "mingle in the intrigues of a court as well as feel its malignities." These accusations, though falling far short of what has been said by others of the Queen's detractors, Sir Herbert Taylor repudiates indignantly as distinctly untrue. How scathing, then, would his denunciation have been of men or women, who would have ventured in his hearing or to his knowledge to bring forward absolutely criminal charges against a Queen, whom he knew to have thoroughly justified her upbringing in the principles of "strictness and purity and morality." If anyone knew the innermost life of the Court, that man was Sir Herbert

¹ Remarks on an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 135, on the "Times of George III. and George IV." London, 1838.

Taylor. Fearless and upright, his verdict could be trusted, and it was not one of condemnation.

Those who would have us believe that the Queen's conduct, both in regard to the King and her sons, was that of a heartless *intriguante*, notably at the time of the first serious outbreak of the King's malady, brought on by careless disregard of his health whilst taking the Cheltenham waters, those who find craft, guile or heartlessness in every act, are forgetful that they are bringing their harsh judgment to bear on a well-nigh distracted wife and mother, isolated in great measure by her position, and rendered miserable by the behaviour of her sons. Sad indeed it was, that clouds should have come between them at a time when love and tenderness could have smoothed the way so much for all concerned. Yet despite temporary friction, encouraged no doubt by the outside influence of individuals whose political purposes it served, persons intimate with George III.'s family held to it that deep and sincere affection existed between its members. We think of many little touches of filial devotion on the part of the sons, and the letters in our possession certainly justify this opinion; of how the daughters grew to womanhood and lost their youth and still remained in a dependent position under their mother's roof, and there seems occasion for admiration of much forbearance and cordiality rather than for censure.

That Queen Charlotte had no genuine pretensions to good looks, and grew in old age to be almost grotesquely ugly, does not seem capable of being gainsaid. It would appear, however, that there was enough attractiveness about her in early days, ere sorrow and care had done their work, to justify our using that delightful expression *une jolie laide* concerning her. And this though Colonel Disbrowe is credited with having said to Mr. Croker, "I do think that the bloom of her ugliness is going off." Horace Walpole describes her as "small and very lean, not well made, her face pale and homely, her nose somewhat flat, and mouth *very large*." But he adds that her hair was "a fine brown, and countenance pleasing," and that she had an unflinching good humour and animation, "which supplied for these defects." This is not a very unflattering description, when one considers the source,

and that the writer could dip his pen in gall, and was by nature hypercritical. Others, Sir Herbert Taylor included, have attributed to the Queen the good figure which Walpole denied her, and have declared that it was wonderful how she kept it in spite of trouble and ill-health. The opinion on the beauty of her hair seems unanimous, and her eyes and mouth, which revealed excellent teeth, found favour with many persons who were frequently in her presence. Queen Charlotte liked to give her picture to her friends. Colonel Disbrowe was of this number, as a reputed Gainsborough¹ testifies to this day. It is by no means unpleasing. Together with a companion picture of George III. in his best days, it was sent by the Queen to her Vice-Chamberlain. Both portraits hang in the drawing-room at Walton Hall, and we reproduce the Queen's in this volume.

There is yet another point regarding Queen Charlotte, about which the evidence conflicts. Some people would have us believe, that she spoke absolutely broken English. That she was hypercritical on the subject of our language does not appear, or she would not have permitted Monsieur de Luc, who it is declared "could hardly speak four words of English," to read her "Cecilia," which is sufficiently *tiré au long* to require very good reading to make it palatable. But we have Madame d'Arblay's testimony on the point in question: "She speaks English almost perfectly, though occasionally using a foreign expression." A perusal of the Queen's letters leaves one also under the impression, that she had a very intimate knowledge of the English language, in spite of occasionally faulty spelling and peculiar modes of expression. After reading a very large number of other letters written in her day, even by eminent men, one can but recognise that people allowed themselves many liberties in etymology, and put in capitals where they wished, as if sprinkling them from a pepper box.

The following letters are all in Queen Charlotte's own handwriting, and indicative of the confidence Her Majesty reposed in her Vice-Chamberlain. The Queen's own spelling

¹ The picture was always held to be a Gainsborough, but a certain R. A., now dead, suggested that it might be a copy.

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has been retained. It is important to remember, that they were written as to a private friend, and only reflect credit upon the writer.

From QUEEN CHARLOTTE to LIEUT.-COLONEL DISBROWE.

“The Queen found upon Her Table a Parcel from Colonel Desbrow containing a set of such well chosing Books, that she cannot refuse Herself the Pleasure of returning Him thanks for such a valuing Present and such a proof of His attention, and should the Colonel ever by chance see the Queen’s Library He will see His Present and His name in a conspicuous Place.

Queen’s House,
the 20th May,
1804.”

The Queen’s House gave way to part of Buckingham Palace in the beginning of George IV.’s reign, and the place thereof knows it no more. It had been built by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was bought by George III. as a dower-house for Queen Charlotte.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“SIR,

As there will be no more Court Days this summer and I give no Audience at Windsor, my seeing the Russian Minister¹ must be put off till next Winter and You will inform S^r Stephen Cotterell of this whenever You please.

I trust that yr Son is better ; pray take care of Him when the irruption is going off, that is the most dangerous moment for the Constitution, He should have gentle Physic and that often, to carry the matter which remains in the blood well off, this was a maxim of Both S^r John Pringle and S^r Richard Tebb, who were eminent in their way.

Windsor Castle,
the 7th July,
1806.”

CHARLOTTE.

¹ Markoff, appointed to succeed Count Semen Woronzow, who retired from the diplomatic service.

It will be noticed that this is not the only occasion on which Queen Charlotte's thoughtfulness and goodness of heart are shown concerning the ailments of the motherless children of Colonel Disbrowe. Her suggestions of remedies for the little one are quite in keeping with what we find in her letters to Lady Clifford and others, reproduced by various writers. That the Queen was strict on questions of etiquette is well known, and the foregoing letter bears witness to the fact. We shall have occasion to refer to the subject again, and to various curious customs in Court etiquette of the period. The next letter is on a similar subject to its predecessor.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“Frogmore” (no date).

(The note bears a seal with C.R. without a crown.)

“SIR,

The Day is so very bad and Every Body advises me not to go out, and as I have this Brighton Journey to make, I fear to lay myself up, therefore You will, after You have Breakfasted with M. Beroldingen, come up to the Castle with Him and tell him that though in General I admit no Stranger there I shall make an exception for Him upon this occasion on account of the Court He represents.

CHARLOTTE.

If you want my Coach Order it, but send word the Servants must put on their Hats.”

The last remark had reference to the fact that the Court servants removed their hats, when royal personages were about to enter their carriages. The custom did not obtain unless this was the case.

Monsieur de Beroldingen represented the Court of Wurtemberg, where Queen Charlotte's eldest daughter, the Princess Royal of England, was Queen.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

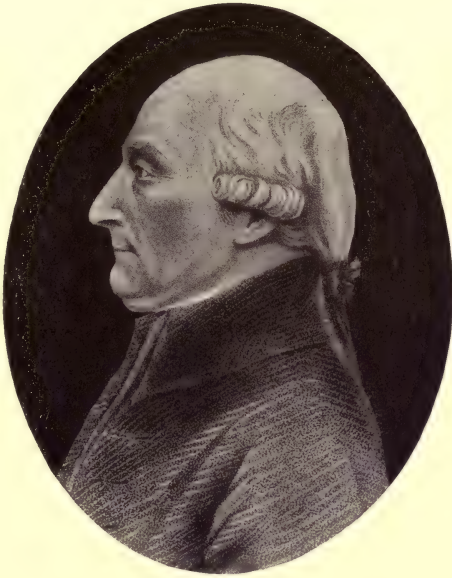
“MY GOOD COLONEL,—It is a little hard, to be sure, when you are employed for the good of the Nation to Plague You with Letters and Commissions into the Bargain, but as I know You are Compassionate and may perhaps assist an unprotected Child of 10 years Old to a good education, I feel not Conscientious of committing an indiscretion.

The Story is briefly this. Mr. De Luc’s Eldest Son, going very early in Life to India, formed a Connection with a Black Lady by whom He had two Sons, which he brought to England and put them to School. He then went to Geneva, Married, and is now a Father of three Legitimate Children.

The Uncle who took care here in England of the little *Echapés* Dyed last Year a Bankrupt and with Him every Prospect of any Provision for the Children, for their Father’s Fortune was in the Hands of the deceased. The Poor Old De Luc would not only be ready to do something for them, but He is called upon to Satisfy the Creditors, and therefore can do but little, and tho’ Mrs. De Luc at Geneva very handsomely offered to receive them as Her own Children the Expence of getting them there, and the fear of their being ill treated by His Countrymen owing to their being Born at Bengal makes that Step at present impossible.

The Eldest Boy is at Sea with a Captain Spencer, and bares a charming character; his Colour is Tawny. The youngest is 10, and as De Luc tells me *Blondin*, and He wishes now very much to get Him into Christ’s Hospital, a wish which I think by far the best, as I understand that they fit them out there when their Education is finished for what they are fit. But I fear the obtaining such a Favour is attended with great Difficulty. Perhaps amongst Yr City Friends You might assist Him and if it is wrong to *name me*, as perhaps it may in the Present Time,¹ You shall not only deserve the Honour of the thing, but I trust the reward due for such a good action will fall to Your Share. Excuse my entering into such a long detail, but I thought it was better

¹ “A question of etiquette,” says Miss Disbrowe. . M. M.-C.



J. DE LUC, ESQUIRE, F.R.S.

to tell the truth. The Boy is lively and well disposed, and the good Old De Luc never objects to call Himself His Grandfather.

I beg my Compliments to all the Young Ladies.

CHARLOTTE.

WINDSOR,

the 13th May,
1807.

Pray why will you not always be 310 Majority? It was indeed good news and made the Breakfast very Cheerfull."

The above letter is characteristic of many of the Queen's private letters, as indeed of many written by her children. Philanthropic efforts formed a large part of all their lives. The Duke of York was noted for them. The Queen herself said on one occasion that if she listened to any more petitions she would require to be given a penny herself. It is understood that she gave five hundred pounds a year in support of a school of needlework for helping indigent women of gentle birth, which was under the direction of Mrs. Pawsey.

The name of de Luc is still well known in Switzerland and I have met with it in Southern Germany. That of "Old de Luc," as he was often called at Court, is also very familiar to readers of Madame d'Arblay's Diary. We are able to reproduce a characteristic portrait of him from the collection at Walton Hall, a likeness which suggests both patience and self-restraint, and also great powers of observation, together with the thoughtful brow of a scholar. Jean André de Luc was born at Geneva in 1726. The sole riches he possessed were those of the mind, and his whole life was devoted to efforts for acquiring and advancing knowledge. His chief pursuits were in the way of electro-chemical researches and the study of geology, his object being to "corroborate the evidence of Holy Scripture by plain and demonstrable facts." To further this end, he travelled in many lands and wrote a "Treatise on Geology" and six volumes of "Geological Tracts," working almost to the hour of his death at his investigations regarding the composition

of the globe. He had the true generosity of the lover of knowledge for its own sake, and, though a poor man, gave freely of his little to help struggling scientific students in their studies. It seems a little difficult to define his position in the Queen's household. One authority gives him as Her Majesty's reader. The Duke of Clarence dubbed him "the Queen's philosopher," and together with his royal brothers did not show him more respect than insolent youth in other walks of life is wont to show to the thinkers of the world, whilst as yet too callous to understand qualities more profound than those of brute strength. In 1791, coming to dine with the King on his birthday, the Duke took much pleasure in seizing an opportunity of plying the "Queen's philosopher" with champagne, till he simperingly remonstrated "O, your Royal Highness, you will make me quite droll." If physically no Hercules, M. de Luc seems none the less to have proved a moral support and comforter to the Royal Family in the great trouble caused by the King's outburst of insanity in 1788, and Madame d'Arblay adds her testimony to this, saying "Mr. de Luc is a truly good man."

The Queen followed the traditions of her sex in the last quoted letter and left a specially important item for her postscript. The majority to which she refers was three hundred and ten to eighty-five. Spencer Perceval and Lord Castlereagh had procured Mr. Quintin Dick a seat in Parliament, that he might vote for the Duke of York, and when he felt he could not do so conscientiously they wished him to resign. This led to a Parliamentary inquiry being mooted, but the resolution was defeated, as mentioned by the Queen, on the ground that there was nothing contrary to usage in Lord Castlereagh's and Perceval's action.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"When I received, by the Hands of Miss Planta, Miss Baker's Letter, I trusted to have been able to Place Her again (at least for a Year) with Mrs. Pawsey, as the School is now employed upon a very great Work for me, but by the Inclosed awnser, You will find that on account of Her Health

there are difficulties of accomplishing this, as both Mr. and Mrs. Pawsey are Paralytic and have but one Daughter to manage the House, it would be an indelicacy in me to press it any more.

How I am to assist this young Woman is difficult to decide, the Number of my Pensioners is so great, that I cannot at present increase it if therefore the Young Woman can strike out any Line for Herself in which I can assist Her I shall do it with Pleasure and I beg *You* will inform Her of this, well understood so, that I cannot give a Yearly Pension.

Dear Amelia goes on as well as possible, and I hope to hear that your Eldest Son¹ is recovering His Strength tho' this cold wind I fear is against all Invalides, and little Henry not to be forgot, if His Cough continues, Pray ask if *Tamarind Whey* would not be good for Him, it is in Germany looked upon as very soft and Cooling for the Chest.

My best Compliments to the Young Ladies.

CHARLOTTE.

the 29th March
1808."

Within two years the beloved youngest daughter, Princess Amelia, whose amiable and lively disposition won every heart, but whose health had never been robust, was called away. With her death her father, whose best beloved child she had always been, became hopelessly insane. Miss Gascoigne, the lady in attendance on her, died some three months later of grief.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"SIR,—I must send *You* a Letter full of Commissions, some of which I am sure *You* will be able to execute immediately, but one of them must depend if *You* have the means to do it.

There is a report² of Lrd. Castlereagh being named Successor to Ld. Wellesley, if that proves to be true and that

¹ The future Sir Edward Disbrowe, soon to begin his public career by bearing despatches to the seat of war in Spain.

² This was correct.

He has Kissed Hands, I wish to recommend to His Protection Young Planta, who has now been several Years *Précis Writer*, and has given great Satisfaction in this Situation. His Character I know is as good as can be wished, and He is possessed of all the Languages Necessary for this Place, and is besides a well Informed Young Man. Another of my Commissions is that you write to Mrs. Pawsey and desire Her to send the Furniture,¹ which I understand is finished to Windsor, and to let Her know that as soon as possible She shall receive Orders for another set of the same kind, tho' not the same Colours.

If the Duke of York has settled anything about Young Penley, I want to beg of You to bestow upon Him what is Necessary, if I understand it right 300£ is required to fit Him out, and as I have not that sum by me at present would You be my Treasurer, and I to repay You at least in four Quarters, and now to the last which is that I shall with gratitude receive Mr. Hobart's present of the Alderney Bull and only beg to know when and where Ingall is to send to fetch Him.

I beg pardon for giving so much trouble, but You are too good natured as to take offence.

CHARLOTTE.

Windsor,
the 26th Feby.,
 1812.

My best Compliments to all the Young Family."

In the two last letters we find references to the Planta family. To peruse the records left us by Madame d'Arblay is to become very familiar with the name of Planta, and specially of Miss Planta, who, like Monsieur de Luc, but in a yet greater degree, was of service to Queen Charlotte and her daughters in their trials and afflictions. Beginning by being English teacher to the young princesses, she ended by becoming a most useful companion to them and to the Queen.

¹ The object of having the work of Mrs. Pawsey's pupils displayed at Windsor was to induce visitors to the Castle to give orders for whatever took their fancy.—M. M.-C.

Whenever help was wanted Miss Planta seemed to be to the fore, and this although she was clearly neither a woman of high station nor good private means. Madame d'Arblay mentions particularly how she made tea at Fauconberg Hall for her because "poor Miss Planta" was laid up with an attack of influenza, and had "no maid or any creature to help her." Princess Elizabeth, then Landgravine of Homburg, mentioned Miss Planta's death in a letter written in 1834. The Landgravine, then in her sixty-fifth year, said, "she has been with us ever since I was seven years old."

We now come to a letter which recalls the feud which existed between the partisans of the Queen and the Prince Regent. The letter mentions the word apothecary, which has gone out of fashion in its old-world sense. The "Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget," by one of his sons, gives us an insight into what it meant at the time at which the Queen was writing. Sir James was himself apprenticed in payment of a hundred guineas to a surgeon and apothecary, or general practitioner. The regulations of the Society of Apothecaries demanded that this should be for five years. Dispensing, keeping accounts, minor surgery, making pills—all formed part of the daily routine of an embryo apothecary.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"SIR, I have received an application from Mr. Brande the Apothecary for leave to pass through the Park gate at the Stable yard St. James's in His Carriage when His Professional Duty inseparable from the office which He holds calls Him to the Queen's Palace. Tho' the Request is fair and just, I know Ld. Sidney *pour faire paraître de conséquence*, makes always difficulties, be so good as to tell Ld. Sidney therefore that I desire, He will allow Brande the same advantages (?) which with great difficulty we obtained for Our Servants, and if he refuses He may be informed that I shall speak to the Prince, who must then give Orders that all those who serve both within and without the Queen's House must be allowed to pass and repass without any further difficulty.

68 RECORDS OF STIRRING TIMES

I hope the H. of C. has behaved *comme il faut* last Night. I pity the Prince, who serves a Severe Apprenticeship, but have too high an opinion of the Nation, as to doubt their readiness to stand by the Prince, when His conduct and uprightness is Considered.

I hope to see You please God on Wednesday or Thursday in Town.

CHARLOTTE.

Windsor,
the 12th June, 1812."

This appears to be the moment to introduce a letter from Queen Charlotte to the Colonel's eldest daughter, afterwards the wife of her distinguished Secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor. The Queen was very fond of bestowing pretty gowns on her friends and favourites. This custom, being unknown to Miss Burney on first going to Court, roused her pride instead of her gratitude. The little touch about making up the gowns at home for fear of "mischief" refers to their having been embroidered in straw on fine net. A careless seamstress might have easily damaged the flowers and sprigs.

From QUEEN CHARLOTTE TO MISS DISBROWE.

"MY DEAR MISS DESBROW,—You will receive by the Bearer a Carton containing three Ball Dresses just Imported from abroad, of which I beg You will choose one for Yourself and give the others to Your Sisters with my compliments. The only thing I beg is that they may be made up at Home for fear of getting into Mischief.

I hope the Cold weather has not brought on Your old Cough, you deserve to be well by taking Care of Yourself. I wish You could make Yr Father as prudent as Yourself upon the Subject of His Health, for that is the only thing in which I do not approve of Him being too careless of His Life so precious to His Children.

CHARLOTTE.

WINDSOR,
the 26th Jany.
1813."

ADVICE FROM QUEEN CHARLOTTE 69

The Queen's anxiety regarding Miss Disbrowe's health does not appear to have been without reason. She was never a strong woman, though she accomplished much, and was a true helpmeet to her husband, Sir Herbert Taylor. Her daughter, a young lady of great promise, died of consumption in her twentieth year.

From THE QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"SIR,—I cannot possibly be Silent when I know the anxiety You labour under at this moment about the Health of an Amiable Daughter. At the Castle Everyone Feels most deeply Your Distress, and we do all most anxiously wish to hear that at Your meeting Your anxiety may be diminished by finding her tho' not well yet better than You expected.

I am informed that You intend to ask the advice of Sr. H. Halford, whose Character is too High in His Profession as to doubt His Skill; but I trust you will not be Offended, if by sad experience I venture to offer an advice, which I hope when well Considered You will not find unworthy Your Serious attention.

Some Years ago when Miss Desbrow was in a very weak State, She was attended by Sr. F. Millman. He has always been Yr. Consulting Physician, would it then not be better to have at once both of them to see Her, the latter as knowing the Constitution and the former as one who may strive about Something more Beneficial; the taking this Step at once I think will in Her weak State be less Alarming than the Calling in another at a later *Period*.

I beg You to be assured that no Partiality to the one, nor dislike to the other I have Named can induce me to offer my Advice, Nothing but the Interest I do take most Sincerely in the welfare of Your Family can lead me to such a Step, which I hope will plead my excuse.

CHARLOTTE.

WINDSOR,
the 27th Octr.
1813."

Allusion has been already made to the tie existing between the Right Honble. Frederic Robinson, afterwards Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon, and Colonel Disbrowe's wife, Lady Sarah Robinson being Lady Charlotte Disbrowe's niece.

The riots to which Her Majesty alludes were of a somewhat serious nature, not passing off without bloodshed. London remained in a disturbed state for some days. The reason of the pervading lawlessness was the Corn Bill, and the houses of various of its supposed supporters were attacked, notably those of Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Robinson, and the Lord Chancellor, and personal attacks were made on members of the House of Commons, who happened to be momentarily unpopular. The more general use of machinery had led to raids on the farm-houses in different parts of the country, whilst the fear that the prohibition of the importation of foreign wheat would raise bread to famine price was agitating the metropolis.

From QUEEN CHARLOTTE to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“SIR,

I am so truly shocked at all the bad doings in Town that I can not refuse my Impulse of Inquiring after poor Lady Sarah Robinson, whose present Situation I fear is likely to suffer from all these disturbances. Pray let Her know How truly I feel for both Him and Her, but more for Her, and I still flatter myself that He was prevented being witness to the mischief, and that She was at Her Father's, where I am sure all care would be taken of Her by a good and Amiable *Mother in law*. I will say no more, but desire my Compliments to Yr Daughters, I hope to hear Miss Desbrowe is well.

CHARLOTTE.

Windsor,
the 8th March,
1815.

Pray let us know what is going forward, for many Idle reports are about.”

THE GRESLEYS OF DRAKELOW 71

The name of Gresley, which occurs in the next letter, is one long connected with the counties of Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and very specially with the latter. The baronetcy stands sixth on the list, dating from the year 1611, but the name hails from the days of Norman William. Drakelow, in the lordship of Gresley, in Derbyshire, has belonged to the family for many centuries. The present owner and baronet is married to a sister of the Duke of Marlborough.

From the QUEEN to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“SIR,

I have just this moment received two most Beautiful Black Marble Vases, which I believe is the Present Mrs. Gresley of Staffordshire Intended for me. I am very anxious to return Her thanks for these beautiful Ornaments, and beg as an acquaintance of Yours that You will in the Civilest way convey them to Her. I am already occupied with making Drawings for Lights to put into them as they are indeed as if Made for my Black Japan room, where when they are fixed I shall not fail to Name the Donor.

I hope You are not worth (worse ?) for Your Parliamentary attendance on Monday which by the Papers lasted till near two in the Morning.

It is delightful in the Country, warm Showers at times make everything grow and give a great Prospect of plenty of Everything. I hope to hear that it also may recruit Your Health as well as the Health of Miss Desbrow.

CHARLOTTE.

Windsor,

the 10th May,

1815.”

From the QUEEN to the same.

“SIR,

Inclosed I send You a Letter from Miss Pawsey to Elyza, when you have read it, You will know what to do and then let the poor Young Woman know the Result of the application which I am sure will not be encouraging.

I cannot let this opportunity go by without Congratulating You upon the Safety of Your Son,¹ and hope You have received good accounts of Him. It is to be hoped there will not be much more Fighting. Oh! what a Melancholy List of Killed and Wounded. Tho' we were a little prepared for a Bloody Battle, as on all Sides they Fought for their all, yet is the list tremendous.

God Grant it may be the last. England is, thank God, crowned with Glory, and my Countrymen have also done their Duty, all this rejoices me, and if it Pleases Providence to restore us Peace besides the Plenty we have reason to expect this year, we have reason to be Happy, let us only not forget to be thankful and try to be all Harmony and Unity at Home.

Windsor.

the 4th July,

1815.

Compts to the Young ladies."

From the QUEEN to the same.

"SIR,

I have received Your Letter with the Inclosed of Prince Esterhazi² which You will give in anser.

That being obliged to go to Brighton on Monday I am sorry that I cannot fix an Earlier Day than the 11th of next Month which will be Munday Sennight and that I shall be happy to offer them a *Déjeuner Dinatoire* at Frogmore. This will give them Time to see the Castle and You will explain that since the Kg's Illness I receive no Strangers at the Castle.

I shall be glad to know before who is to be of their party, and at what Hour I shall expect them at Frogmore, that I may order the Dinner to be ready in Time.

¹ His second son George, who was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

² Paul Anthony Esterhazy, Austrian Minister to the Court of St. James.

I am sorry to hear that You have not been well and must Preach care and Prudence, pray always think of what Consequence Your Life is to yr children.

CHARLOTTE.

Windsor,
the 23rd Febr^y.,
1816.”

The following letter refers to the congratulations of the House “to the Queen, the Prince Regent, and Princess Elizabeth on the Princess’ marriage with the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg.”

From the QUEEN to the Same.

“SIR,

I hope to see You when I come to Town to Morrow to settle the Hour of receiving the Address from the House of Commons, *en attendant* You will inform yourself if I am to give an answer and by whom it is made as upon each occasions I have been always provided by some of the Ministers.

Windsor, the 14th of April,
1818.”

One bone of contention between the followers of the Regent and the upholders of the Queen, was what power the Queen was to have regarding the appointing and dismissing of members of the Royal Household, and from the first there were domestic troubles owing to the importation of a German retinue, jealousy of them on the English side, and indiscreet zeal, and homesickness on theirs. Mr. Fitzgerald makes special mention of “one Albert,” as he terms him, who desired to go home as a pensioner, or be placed under his Sovereign Lord of Mecklenburgh, or that his daughter should receive an appointment in the *entourage* of the English princesses. In view of all this, the lists of servants’ fees and Her Majesty’s wishes, regarding the appointment of Gentlemen Ushers, which we are able to supply from the

On the Appointment of Gentlemen Ushers.

“ Q. Lodge W.
April 15th, 1800.

Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint Charles Rooke, Esq^r, Sir Thomas Pechell, Bart, Gentlemen Ushers of Her Privy Chamber—

Charles Harwood,¹ and Thomas Gore, Esq^{rs}, Daily Waiters— John Gibbons, Esq, and Colonel Benson, quarterly waiters, but neither of these Gentlemen will receive Salaries or additional Salaries for either of these respective situations so long as Mr. Jenkinson and Mr. Smith are permitted to remain Privy Chambers and retain their Salaries, which Her Majesty is graciously pleased to permit them to do at present, and whereon either of those Gentlemen shall be removed by Her Majesty or shall die then the eldest of each rank will of course receive their respective Salaries.”

“WAITINGS OF THE GENTLEMEN USHERS. 1800.

	Gentlemen Ushers in Waiting on Her Majesty.	And in attendance on the Princesses.
	Privy Ch. Daily. Quarterly.	Privy Ch. Daily. Quarterly.
Jan. } Apr. } July } Oct. } Feb. } May } Aug. } Nov. } Mar. } June } Sept. } Dec. }	Fanquier. Vincent. Bisshopp.	Rooke. Harwood. Gibbons.
	Pechell. Gore. Benson.	Fanquier. Vincent. Bisshopp.
	Rooke. Harwood. Gibbons.	Pechell. Gore. Benson.
	<i>By Seniority.</i>	Daily. Quarterly.
	Jenkinson } Berkley Square	} Vincent. Bisshopp. } Hertford Place.
	Fanquier ... } Privy Chamber, Queen St.	
	Smith ... } Windsor	
	Rooke ... } Princes St., Cavendish Sq.	
	Pechell ...	Gore. Benson.”

Queen Charlotte has been looked upon as absolutely adamantine on the subject of etiquette, and no reader of

¹ Or Harward.

Madame d'Arblay can fail to smile at her description of the behaviour to be observed in the presence of the King and Queen. One was not to cough, though it might necessitate one's choking; one was not to sneeze though it resulted in the breaking of a blood vessel; one must not move hand or foot, though a black pin was making severe encroachments on the shrinking flesh. Colonel Disbrowe is able to furnish us with some notes on points of etiquette, as laid down by his Royal Mistress.

The first item from the Colonel's memoranda is of a curious and amusing nature, and relates to visits of condolence, and especially also of congratulations to countesses or ladies of yet higher rank on an increase in their families. One cannot help feeling sorry for the poor lady, forced to accept the honour of a Message of Form. Also it seems rather hard on the husband that he should be excluded from receiving the congratulations of the Royal messenger, whilst the Court footman is entertained in the steward's room, and the Court coachman regaled with caudle on his box. We have spared no trouble in seeking to obtain the recipe for such caudle as we could expect gentlemen ushers, and still more Royal lackeys and grooms, to condescend to sip. After much research we have been able to learn the following regarding the manufacture and dispensing thereof. The *Encyclopedia of Practical Cookery* contains several receipts, all giving oatmeal or other gruel as the chief ingredient, sweetened and enriched by spices and wines. Caudle was given to young mothers, and in different parts of the country many interesting customs obtained in regard to it. The best receipt, contributed by an old nurse, ran as follows: "Four lumps of sugar, the rind of a lemon, a thoroughly beaten egg, and a wineglass of Madeira or Port, well whisked together and added to three quarters of a pint of very hot oatmeal gruel and served at once." Another receipt substituted old ale for wine.

The friend to whom we are indebted for the foregoing tells us, that she has not been able to trace many details of the customs connected with the dispensing of caudle, but that she knows that it was made on the birth of a child by the

professional nurse, and that visitors were regaled with a cup of the potion, which often contained mead and divers liqueurs. Our friend's own mother remembered this custom, and that an obligatory *douceur* of five or ten shillings was given to the nurse. Whether the sum represented the value of the baby or the quality of the refreshment, our informant does not say. She concludes by remarking that caudle had died out before her day, and that old silver caudle cups had no feet. The subject recalls a story told by an anonymous writer in the year of grace 1820, who had much to say regarding George III. and his family. His anecdotes include an amusing one on the subject of cake and caudle, dispensed to the King's loyal people, who came to pay their respects to His Majesty on the Sunday following the birth of his fifth daughter, the Princess Sophia. Those familiar with the habits of the old King will remember how he and the Queen and Princesses would disport themselves on the terrace at Windsor, and chat freely with the bystanders. A similar absence of ceremony seems to have existed at the rejoicings at the birth of the baby Princess. Two young ladies, says the old chronicler, having partaken freely of caudle, ran off with a goodly slice of the royal cake and two caudle cups. They were brought back in disgrace and only forgiven after having been soundly rated and made to beg pardon on their knees. Subjoined are :

“*Directions* relative to a Message of Form.”

“When Audiences are had for foreign Ministers, the Maids of Honour and Pages of Backstairs attend.”

“Every Duchess, Marchioness and Countess not only of Great Brittain, but also of Ireland are entitled to a message from the Queen on their Lying Inn or on the death of any relative for whose loss they put on black gloves; if any Peeress of the above mentioned rank (unless she is such in her own right) marries a commoner or a Peer of inferior degree, she loses her pretensions to the Royal Message. Her Majesty's Ladies of the Bedchamber are entitled to the message by their Office.

In case the Lady (in a situation to be sent to) sh^d not be in Town, Her Majesty sends no message. The stated times for going with the message are, on the Death of a Husband at the end of six weeks, in that of any other relation as soon as the Funeral is over, and on Lying in at the expiration of *three weeks*."

"The Ceremony.

The Day preceding the time appointed by Her Majesty's Ld. Chamb^{ln} for the message, a gent^{mn} usher to whom the office of carrying it belongs, is to write a note to the Lady and seal it, signifying his wish to know at what hour on the evening of the next Day, she will be ready to receive a message from Her Majesty, at the time fixed he is to go on Her Majesty's leading coach attended by one of Her Majesty's Footmen, at the Door of the House He is to be met by a Gent^{mn} out of Livery, to be lighted up stairs by Him to the Lady's apartment, where a Chair is to be ready placed for him at the head of the room, on which He is to sit down immediately, claiming a right to do so without being asked, and to deliver Her Majesty's message to the following purpose.

'I am commanded by the Queen to wait on your¹ . . . with her compts of congratulation, or *Condolence*, and if Her Majesty knew what time would be agreeable she wd come to see you on this occasion.'

If any circumstance sh^d arise that may render the wording of this message improper, it must be altered according to the discretion of the person who carried it.

The Lady Lying inn having delivered her awnser the nurse is to present cake and caudle ; on other occasions Tea only is offered. The length of the visit is discretionary, and upon going away Her Majesty's Gent Usher is to be lighted to the Door of the House, in the same manner as when entering.

Mem : The Lady Should receive the Message alone, or at least with only one or two female companions as company, the

¹ Grace or ladyship.

Master of the House not appearing, (if at all) not till after Messages are exchange'd.

Their Majesties Footman is to be shewn into the Steward's room, entertained with cake and caudle or wine, and the like refreshment to be carried to the coachman.

Any Peeress not having been presented to their Majesties, or having omitted coming to Court for a whole twelve months, is not entitled to a message."

We now come to two memoranda, the first in English, the next in French, relative to receiving foreign ladies of distinction, the one the Ambassadors from the Russian Court, the other the fascinating sister of the Emperor Alexander I.

Although there is no date attached to the letter to the Princess of Oldenburg, we can fix the time as being that of the visit of the Allies to England in 1814, and therefore give priority to the memorandum concerning the Ambassadors' reception.

"Memorandum of Countess de Czernichew's audience of the King and Queen in 1768.

The Russian Ambassador Count de Czernichew having previously obtained his private audiences of the King and Queen; the Ambassadors, on the day and at the hour appointed, attended by a Peeress of the rank of Countess and handed by the Master of the Ceremonies, arrived at the Queen's private apartment at St. James's.

When the Queen was ready the door of the anteroom was opened, and the Ambassadors, followed by the Countess, was handed by the Master of the Ceremonies up to her Majesty. Her Majesty saluted the Ambassadors and entered into conversation with Her.

In a little time the communication from the King's Closet was opened, when His Majesty entering the Queen's Apartment came up to the Ambassadors and saluted Her. His Majesty was attended by his Great Officers,

After some conversation and a signification from the King

or the Queen, that the Audience was ended, the Ambassadress withdrew, the Master of the Ceremonies again offering Her his hand and the Countess attending Her as before ; the Master of the Ceremonies then led Her into the drawing room where She paid her compliments to the King and Queen in the Circle.”

If ever Queen Charlotte was guilty of language made to conceal thought, it is probable that it was in dictating the following note. Grand Duchess Catharine was a charming young widow, who won many hearts. Lady Burghers speaks of her with keen appreciation in her letters. But the Grand Duchess, on arriving in England, became hand and glove with the Regent's friends, which was no recommendation for the Queen's House.

“Madame, Sa Majesté la Reine me charge d'assurer Votre Altesse Impériale de la joye qu'elle ressent, Madame, de votre honorée arrivée, et Combien Sa Majesté désire d'être informée que la santé de votre Altesse Impériale et celle du Prince *son fils*, n'auront point souffert des incommodités du Voyage.

Sa Majesté regrette infiniment, Madame, que l'affligeant État de la Santé du Roi ayant fixé sa demeure constant à Windsor, l'empêchera de profiter autant que Sa Majesté le desireroit de la Société de votre Altesse Impériale pendant son séjour en ce pays. Mais Sa Majesté n'aura rien de plus impressé que de se procurer la satisfaction de faire la connoissance personnelle de Votre Altesse Impériale. Et à cette fin Sa Majesté est dans l'intention de se rendre à Londres au premier jour ; et elle aura soin, Madame, de prévenir Votre Altesse de Son arrivé.”

“M. Desbrowe, Vice Chambellan de la Reine, a l'honneur de présenter ses respects à Madame la Princesse Volkonsky, et de la supplier de lui faire savoir quand il pourra avoir l'honneur de se rendre auprès de Son Altesse Impériale Madame la Grande Duchesse Catherine, Princesse de Holstein-Oldenburg à fin de s'acquitter d'une commission dont il se trouve chargé pour son Altesse Impériale de la part de sa Majesté la Reine.”

The story—or should it be the unsolved mystery—of Queen Caroline has been dwelt on from every point of view. It was talked and talked of again in its day, till a lampoon of the period echoed many people's sentiments, which said,

“ Oh Gracious Queen we thee implore,
To go away, and sin no more,
But if that effort be too great,
To go away at any rate.”

To others it was the history of a deeply injured woman, who might be imprudent and perhaps vulgar, but was undoubtedly virtuous, and though the fact that she entered the plague-stricken hospitals in the East, and ministered to the sufferers, does not of itself prove her moral innocence, as some writers would seem to wish us to believe, those who like to seek for good in their fellow-creatures rejoice in recalling the trait. To me, whilst fully recognising her difficulties, her father-in-law's is the truest view, as embodied in a message he sent to her, quoted by Romilly, to the effect that he “exonerated her from direct immorality, but that from the evidence of the witnesses, and her own letters, there was proof of a deportment unbecoming her station, which he saw with serious concern.” He might have added that the evidence had been sifted by the most conscientious lawyer and high-minded public man of the day. I have in my possession a book published in 1838 and 1839, which was the cause of much controversy in its time, and most severely handled in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1838, by Lord Brougham in the article, which called forth the indignation, as already stated, of Sir Herbert Taylor. The book to which I refer is the “Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth, interspersed with Original Letters from the late Queen Caroline, the Princess Charlotte, and from various other distinguished Persons.” The first two volumes were printed by E. Fourmestreaux and Co., the third and fourth by A. and W. Galignani, and edited by John Galt. The firm's London edition was published by Colburn, and a subsequent one was edited by Mr. Alexander Henry Wylie, and created much interest amongst the reading public. The Diary was written by Lady Charlotte Bury, *née* Campbell, whose mother was

one of the beautiful Gunnings, and twice a duchess. Lady Charlotte inherited her mother's exquisite loveliness, and was appointed, when a widow, to the Princess of Wales's household. In view of much else that had been written of Georgian days, it is hard to recognise why Lady Charlotte, a writer of considerable repute in her day, should have been so much condemned for allowing her diary to see the light. As a literary production it is rambling and wordy, its language is often exaggerated, and lacks terseness. The fiction of it being written by a man is idle, and not sustained for a moment. The most cursory glance proves it the work of a woman, who has not learnt the arts of pruning and leaving out. On the other hand it is a faithful chronicle of the times with which it deals, when coarseness of manners and conversation were in vogue. Keeping this circumstance in view, Lady Charlotte would not appear to desire in any way to blacken the character of the Princess of Wales, but simply to paint her as she really was. The Diary contains a portion of a letter from the Princess, which had attracted Miss Disbrowe's attention in the edition edited by Mr. Wylie. It concerns the line the Queen felt compelled to adopt regarding keeping her little grand-daughter away from her mother, and runs as follows: "Lady Anne¹ and I, began by receiving an Ambassador, the second day after she had been installed into all the secrecy of a nunnery. He was sent by her gracious Majesty, in short it was the Vice-Chamberlain Colonel Desbrowe, his object being to stop my going to Windsor and convey a refusal to my request of having my daughter to come to see me last Saturday.

I was just sitting in Lady Anne's room opposite to the sofa on which she was placed, when he was announced; she had never heard of his name, and supposed he was a fashionable beau. She behaved like Joan of Arc in the whole of this business, was immovable, not a muscle of her face altered at the eloquent speech of this Knight-errant. I desired him to write it down on paper, and refresh my memory now and then with it, but he refused. Lady Anne then took her pen, and in the presence of this Ambassador, she conveyed his

¹ Lady Anne Hamilton.

message to paper, which he read himself before he left the room and took his departure.

I think this scene will make a pretty figure in the 'Morning Chronicle' or in the 'Examiner,' but that I leave to more abler pens than mine."

Miss Disbrowe wrote to me as follows in regard to this extract: "I exchanged letters and extracts with Mr. Wylie, because after reading the book he had edited, I felt convinced that the following letter from my grandfather's collection, which I believe to have been written in 1811, related to the same occurrence, and followed on the one from which the extract was taken.

'The Queen has this moment received the Princess of Wales's letter with the request that Lady De Clifford¹ might be ordered to accompany Charlotte to Augusta Lodge. Her Majesty feels Herself obliged to repeat the Message She sent about a Fortnight ago thro' Mr. Desbrow, that She could not alter any arrangement the King had made about His daughter with Lady Clifford, from which She *cannot release her*, nor can the Queen admit any Body into any of the Houses *here* under the Present melancholy Circumstances.

'The Queen regrets to be obliged a second time not to decide in the manner that the Princess would wish, and She trusts that She never will be put by the Princess into so disagreeable a situation again.'

Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales, to whom the above refers, the only child of the Regent by Caroline of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, was born January 7th, 1796, and married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg on May the 2nd, 1816. It will be remembered how her death, on November 5th, 1817, caused universal mourning, and how the naturally keen disappointment felt at her demise caused the ugliest rumour to be spread abroad regarding the cause of her death, in which neither her father nor her grandmother were held guiltless. Folly could go no further.

The last years of the Queen's life were years of struggle against bodily infirmity, yet still we find the same thoughtfulness and sympathy for others, as the next letter dated

¹ The Princess's Governess.

some sixteen months before her death proves once again, and therefore I have kept it for the close of this chapter, referring to the "Good Queen Charlotte." It was written on the decease of the widow of Lord Uxbridge, colonel of the Stafford militia, who had died in 1812.

From QUEEN CHARLOTTE to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"SIR,

Finding that the Dowager Lady Uxbridge Dyed last week, and knowing that Her Daughters feel much upon this Occasion, I desire you will take an opportunity through the means of Lds. Galloway, Greaves, and Sir James Erskin, to assure them that I most truly share their grief, and that I always shall regret a most sincere Friend in their Mother, whose unceasing Attention to myself and Family, I shall always remember with Pleasure.

CHARLOTTE.

WINDSOR,

March 14th,
1817.

Pray say also everything kind to Mrs. Barclay Padget, what a loss Ldy Uxbridge must be to Her, indeed Her only support."

CHAPTER V

LETTERS FROM THE ROYAL FAMILY

THE letters contained in this chapter are from some of the younger sons and daughters of George III. Colonel Disbrowe and his family, as has been already mentioned, in the case of his daughter, who resided at Kensington Palace, kept up a considerable correspondence and close acquaintanceship with these princes and princesses. In regard to his son, Sir Edward Disbrowe, and to the latter's wife,¹ this was specially true in respect of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Landgravine of Hesse Homburg. I am indebted to Miss Disbrowe for the following details :

“The Duchess of Gloucester was the one of George III.'s children of whom we saw most. I remember dining with her and spending several evenings with her both before and during my father's lifetime, and afterwards. The latter we did more often, after his death. We were expected to bring our work with us, but this was on no account to be wool work, lest the fluff should make her cough.

Once, she gave us an account of her first journey by train. I think it was to Portsmouth en route for Osborne. She travelled in her own carriage placed upon a truck, as was the fashion in those days, with her maid of honour and gentleman in waiting in attendance on Her Royal Highness. She had told the latter, that she dreaded the dark and could not breathe in it, and he must provide a light for the tunnels. This he forgot to do, and the whole time that they were in

¹ Anne, daughter of the Honourable Robert Kennedy, son of the eleventh Earl of Cassillis and brother of the first Marquis of Ailsa.

the tunnel, he continued to light one match after the other. I cannot remember who he was. Lady Caroline Legge was her lady in waiting.¹

My Father and Mother and I, (though I was not yet grown up) went to meet the Duchess at Utrecht, when she was on her way back to England from Hanover, where she had been visiting her brother the Duke of Cambridge, who was Regent of that country. That was before the days of railroads. The Duke had sent his A.D.C., Colonel Stevens to escort her. We were staying at an hotel at Utrecht on the morning before she started on her journey to England. H.R.H. had three ferries to cross between Rotterdam and Antwerp. A steamer conveyed her across the Mondyke, but the other ferries had to be crossed in sailing boats. That was also how we travelled on first going to the Hague. I cannot imagine where the Duchess could have slept, yet it must have been a long journey from Utrecht to Rotterdam, and I remember she could not be persuaded to leave as early as Colonel Stevens considered would have been wise.

The Duchess was married to her cousin the Duke of Gloucester in 1816. Report said that he had been 'thought of for Princess Charlotte of Wales.'

The Duke of Cambridge came often to St. Katharine's² to see my aunt Lady Taylor. He would come in without ceremony and surprise her in the garden.

Whenever we returned to England from the Continent, we were received in audience by the Duchess of Cambridge. On one occasion she said, 'Do tell me about Princess Sophia—of the Netherlands—I have often thought of her for George.' If my memory does not deceive me, her son had already taken his own line at that date, and had contracted a morganatic marriage.

Princess Augusta was next in age to the Queen of Wurtemberg. She was always very friendly to us. I remember her

¹ Lady Georgiana Caroline, daughter of the third Earl of Dartmouth. She died unmarried in 1886, at the ripe age of ninety.

² The story of that interesting institution is given in *Old Days in Diplomacy*. Sir Herbert became Master of St. Katharine's in 1818, succeeding his father-in-law, Colonel Disbrowe, in this appointment, as he had previously succeeded him as member for Windsor.



H.R.H.
THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER

as an invalid. It was probably only late in her life that I saw her. She was short and stout, and had only one eye. It was said that Queen Victoria was very fond of her, and consulted her constantly on many points. She lived at Clarence House, St. James's, and on her death the Duchess of Kent was her successor. I think, most of King George III's daughters, as well as the old Duke of Cambridge, were buried at Kensal Green. I well remember Lady Charles Somerset describing Princess Sophia's funeral, and the length, cold, and wretchedness of the drive from Kensington with all the blinds of the carriage let down.

Gossips sought in vain for hereditary insanity in this large family. None of George III.'s fifteen children were mad, but many had indifferent sight. Princess Sophia was quite blind, the Duke of Sussex nearly so. Like his sister Augusta, the Duke of Cumberland, first King of Hanover, had only the use of one eye. The second King of Hanover,¹ George the Fifth, was quite blind, though it must be added that in his case the total loss of sight was due to accident. When a lad he was once tossing a heavy purse in the air, which in falling damaged one of his eyes irreparably, the sight of the other had been lost in early childhood.

Taking the correspondence between the King's sons and Colonel Disbrowe in order of seniority, we begin with four letters from the Duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III., and father of Queen Victoria. He was born on November the 2nd, 1767, and it was not till the death of his niece, Princess Charlotte of Wales, in 1818, that he bethought himself of the necessity of taking steps to secure the succession, by doing as others of his brothers were doing in haste, that is, looking out for a wife. The allowances which these Royal marriages entailed on the resources of the nation were a matter of much heart-burning. The Duke of Kent was at Brussels at the time of the Belgian campaign, and contemporary chroniclers did not bear flattering witness to his personal appearance at that date. Yet, when three years later he hurried off to

¹ Born in 1819. He married Princess Marie of Saxe-Altenburg, and lost his kingdom in the Austro-Prussian War.—M. M. C.

Southern Germany and carried off the widowed Princess of Leiningen¹ from the castle on the Neckar, tradition hath it that the handsome Princess Amelia of Baden would have gladly accepted him, had he not preferred the younger woman.

His letters are in reference to some of the men of the regiment of militia so dear to Colonel Disbrowe's heart, and throw light on the manner in which they were given civil employment at that period. It will be noticed that he took a personal interest in their welfare, and the dates of his letters prove that this was not ephemeral.

" KENSINGTON PALACE,
January 11th, 1806.

DEAR DISBRO'—

The season no longer admitting of the men, you were so good as to lend me from the King's own Stafford Regiment, working upon the removal of ground for which I principally wanted their assistance, I have directed the Sergeant to take them back to the quarters of their respective Companies, leaving only *one* man at Castle Hill Lodge, whose name I *think* is Mumford, and who, being perfectly master of all the waterworks along the buildings, which are extremely extensive, is become so useful to me, that I could not spare him without the greatest inconvenience. I hope, therefore, you will approve of his remaining with me, and you may depend in return, upon his being kept regular and taken into the house. I presume you will only require his appearance at Musters, which if *you* will be so good as to arrange it, he may always attend with the company at Kew. On the first Monday in March, unless there should be, at the time, a very great flood, or a very hard frost, neither of which are extremely probable, you will oblige me by permitting the party to return, and as their conduct has been most exemplary and they are now perfectly conversant in the sort of work I want of them, it would be a particular obligation I should owe to you, if you would allow the identical men to return,

¹ This marriage was negotiated by Sir Brook Taylor, a diplomatist, and brother of Sir Herbert.

and particularly the Sergeant, who is by far the most respectable man in his situation I ever met with, and merits every encomium I can give him.

With sentiments of the most friendly regard and of the highest esteem, I remain,

Dear Desbrow'

Ever Yours,

Most faithfully,

EDWARD."

"Lieut.-Coll. Desbro'."

The following letter from the Duke of Kent is addressed to "Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe, Commanding the King's own Stafford Regiment of Militia,

Windsor,

Berks."

"Kensington Palace,

June 26th, 1806."

"DEAR DISBROWE,

I just take up my pen to convey to you my best acknowledgments for Your kind answer to mine of yesterday, which I have this moment received, and for the early attention you have paid to the request it contained in promising that the party of the Stafford Regiment shall return to Castle Hill Lodge after to-morrow's Review. You have judged perfectly right in not disturbing the painter, whom you had lent to our good friend Fremantle, whose improvements at Englefield Green I should have been miserable to have interrupted. If you can find another and will send him it will be very acceptable, otherwise I will thank you to send the one now employed at Fremantle's house, when he is no longer wanted there.

I am much obliged to you for your report of Mary and Amelia's¹ health, to both of whom as well as the Duke of Cambridge, I beg you to give my kindest love, and now with best regards to Lady Albinia,² and the assurance of my

¹ The Duke's sisters.

² Colonel Disbrowe's sister-in-law, Lady Albinia Cumberland.

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sincere friendship and esteem for yourself shall conclude by
subscribing myself,

Dear Desbrowe,

Ever Yours,

Most faithfully,

“Lieut.-Coll. Desberowe.”

EDWARD.”

From the Duke of Kent to the same.

“Castle Hill Lodge,
October 31st, 1806.”

“DEAR DISBROWE,

Accept my kindest acknowledgments for your note of Tuesday (which I got yesterday, but too late to be able to answer it by return of Post) as well as for your offer of Deeley for the Royal of which I accept with grateful thanks. I have in consequence written this day to Lieut.-Coll. Buller directing him to send a Non-Commissioned Officer of my 4th Battalion over from Horsham to Windsor to receive him, and I expect he will be there either on Sunday or on Monday. I am delighted to hear that, as far as regards yourself you are going on so well with your election, and sincerely hope that your apprehension for the success of your friend Vansittart may by this be removed. As, at such a moment it would be unreasonable to take up your time unnecessarily, I shall only add that, in the number of your well wishers and friends I hope you will *set me* down as one of the warmest and most sincere, being with friendly regard and high esteem ever,

Dear Disbrowe,

Yours,

Most faithfully,

“Lieut.-Coll. Disbrowe.”

EDWARD.”

From the Duke of Kent to the same.

“Kensington Palace,
Janry. 20th, 1812.”

“MY DEAR DISBRO’,

The accompanying Petition from Corporal Rich^d Welsh of the King’s own Stafford Regiment, which I have just

received, is the occasion of my addressing you to-day, I will not therefore take up your time unnecessarily by a further explanation of that, but at once proceed to the subject of my solicitation, which is simply this, that if it lays in your power you would kindly assent to the poor fellow's request, in whose welfare I cannot help feeling much interested from the uniform exemplary and steady conduct he has observed during the very long period which he has, thanks to your indulgence, passed with me. I cannot deny that he will be a very great loss to my garden in which he was a most indefatigable, trusty labourer, but I feel it incumbent upon me not to sacrifice what he considers will make his comfort and happiness to my benefit or convenience, and as such shall be really grateful to you if the thing can with propriety be done for him. I am happy in this opportunity of repeating those sentiments of friendship and esteem with which I ever am, my dear Disbrowe,

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD."

"Lt.-Col. Disbrowe."

Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., born 5th of June, 1771, became King of Hanover on June 20th, 1837, and died on the 18th of November, 1851. His letters, of which the following are specimens, are of a much more genial and hearty nature than one might expect from the least popular of George III.'s sons. He does not take his sister Elizabeth's view, as will be seen from her letters, regarding the effect of hunting on their father's health.

From the Duke of Cumberland to Colonel Disbrowe.

"ST. JAMES',
Oct^r., 1800."

"DEAR DISBROWE,

Many thanks for your very obliging Letter, which gave us such good Tidings, for really I am so accustomed to live with *Papa*, *Mama*, and Sisters that I feel like a fish out of Water. I think you will not be the least rejoiced of the Set

returning from a barren Court to a devilish comfortable House, where your family is, and I know no man more calculated to feel those Pleasures than Yourself. My best Compliments to all the *bottom of the table*. Compts. to Males but Love to females. Yours sincerely,

“ERNEST.”

From the SAME to the SAME.

“WINDSOR CASTLE,
Janry. 6th, 1801.”

“DEAR DESBOROUGH,

Allow a man, who professes for You the firmest friendship to enquire after your Health, which I hope from the Waters of Bath has received great Benefits and at the same time should You intend to come to Town for the Birthday, let me repeat my offer of a Room in my Apartments, if so only let me know when You mean to be in Town, that I may get your Bed well aired. Thank God I never saw the King in higher form than now, his hunting seems to agree most perfectly with him, but since Yesterday we have been in great dismay at the Loss of one of our oldest friends, poor Phil¹ Goldsworthy whom we looked upon as a friend-father, certainly the King has lost a most truly attached friend and Servant.

Pray let me hear from You and believe me ever dear Desborough,

Yours very sincerely,

ERNEST.”

To judge George III.'s sons fairly, we must judge them by the standard of their day. Mr. Littleton, the member for Staffordshire and a strong member of the opposition, stated, as his opinion, in the House of Commons, that the more people knew the Duke of Cumberland the more they would esteem him. Whatever his faults, the Duke had certainly one pleasant trait in common with his brothers and sisters, he showed great kindness and much family affection

¹ Colonel Goldsworthy, long one of the equerries at Windsor and constantly mentioned by Madame d'Arblay.

in private life. That he had a deep regard for his eldest brother King George IV. was evinced not only by his grief at the latter's demise, but by the fact that he spent some two hours in the vault in St. George's Chapel after the King's interment, superintending the final arrangements. This may surely be taken as a strong test of fraternal affection. Much has been made by certain writers of the fact that in 1831 the mob attempted to pull the Duke off his horse. Those who lay much stress on this fail to realise how greatly popular hatred was roused in these disturbed times, before the Reform Bill, against any persons of note who were opposed to the changes that were to be introduced into Parliamentary representation. Leading statesmen and ladies were surrounded in their carriages and pelted with stones.

The impeachment of Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, in 1806, for malversation of public funds in connection with the Admiralty, is matter of history. Probably, as in many other cases, Lord Melville was the victim of sudden official zeal for reform, and made a scapegoat for conduct which found its justification in long established usage. He was Treasurer of the Navy, and was held accountable for his stewardship in this, as some authorities have it, at the instigation of Pitt, to cover his own misdoings. At home, opinions were much divided regarding Lord Melville's guilt; abroad, popular opinion, voiced by Count Nesselrode, condemned him. Lord Fitzharris believed that Pitt grieved over his fall, Lord Aberdeen looked on him as a sorely injured man, the victim of party hatred. He was deprived of his Privy Councillorship, tried at Westminster Hall by his peers, and acquitted after an exhaustive trial, on the 12th of June, 1806. On May the 10th, Sir Samuel Romilly, appointed to sum up the evidence against him, made a speech lasting three hours and twenty minutes. The evidence had taken eight days to receive. Miss Disbrowe's collection contains a ticket of admission to the trial, signed by Peter, Lord Gwydyr, Deputy Great Chamberlain, and countersigned by the Earl of Dartmouth, lord in waiting, accompanied by a letter from Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., from whom the ticket emanated.

From the DUKE OF SUSSEX to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“MY DEAR DESBOROUGH,

I send you two tickets for our Box, when you have done with them, You will be so good as to send them back, as they are in use for the whole time of the Trial, believe me Ever most sincerely yours,

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.”

“Monday Afternoon.”

Prince Adolphus Frederick Duke of Cambridge, seventh son of King George III., was born on the 24th of February, 1774, and died on the 8th of July, 1850. He married Princess Wilhelmina Louisa, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. This prince was evidently one of those practical people, who do not write unless they want something done for them. He reminds one of the type of young man, who at the present day, never writes but telegraphs. Notwithstanding this, Prince Adolphus was a great favourite with the Disbrowe family, and their friendship was lifelong.

“BERKELEY SQUARE, Monday.”

“MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I have been desired by Augusta to send You the enclosed Ten Pound note, and to request You will pay the Sword Cutler’s Bill for the Sword, she gave George.

I have at the same time enclosed my subscription for poor Mrs. Vallencie, which I am shocked to say I forgot to give you before.

Believe me dear Disbrowe,

Yours very sincerely,

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.”

From the DUKE to the SAME.

“Tuesday morning.”

“MY DEAR DISBROWE,

having only a Post Chaise here, I take the liberty of asking you to lend me your carriage in order that Count Münster¹ may be of the party.

Yours very sincerely,

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.”

¹ Hereditary Marshal of Hanover, Minister of State, Grand Cross of the Order of the Guelphs, and Chancellor of the Order.

The abrupt letters of the Duke form a great contrast to most of those written by his sisters. Whether they are conveyed in the flowing writing of the Landgravine of Hesse Homburg, or the spread out illegible characters of the Duchess of Gloucester, or the deceptively clear looking, neat writing of Princess Sophia, which is perhaps hardest of all to decipher; or whether one turns with relief to the neat penmanship of Princess Augusta, which is easier to read than it appears to be at first, one finds a sweet graciousness and self-forgetfulness, with a genuine solicitude for the health and desires of the friend, addressed by the princesses. The letters we are able to publish from the King's second daughter, Augusta Sophia, are not long, but they look altogether on the things of others, and not on the writer's own.

We notice with her, as with other royal correspondents of the fair sex, that she has been essaying to get a Cadetship for a *protégé*, an object as difficult to obtain as an archbishopric, so one much persecuted public man averred. In this particular case, Colonel Disbrowe appears individually interested in the matter, but it was by no means always so.

Princess Augusta Sophia, second daughter of George III., was born on November the 8th, 1768, and died on September 22nd, 1840. She was remarkable for her kindness and good sense. Her later years were spent at Frogmore, where she delighted in her garden, which she beautified, also taking considerable interest in the home farm. She suffered much, specially from gout, in her declining years. Her letters breathe the same kindly, friendly spirit, combined with thought for others, that is generally noticeable in the correspondence of the children of George III.; and makes them form pleasant reading, though they are of no special importance.

From PRINCESS AUGUSTA SOPHIA to MAJOR DISBROWE.

“SIR,

I have this moment received a Letter from Lady Chatham to desire that I will procure the Certificate of Edward Sabine's *Age and Birth*, as it is necessary to be *produced* when He is named a *Cadet*—which Lord Chatham is so good as so say will be very soon, as He is now the proper Age. I trouble

You with this, that no time may be lost and may I beg when you get it you will send it directly to Lord Chatham, and believe how sincerely happy I am in having succeeded in forwarding the appointment of this boy, as His being one in whom You are so much interested.

AUGUSTA."

"June 29th, 1802."

From PRINCESS AUGUSTA to the SAME.

This note bears no date.

"SIR,

I have received the Queen's Commands to send you a *Weymouth Trifle*, which She hopes you and your Dear Children will make *use of for Her sake*, and *I hope* you will *take care of yourself*—for *all our sakes*, not forgetting

Your friend

AUGUSTA."

Weymouth was the playground of the Royal Family, where the strict etiquette of Windsor was relaxed, and where boating and expeditions on the sands were enjoyed in happy freedom. It was there that Princess Elizabeth won the hearts of all the jolly tars, on board the "Southampton," by her smiles and her graciousness when she visited them in their dinner hour.

The next note from Princess Augusta is addressed to the above as "E. Disbrowe, M.P." The Colonel was looked upon as the member representing the Court interests in the House of Commons.

"MY DEAR SIR,

I have the Queen's Permission to ask You to recommend Mr. George Gasthorn to Monsieur de Fajet, the Ambassador from the King of the Netherlands to give him letters to *Amsterdam* where he is going to attend some of the Medical Lectures and Experiments, to walk the Hospitals there. He is to proceed to other places for any possible information in

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the Surgical Line. He is an Extra Surgeon to the Prince Regent's Household, and a very deserving young man. Mr. George Gasthorn will quit London on Monday next.

Your very sincere friend,

AUGUSTA.

My hand is weak
You must excuse my
writing so badly."

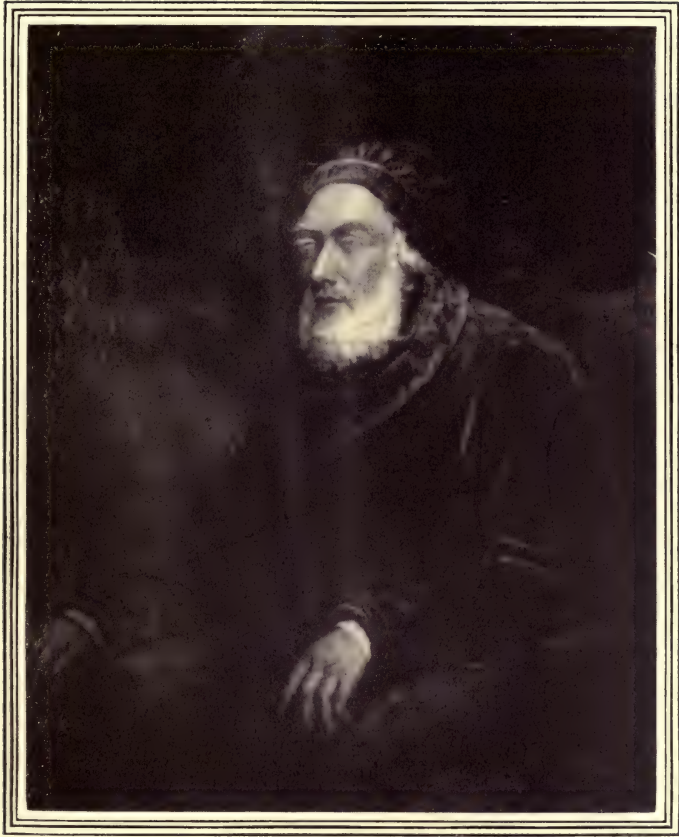
Princess Elizabeth, third daughter of King George III., was born on the 22nd of May, 1770, and married on the 7th of April, 1818, to Frederick Joseph Louis, Landgrave of Hesse Homburg, who died in April, 1825. The Landgravine passed away on the 10th of January, 1840. The foregoing dates show that this amiable Princess was forty-eight years of age, before she entered the wedded state, to which she frankly owned in her letters to Colonel Disbrowe, that she desired to attain. Full of warm affection and of a bright, sociable disposition, she could not find the scope she sought amidst the restraints of her mother's court. She was credited with a desire to get married, and with a penchant for Louis Philippe. Her husband turned out to be what may be termed a right good fellow, even as he was a brave soldier, who had played his part in all the chief battles against Napoleon. His courting days cannot have been pleasant to him, as he was made the butt of many cheap witticisms, because he was a German, and because his ways were not the ways of Windsor. His five pipes a day were severely censured; it would be interesting to know what is the maximum of pipes smoked by present day Englishmen.

It was thought clever to call the Princess "Bessie Humbug," because of the name borne by the well-known capital of her husband's country. Those who enjoyed her friendship or even her genial acquaintanceship could testify to the singular inappropriateness of the soubriquet. Both Colonel Disbrowe and his eldest son corresponded freely with Princess Elizabeth, and in addition to the letters now given, we have others in our possession addressed to Sir Edward Disbrowe at a much later date, as also letters from her sisters, the Duchess of

Gloucester, and the Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg, Princess Royal of England.

The somewhat voluminous missives of Princess Elizabeth to Colonel Disbrowe show her as a woman of strong feeling. She had a warm, susceptible heart, quick affections, and a large-hearted charity. It was not till I had given considerable study to the character of this kindly princess, that I became aware of the existence of Miss Swinburne's charming *Letters of Princess Elizabeth of England*,¹ so sympathetically edited by her great-nephew, Mr. Philip Yorke. I concur heartily in the opinion formed of her by these writers, an opinion at which I had already arrived on my own account. The Princess, though a keen observer, had the happy gift of discovering good in everybody. Sometimes this amiable trait appears carried to excess. It is known that her Royal Highness had a strong predilection for her brother, the Prince Regent; a love which was continued throughout his life. It seems, however, strange to find her writing of him to Sir William Knighton as a "dear Angel! at peace." A sister's love is blind to much. The Prince Regent might have been a very different man with a different up-bringing. Sensitive and easily led, very impressionable and very accessible to good influences, as is proved by his strong attachment to Mrs. Fitzherbert, his father's repressive system of education succeeded in crushing much that was good in him, and in rousing, if not creating, much that was evil. In George IV. one sees how a character with great possibilities for good, but easily warped and disheartened, can suffer and deteriorate by being domineered over by an individual of colder disposition and contracted mind, and a consequent obstinacy, which the superficial observer terms consistency. The genial bonhomie of George III. was conspicuous by its absence in the spurious Spartanism of his training of his eldest son, whom he appears to have loved as little as his predecessors loved their immediate heirs. George IV. began life with a quarrel with fate; had this not been so, the country might have been saved the

¹ Most of the letters by the Princess in the volume above mentioned are there stated to have been "published elsewhere." The letters now before us are not of that number.



GEORGE III
1760-1820

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example of licentiousness and profligacy of his reign, and the legacy of evil which it left to future generations, whilst literature, music, and the fine arts, in a word the love of knowledge, might have received an impetus which would have been a goodly heritage unto this day. The youthful Prince of Wales was drawn to all that was beautiful in art and nature, but he was misunderstood and thwarted. George III.'s educational system had made the liar and the coward, whom the bluff old King despised, and that was the pity of it. His son's character was not of the quality that could be braced by freezing, but only strengthened by the warmth of sympathy. And yet one pities Farmer George. If he could nerve himself to have his best beloved and delicate little daughter Amelia replaced on her pony after a severe fall, forcing her to continue a long ride to learn not to seem afraid, it was evident that he was sincere, though mistaken. Truly has it been said that justice and charity are outraged when despots visit on their victims, the failings which their oppressions have burnt into their characters, and affect disgust and reprobation of what is their own handiwork. This is true even of benevolent despots, though with them stupidity has proved worse than the sin. That man was no mean observer who prayed "from crassness of ignorance, from the thraldom of limitations, and from all pig-headedness, *especially in our nearest and dearest*, Good Lord, deliver us."

The Princess lived to enjoy a green old age, although she was far from strong in her youth. One cannot, however, deny her the blessings of a good constitution, when one reads such items in Mrs. Delaney's Diary as that, "Princess Elizabeth" was "very ill with an inflammation on her lungs on Dec. 1st," and that on "December 2nd" Sir George Baker, the King's physician, was sent for, and that her Royal Highness was "*bled five times* in 48 hours." Is it wonderful when such a custom was general in the early part of the last century, that the present generation abounds in victims of anæmia? And yet the wisest and most advanced members of the medical profession pinned their faith to this barbarous practice. The letters in Miss Disbrowe's collection confirm

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this, as I am about to show from the authoritative utterances of a distinguished medical man. Erasmus Darwin, poet and physician, and grandfather of the celebrated naturalist, was born at Elton, near Newark, in 1731. He was educated at Cambridge and took his doctor's degree at Edinburgh, afterwards residing at Lichfield and then at Derby, where his death occurred in 1802. At Lichfield he became the friend of Dr. Johnson. The life of this eminent man was written by Ernest Krause and published by Murray in 1879, his still more illustrious grandson, Charles Darwin, contributing a preface. The book reveals to us a man of wide-spread knowledge and deep sympathy with all that lived and moved, even to the inclusion of the very lowest form of sentient beings. Erasmus Darwin's theological views and grasp of the story of creation, and the beneficent purpose of the Creator, were far beyond those of the general run of thinkers of his day, yet his medical views, at least on the subject of whooping-cough, as given in 1785 in a closely written four-paged letter in our possession, addressed to Mrs. Horton, the owner of Catton,¹ strike the present day readers as at once quaint and antiquated. His letter is too long to quote in its entirety, but the following sentence is not without interest for child lovers: "When this permanent shortness of breath comes on, the disease is then immediately dangerous, and can *only* be relieved by bleeding with the lancet or 2 or 3 leeches, and that repeatedly if necessary. From the continuance of the difficulty in breathing in this case, children frequently die in 2 or 3 days, but such I have repeatedly saved by the lancet; used as boldly as their strength would admit, which is somewhat difficult to judge of nicely."

And now our readers will be anxious to make the Princess's acquaintance through her letters, four of which we reproduce *in extenso*.

From PRINCESS ELIZABETH to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"SIR,

The Queen has commanded me to trouble you with this letter, to inform you that there is to be a Drawing Room next Thursday, and She hopes by that time to have the

¹ The Catton property adjoins Walton Hall.

pleasure of seeing you in town. If I had not had this command it had been my intention of plaguing you with one of my scrawls, to assure You how glad I am at Your being so much better, and hope you fully intend to take that necessary care which will ensure your life to many and many a long year, for the sake of your children, not naming your friend. Since I have had the pleasure of seeing you, I must in confidence say that I have been not a little unhappy about the Q., who has really been very unwell, thank God within these few days she is infinitely better, but looking sadly. All this you must not tell, as my opinion, but knowing as you do our unfortunate Situation, You may believe that this has been a cause of heartfelt misery to us, and particularly to myself, for I assure you I am far from comfortable yet, tho' easier than what I was.

The K's hunting is another Source of misery, wh. has for some time hurt us not a little, for we know it is very bad for him, and being determined to do it no-one dares say one word on the subject, so the only reliance we have is on a merciful and kind Providence, who has so wonderfully watched over him and carried him through more trials than most men. But if H.M. would consider of what consequence his life is of, not *alone* for *this Country* and his own *family* but *all Europe*, one might hope He would take more care. It is only a greater proof that there is no Earthly Being perfect.

I am sure you will think this very little like a letter from Court. You must recollect that tho' brought up there, my heart, mind, etc. etc., all dwell far from it, for I think I have the same feelings as others (tho' it may be a misery to myself), yet I should be very sorry to possess *none*, and Believe me when I assure You, that the severer my own trials (and I have had my share) it has ever made me more anxious to occasion the happiness and comfort of others. Don't take this a melancholy epistle, but to own the truth I am not up to one of my flights. . . . Believe that no one is more

Truly your friend than

E.

Nov. 10th,
1802."

From PRINCESS ELIZABETH to the Same at Bath.

“You will be surprised at receiving another epistle from me again to-morrow, and perhaps may wish both the writer and the writing in the fire, but when a person has no head (which is my case), you must pity them and forgive. Pope says to ‘err is human, to *forgive* Divine,’ therefore without further Preface I will come to business and beg you from the Queen to get *Her* as well as *me* some Camomile drops, don’t start for they are very good things, some black Currant Lozenges for Amelia, for Sophia I forget, but will tell you by and bye, and for me some Ginger seeds.

My Madre is much better, but will stay at home to-day; it is so rainy and cold, so shall I for a wonder, for tho’ I preach to you, I follow the advice I give, and go regularly every day into the Shower Bath, and drive out in the open carriage, which has done me a great deal of good. I hear there are few people at Bath, so that you are improving your mind and spending your morning *en Philosophe*. I can not say we have been very gay, but I fear that there is little time for improvement *here*, tho’ we really *do* make the best of our time. I also hear that you expect to find intrigue and matrimony at Court. The first is usual, the latter scarce—tho’ by the bye you will find that one of your *charges* is to have an audience for to ask leave to marry, who knows it may bring luck into the family, and to own the truth, *I* will not despair. I fear you will think me very impudent, and that my pen runs too freely, but I cannot stuff a poker into my pen, that is impossible, and when I write to any body I regard and esteem like you, it is impossible for me to be insincere.

I fear Father P. would give me a lecture for this, so ‘*don’t tell*,’ wch. is the usual motto of the unfortunate Sisterhood, must be said quietly in your ear, who are too good-natured not to say that so trusted as *You are*, you are in some sense the Father Confessor, and may be trusted by your sincere friend

E.

Nov. 11th,
1802.”

Your dear little Children are all well, my sweet Louisa as amiable as possible, Harriot quite got up her looks and Charlotte always gentle and looking as good-natured and kind as an eldest Sister should look.

I now remember what Sophia wishes you to do. She will be very much obliged if you would send Mrs. Willis £20 from Her, which She will return you the moment you come back.

I now must say once more Adieu and end, being ashamed of the length of my letter—You will hate me, and think a woman's pen is as bad as her tongue."

The next letter refers apparently to one of the hallucinations of the King.

From the SAME addressed to LT.-COL. DISBROWE at Windsor.

"SIR,

From the Idea of your wishing to quit my Mother's (service?), still remaining strongly on my Father's mind, I think it my Duty to tell you that my Mother said to me yesterday, that He continued to talk so much upon the subject, that if you really do not want to quit Her, she would be very glad if in the most respectful manner you would write a short letter to the King assuring Him of your attachment, and that you feared his having misunderstood your sentiments in regard to quitting the Q.'s family. We certainly are better, but great quiet is necessary. You will not appear to have heard from me, I entreat, and do this as soon as you can. How long it may be before I see you I know not, but I trust that Windsor will be out of the case. Some time, Pray remember me to your children, particularly Louisa.

Your Friend,

ELIZABETH.

June 22nd, 1804."

From the SAME to the SAME.

The Queen desires me to say to you should you by chance meet Mr. G. Vansittart you are *gently* to drop that you know that the Queen having been told by one of us, that she was

anxious that the family should know he had voted in every way for my brother, which by mistake in the paper was told differently, You are to say, she took another opportunity of telling the K. and that they had both said his loyalty never would be doubted.

Love to all your dear Girls. *We are better here*, Amelia certainly so, but my Mother cannot venture the Drawing Room next week. I am fast asleep, Good night.

ELIZA.

April 14th."¹

Before passing on to a letter from the Duchess of Gloucester, it may interest our readers to learn that I was the owner of a tea and coffee service, of which the conception owes its origin to the pretty fancy of Princess Elizabeth. The designs, set in brown medallions on a gros-bleu ground, consist of very fine paintings illustrative of the Triumph of Love. The Princess was very fond of drawing and designing. This service came into my grandfather's² hands through the sale of the effects of the Margravine Amelia of Baden in 1832. It is now the property of His Majesty the King. Painting on china was the pet handiwork of the Queen of Wurtemberg, Princess Elizabeth's eldest sister. Both Royal ladies were interested in this mode of painting, the Queen having possessed a furnace for burning the china she had decorated, at her summer Palace of Ludwigsburg. There are reasons which make it difficult to decide absolutely, which of the sisters painted most of the tea set, though I always understood it to be the Queen. I have also in my possession a finely-executed drawing by one of the Walcher family, whose name is so closely associated with the Ludwigsburg porcelain manufactory, in the zenith of its fame under Wilhelm Beyer from 1759 to 1767. George Walcher was engaged from Sèvres in 1813, and his uncle, Albrecht Walcher, was also attached to

¹ Owing to the date of the year being wanting, there is no certain clue in regard to the occasion mentioned. The probability is that it refers to the question of whether an inquiry should be made into the conduct of the Duke of York when Commander-in-Chief. This took place in March, 1809. The votes for it were 135, against it 334.

² Honourable Robert Kennedy.

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the manufactory as superintendent of the kilns. Both were painters of landscapes and portraits, and taught the Queen of Wurtemberg. The drawing, which I have treasured, represents a red cactus, and has kept its brilliant colouring intact despite the lapse of time. It must be over eighty years old.

Most of the Duchess of Gloucester's letters to the Disbrowes, which are of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction, belong to a later period, but there is so much present interest in all matters connected with Nelson, that this seems the time to publish a solitary letter from the Duchess, which is specially concerned with the welfare of one of our great naval hero's officers. The Duchess, to whose spread-out writing I have already referred, was in the habit, says Miss Disbrowe, of drawing her pen across her paper, as if tracing a horizontal line rather than forming letters.

From the DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER to COLONEL DISBROWE.

“*Dec. 28th.*”

DEAR SIR,

I trouble you with this letter to beg you will have the goodness to forward the enclosed letter to Lord Graves¹ and ask him in my *name*, if Lord Belmore² can with any superiority (?) do any thing for Captain Parkinson, he has been recommended to me by Lady Mary Blair, who appears most anxious concerning him and his family. I wrote him word I could not answer that any attempt (?) I made in his name could be of any use as to his *promotion*, however I would do my best in a quiet way. Now as I look upon you as a very *discreet* sort of person and always ready to do a goodnatured act, I rely on your usual kindness to me and wish when you go about this business to Lord Graves, you will be so obliging as to say owing to the number of years I have loved and respected his amiable Wife, I venture as her Husband to address him upon the subject of this poor man, and beg he will truly tell me *at once* if I may or may not make a proper application to Lord Belmore, for if he is not a *proper* person to recommend, or that the request is at all in

¹ A distinguished naval officer.

² First Lord of the Admiralty.

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any way *against the Admiralty* rules I trust he will not make any scruple in telling you so at once, as I have no idea of ever recommending improperly or troubling any of the Gentlemen in Office without my cause is a very good one. If it is a thing that can be done, I hope Lord Graves will be so good as to let me know, through you, the proper way of applying as I do not wish to give him more trouble than necessary. I have been very ill, this last week, with a sore throat that has quite confined me to my bed, I am better now but still very weak and hoarse. The King's health is perfectly good, as to his eyes they are quite the reverse. I am happy in having an opportunity of assuring you

I remain your aff Friend
MARY."

"I hope all your children are well. We have been really alarmed about poor little Fanny Sneyd who was quite dying for two days with one of her old attacks, but I thank God she is nearly well again. Cap^m Parkinson served under Lord Nelson's own eye for many years, was his Lieut^t. in the battle of the Nile, and afterwards his first Lieut^t. in the 'Foudroyant,' and had reason to expect from him, had he lived, great support."

The following very proper and *almost* faultless little letter written in a round childish hand is by Princess Sophia, the youngest but one of the Royal maidens. The extreme decorum of the missive causes one to wonder concerning its spontaneity. It is addressed not to the Colonel, but to "The King," and bears a seal with a closed crown above the letter S. The Princess must have been a very little child when she wrote it, the handwriting, though clear, is so unformed. We give it as a specimen of the upbringing of the King's children.

"MON CHER PAPA,

Je suis bien aise que je peux continuer de vous écrire en François parce que je sais que cela vous fais du plaisir. J'aime à vous écrire beaucoup et à ma chère Maman aussi. Je ferai

tout mon possible pour me rendre agréable auprès de vous mon cher Papa. Voulez-vous faire mes respects à ma chère Maman. Ma chère Marie¹ vous écris à present elle est bien aise qu'elle peut le faire. Nous avons aujourd'hui répété l'histoire ensemble et cela m'a amusé beaucoup, c'est le moyen de profiter et de voir celle qui à appris le plus à ce qui dit Msle Montmollin, et je le trouve aussi.

Croyez moi mon cher Papa, que je serai toujours votre obéissante fille.

SOPHIE."

The following letters are from the same Princess when grown up, addressed to Colonel Disbrowe, and chiefly referring to the sad state of her father's mind and the grief of the Royal family. They bear the impress of being written in great distraction of mind.

From PRINCESS SOPHIA to COLONEL DISBROWE.

"August 19th.

"As it stands on your paper that you will remain at Keel² until the 21st, I send these few lines to you to thank you for your most kind letter, every line of which was as if my dear *Dis* was speaking, in a word—so like his own good heart. I deeply feel your kind offer of returning here, and if a word was dropped to the purpose I must not hesitate letting you know instantly, as I am sure yours are not *vain words*. Would to God I could send you any comfort, but I think *I* may truly say all join in the same. The last few days we have had more excitement, but the *body* continues flourishing; the rest is not much, but plenty of *nourishment*; alas! the mind remaining in the same deplorable state, and this morn we dare not hope, indeed are all now much of opinion that it is impossible. As long as there is life, we may hope, but his precious life is in a very precarious state, and those who love him most, are told that to wish him happiness is the praying

¹ Princess Mary, afterwards Duchess of Gloucester.

² Keele Hall, Staffordshire, the seat of the Sneyd family.

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for his Release. I leave you, therefore, my kind friend, to judge the state in which my mind is; at times reason prevails, and then I shudder at the mere idea of such a blow. Last night we were without a *wink of sleep*; opium repeatedly, but as yet without effect. Send me a line to tell me where I am to direct to you. My affectionate love attends all your dear girls and the Sneyds, and tell dearest Mrs. S. she will hear from me to-morrow.

God bless you.

Yours affectionately,
SOPHIA."

From the SAME to the SAME.

"Many many (thanks) for your most kind letter, and be assured that far from it being any trouble, it affords me much pleasure writing to you. I only wish it were in my power to send you such accounts as would cheer your kind heart. Alas! this is far from being the case, the last two days have been passed more quietly, but on the whole the mind remains precisely the same, and all *sleep*, quiet and *nourishment* seem only to assist the *body*. *Medicine* is at times tried, but the *irritability* and *excitement* brought on must occasion him more harm than good. There are no signs of Failure, at present, and our great dread is the possibility of frequent Accessions of Paroxysms which must sink him at last. It is selfish to pray for a continuance of his life, at this price, and at times I think my mind is made up to meet the blow, but then when it seems likely to occur, my courage quite fails me. This is I trust not wrong, I know how I ought to feel for his sake, but the dread of losing him surpasses what I can describe. I think in these few words I have really given you a true statement; I will write again on Wednesday, for I know how kindly anxious you are. I am rejoiced you have had such glorious weather for your journey. Dear Mrs. Sneyd writes to me in much joy, at having had you with her. My kindest love to *all* your dear girls, accepting yourself what is most kind from your truly affectionate

SOPHIA."

Again and again references or allusions have been made in these letters to the mental state of the King. The outbreaks of his malady and the sufferings they entailed on himself and his family have been the theme of too many writers for it to be needful to enlarge upon here. So much has been garbled by the bias of party feeling, that it is the more interesting to learn what George III.'s own children have to say on the subject, in writing to one with whom they correspond with perfect freedom. The first outbreak of the King's insanity took place in June, 1788, when he imprudently neglected a cold and bilious fever, after a course of the Cheltenham waters. The house taken by the Royal family was Fauconberg Lodge, which stood on the site now occupied by Baron de Ferrier's house, and the surrounding acres have been long since built over. It stands in the highest part of Cheltenham, and commands a beautiful view of the Malvern Hills. I have to thank Mr. Le Blanc,¹ the "father of the Cotswold Hunt," a much revered resident in the neighbourhood, for kindly obtaining this information for me. Fauconberg Lodge was pulled down in 1856. It had been let on lease to the then Earl of Fauconberg. The earldom is in abeyance; the barony has been revived in favour of the present Lady Powis, *née* Lane Fox. The last Countess of Fauconberg was my great-great-aunt, a very beautiful woman, Julia, daughter of Mr. Chesshyre, of Bennington Place and Bennington Lordship, in the county of Herts. She died childless, and her husband's successor was his brother, a Roman Catholic priest, with whom, failing heirs male, the earldom became extinct.

In 1818 both Queen Charlotte and her Vice-Chamberlain passed away. For two years longer the aged King was to drag out a living death, and then he too went to his long-desired rest. In September already, Mr. Croker had told Lord Melville that he believed the Queen to be dying, but she lingered on till November. The symptoms pointed to dropsy, there was much difficulty of breathing, and she met the end sitting up in her chair, being unable to lie down without fear of suffocation. The last years had been sad ones, with much

¹ Alas, now no more.

to try her heart and mind, but she had done her part bravely to the last and gained the title, despite of evil tongues, of the "Good Queen Charlotte."

The rest of this volume, which does not attempt to be a consecutive narrative, but only to put together authentic letters written by well-known people in interesting times, will show what diplomatists in different parts of Europe wrote to each other concerning passing events in the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. To learn this we must follow the fortunes of the Vice-Chamberlain's eldest son, Sir Edward Cromwell Disbrowe.

PART II

CHAPTER I

DURING THE PENINSULAR WAR

THE authoress of *Old Days in Diplomacy* is absolutely frank in her detestation of Buonaparte, and looks on his gaoler at St. Helena, Sir Hudson Lowe, as a wrongfully abused individual, who was faithful to his instructions, and had to deal with a most unscrupulous and crafty prisoner. In this, she espouses the views of many of that general's contemporaries, and notably of the members of the English Government of 1815, for the latter would not allow that there was any ground for complaint, or need for explanation of their treatment of their fallen foe. The European upheaval of the past nineteen years, with the ruin, sufferings, and death, which it brought in its train for tens of thousands of human beings, was so fresh in men's minds as to render a widespread feeling of relief inevitable at the thought that "a dangerous monster," the violator of the rights of nations, was caged at last. Sovereigns and statesmen in congress assembled had pronounced him to be outlawed as "the enemy and disturber of the world's peace."

What need of further condemnation? And yet, the Napoleonic period with its diplomatic intricacies, its plots and counterplots, its secret treaties, not limited to Buonaparte, its heroic examples of self-devotion and glowing enthusiasms, its contemptible betrayals and self-interested meannesses—in a word with all its glories and all its infamies,

has even after the lapse of fully ninety years such a fascination for men's minds, that the last word about it seems as yet far from having been written. Students of history are still so frequently reversing each other's judgments concerning it.

One cannot rise from a close study of that momentous time, without feeling that there are two distinct Napoleons, the one in the pride of life, the flush of conquest, the heyday of success, ambitious, often unscrupulous, brushing aside with ruthless hand all that conflicted with his views, the Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, the dictator of terms to sovereigns . . . the other, familiarised with the uses of adversity, having known what was practically captivity and realised life's seamy side, forsaken of wife and child, a broken man, often suffering acute bodily pain, but momentarily inspirited by the welcome of the soldiers he had so often led to victory, and dreaming that he might yet be the saviour of France. There is a dignity born of trouble in Napoleon during the Hundred Days, which we look for in vain in him in earlier years.

Added to this, there are three ways of judging a man, namely, by his obvious faults, by the effect of his actions, and by the mental, physical, and social influences, as well as the environment to which he owes much of his individuality. The diversity of results arrived at by these modes of reasoning are nowhere more conspicuous than in the judgments passed on the first Napoleon. All depends on the point of view, as is said so frequently in the country of his adoption, and as with lesser men, his evil deeds have been proclaimed on the housetops, whilst much that he did well has passed into oblivion. The seizure of the young Duc d'Enghien on neutral ground, and his cold-blooded¹ execution, are not likely to be forgotten, but few repeat the story of how on coming as a victor to Berlin, the French Emperor handed

¹ The evidence regarding Napoleon's acquiescence in the sentence on the Duke is conflicting, despite the words added to the former's will not long before his death, beginning, "I had the Duc d'Enghien arrested and tried because it was necessary for the safety, interest and honour of the French people." Even here there is no direct allusion to a condemnation. We shall refer to the subject again in reference to the *Manuscrit de Ste. Hélène*.

Princess Hatzfeldt the compromising letter, which doomed her husband to certain death, and then bade her consign the fateful writing to the flames. Or if they repeat it, it is to rob it of its disinterestedness, saying Prince Hatzfeldt was a useful tool for Napoleon, playing into his hands and influencing the German Press in his favour.

It is true that Napoleon lacked the innate graciousness of the genuine Italian, and that changing the name of Buonaparte to Bonaparte could not bestow on him the suavity of a Frenchman, yet the intensity of his personal magnetism and power of attraction were beyond dispute. If he could be brutal, he could also be surpassingly tender. If he could freeze an opposing general into inaction, by causing him to experience a paralysing fear, he could also rouse countless soldiers to a devotion to his person, which made privations and death as nothing to them, for the love they bore him. And this was not effected by mere weighed speeches to his armies, telling them that his victories were theirs, and promising them a share in his triumph, though none knew better than himself what could be achieved by carefully chosen words. The reason for his soldiers' love was founded on the recollection of such sympathetic actions, as his ordering the joy of the 76th regiment at regaining its colours at Innsbruck, to be immortalised on canvas; and of such practical kindness, as prompted him to spend the nights following Austerlitz and Auerstädt, in personally seeking and succouring the wounded.

Hardest to interpret is his behaviour to Josephine. At one moment, one is almost persuaded that he is broken-hearted at parting with her, and sacrificing himself solely for his country's good. At the next turn of the road, one finds him setting out to meet his new bride with the eagerness of a boy lover, in the first blush of love's young dream. Yet whatever his motives, the fact remains that he inspired a luxurious pleasure-loving woman with such absolute devotion, that though he had divorced her and married again, she was yet ready to follow him into the dreariness of exile, if only he would have it so. In this she evinced a love not to be found in the colder natured Marie Louise, on whom he had lavished

attentions when fortune favoured him, and who forsaking him in the hour of his desolation would not even return to him, when hope dawned afresh, and when both he and the French nation looked with keen anxiety for her advent. It is said that when her father came to announce to her that she was to wed the Emperor, she was busily engaged with her brothers and sisters shooting pellets at a hideous little figure, dubbed "Buonaparte."

It is not strange, that some persons should have hailed so complex a being as Napoleon as almost a god, whilst others execrated him as well nigh, if not indeed, anti-Christ, or at least as the scourge of God, nor that his dazzling achievements should have caused some of his self-constituted judges almost to deny him a right to any inconsistencies, mistakes, or weaknesses. Setting aside the multiplicity of opinions put forth concerning him by other writers, and notably those of our own land, it is interesting to study the great divergency of views expressed by Frenchmen regarding him. We need seek no greater extremes than the rhapsodical panegyric of a Laurent d'Ardèche in 1840 as opposed to the coldly critical attitude of Monsieur Coquelle¹ in 1904.

The latter whilst dissecting the evidence of French archives and documents belonging to the English Foreign Office, referring to the rupture of the peace of Amiens, lays the onus of this breach unhesitatingly on Buonaparte's shoulders. Monsieur Coquelle winds up his powerful indictment by saying that "when one considers the great deeds of Napoleon I., and places beside them his gross political blunders, his crimes, his trickery, his disconcerting fickleness, one has the right to think that there was an absolute lack of balance in his powerful organism."

The severity of Monsieur Coquelle's summing up is qualified by his attributing personal want of balance to one, credited with desiring to upset the European balance of power. A man can be judged only by his possibilities. It may also be said, that ten talents for good are equally ten talents for

¹ *Napoléon et L'Angleterre, 1803-13. D'Après des Documents inédits, des Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Des Archives Nationales et du Foreign Office.*

evil, and that it is left to mediocrity to know few temptations. Realising this, men have stood hat in hand beside the tomb in the Invalides and wept. If the might-have-beens are amongst the saddest things in life, there can be nothing sadder than to recognise that he who caused long years of European strife possessed exceptional possibilities for forging and welding links for the promotion of brotherhood amongst the nations. That Buonaparte had such gifts, is abundantly proved by the way in which he was ever alert to control the doings even of minor Teutonic princelets, whilst apparently concentrating his efforts on swaying empires. He was aware that to aggrandise the smaller states, was to make them less inclined towards any movement tending to consolidate Germany, therefore he raised margraves to grand dukes, and made kings of dukes. With the same object in view, he would occupy himself with the matrimonial affairs of a sovereign whose territory was so restricted, that the wags pronounced it to be difficult to stand in it with both feet at once, and whose army was so small, that he was credited with adorning his sentry boxes with painted figures of soldiers to get over the difficulty of finding men enough to relieve guard at his palace gates. None knew better than Buonaparte that the strength of the chain is the strength of its weakest part, although Gentz the publicist, who hated him, taunted him with having originated too low and having been suddenly raised too high to have acquired the knowledge, he pretended to possess. At the present day Buonaparte would be called neurotic. That word was not in vogue in the early decennials of the nineteenth century, yet the strongest man could not end by being anything else, who occupied his mind day by day with an infinity of details, whilst endeavouring to control the fate of many nations. Count William Nesselrode,¹ watching events from his retirement at Frankfurt on the Main, recognised this fully, alluding more than once in his correspondence with his son, the future Russian Chancellor, to the intense nervous irritability of Napoleon, and to the adverse influence it must have on the conduct of important affairs. He spoke of it as notably the case at Buonaparte's final

¹ *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode. 1760-1850.*

interview with Lord Whitworth in Paris in 1805,¹ and compared his behaviour to "the prating of an angry woman, who chatters of being wronged, and never stops to listen to any justification." Courtesy to Foreign Envoys was certainly not a conspicuous trait in Buonaparte. In 1809 Prince Metternich experienced this at the time of the breach between France and Austria, and in 1811 Prince Alexander Kourakin² was equally abruptly handled, when Russia would not accept Napoleon's Polish policy and the annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg.

Reverting for a moment to the question regarding Sir Hudson's Lowe's treatment of his prisoner, we recognise that his was a most difficult position to fill with both credit and efficiency. It was an office which no sensitive man could have performed on the lines laid down by those in authority, excepting with infinite pain to himself. It seems as if the explanation of the odium incurred by Sir Hudson were to be found in an anecdote, supplied by that prince of gossips and indefatigable *littérateur*, Mr. Creevey. It refers to the General and the Duke of Wellington. As everybody knows, the Duke was nothing if not plain-spoken, and during the Belgian campaign he designated Lowe, then Quartermaster-General, as a "d——d fool." This was because the latter permitted himself to teach the Duke his business as regards the equipment of the army, avowing it should be on the Prussian model. Sir Hudson does not appear to have been content with saying this once, but argued concerning it, till the Duke remarked that he possessed "greater experience of commanding large armies in the field than any Prussian General," and in consequence of his representations to the War Office, Lowe was superseded. *Ab uno disce omnes*. We think of such an eminently tactless man put in charge of a master tactician of Buonaparte's temperament, and the results are explained at once, without necessarily blackening Sir Hudson Lowe's character.

It is exceptionally hard for English people to come to an

¹ At the rupture of the Peace of Amiens.

² Prince Alexander Kourakin, Russian Ambassador to Paris, born 1752 . . . 1852, was the devoted servant of Paul I. of Russia, and negotiated the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807. Napoleon was friendly to him till the rupture of 1811.

unbiased conclusion regarding Buonaparte's personal character, not only because of the dread and hatred of him or preceding generations, which has become a family tradition in many cases, but also because of the attitude which he assumed towards their country. "We have grown accustomed to this," said a French friend to me, not long ago, "but we appreciate the gentler verdicts of Lord Holland and Lord Rosebery most deeply."

Buonaparte might oppose or seek to dominate over other nations to further his plans of conquest: England he desired to crush because he feared her. It seems too puerile to believe that he hated the whole nation, because in early days he had received a bayonet thrust from an English soldier, but he dreaded Great Britain's influence on European politics, envied her her colonies, and felt himself unable to dispute her rule at sea, therefore his object was to force her into the position of a political Ishmael, with her hand against that of the representative of every other power. She, to whom material prosperity, the commerce of the seas, and friendly intercourse with other nations was a *sine quâ non*, was to be cut off in an inglorious isolation. Russia, Prussia, Austria, were each in turn resorted to, either as intermediaries or propelling forces, as seemed most propitious for the accomplishment of his purpose.

The keen insight of Pitt had led that great statesman to realise, even when there was still antagonism between Great Britain and Spain, that the land of the Moors would be the grave of Buonaparte's career, and the scene of England's victory over him. The Corsican's one desire was to gain an ascendancy over Spain, for she could supply him with the fleet he longed to possess, and sailors to do battle for him. Then, too, she held the golden key of South America's treasure, and if only the hateful Bourbons could be ousted from her throne, all these might become his spoils.

As will be remembered, the internal dissensions of the Spanish court gave him the desired opportunity for interference, and side by side with these ambitions, he appears to have cherished genuine hopes of making the land of the brave also the land of the free.

Aided and abetted by that miserable specimen of humanity Charles IV., and his intriguing and unfaithful Queen, the evil-minded minister Godoy, whose title of the Prince of Peace expressed everything that he was not, had brought Spain to a state of revolution. Hence, by the will of the people, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, who suspected Godoy of having caused his wife's death by poison, was called to the throne. Buonaparte having summoned the contending parties to Bayonne, ostensibly with a view to discussing their differences, gave Murat the chief command in Spain. In making his plans he had reckoned without the deep-seated patriotism of the bulk of the Spanish people, separated by their geographical position from other Continental races, and brought up from infancy to recount in song and story the brave deeds of a rich, historic past.

To them he was anathema, an irreligious trifler, and profane man. His subsequent conduct in laying, as they held it, sacrilegious hands on the Holy Father himself confirmed them in this opinion. If bigoted, they were sincere in their beliefs, and the war they waged was similar to that which the Tyrolese, taking heart by their example, pursued in 1809, a war, such as men only engage in for faith and freedom.¹

Joseph Buonaparte did not possess the independence of character of his brothers Lucien and the King of Holland. In his docility and subserviency, Napoleon saw his opportunity. Summoned, unwillingly, from the comparative quiet of Naples, where he had sought not wholly unsuccessfully to introduce reforms for the benefit of a cruelly overtaxed and down-trodden people, Joseph assumed the sovereignty of Spain, but would gladly have retired to France at the first opportunity. Peasants, monks, priests, citizens, and outlaws made common cause to rid their country of the foe, and England sent an army and Sir Arthur Wellesley. Not taking the view of her Government, that it was expedient for the general good and therefore lawful, the Continental nations had looked coldly on her since the bombardment of Copenhagen²

¹ As Seeley points out in his masterly summary of the Spanish Revolution in his *Life and Times of Stein*, Spain's heroic resistance led to the anti-Napoleonic Revolution of Europe, awakening the national feeling in lands where it was hitherto unknown.

² The question as to who was on the raft at Tilsit and brought the news to England, which caused a British squadron to be sent in hot haste to

and all the destruction and terrible suffering which it entailed on the intrepid, but unprepared Danes.

But when Sheridan announced to the House of Commons, that the period had arrived for striking a decisive blow for the liberation of Europe, and Canning pledged his party not to rest till Spain and all Europe were free from the grinding heel of the usurpers, then the little Island set in Northern Seas was hailed once more as the champion of the oppressed. On that, there followed that stirring period known to history as the Peninsular War, the story of which, like that of Waterloo, never loses its charm for English ears. What followed is well known. The strain involved on his resources, and the necessity of dividing his attention between Spain, Southern Germany, and Russia, was the beginning of Napoleon's downfall, and Pitt's prophetic utterance was justified.

It was during the Peninsular War that Sir Edward Cromwell Disbrowe's diplomatic career began by his being sent on the 10th of June, 1810, to join Sir Charles Stuart, afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay, at Lisbon. A letter is in his daughter's possession, which was written by John Wilson Croker, then Secretary to the Admiralty, in reference to the arrangements for his voyage. Sir Charles Stuart, whose diplomatic services were long and varied, filled many important posts during the stirring times which ushered in the nineteenth century, and in Mr. Jenning's valuable book, "The Correspondence and Diary of John Wilson Croker," we find the following reference embodying Lord Brougham's opinion regarding him. It was given during Sir Charles' mission to the Netherlands, he being appointed ambassador to the Prince of Orange, on January 16th, 1815, and to the Low Countries on the 21st of March of the same year. Lord Brougham says: "He is a plain man of some prejudice, caring little for politics, and of very good practical sense, bombard Copenhagen and seize the Danish fleet, has always excited much interest, and has been the subject of a correspondence in the *Spectator*, to which I contributed a letter, giving the views of Miss Disbrowe. She had always held the bringer of the news to have been Sir Robert Wilson, and had this belief confirmed by the testimony of a kinsman of Sir Robert's, now deceased. I have found the same opinion put forward in a German edition of Sir Robert's account of the campaign of 1813, published more than half a century ago.—M. M.-C.

has read a great deal and seen much more, and done for his standing more business than any diplomat I ever heard of. He is a strictly honourable man, and one over whom nobody will ever acquire the slightest influence." It was thus that the father of those two brilliant women, Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, and Lady Canning, was described by one of the keenest intelligences of his time, surely no mean recommendation, when one considers its source, and remembers that the verdict was pronounced in regard to the ambassador who represented British interests in Paris in 1814 and 1815, the momentous years when intrigue was rife everywhere, and when the peace of Europe suffered as much from the disastrous influence of secret plotting as from open warfare. Lord Brougham did Sir Charles no more than justice in saying he had done more business for his standing than any diplomatist he had ever heard of, and not least arduous amongst his posts were those held during the time of the Peninsular War, when his tact and integrity of judgment did his country good service, and when he had much to contend with between the apathy of the Juntas and the follies of the British Cabinet. To be at once British Minister to Portugal and a member of the Regency at Lisbon, was no light matter.

A plain man, as his picture shows, this father of two fair women, was in more senses than one. It is on record that he was perfectly conscious of the fact both in reference to himself, and his wife. To the latter, Elizabeth, daughter of the third Lord Hardwicke, he is reported to have said, "Bessie, Bessie, where did you and I get such handsome daughters?" He referred back their good looks to his father, also Sir Charles, a singularly handsome man and distinguished officer, whose wife was Louisa, daughter of Lord Vere Bertie, and sister and co-heiress of Albinia, Countess of Buckinghamshire, to whom reference has been made in the first part of this volume.

Though written during the stress of the campaign, Sir Charles' letters show that Lord Brougham spoke truly in designating him as a man of good practical sense and knowledge, for we find him desirous of possessing whatever tended to give him a grip of the histories of other lands as shown by his



SIR CHARLES STUART
(Lord Stuart de Rothesay)

request, both for books and such maps as deal with the external possessions of the countries where the struggle is being fought out. It was not surprising that a studious diplomatist should have desired to familiarise himself with the latest conceptions of Friedrich von Gentz, the man of brilliant talent and infinite versatility, whose exceptional power of grasping the points of a political situation and putting them before others, made him the *deus ex machina* who controlled the movements of diplomatists and statesmen of European reputation, at five Congresses, and at the Treaty of Paris. Gentz, who was born at Breslau in 1764, began life as a lawyer, and advocated liberal opinions. Like Burke,¹ he took fright when the outbreak of the French revolution revealed to him, the possible issue of some of his views, and threw the whole of his influence and talents into the scale to support monarchical government. Whilst pursuing his special vocation as a publicist, he had also for some time the control of the Ministry of Finance at Berlin, where the elder Nesselrode recommends his son to cultivate his acquaintanceship and, in homely parlance, pick his brains. But Count Charles, who had gone in 1801 to the Prussian Court as attaché to Baron de Krüdener, tells his father that he can take little pleasure in intimacy with Gentz, because he thinks so little of the man himself, who is, amongst other things, an inveterate gambler, which has an adverse effect on his powers of concentration, and on his work. Nevertheless, both Count Charles and Count William are lost in admiration for the power and knowledge displayed in Gentz's work on the "State of Europe before and after the French Revolution."² Gentz's hatred of Napoleon I. amounted to a passion; every act and every word of the latter had the most evil construction possible put upon it by the publicist, who was fond of taunting him with being a parvenu, and accusing him of nepotism. For his origin, and there was not much amiss with that, Buonaparte could not be held responsible, and though he liked to place his near relatives in high position, he did not

¹ Though not possessed of Burke's highmindedness.

² The third volume of the *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode* contains Gentz's commentary on Napoleon's conversation with the envoys sent to treat for peace after the battle of Wagram.

care to keep them there on finding them incompetent. He was well aware of the superior mental and moral qualifications of his brother Lucien, and would gladly have made him see face to face with himself in everything, but Lucien had his own views, notably in regard to the treatment of the Pope, and maintaining his independence of speech and of action, withstood his elder brother to the face, where he felt he was in the wrong.

If Gentz hated Napoleon, Stein thought ill of Gentz. We find in his admirably written life, by Professor Seeley, that in 1815 he warns the Russian Emperor against him as a man "of withered brain and corrupt heart."¹ Gentz was held to be not impervious to an appeal to his purse strings, but this statement has been qualified by another, namely, that he only took money from his own side. In regard to Stein, Gentz was certainly generous and appreciative, though the great man appears to have forgotten it. On two occasions before prosperity came to Stein, we find Gentz sounding his praises. The first time it is in a letter to Johannes Müller, the eminent Swiss who became historiographer and close adviser to the King of Prussia.² Gentz refers to Stein's "deep views and great character," and to his being "the first Statesman in Germany." It is shown that Stein was made aware of this testimonial, for such it appears to have been, and this at a moment when he sought recommendations with a view to ministerial employment. And, again, when he is tasting of the bitterness of exile, Gentz assures him that if he could only procure for him "the Dictatorship (in strict old Roman sense) over all, which would need to be undertaken for the redemption of Germany," he would leave the world, on the morning following, perfectly happy.

From that, it appears that Gentz, despite his failings, was that next thing to being a great man himself, one who could appreciate true greatness in others. Perhaps, he had learnt more from Pitt than was manifested on the surface, during

¹ See *Life and Times of Stein*, by T. R. Seeley, M.A. Cambridge University Press.

² Though afterwards called to Westphalia and coming under French influence.

his sojourn in England, where he was in close communication with the distinguished Minister, from whom also he received a pension. Gentz was chief secretary to the Congress at Vienna, and constantly employed by the Austrian court. For Metternich one might frequently read Gentz.

Amongst the literary works which Sir Charles Stuart asks Mr. Disbrowe to procure for him are those of Suhm, the Danish historian and court historiographer, whose name is probably less familiar to the general reader than that of the distinguished publicist to whom I have just referred. Suhm was a writer of undeniable merit, although he was sufficiently undignified to assume the rôle of a railing pamphleteer in June, 1772, when the revolution broke out at the palace of Christiansborg, being instigated by the Queen Dowager of Denmark, Juliana Maria, stepmother to that imbecile monarch, Christian VII. It is possible that Suhm looked on his duty as royal historiographer to exonerate the King at all costs. Indeed he is credited with having egged on the Queen Dowager to deliver her son from foreign thralldom even before publishing his letter to his Sovereign, and his almost simultaneous address to his fellow-countrymen, of which the burden in both cases was the deliverance of the kingdom from the monster Struensee. Until that very popular book,¹ "A Queen of Tears," was published in 1904, most people, beyond those engaged in historical research, had probably forgotten the tragic fate of King George III. of England's unfortunate sister, Caroline Matilda, who was married in early girlhood to Christian VII. of Denmark. Her life being intolerable, she sought consolation in the friendship of Count Struensee, who though born in lowliness as a German pastor's son, had risen to be practically dictator of Denmark. Some writers have looked on him as a much maligned reformer, who if not always discreet in his actions, was the victim of the reactionary party amongst the nobles and clergy. What has been recently brought to light shows him as a contemptible character, in

¹ By W. H. Wilkins, M.A., F.S.A., published by Longmans, Green & Co. It is with deep regret that I have learnt since writing this that the hand of death has cut short Mr. Wilkins's career. One had looked for so much more from his pen.

abject fear for his personal safety, and with scant pity for the Royal lady who, rightly or wrongly, had her reputation irretrievably damaged for his sake, and who died in exile, separated from her beloved children.

The case against Struensee is a very strong one, but the barbarous mode of his execution, and of that of his fellow sinner, Brandt, seems indefensible as a punishment for any crime, and the revolting details form strange reading, when one realises that the sentences were carried out so recently as a hundred and thirty years ago. Struensee and Brandt had their right hands cut off before losing their heads. Their bodies were afterwards drawn and quartered, their heads and hands being nailed to boards, and exposed to the public gaze.

Though somewhat bald, Sir Charles Stuart's letters are worth reproducing as hailing from Lisbon, whilst the Peninsular War was in actual progress. After what has been said, it is clear that they may be relied on as faithful to truth, as well as being penned with the pleasant *sans gêne* of familiar intercourse. They lie before me as I write, bearing for the most part the appearance of haste, in a hand hard to decipher, with the lines sloping upward, a sign, graphologists tell us, of an ambitious nature. They are traced on rough, gilt-edged paper, and docketed and dated by Sir Edward Disbrowe. Of course, as with other letters of the period, they are without envelopes, and bear the address of their intended recipient on the final page.

Sir Charles, if an indifferent penman, deserves a debt of gratitude for his preference for generous margins. He does not add to the task of those who would transcribe what he has said, by the cross writing and microscopic use of every fold, with space barely left for the address, so common to letter writers of those days, when payment for transmission of each separate sheet of paper was demanded of those who had not the advantage of using the bag of the King's Messenger. Miss Disbrowe says, "Sir Charles always wrote on his knee, and was famous for his bad writing." In addition to his letters, there are others of interest from Sir Edward Disbrowe to his own father, and one from Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, second son of the first Earl of Enniskillen, who com-

manded the Fourth Division of the British Army in the Peninsula, from 1810 to 1814. He was wounded at Albuera and mentioned by Marshal Sir C. Beresford as "entitled to every praise," and as having recovered five guns and a colour.

The only reference to the war raging in the Peninsula comprised in Sir Edward's, or as he then still was, Mr. Disbrowe's first letter to his father after reaching Lisbon in 1810, is contained in the following passage: "Ciudad Rodrigo, you will have heard before this reaches you, has fallen." This frontier fortress, the formidable *vis-à-vis* of Almeida, changed hands more than once during the campaign. It is to its succumbing to the French General Masséna, that Mr. Disbrowe's letter alludes. The English forces reconquered it on the 19th of January, 1812, which event brought a Spanish dukedom to Lord Wellington. With Ciudad Rodrigo is forever associated the story of the latter's chivalry to the wife of Buonaparte's General, Junot, otherwise the Duchesse d'Abrantès, who had followed her husband to the seat of war. This gently nurtured society woman, accustomed to the best that Paris could afford, showed magnificent courage among the vicissitudes of the campaign. She had been an eye-witness of the state of Almeida, after a stray shot from the enemy's guns had blown up the arsenal, scattering death and destruction far and wide. On more than one occasion she had been in danger of being seized by guerilla bands and carried off as a hostage. At length her husband, who was forced by his military duties to set out for Portugal, had prevailed on Masséna, with whom he appears to have been momentarily on good terms, to send her under escort to Ciudad Rodrigo. In that half-ruined town a son was born to her, and during many weeks she underwent the greatest discomfort, and shared the privations of the hardly-pressed garrison, though General Cacaault, their commandant, looked askance at her presence, and ended by telling her openly, that in view of the shortness of provisions, he must request her and her escort to leave for Salamanca. His brutal conduct was in strong contrast to the chivalry the Duchess met with otherwise from both French and English officers. General Thiebault, who was in charge of Salamanca,

sent a troop of horse to meet her, when expelled from Ciudad Rodrigo, fearing she might be seized by the insurgents; and Lord Wellington not only rebuked his allies for making war on a woman, but communicated with her husband, then in a wounded condition at Rio Mayor, to assure him of her safety, and express sympathy with both of them.

Though still connected with the mission, Mr. Disbrowe did not linger at Lisbon. Accompanied by his faithful Swiss servant, Eggert, he set forth for the headquarters of Sir Arthur Wellesley, situated at that time between Badajoz and Almeida, and he only returned to Lisbon for further instructions, before being sent once more to the front, till after the battle of Sierra de Busaco, which took place on the 27th of September, 1810. That engagement resulted in such a victory for the English troops that they remained in possession of the adjoining territory during the two subsequent days. Perhaps a general with greater forces at his command, and with prospects of prompt reinforcements, would have followed up this success more effectively. Lord Wellington thought it better to retire behind the renowned intrenchment of Torres Vedras, which he had been engaged in constructing for months past. Results appear to have justified his action, for Masséna, impressed by the formidableness of the enemy's position, retired into winter quarters. It was at Busaco that the name of Sergeant McQuade was added to the roll of heroes. Noticing the muskets of two French soldiers levelled so as to guard a certain gap, he placed himself before a sixteen-year-old officer bent on storming a breach, and exclaimed, "You are too young to be killed, Sir." Within a few minutes the gallant Sergeant, not yet a quarter of a century old, fell pierced by the enemy's bullets. The officer whose life he saved lived to be knighted. It is to him, as Sir George Brown,¹ that Mr. Gleig refers twice in his reminiscences, edited by Miss Gleig. The years have brought him honours and prejudices. Though Sir George has ad-

¹ *Personal Reminiscences of the First Duke of Wellington*. Blackwood & Sons, 1904. It was the shortness of the range of Brown Bess which gave point to the verselet, "Perhaps a recruit, may chance to shoot the General Boney-party."

vanced so far with the times as to desire to convince the Duke of Wellington that Brown Bess may well be discarded for the Minie-rifle, yet he evinces all the dislike for much education characteristic of the old school, and assures Mr. Gleig that, "By Jove, if there is a mutiny in the army, you'll see that the new fangled schoolmasters will be at the bottom of it."

Next in chronological order to the letter announcing Mr. Disbrowe's arrival in the Peninsula, comes the note already mentioned from Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole. It is written from Vera in the Province of Navarre, and is unimportant, excepting in reference to that gallant officer's expectations in regard to the fall of Pampeluna, which did not, as a matter of fact, occur till that year of disaster to Buonaparte, 1813. The spring of that year opened propitiously for the French Emperor, bringing the victories at Lützen and Bautzen in its train, but the Russian campaign had dealt a blow to his forces under which they were still staggering, and momentary successes could not make up for the necessary scattering of his armies and commanders. Added to this, his personal presence was of great moment to the enthusiasm and consequent success of his troops, and he had to choose between Germany and the Peninsula. Thus, if brave little Spain had roused Austria to throw off the Napoleonic yoke, Austria, by following her example, brought fresh courage to the would-be deliverers of Spain.

In June, 1813, Mr. Disbrowe was appointed Attaché to Lord Cathcart at Reichenbach, where what has been termed the Ambulatory Congress of the Allied Sovereigns was gathered together. Previous to proceeding there, Disbrowe was sent on a mission to Cadiz, where he arrived just as the French forces were bombarding Port Mariage. His impressions of that city and its military surroundings will be found, given at some length, in a letter to his father. It will be borne in mind that the Cortes had sought refuge at Cadiz, and that, supported by their English allies, the garrison withstood a three years' siege, which was eventually raised by the French, when they could no longer spare the troops necessary for its prosecution. Between the petty squabbles

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which took place amongst their generals, and the difficulties incident on maintaining their armies in a country where the mass of the people looked on them with hostile eyes, and would rather have ravaged their own land than have supplied them with provisions, they found that they had underrated their difficulties. Their only hope lay in concentrating their efforts on the inland strongholds, which they had a better chance of subjugating.

Even in the inner circle of political and diplomatic life in Paris in 1810, it was thought that another year would see the end of the war in Spain. Those who imagined this forgot, as people forgot in recent times in South Africa, that it is hard to tell when a nation that is fighting for its independence will acknowledge itself beaten. Yet, whilst under-rating the duration of Spain's resistance, men like Count Charles Nesselrode, at that time Councillor to the Russian Embassy in Paris, recognised that all was not going on so well as French reports would have them believe. Ney, the "bravest of the brave," had met his match in Lord Wellington, of whom Buonaparte averred that he was a man, such as he himself needed, one who *would have* "death or glory."

Forced to retreat from one position, Wellington was sure to turn up in another. If he could not cry checkmate at once, at least it should be stale-mate.

In a letter written from Lisbon on June 30th, 1813, Sir Charles Stuart announces to Mr. Disbrowe that the news of the great Battle of Vittoria has just come in. This was fought on June 21st, and, together with Salamanca and Waterloo, was looked upon by the Duke of Wellington himself as one of his best battles. Salamanca, he told John Wilson Croker, "relieved the whole south of Spain, changed all the prospects of the war, and was felt even in Russia. Vittoria freed the Peninsula altogether, broke off the armistice of Dresden, and thus led to Leipsic and the deliverance of Europe." At Vittoria, the Duke said, he had many thousands of men less than the French, probably sixty thousand as against seventy thousand, Talavera being the only battle of the campaign, in which the majority was on his side. At the Battle of Vittoria, Joseph Buonaparte and

Marshal Jourdan, who had attached himself specially to the former, were beaten as has been described by an eye-witness, "before the town, and in the town, and through the town, and out of the town, and behind the town, and all about the town." Joseph Buonaparte, who had little valour, had regretted, that he had ever been foolish enough to return to Spain; indeed, he had already made one expedition to Paris, which was in reality a flight, though his Imperial brother had tried to hide the truth by giving out that he had come to take counsel regarding his position. At Vittoria, Marshal Jourdan sacrificed not only his prestige, but his bâton amongst the baggage, for the French had lost all their guns, provisions, and valuables of every kind, all their regimental accounts, and the treasures they had looted at Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos. It is even said that the very generals had but the clothes they were wearing, and that most of the regimental officers were without boots or stockings.

We close this chapter with various letters from the Peninsula.

From MR. DISBROWE to COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P.

"MY DEAR FATHER,

I arrived here this morning, after a passage of $8\frac{1}{2}$ days. Till we got out of the Channel we had blowing weather, and the wind against us, and till the last three, bad weather enough. We were called up one night to clear for action, but when we came up with our supposed enemy, and all our guns ready pointed, we found she was a very large trading north-country ship, which the fog had magnified into a French frigate. Charles Stuart has lodged me here very well and comfortably, and I am going with him to the Opera to-night. Ciudad Rodrigo, you will have heard before this reaches you, has fallen. There is no news here at present. The Casa de Pombale (Stuart's house) is very handsome and large, but though the suite of rooms are magnificent, yet they are not in a finished style, the locks to the doors are mere latches, and most of the rooms have only, for fireplaces, stoves, the

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chimneys of which go through the windows. The first appearance of Lisbon and the Tagus is wonderfully fine, but the streets are narrow with high houses, and stink enough to poison you. I, from not being used to it, held my nose as I went along some of the narrower streets. On Monday next I believe I shall have an opportunity of sending those things to George.¹ Douglas is also going about that time to Cadiz, by him I shall write to let George know on board of what ship his things are embarked.

We had a large party in the cabin on our voyage, and contrived to amuse ourselves very well.

As this is only a letter to inform you of my safe arrival, and as I have had no time to see or do anything yet, I shall conclude with my very best love to all at home.

Your most affecate. Son,

E. C. DISBROWE.

Lisbon, *July 11th, Thursday, 1810.*"

Mention has been made already of Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, the writer of the following letter, a very popular as well as distinguished officer. He entered the army in 1787, served in the West Indies and also in the Egyptian campaign of 1801. We find him as Brigadier-General in Calabria and Sicily in 1805 to 1808, and again taking an active part in the whole of the Peninsular campaign under Sir Arthur Wellesley. The year 1814 brought him to Paris with the allied troops, where he and his wife, Lady Frances Cole,² shared with Lord Cathcart in renting part of the house of the widowed Duchess d'Abrantès, with whom all three were in constant friendly communication. The Duchess appears to have found them all charming, not sharing Baron vom Stein's view of Lord Cathcart, that he was a mixture of military pedantry and courtier-like reserve, "reminding one of old Field-Marshal Kalkstein, who locked three doors before asking, if the King had gone from Berlin to Potsdam."

¹ His younger brother in the Grenadier Guards.

² Youngest daughter of the first Earl of Malmesbury, a "diplomatist of the first rank." Vide *Burke's Peerage*.—M. M.-C.

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*From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GALBRAITH LOWRY COLE to
MR. DISBROWE.*

“VERA,
11 Oct. 1810.

MY DEAR E.,

Altho' I have little to say, I write a few lines by Lord March, who goes home with dispatches, merely to say that I have not been engaged in one late affair with the enemy. I think we are likely to be quiet for some time, if not for the winter. If we do advance further, I think it will not be before the surrender of Pampluna,¹ and if we are to judge by their conduct on the 7th and since, they are not likely to make much resistance. The Chestnut Mare is arrived and as fat as a Pig. I like her appearance much. The crossbred I also like. I rode her yesterday for the first time. Pray is the Bay Mare I sent home in foal or not?

Ever most sincerely,
G. LOWRY COLE.”

*From SIR CHARLES STUART to MR. DISBROWE.*²

“Lisbon,
15th November, 1811.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I have recd. yours of the 10th Oct. and am much obliged to you for the satisfactory information it contains, tho' to tell you the truth I am a little alarmed not to hear a word on the subject from any other quarter.

In case the mission goes, and you want to accompany me, I shall be most happy to have you. Hamilton³ will stay here to be in the way of promotion at home. Ld. (?) G. Leveson has however written respecting a son of Willy(?) Addington's,⁴

Should be Pampeluna or Pamplona. It was taken by the English on October 31st, 1813, when the French were compelled to recross the Pyrenees into France.

² It is evident from the two following letters, that Mr. Disbrowe's duties in connection with carrying despatches caused him to travel backwards and forwards between England and Portugal.

³ Probably Charles James Hamilton, known to his diplomatic colleagues as Ham-Ham, Minister to Brazil in 1842.

⁴ Probably William Leonard Addington, second Viscount Sidmouth.

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who I shall be glad to take as an amateur tho' your prior claim as private Secty. must of course be attended to.

Find out what sort of a cook Mr. Cockburn carries, for mind I will not be poisoned with Mr. Bull's bad Dishes. He is a fellow I swear never shall feed me when I can do without him.

Tell my Mother to give you all clothing and other effects you may be able to bring; if you can order a couple of pair of the boots which buckle round the Leg in wet weather and a pair of galoshes for the same purpose to use on Horse back, I shall be obliged to you. I also want a supply of stationery for a year, on which subject you should speak to Broughton.

Likewise a red Military sash, and a neat Cavalry Sabre with a steel Scabbard. Get also some yellow fever preventative and some James's powders.

If my servant has sent out no blue pantaloons, order me and bring six pair of Blue net Stockings, and if they cannot be made send or bring the pieces of the stuff to make here.

Ever yours affectly.,

S. S.

Pray call at Arrowsmith's the Map seller in Soho Square and obtain for me the following maps,

- 1st the Spanish West Indies
- 2 the United States of North America
- 3d the general Map of North America
- 4th any Map containing the Phillipines
- 5 a Map of Brasil."

Blue net stockings are an enigma to the uninitiated, and sound undesirable in a land where mosquitoes are not unknown, but for once our Minister to Lisbon's writing left no room for doubt.

The next letter from Sir Charles to Mr. Disbrowe is dated from Lisbon, on the 18th of April, 1813. It contains only two points of interest. The first is in reference to a curious fancy of Queen Charlotte's, namely, for snuff. It was said that she was an adept in the art of mixing it, a process which it took two hours to accomplish. Sir Charles says: "I

shall send the Queen's answer to Quintella though to say the truth, he poor man will be a good deal disappointed by the cold manner, in which it is conveyed. I send I think 60 pounds or more of snuff packed in a very handsome Chinese Chest, for as to a gold box it would be impossible to make one large enough for this enormous quantity, and Carmenayor (?) must have been crazy if He mentioned one." The next paragraph in the letter mentions John Walpole, a younger brother of the third Earl of Orford, whom we shall come across as Lord Walpole, Minister at St. Petersburg in the absence of Lord Cathcart. John Walpole served both in the army and the diplomatic service, but I cannot find that he received the distinction, proposed for him by Sir Charles Stuart.

"The people of the Herald's Office have sent to me to name 3 Esquires of the Bath. I propose to put down yourself and your brother George, and John Walpole if an Earl's son can be named, enquire of the knowing people for it, I beg, if it is possible and then ask John Walpole if he consents? & transmit your answer, that I may return the appointments to the Heralds.

I do not remember Prince Rostowsky (?), who I understand is a striking likeness of Hervey Wells.

No news in Lisbon except Ld. Wellington is made a Duke & Beresford a Marquis."

From MR. DISBROWE to COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P.

"Cadiz, April 28th, 1812.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I have now seen all the Lions of this Place, which amply repay me for the trouble. The Entrance of the outer harbour (for we cannot get into the inner) is very fine, but not equal to the Tagus.¹ On the one side you see, Rota Puerto Santa Maria and Puerto Real, with Matagorda and the Trocadero, all in possession of ye French, who have been

¹ Appendix C. contains an abridgment of Napier's account of Cadiz at that period.

unable to possess themselves of Matagorda (although we have been driven out of it two years) owing to the fire from Puntales. The Trocadero is immediately in the rear of Matagorda, and is strongly fortified; the port of St. Louis on the left is the nearest work (the French have constructed) to the works which connect Isla and Cadiz, it is situated on a small cape. The Right of the French lines are at Santa Catalina (it is on the right of Matagorda) from whence they can at any time throw shells into Cadiz; in the last bombardment only one man was wounded. On the right of Catalina (that is on the French right) the coast is rugged and broken, but on the left going along the French lines, it is low with Hills in the rear, along which are their works till they pass the Caraccas. The Trocadero is on the low land in front of these Hills, but I believe it is not commanded by them.

When they have got round the Caraccas, the French works consist of Tongues of Land fortified in a morass which is almost impassible and extends to Chiclana, above which Town on a commanding height is situated the strong fort of Santa Maria; their left is at Banosa on which Hill several redoubts have been constructed since the Battle.

The Lines of the Allies extend from the Castle of Santi Petri on the right, along that river as far as the extremity of the Towns of Isla and the Puente de Suano, from which point the First Line is advanced about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile into the morass where several Tongues of Land are fortified by redoubts and works of various kinds, and at one point are within twenty yards of the French Batteries, the right of this first Line is flanked by a branch of the Santi Petri River, and covered by gunboats during the night. The left extends in a line of forts to the Caraccas which is very strong, and is the extreme left of our lines. This part of Lines of either Army is equally strong. The Spaniards guard this first Line with a picket of the 95th and an Officer and Detachment of the Gds. are posted every night at the Puente de Suano. Our 2nd Line is garrisoned by British, and extends from the town of the Isla de Leon to Santi Petri. All the Batteries are commanded by a redoubt on a Hill called the Telegraph Heights. In the rear of the Town of Isla are also two very

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strong works, and one on the left of the Town, which commands the Caracas, and would prevent the French from maintaining themselves in that post if they should get possession of it.

Along the Sandy Beech between Isla and Cadiz are two very strong redoubts, Torregorda (antiently Hercules Tower) and the Corteduro, besides the Puntales and several other smaller works ; the two former go all across the beach.

The Town of Cadiz is defended by three walls on this side, but there is a weak part where the 3rd wall might be attacked without the necessity of breaking the two first. On the sea side the Town is surrounded by an high wall, and a ridge of rocks runs about $\frac{2}{3}$ round it.

The Churches are fine, but the Cathedral which is unfinished is the finest thing I ever saw, the whole is cased with marble, beautifully carved and is of great extent. The Theatre is pretty and large enough for the Town, the Performance consists of a play, a few songs (most execrably sung), some exceeding pretty national dances, and a humorous farce, the comic actors are good. After dinner, which is usually over before six o'clock, we walk on the Alameda (wide Panorama) till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, then adjourn to a Sesterba (?), or small party, from thence to the Play at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, which ends about eleven, when if the night is very fine and moonlight, you walk in the Praza San Antonio till twelve, every person from the Theatre adjourning there.

Captain Sneyd of the Myrtle sails for Lisbon the day after to-morrow. He has given me a passage on board, which I shall accept, as I have had a slight attack of the colorum morbus for a day and night, or I should have gone yesterday to Agamonte, but though I am now quite well I think it will be better not to undertake so fatiguing a ride, in the sun, so soon after.

George is very well, much stouter than he was but certainly not taller than Henry. With my very best love to all at home, believe me ever my dear Father

Your most affecate. Son,

E. C. D."

Wednesday, April 29th, 1812.

From SIR CHARLES STUART to MR. DISBROWE.

“MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I am to return you many thanks for your letter of the 20th Nov., which has only just reached me, and of which I have transmitted a copy (?) to Lord Wellington, though I think it very probable that the intercepted communications from Soult will have reached him through other Channels.

You have had a good opportunity of seeing the best part of Germany, and what is better of seeing it under very favourable circumstances, if the composition of the Embassy to which you are attached is agreeable to you, though even under the worse of circumstances the number of honourables who are now all making the same nosegay in Frankfort cannot fail to give you good society.

We are nearly *in statu quo* at Lisbon with this exception that Hobart and Carmenayor (?) live entirely in English Society, leaving me the entire management of the Portuguese, who I think continue to possess sufficient attraction to induce me to applaud the Division which accident has chalked out.

Marie de Carno is to marry her cousin G——, who possesses nearly £3,000 a year, English money, and I understand the ceremony takes place shortly.

Croft having completed his cure—is back in England.

Ever yours sincerely

C. S.

Pray remember me to any of my old Roman and Austrian Friends you may meet with.

Lisbon, 23rd Jan., 1813.

E. DISBROWE, Esq.”

Jean de Dieu Nicolas Soult, Duke of Dalmatia and Marshal of France, the conqueror of Oporto, was a persistent opponent of Lord Wellington. Neither rebuffs nor difficulties caused him to lose heart. Defeated at one point, he turned up at another. Creating unexpected diversions, and thus harassing the movements of the British and Spanish troops, was a

policy in which he excelled, and though it has not been possible to learn the subject of the intercepted communications to which Sir Charles Stuart refers, the acquisition cannot have been unimportant. We find Soult at one time in Estremadura, at another in Andalusia. If he abandons the siege of Cadiz it is only to reinforce Suchet in the Province of Valencia. Again he is in the Pyrenees, opposing Wellington at all cost, and driven into France, retires into camp at Bayonne to be heard of again later at Orthez. Even the terrible conflict at Toulouse marring the holy stillness of Easter Day, 1814, was not decisive enough in itself as a British victory to have ended the conflict, had not Napoleon's defeat brought about his abdication and opened the gates of Paris to the allies. The story of Soult in the Peninsula is a story of a man bent on fighting to the last, as keen at a losing game in 1814 as he was in 1809, when he met Sir John Moore at Corunna. Speaking of Corunna, I cannot forbear repeating what has been told me by a dear Scottish relative, whose father was with the gallant 43rd in the Peninsula, and though a mere lad, fought himself through surrounding hosts with a handful of men. "Surrender? never!" cried the brave boy, and the astonished foe, believing him to be backed by reinforcements, let him pass through their midst. On returning to Scotland, and taking the cares of a benedict upon him, he would dance his wee girlies on his foot, and tell them stories of the war. These included tales of their brave "great-grand uncle," General Anstruther, who commanded Sir John Moore's rearguard in the retreat from Corunna. He did not hold with that retreat. His duty was to keep the enemy at bay, and he did so successfully, but when his work was completed fell a victim to exhaustion and overstrain. Another story told to the little maidens was of Sir James Lindsay. Unlike the sterner Wellington, Sir James was lenient with his men when they foraged for food, for he knew their hungry condition. Once finding a handful of soldiers looting a flour mill, he reproved them severely, marking their backs with flour that he might recognise them when again in camp. But they laughed and no longer dreaded his wrath, when the head of a captured hen was

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seen peeping out of his own coat-tail pocket. But to return to the Peninsula letters.

From SIR CHARLES STUART to MR. DISBROWE.

“MY DEAR DISBROWE,

As you are already at Petersburg there are two or three little commissions to which I am anxious to call your attention. Will you have the goodness to ascertain if Dubachewsky, the Russian Consul here, ever communicated to His Court the circumstances under which I caused the 300 Russians (being the crew of the Spitzbergen sloop of war detained at Vigo) to be sent Home before the conclusion of peace, for although He transmitted me very fine notes etc. on the subject it has not been noticed in any way whatever by the Government, an omission which surprises me because it is contrary to the Russian custom, & I think it's owing to Dubachewsky having concealed the circumstances, and attributed the return of the men to his own exertions, keeping back the note I sent Him on the subject to forward to His Court.

I am however rather accustomed to similar omissions as the usual Box was not sent me on the conclusion of my Mission, or rather on the arrival of Lord (?) G. Leveson¹ in 1807, though I should be sorry to mention the fact to anyone but yourself.

I shall be obliged to you to obtain me a portrait of the Emperor Alexander painted by the best artist in Russia, about three-quarters length of the natural size, that is, as large as life. Guarenghi will point out the person who can best do it. Pray do not exceed £40 without frame in the price, which Bayley² will pay, & send it either to Lisbon in a ship going with convoy or to Broytta (?).

If you can get me a Picture of the King of Prussia (on the same terms) I shall be obliged to you. Perhaps Schladen,

¹ This may refer to the second Duke of Sutherland, whose father was then Marquess of Stafford.

² Sir Daniel Bayley, married to a Russian lady, and for many years British Consul-General, at St. Petersburg.



FRANCIS II, of the Holy Roman Empire
(1792-1806)

FRANCIS I, Emperor of Austria
(1804-1835)

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the Prussian Minister at Petersburg, can tell you of some artist in Berlin who will execute it.

Ever yrs.

CH. STUART.

I had written this when the news of the great Battle at Victoria, which I think secures the independence of Spain, reached me.

All the Baggage and artillery of Joseph's army is taken. Pray send the enclosed by a safe opportunity to Vienna.

Lisbon, *June 30th*, 1813."

Sir Charles speaks as if Mr. Disbrowe were already at St. Petersburg, but he must have received this letter whilst still attached to the Headquarters at Reichenbach. Through being sent first to the Peninsula, and then to Reichenbach, as secretary to Lord Cathcart, who was attached to the Headquarters of the Czar, Mr. Disbrowe had very special opportunities of realising the extensiveness of the schemes for the subjugation of Europe, which Napoleon had entertained. It was at Reichenbach that, on the 27th of June, 1813, Austria signed the treaty in which she engaged to induce Buonaparte to give up the Duchy of Warsaw, and the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfurt, as well as certain parts of Northern Germany and Illyria.¹ Buonaparte, besides minor concessions, was to be left undisturbed in his relationship to the Confederation of the Rhine, which included sixteen German princes, with those of Wurtemberg and Baden at their head. This alone showed that to dream of German unity was as yet considered utopian. In addition, Napoleon was to retain his sovereignty over France, and his near relatives were to be allowed to retain their rule in parts of Italy, and over Belgium and Holland. Surely, no father could be more tender with a troublesome son than the Emperor of Austria was prepared to be towards his Imperial son-in-law, when acting as mediator on behalf of the Allies. But it was also to be an ultimatum for all parties, and he

¹ The Illyrian provinces consisted of Carniola, Carinthia, and Istria.

undertook to approach Napoleon with this generous proposition in one hand, and a declaration of war in the other.

Buonaparte hoped against hope for further concessions and allowed the time for an acceptance of the ultimatum to slip by unheeded, therefore hostilities recommenced. Subsequent events showed that this apparent failure led to the success of the Allies. Events now followed on each other thick and fast, and though much had first to come, the end was Elba. Sir Edward Disbrowe's daughter has already published a letter from her father written in August, the most memorable month of that memorable year, when, in spite of some advantages to Buonaparte, all things were leading up to the great three days' struggle at Leipzig on the 16th, 17th and 18th of October, "die Völkerschlacht," as Germans love to call it. Nuits, Sedan and another German entrance into Paris have to some extent dulled the enthusiasm for the victories of early Napoleonic times, but I have recollections of days spent in my childhood, in Germany, before the Franco-German war, when the anniversary of Leipzig was kept with such demonstrations of joy and thankfulness, that one would have been singularly cold-blooded not to have felt a glow of sympathy with those who were rejoicing. There is nothing more infectious than genuine enthusiasm.

It is necessary to introduce Spanish and German affairs simultaneously, because it was the fact of their simultaneousness which brought on the triumph of the Allies. Singly, or even when opposed to neighbouring powers, Napoleon appeared invincible, yet even his strength became weakness by division, and now we turn again to Spain as viewed from Portugal.

From SIR CHARLES STUART to MR. DISBROWE.

"LISBON, 8th October, 1813.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,—Yours of the 24th Aug., has just reached me, & I am very much obliged to you for the copy of the Austrian declaration which looks very like the writing of my friend Gentz & I think is one of the best Productions

of His Pen. If any other remarkable paper should appear or you should meet with any German publication worth notice on the Events of the Dy. I beg you will buy & send it me, making Broughton¹ pay you.

The Army waits for the surrender of Pampeluna to move across the Pyrenees and I think I am not sanguine in predicting that when they do move, they will without difficulty occupy the Line of the Adour. Suchet has maltreated the advance of the Eastern Army in an affair near Villafranca. His object, which was the delivery of the garrisons of Tortosa & Lerida, has however fallen through, so that he has not much to boast of.

Report says your Friend Carno is to be married to Her Cousin G. (?) if true it is lucky for Her as He has near £3,000 a year, which is more than she could expect in this country.

Ever yours sincerely,

C.S.

By the way, if you can obtain a copy of *Suhm's works* pray buy & credit it to me. He was a Dane. I am not sure whether he wrote in German or Danish. They are, I think, in Folio & very voluminous."

Sir Charles speaks of Suchet delivering the garrisons of Tortosa and Lerida. Of the former, Suchet had gained possession on the 13th of May, 1810. He had caused the French columns to advance from every side in a concentric direction on the citadel, driving men, women and children before them, whilst the guns of the castle executed terrible havoc amongst both friends and foes. Together with the retreating soldiers, the frightened crowds flew up the steep ascent, wild with terror, and uttering piercing cries. The whole night long the French fire continued, regardless of the sufferings of so many innocent and defenceless creatures, till at length the Governor could stand the scene of carnage no longer, and capitulated from motives of humanity. It was on January 11th, 1811, that Suchet had also become master of Tortosa.

¹ A Foreign Office official.

For the purpose of keeping Sir Charles Stuart's correspondence together, the two last letters in this chapter are not put in their exact order. It was with keen regret, that Sir Charles parted from his young kinsman, as acknowledged not only by the minister himself but also by his mother, Lady Stuart, daughter of Lord Vere Bertie, son of the Duke of Ancaster. Lady Stuart and the third Countess of Buckinghamshire, Mr. Disbrowe's grandmother, were sisters and co-heiresses. Lady Stuart's letters, though pleasant reading, do not contain anything of sufficient moment to warrant their reproduction, but she always writes in a most affectionate strain to her great nephew, and in a letter to him, dated from Whitehall, on the 17th of June, 1813, says of her son, "I heard from him the other day, much concerned at your quitting him, although I believe he thinks you are right, he had only then (the 28th of May) heard it decidedly"; and again on June the 29th, "Charles's last letter was full of lamentations at your absence although thinking you in the right, but he seems to say that your absence has changed his plans and that he will not stir from Lisbon this year. He encloses a letter to me to beg you to deliver at St. Petersburg for a commission he wants to be executed. Mr. Bailey¹ is a most useful man."

¹ Bayley, afterwards Sir Daniel.

CHAPTER II

GERMANY IN 1813.

THE Congress of Reichenbach may be looked upon as the creation of Stein. The unparalleled defeat of Napoleon's armies in the Russian campaign, the unexpected manner in which the Emperor of Russia had risen to the occasion, showing qualities with which few people had as yet credited him; the difficulties besetting Prussia, the hesitancy of Austria, and the willingness of England to co-operate, gave Stein his opportunity, and led him to advise Alexander to enter Germany, which required to be rendered independent once more. To accomplish this it was needful that the Confederation of the Rhine should cease to exist. As a logical sequence a place of rendezvous was wanted, where the Allies could meet in council either in person or by deputy. Such was the origin of what has been referred to already as the "Ambulatory Congress," and what Mr. Disbrowe's valet termed "The Russian Headquarters," in search of which master and servant set forth together, when "my gentmⁿ" was appointed attaché to the Earl of Cathcart in June, 1813." It was no easy journey. Setting sail in a Government packet, they began their voyage by a collision, of which, however, no details are known. On reaching Berlin, they were told that the headquarters were at Frankfurt on the Oder, and went there only to find on reaching that city that the information was incorrect.

The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and sundry generals had each their own particular headquarters; according to the valet there were at least three or four of these.

As night came on, the travellers found themselves in alarming proximity to the bivouack fires of the French, and recognising discretion as the better part of valour, left the post road and endeavoured to pursue their way through a forest. They had taken the precaution of providing themselves with a carriage at Gothenburg. The postilion lost his way in the wood and drove into a thicket, and the carriage was upset. Mr. Disbrowe, on seeing the French bivouack fire, had made his servant take his loaded pistols out of their case, and place one in the right hand and the other in the left-hand pocket of the carriage. The result was that the former had a very narrow escape of ending his career for good and all. When the carriage turned over, the pistol nearest him fell out of the pocket and struck him in the temple. Happily there was no explosion. The fall of the carriage and crashing of a lamp attracted a picquet of Cossacks bent on plunder. It was fortunate that Eggert could muster enough Russian and Polish to explain his master's office to them, or they would have added Mr. Disbrowe's worldly goods to other spoils of war already in their possession.

Freed from the attentions of the Cossacks, the young diplomatist and his servant met a party of Prussian cavalry at daybreak, who informed them that the Headquarters had been changed and subdivided. The Emperor of Russia was at Peterswalden, but his staff was at Reichenbach, as also Lord Cathcart. To Reichenbach, therefore, the travellers bent their steps, and reached Lord Cathcart, the ambassador, whom Stein found altogether too stilted and fussy to suit his taste. Perhaps the *ci-devant* commander of the expedition to Copenhagen had that lingering touch of quarter-deck, which also sometimes makes old naval officers imperious and bombastic. His unnecessary secretiveness, which annoyed Vom Stein, may have originated from the same cause, namely, that he was accustomed to the glorious isolation of being absolute monarch of his own sphere, unable to take counsel of any man, unless prepared to seek it of his inferiors.

We know little of the Reichenbach days. They seem to have been spent by Mr. Disbrowe in a similar manner to

those in the Peninsula, that is by being what might be termed "diplomatic galloper" to his chief, a life which, in those warlike times, with the inconveniences of bad roads, dangers by the way, and difficulties in procuring food and conveyances, forced a bearer of despatches to exercise his wits, as no present-day king's messenger has to do. It is not possible to ascertain whether Mr. Disbrowe made more than one journey to St. Petersburg, or whether his going there was for some time a matter of probability, and therefore referred to as imminent some months before it really took place. Sir Charles Stuart, writing from Lisbon in June, 1813, is evidently of the opinion that he is already there, and in the following letter from Mr. Disbrowe to his sister Charlotte, afterwards Lady Taylor, reference is made to the prospect of proceeding shortly to the Russian capital. All we know for certain is that he was at Reichenbach at the beginning of August, and Eggert speaks of a journey to St. Petersburg six months later.

From MR. DISBROWE to MISS DISBROWE.

"Reichenbach, *July 19th, 1813.*

MY DEAR CHARLOTTE,

Since last I wrote to you I have been making a tour for nine or ten days with Trench who was in the Stafford.¹ We saw a most beautiful Country from the high fortress of Silderberg, situated at the extremity of a long range of hills equally strong by nature and art. The view is well varied by hills, dales, richly cultivated extensive woods, the fine tower of Frankenstein and various villages. We next proceeded to Glatz the capital of the county of that name remarkable only for the strength of its walls, from thence to Landeck a watering place full of Company where the Ladies and Gentlemen all bathe in the same bath. There is a ball twice a week. We stayed two days to see one and then passed over a most romantic rocky country for 3 days more as far as Waldenberg and the next day returned to Reichenbach.

¹ Stafford militia.

I hope by the next post to have a letter from you giving me an account of the end of your London Campaign with which I hope you have been pleased. I suppose Louisa is most anxious for the next, when she hopes to participate in the gaieties of London. I have not found this the most amusing place possible and I hope soon to proceed to Petersburg. I am sorry to have missed seeing George. Stuart writes me word that He is at Lisbon.

Give my best love to all at home—Uncles, Aunts, Cousins, and believe me ever yrs. most affectly.

E. C. D."

On June 14th, 1813, a treaty was signed at Reichenbach covering certain negotiations as to subsidies from England, and forming the basis of the alliance against Napoleon. On July the 27th, Austria gave in her adhesion to the schemes of the Allies.

Mr. Disbrowe, writing to his father on the 3rd of August, informed him that the armistice would expire "in seven days with a notice of six more," and that he expected to move on in about twelve days. News had come of Buonaparte having left Mayence, and being expected on that very day at Dresden.

The enemy's army in Saxony was reckoned at not less than 250,000 men. The Prussian and Russian armies, then in Silesia, were computed at from 170,000 to 200,000 men, all in excellent spirits, and included a strong force of artillery, which had the advantage of being commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, who had won his laurels by judicious tactics in the Russian campaign. Whilst other generals pressed for striking a decisive action with a view to annihilating the bulk of the French army, he had held to retreating repeatedly before the foe, till he should be able to collect the Russian forces and join Bagration and Kutusow. The results justified the line of conduct pursued by him in opposition to popular opinion.

A friend, Mr. John Perceval, writing from Vienna to Mr. Disbrowe, gives the views current in Vienna in the anxious days preceding Leipzig. We believe this to be one of the

numerous children of the Premier, the Right Honble. Spencer Perceval, who was a personal friend of the old Vice-Chamberlain, Colonel Disbrowe, and shot in the lobby of the House of Commons on May the 11th, 1809.

From MR. JOHN PERCEVAL to MR. DISBROWE.

“DEAR DISBROWE,

I have delayed so long returning you my thanks for your letter from Prague, that you will hardly accept them now. I daresay they are not, however, the less sincere. It is too late at all events to answer your question concerning the public opinion about the event of the war, as you may imagine, that since the triumphal entry of the 24 post boys and the french eagles the other day, the spirits have been a little raised. Last night we were much alarmed by some ugly reports about the Swedes and a corps of Prussians having had a devil of a licking, and of the entry of the French into Berlin. This morning, they still gain more credit, and I fear it is more than possible. This is miserable news indeed if true. What a lucky stroke of fate in Bonaparte's favour, that of Moreau's death. He is a sad loss indeed. We have heard of another Victory of Lord W's under the walls of Bayonne, we are to hope the best from that quarter, after all, I believe. Baillie, Barnet, Hobhouse¹ and myself are leaving Vienna this very morning on a tour to Fiume, from which we expect to return in 3 weeks; we may very likely see some bloody work in that part of the world; and that is the only temptation I have in going there. Vienna is stupid enough. The old Prince de Ligne's is the only bearable house here at present. He has always the best story to tell and is quite a character. The place has been in a worry on account of the Russian Grand duchesses on whose arrival the theatre was illuminated, when, oh—extravagant, would you believe, that there was a distribution of *three* candles to every *two* boxes. You may imagine the splendid effect this produced; and wish you had been *there* to see.

¹ Born 1790, called to the Bar 1826. Keeper of State papers, published 11 vols. of *State Papers* in 1852.

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I shall not be surprised to hear upon my return that you have accompanied Ld. Walpole to Petersburg for he means to be with you in a few days. Please remember me kindly to Wynn if still in company, and thank him for his letter.

Believe me most sincerely yours,

JOHN PERCEVAL.

Vienna, *6th of September*, 1813.”

The time at which this letter was written was indeed a critical one, both for the Allies and Buonaparte. During the preceding month of August, the war had been carried on in northern Germany with exceptional difficulty, owing to the extraordinary rainfall having rendered the marching and countermarching of the troops at times well-nigh impossible. The French lost many of their comrades in the heavy floods, and the young conscripts, who formed a large part of Buonaparte's army, had not the strong rallying power of the tried veterans of former campaigns. Nevertheless, until after the battle of Dresden, fortune seemed to favour Napoleon. It is to the loss of General Moreau on that momentous occasion that Mr. Perceval refers. This distinguished general, once commanding the armies of the Rhine, and famed as victor of Hohenlinden, and in high favour with Buonaparte, had been exiled from France in 1804. His master having become jealous of him had compassed his disgrace, and Moreau had offered his services to Russia, which were duly accepted.

The ill success of the Allies at Dresden is attributed to Prince Schwartzenberg, who would probably have succeeded in reducing the town on August 25th, when the garrison was unsupported, but on the two following days he was utterly routed by Napoleon, who retraced his steps from the borders of Silesia on hearing that his presence was so urgently needed. Buonaparte is credited with having himself directed the shot which carried away both Moreau's legs and caused the latter's death, as he stood directing the Russian firing at the side of the Emperor Alexander. The "miserable news" quoted by Mr. Perceval regarding the disaster to the Swedes and Russians and the entry of the French into Berlin was however incorrect, although the possibility of the

latter was feared even at Berlin itself. On the very day, September 6th, on which he wrote mentioning this report, Generals Bülow and Tauentzien effected a brilliant victory over Marshal Ney at Dennewitz, twenty thousand men successfully opposing seventy thousand. This victory had been preceded eleven days previously by Blücher's triumph in Silesia. It was the engagement which earned the old warrior the name of "Marshal Vorwärts" with his men, because when the powder proved too damp for use, "Blücher drew his sword and with the cry of "Vorwärts" called on his soldiers to advance. This soubriquet was doubtless a more valued title of honour to the plain rough soldier than that of Prince of Wahlstadt, which distinction was bestowed on him in memory of the day. The title originated from the scene of the French disaster, where Buonaparte's soldiers were driven into the swollen streams of the Neisse and the Katzbach, with the aid of pikes, bayonets and the butt ends of the guns of the Silesian Landwehr. The monastery of Wahlstadt marks the spot, and there too, in ages long past, Silesian heroes had withstood the Tartar hordes.

Napoleon's star was indeed on the wane, though the end was not yet. It was to the Prince de Ligne, also mentioned in this same letter, that some people attributed the *bon mot* regarding the Congress of Vienna, *le congrès danse mais il ne marche pas*, though it seems likely that the idea occurred to more than one quick-witted person. The Prince had a considerable idea of his own humour and literary ability, and was undoubtedly a *persona grata* in society, by reason of his conversational powers. It is to Count Nesselrode that we are indebted for the following anecdote concerning his writings. In 1797 the Count had burthened himself, on a journey from Dresden to Russia, with fourteen volumes of the Prince's literary effusions, probably his celebrated "Mélange," which the Prince had sold to the Dresden libraries. Count Nesselrode paid a good round sum for his purchase, and then found he could assimilate all that the volumes contained of value *on his homeward way*. There was evidently much padding. The Prince de Ligne was still on active service and became an Austrian field-marshal, yet,

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with all that, he does not appear to have acquired great distinction as a general. His deepest feelings centred round a son killed in the campaign of 1792, whose loss he never ceased to mourn.

The Russian Grand Duchesses had reason to be well satisfied, comical though it may sound, with the illumination of *three candles to two boxes*, which amuses Mr. Perceval. I have seen a letter written by my grandmother from Milan, some four years later than the date of the Grand Duchesses' visit to Vienna, telling how on ordinary occasions, if visitors to the theatres wanted any light at all beyond that on the stage, they were expected to bring their own lamps or candles.

The same letter told of it being the general custom for housemaids to empty basins from the front windows of the different storeys out into the streets and thoroughfares, which caused gentlemen accompanying ladies to be always careful that the ladies should not risk being splashed, but in doing so they often encountered severe risks themselves. We have certainly improved in some respects, degenerate though we be.

In the beginning of this chapter reference is made to the Emperor Alexander, of whom I propose to speak more fully in connection with Lord Walpole's letters from St. Petersburg and the closing scenes of 1815. In doing so I shall quote Stein's favourable opinion of the Russian Emperor, an opinion which gathered strength in the months preceding the first fall of Napoleon.

Mr. Disbrowe had also a very high opinion of the Emperor. How much he was brought into personal contact with him when at the Russian headquarters at Reichenbach in 1813, we are unaware. It is not likely that this would be a matter of frequent occurrence with a young attaché in the early days of his career, though Mr. Disbrowe was already a man marked for preferment. All we know is, that his servant tells with pride that he had the honour of speaking to His Imperial Majesty, who came on horseback and stopped at the garden fence and "hollowed" him to ask for Lord Cathcart. This little touch is thoroughly in keeping with the simplicity of the Emperor's ways.

Amongst Mr. Disbrowe's papers, there is an interesting list of twenty-four quarto volumes giving a "Systematic Exposition of the Civil Laws of the Russian Empire." It is written in French, and is headed by a statement to the effect that these works are published by the Counsellor of State, Baron Rosenkamppff, formerly presiding member of the Commission of Legislation established by the Emperor Alexander in 1804, and abolished by His Majesty the Emperor Nicholas in 1825, which was the first year of Nicholas' reign. The subject-matter of these volumes gives a distinct indication of the interest taken by Alexander in forwarding all liberal and enlightened measures. One cannot help wondering whether Russia has gone back in the standard of personal freedom since Alexander's day, as one reads the long list of rights which were "discussed and approved" by the Council of the Empire. They referred not only to the rights of the indigent, whether children or grown-up, whether born in wedlock or otherwise, but there existed volumes dealing at length with the rights of strangers. The subjects included "the rights of prisoners of war," those of "Jews in certain provinces of Russia," and those of "Oriental nations." It is specified particularly that these also concerned persons who were not Russian subjects. It is significant that the Commission dealing with these points, and with others regarding inherited property and personalty, should have ceased with Alexander's reign and the accession of his brother, after having existed for twenty-one years.

When Mr. Disbrowe was sent in 1825 as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. Petersburg, he was able, though only for a short time, to renew his early impressions of the Czar. Alexander died in November of the following year. Mr. Disbrowe says of him in his Memorandum, referring to Russian events in general, in the momentous year or the *émeute*, before the accession of Nicholas: "I conclude with one word on poor Alexander I. (who has done more for Russia than any three sovereigns she ever possessed). I will call to your memory the character given of him in 1805 after Austerlitz, a character of pusillanimity in the hour of danger, a want of proper confidence in himself

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and in his own Empire's resource ; this opinion of him had its weight up to 1812. And at the epoch of the French invasion, the dread of his not proving himself up to the mark in that momentous crisis induced those about him to prevent him from joining the army until the retreat from Moscow had indeed decided the question. We know that in success he showed himself valiant, magnanimous, and moderate."

CHAPTER III

AN OPINION FROM CALCUTTA.

WHILST events were crowding on each other thick and fast in Germany and France, life in India was pursuing a course as tranquil as if the world had been all at peace. The sound of battle had not reached those far-off shores, kingdoms rising and waning did not disturb the lethargy of its inhabitants: only if some particularly startling event had happened, privileged officials in touch with the Foreign Office at home were apprised of the fact. Strange indeed was the contrast between existence day by day in France and Germany and in far-off Calcutta, as testified by a letter from Sir James Buller East, from the banks of the Hugli. What he knew of European affairs he learnt from the Ambassador at Constantinople, and the information thus derived had not generated in him a favourable opinion either of Buonaparte or of the French nation.

It may have been hard to realise the difficulties of the latter from so great a distance. The French had been in no hurry to throw over Napoleon and hail the return of the Bourbons. They had suffered much at the hands of the latter, and their new ruler, if he had plunged them into strife, had helped forward the cause of education, given greater liberty to the Protestants, improved their roads, and in some degree relieved their taxation. But necessity and the force of circumstances led them at last to give up the struggle; that they were unwilling to do so, their conduct on Napoleon's return from Elba proved abundantly. It found them glad at seeing Louis XVIII. resign and once more retiring to

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Ghent. Not without meaning had been the uncomplimentary cry of the *gamins* of Paris,

“*Roule ta bosse, gros Cochon,
Et rends ta couronne à Napoléon.*”

It is, however, to the first, not the second, triumph of the Allies that Sir James Buller East refers, and with his views on the situation of Europe we give his graphic impressions of India as it was at that period.

Sir James was the second baronet, and the eldest son of Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice at Calcutta, whose name will ever be honourably connected with the Hindoo college in that city. Sir James was born in 1789, and in 1822 he married Caroline, daughter of the first Lord Leigh, of Stoneleigh Abbey, in Warwickshire. He was sent out to Calcutta to fill an assistant judgeship, and having the pen of a ready writer, took an early opportunity of sending his friend, Edward Disbrowe, a graphic description of the country, where his work lay. It is not, however, for that reason that we reproduce his letter, but because of any interest attaching to the view taken in far-off India of Western politics in September, 1814, when for some months Europe had been enjoying the blessings of a peace which none realised was so soon to be broken by the great struggle that was to be the forerunner of a more lasting state of tranquillity.

From SIR JAMES BULLER EAST to MR. DISBROWE.

“Court House,
Calcutta, *Sept. 1st, 1814.*”

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

The last letter I wrote you was shortly after our arrival in this land, and I have been threatening you with another in my own mind for the last three months.

Stanley's account from Frankfurt, noticing your *rencontre* there, gave me hopes of a *long précis* of the Campaign, which he tells me was in hand, and which I might be expecting immediately. I have waited accordingly to give you the satisfaction of acknowledging it, till two or three arrivals from England have made the receipt and perhaps the com-

position much more uncertain, and I am writing now therefore in great part to shame you. Original news of Continental affairs always comes over land via Constantinople to India, so that if anything worthy an Ambassador's pen has happened abroad, we are sure to hear of it in this manner in the course of about three months. Thus we have been for some time in possession of all the strange occurrences in France down to the fifteenth of April, including not only the forcible deposition and voluntary abdication of Napoleon, but the actual decampment of that Arch Sinner under his three bear leaders,¹ for the unfortunate Island which is doomed hereafter to contain him. Not all the instances of modern times, I believe, which might be collected amongst all the high Potentates and heroes of the world, present so true an example of degradation of human pride, or so admirable a lesson for those who may be hereafter inclined to disturb the happiness of mankind for the gratification of their own paltry ambition. The French nation also comes in for its full share of discredit, and in the late instance, fully exemplifies the truth and accuracy of the characteristics which have been so long assigned it by the other nations of Europe. The Greeks had a high spirit of nationality and great personal bravery like the French. But in both people there seems a similar volatility also, and many traits both of their individual and national character to draw the resemblance closer, and not amongst the least of it, that after many noble struggles for their liberty as a people and the defeat of invading armies, which in both cases threatened their entire destruction not long before their actual fall, they should all of a sudden at last give way and submit without any exhibition of national pride or much apparent concern for what was passing—the one to become a province of a foreign power, the other to have a constitution imposed upon them dictated mostly by the very governments and princes they had lately laid prostrate before them, or what is more cutting still, by a nation which had acquired but little military reputation before, and which they so much despised. The French, and

¹ — Sir Niel Campbell for England, Baron Kohler for Austria.—
M. M.-C.

the world and England in particular, owe the later Bourbons so little love or admiration that I cannot but consider their restoration to the throne as another, further proof of the country's degradation. And their vile submissive adulation of that family in their public papers, and proceedings, after all the former expressions of their abhorrence, is really quite disgusting. However, if they could get rid of the tyrant, Napoleon, by no other means than this national submission, this, even, for so great and desirable an end may be justifiable. The worst stigma of all is the acknowledgement implied in such a course of action, that they had not power or spirit enough as a people to shake off from themselves the odious and mean chains by which their master held them. Pray send me, if you have seen him, particular accounts of the Great Alexander. You have really had most interesting scenes before you, and must have derived not only great amusement but infinite instruction from your participation, however slight, in the revolutions which have been working in the civilised world. I wish I could find in this country the capabilities to rouse more lively and interesting feelings than any researches whatever are likely to afford. However ancient the soil and primitively original the manners of the people of India, there is still wanting much to give a *goût* to the inquisitive visitor's toils. Perhaps there may be a want of original taste that makes one harp so fondly on whatever has been the study of one's youth, and neglect with indifference all that has not been sanctified by Classical mention, or by the history of that part of the world only, with which the individual is connected—but at all events it may be excusable to look with less enthusiasm on a country whose history is for the most part wrapped in impenetrable shades, or, wherever the light does at all break in, whose records are filled only with the achievements of barbarians mixed up with the most childish and trumpery superstitions. However, I must reserve this sort of remark, undoubtedly, till I am better qualified to judge; perhaps the country internally may offer more of interest, but I own I do not expect to find it, when the accounts of its antiquities are so confused and uncertain, and the people themselves so ignorant and un-

attractive in the present generation. Of all those whom I have met with in Calcutta, which may now be considered the metropolis of the Continent, since the decline of Delhi, and there should be collected in such a place many of the most active and most intelligent natives, I have rarely observed any of those acquirements or feelings which command respect in other countries. In every class they are tyrants at heart, and all are bullies who can be so. Of course the same persons are mean and subservient to all who are stronger than themselves, and there is a heartlessness which is quite shocking both in children, parents, and associates, and there are few relations of life which have so much mutuality, as not to be assailable by gain. Their quiet and pacific dispositions are perhaps more attributable to apathy than to any moving principles, but they are easy to govern in their present superstition about casts, their constitution being thus in spirit patriarchal. The Government are willing perhaps that so they should remain, but I own I should think it much more beneficial to the Mother country to improve all classes with whom she has to communicate, and enjoy a more advantageous intercourse, while fate allows it to last, than by keeping them in a state of semi-barbarism and ignorance, to protract their dependence with such inferior advantages to ourselves as we now derive from them. I hardly know what is the Company's¹ policy on this great question, but I am sure it is inconsistent and absurd, whatever it may be. They have entirely neglected the great source of national improvement and extensive system of national education, while they are endeavouring by their emissaries to convert the people to Christianity and of course to prevent the system of casts, before they have given them the good sense on which every religion should be founded, and without which in a political point of view, the defalcation from their present constitution, the only bond we could yet hold them by, would be dangerous in the extreme.

At present my observations have been entirely confined to Calcutta, from which I have as yet moved but a few miles. I intend next year, however, to begin a series of excursions

¹ The E st India Company.

which, if I am not tired of my first impressions, will probably take one through the greater part of this country within reach of a six weeks' tour. At present I have been prevented moving by an appointment of the Magistracy of Calcutta, which, as the business is much in arrear, demands very close attendance, besides it would be unseemly to decamp so shortly after my accession to office. Lord Moira¹ and his family, and a tremendous retinue, set off three months ago—merely on a tour of inspection to the Upper Provinces, and intend proceeding as far as Newdwar on the borders of Lahore. How far they will be able to accomplish this scheme within the months allotted for the expedition, seems doubtful. Already after so many tedious days tracking or sailing up the river, which is represented by a correspondent of mine and felt, I believe, by the whole party as extremely eminent, they have got no further than 100 miles beyond Patna—the thermometer having been often during that time under the thin covering of their pinnaces at 100 and 110 degrees. The fact is that at this season of the year, which is, however, the only one that allows sufficient depth of water in many parts, when the discharges from the snowy mountains swell and increase the violence of the stream, the Ganges becomes rather untractable, and as the wind is always blowing during the Monsoon in a contrary direction to it, the combining powers render it oftentimes very difficult and dangerous. Already several boats have been lost in passing the promontory of Monghir, by which, owing to its projection, the waters run with peculiar rapidity, and occasioned a delay, alone, of eight days to the fleet. Monghir, I think, will be about 100 miles beyond my first trip next year, the character of this country in general is too sandy, and there is so little to see in any towns with a very few exceptions, that it is only wasting time and toil to penetrate beyond a certain distance in any direction. Thus, unless you are prepared to travel as far as Delhi, where, withal, there is little but the recollection of what has been to entice you, it is useless to go beyond Lucknow, and even

¹ The Governor-General.

this town stands isolated from anything interesting, by many hundred miles. At Rajanal, however, which is the point I have in view, there is, indeed, a most delightful alteration in the face of the country worth travelling 500 miles for, in such a desperate level as Bengal usually presents. A long chain of hills extends from thence to Monghir, which, if they have no other merits of scenery about them, may at least remind their visitors of England; and they must undoubtedly afford considerable variety of climate, though they do not quite rise into mountains. In the meantime we are living *en citoyen*, exempted, thank the Powers, from the annoyance of large parties, in this season of the year when the natural atmosphere is at all times overcharged with the meridional heat, though its uneasiness may generally be counteracted by a little manœuvring towards the windward, which can always be managed in private, though not in public crowds. Such magic is there in the south-easterly breeze of the rainy season, that although on the north side of the house the perspiration literally runs down the back of the hands even, on the east, if the wind is setting full in, and as it is well charged with the freshness of the inundated lands it has to pass over, it may be sometimes pleasanter to button up the jacket; how different this from the furnace breathing blasts of the full south-western monsoon, which actually peels off the skin after some resistance to its influence, and which accordingly we are accustomed to temper with whetted grass before it is admitted into the windows.

The only amusements of late have been a few evening assemblies at which those who like to stew, may; I am not one of them, and they are generally confined, I see, to a few young folks of either sex, who are on the look-out for a match and are inclined to settle matters over a *trois Madame table* or a post at commerce. In the winter there are balls by the score, and the amateurs of Calcutta get up a very good comedy twice a month, at a pretty little theatre. The natives never engage in, that is are never asked, to European parties except on great occasions at Government House, or when they give at their own houses a stupid thing called a

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“nautch,” at which, though the name implies both, there is certainly neither singing nor dancing, such as civilised man ever saw before.

Pray write to me often and anything, so that it comes from Europe, and above all from England, whither, if you shall be returned by the time this reaches you, I beg you will present my compliments and best regards to your family and remembrances to all our friends, and wherever you are yourself attribute as much of all as you please to yourself, believing me,

Yours very sinclly. and affectly.

J. BULLER EAST.

CHAPTER IV

LORD WALPOLE'S LETTERS

IN October, 1813, three days after the battle of Leipzig, Mr. Disbrowe crossed its historic field, on which the dead and dying lay in appalling numbers,¹ and travelled to Frankfurt, where many crowned heads and other notabilities were met together to discuss what terms to offer to Buonaparte, after the crushing blow which had been dealt to his power, and also to determine whether or not to carry the war into France. Lords Castlereagh, Aberdeen, and Cathcart were present, so also were Vom Stein and Blücher, Schwartzenberg and Metternich, with innumerable other statesmen and diplomatists. Many princes of the Confederation of the Rhine² swelled the the throng now, apparently zealous for the unification of Germany. A month previously, they had been ready to drink with enthusiasm to the health of Napoleon and to show him all subserviency. Conspicuous amongst them was that arch offender the King of Wurtemberg, Buonaparte's chief sycophant, if we except his royal cousin of Saxony. It fell to the lot of the King of Prussia and the Emperors of Austria and Russia to endeavour to guide the deliberations of this many-minded assembly. Frederick William III of Prussia,

¹ One reads that weeks later there were still "hills of dead bodies half eaten by dogs and ravens." Mr. Disbrowe was able to bring some succour to the wounded.

² Otherwise the "Rheinbund," formed July 12th, 1806, by sixteen German princes with the Prince Bishop of Mayence, Dalberg, afterwards Grand Duke of Frankfurt, at their head. It consisted further of the Kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, the Duke of Berg, two Princes of Nassau, two of Hohenzollern, two of Salm, and the Princes of AreMBERG, Isenburg, Lichtenstein, and Leyen.

though "no fool," as even Napoleon acknowledged, was not given to acting promptly, and the withered little Austrian ruler was always disposed to deal gently with his erring son-in-law, for the sake of Marie Louise. It was Alexander of Russia, who held with rarely manifested firmness to the necessity for marching on Paris. It was his forward policy which led the way to the French capital in 1814, causing Napoleon first to return to Fontainebleau, and then to offer to resign in favour of his beloved little son, the King of Rome, and a Regency. Vom Stein,—the ardent German patriot, was with Alexander heart and soul. Against him were many counsellors in that great gathering who could not shake off the spell cast over them by the magic of Napoleon's name as quickly as they had cast off their formal allegiance to the Corsican's rule. Had Buonaparte met the Congress of Frankfurt on its own terms, there might have been no Elba for him, no lonely island of St. Helena. Germany was to be relieved of the French yoke, the Bourbon rule was to be restored in Spain, all Napoleon's conquests in Italy and Holland were to be given up, but France was to retain her former boundaries intact. The terms were generous, but Buonaparte repudiated them and hastened his downfall thereby. Mr. Disbrowe's sojourn at Frankfurt appears to have been uneventful; the only reference to it which we have found is contained in one of Sir Charles Stuart's letters given in our last chapter. Probably his time was largely spent "*à protocoller toute la journée*," as one of his foreign correspondents said of him later when at Aix-la-Chapelle. On January the 12th, 1814, he left for St. Petersburg, meeting with various difficulties on the way, owing to heavy snow drifts. This was notably the case near Königgrätz, as in that neighbourhood communication by carriage had been impossible during the nine previous days. The valet Eggert tells a woeful tale of the inns, kept for the most part by Jews, and speaks of his own culinary efforts in the preparation of smoked goose,¹ salmon, and pancakes. He appears to have been fortunate enough to have found

¹ Smoked fish and eggs are mentioned by Lady Burghersh and other travellers as almost the staple food to be had in Northern and Central Germany, by those following in the footsteps of the Allies in the years 1813 and 1814. See *Lady Burghersh's Letters*, 1813-14, published by John Murray, 1893.

eggs in spite of the severity of the weather, and not been compelled to avail himself of snow, the last resource of necessitous pancake-makers.

His master became tired of having his own carriage upset repeatedly, and exchanged it for a strange conveyance called a Kibitzki, which must have resembled a present day ambulance stretcher more than any other known vehicle. It was long enough to lie down in, was lined with straw and a blanket, besides having two hoops covered with matting arched over the top.

The uncomfortable journey came to an end at seven o'clock in the evening of February the 6th, 1814. During the last night and day it was performed in more stately fashion in a victoria, which Mr. Disbrowe had found at Narova, the stronghold on the Narona, famous for Charles XII. of Sweden's defeating 80,000 Muscovites on November 30th, 1780, with a force of only 8,000 men. Mr. Disbrowe remained at St. Petersburg till the following June, when he was accredited to the Mission at Copenhagen. Of his own letters from the Russian capital, only one of general interest is still extant. It is written to his father, and has appeared already in print. Its tone is uncompromising in its abhorrence of Buonaparte, and Mr. Disbrowe says, unhesitatingly, that he looks on the holding of a Congress at that time as a grave mistake, that Lord Castlereagh's joining the assembled Plenipotentiaries is "worth 100,000 men to Buonaparte," and that the moment has come either to take one bold, decided step without any shilly-shallying in favour of the Bourbons, or to send them for good and all out of France. The letter bears the date February, 1814, and must refer therefore to the Congress of Châtillon. This Congress was practically a continuation of that of Frankfurt, and brought about by the Emperor of Austria's desire for the discontinuance of the strife. Napoleon refused again to accept the proposals put before him, declaring that to allow France to return to the boundaries of 1791 was to violate his coronation oath. His scornful rejection of peace at any price, as he deemed it, resulted in a speedy resumption of hostilities.

Although there are no other personal notes of Mr. Disbrowe's regarding this visit to the city which, eleven years later, was to be his home during various events of

historical importance, and notably, as I have said, of the revolutionary outbreak after the death of Alexander, yet the letters from Lord Walpole, which we give at length, show that the young diplomatist was well acquainted with the social life of St. Petersburg and interested to hear of the sayings and doings of individuals, belonging to the court circle. Lord Walpole was appointed British Minister to Russia, *ad interim*, on August the 4th, 1812, and his letters were written to Mr. Disbrowe whilst the latter was at Copenhagen and Aix-la-Chapelle. In them, repeated references are to be found to the Emperor Alexander, the liberal-minded sovereign of the most autocratically governed country in Europe. Lord Walpole does not appear to have been much in sympathy with the Emperor, who was misunderstood by many people, because he failed repeatedly to make his conduct square with the counsels of perfection, which attracted him by their beauty. Yet one cannot rise from a close study of his character without realising that he cherished aspirations of the noblest kind, and had the capability of inspiring warm feelings of affection in those who came into intimate relationship with him. His failures were the failures of the idealist. They cause those like-minded with himself to hope that in a world "where all shall come right, which most puzzles us here," in other words where spiritual forces reign supreme, his great possibilities may be finding their fulfilment in some more congenial sphere.

His outward appearance called forth comments as different as those elicited by his character, although he is frequently spoken of as remarkably handsome. This latter description seems difficult to understand from the representations extant of him. He was tall and of commanding figure, but a tendency to deafness caused him to put one shoulder before the other, probably from a habit of raising his hand to his ear. Some chroniclers declare that this led to his stooping forward from the waist in an awkward manner, which his courtiers imitated, and which looked ridiculous. The attitude must have resembled the Grecian Bend, once fashionable in England. We reproduce Daw's picture of Alexander, the prints of which have become rare. I believe that only a hundred were made. Lady Disbrowe, writing to her father



ALEXANDER I
Emperor of Russia
1777-1825

from St. Petersburg in 1826, says of them, "They are not a success," and refers to their price as being a hundred roubles. But in the first outburst of grief at the death of the popular monarch, they were bought up by courtiers and diplomatists.

Count de La Ferronaye, certainly no sentimentalist, but a Frenchman of the world and in great degree a worldly man, sums up his estimate of the Russian Emperor in these words : "I believe him to be, in the fullest sense of the word, the most honest man I know. He will perhaps often do wrong, but he will always desire to do right." De La Ferronaye was himself one of those who desire to "make for righteousness," but who found the influence of environment often too strong, and he could appreciate Alexander's turn of mind. The father of the authoress of such books as "*Le Récit d'une Sœur*" and "*Fleurange*" was a man to whom lofty conceptions did not appeal in vain.

Had Alexander's councils been ruled entirely by the advice of such persons as Prince Alexander Galitzin,¹ Prince Adam Czartoryski,² Capo d'Istria,³ and the rugged old Teuton, Baron Stein, all of them men to whom he felt himself drawn, he might have been Europe's deliverer from Napoleon, and one of the world's great teachers. But other influences were paramount. To use a modern expression, Alexander started in life, heavily handicapped by circumstances. It is well known that his personal inclinations were liberal, and fostered by his tutor, Laharpe, but that the influence of Metternich

¹ Procurator of the Holy Synod, Minister of Education and Public Works, a high-minded man of liberal views.

² Prince Adam George Czartoryski, born 1770 at Warsaw, came as hostage to Russia in 1795. Enjoying the favour of Alexander, he became Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1802, giving place to General Budberg in 1805, on the dissolution, after Austerlitz, of the Third Coalition, which he had helped to bring about. Though devoted to his Imperial master, he was a true son of Poland, espoused the popular side in the Revolution of 1831, and became head of the Government. His subsequent exile was spent in Paris, where he died in 1861. In 1848 he gave his Galician serfs their freedom. In his 4th edition, Nesselrode gives Czartoryski's views addressed 1812 to the Czar on the Union of Poland with Russia as contrasted with Federation.

³ Count Joannes Antonios Capo d'Istria (or d'Istrias), born 1776 of an ancient family of the Ionian Islands, entered the Russian diplomacy in 1808, was Min. Plen. to Switzerland 1813, advocating her independence ; in 1815 he attended the Congress of Vienna, in 1816-22 was Minister of Foreign Affairs, conjointly with Nesselrode, worked for the separation of Greece and Turkey, was elected President of the Greek Republic 1827, gave offence by his supposed Russian proclivities, and was assassinated in a church at Nauplia Oct. 9, 1831.

and other reactionaries, notably of General Araktcheief, eventually gained the ascendancy over him. In addition to that, all chance of happiness in wedded life was destroyed for him at the age of seventeen, when he was made to wed the Princess Louise, daughter of the Margravine Amelia of Baden. He is credited with having exclaimed on one occasion, with some pathos, "How can one be expected to care for a wife chosen for one by one's grandmother!" The princess, known after her marriage as the Empress Elizabeth, having received a new name on becoming a member of the Orthodox Church, was taken to Russia with her eleven-year-old sister Frederica in the year 1793, that one or other might be singled out as the future wife of Alexander. The Russian Court considered it necessary to its dignity, that more than one aspirant to the exalted destiny of sharing the future Czar's throne should come to be inspected. The expectation seems passing strange, but the desire to effect the alliance caused the little Baden Court to agree to the somewhat ignominious exaction. The younger princess, afterwards the wife of the half-mad King Gustavus IV. of Sweden, was too young and unformed to find grace with the Russian royalties. Princess Louise, though only thirteen and a half, was well developed, lively, and distinctly attractive by reason of her exquisite fairness and wealth of golden hair. Therefore the younger sister was brought back to her native land, whilst the elder remained in Russia to be educated in all such knowledge as was desirable for her future position, and instructed also in the Greek faith. Forty-six years of a blameless life were her portion. They were sad years. Only too soon, she and her Imperial husband found that they did not suffice to each other's happiness, and whilst she retained his respect, she was not able to hold his love. Though the sad hours preceding the Emperor's death brought them together again, in life they were divided.

It was a worn and changed woman who visited her mother from time to time, either at the tiny country home built in Empire style at Rohrbach, near Heidelberg, or at the many-roomed Palace of Bruchsal, that triumph of rococo design, which owes its decorative treasures to the master minds of two Prince-Bishops of Speyer, Hugo Schönborn and

Franz Christoph von Hutten. Baroness Caroline von Freystedt,¹ through long years of storm and strife, the faithful friend and lady-in-waiting of the Margravine Amelia, describes the shock it gave her to see how heavily and swiftly time had laid its ruthless hand on the once beautiful Empress, making her appear prematurely old, and leaving her no outward attractions, excepting those of a fine figure and charming voice. Her original simplicity was changed to artificiality and stiff decorum. Perhaps, if the child born to her in 1806 had not succumbed two years later to infantile convulsions, much might have been different for both her and Alexander. As it was, he neglected her systematically, even at the time of his marvellous conversion by Madame de Krüdener, although it is due to the latter to say that she appears to have done all in her power to bring husband and wife together. Owing probably to Madame de Krüdener's straight speaking, the Emperor did not seek a successor to Madame de Narischkin, with whom his relationship had lasted for many years.

The Empress Elizabeth shared the fate of others of the Margravine's daughters, in being a woman of many sorrows. Dethroned, exiled, impoverished, and with her destiny linked to that of the most eccentric of the Vasa Kings, the Empress's sister and erst fellow-traveller to Russia, Frederica, led an existence which was one continual struggle against adverse circumstances. Her husband's ancient line gave way to that of Bernadotte, and only her daughters Sophia and Cecilia remained in their own rank of life, being married respectively to the Grand Dukes of Oldenburg and Baden. Her son, the Crown Prince, lived in exile, and entered the military service of Austria. His career was not favoured by fortune. The Empress's eldest sister was the charming Princess Amelia, whose matrimonial prospects were sacrificed to Metternich's opinions, for at one time a strong attachment existed between her and that distinguished soldier, the Archduke Charles of Austria, an attachment which had every prospect of a happy issue, until the Austrian Chancellor, who feared the Princess's lively wit and possible influence in diplomatic questions,

¹ I find a drawing by this talented lady amongst my possessions. She studied at Munich, when with the Court in that city.—M. M.—C.

thought well to interfere. Princess Amelia died in middle life, unwed, a victim to the weakness of heart and dropsy, which claimed more than one in her family, including her brother, the Grand Duke Carl of Baden, husband of Stephanie Beauharnais, Buonaparte's adopted daughter.

Yet another sister of the Empress of Russia, the Duchess William of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, knew much sorrow in her short life of twenty-five years, being, like her sister, the Queen of Sweden, a fugitive from her husband's country. It was he who raised the celebrated "Death's Head Hussars" or "Black Brunswickers," whose badge was a death's head and cross bones on a black uniform, faced with silver lace. The Duke, who outlived his wife, fell when gallantly leading his regiment at Quatre Bras.

These reminiscences connected with the family of the Empress Elizabeth have led us away from the consideration of her illustrious spouse. To hold the Emperor Alexander in honour is to be in agreement with the judgment of the uncompromising and honest-minded Baron vom Stein, who was brought into constant and close contact with him in the critical days of Buonaparte's invasion of Russia, as well as in subsequent times at Carlsruhe, Bruchsal, Paris, Heidelberg, and Vienna. The opinion of such a critic must surely carry greater weight than the oft-quoted disdainful verdict of Buonaparte, "*un Grec du Bas Empire*," supplemented on another occasion by the declaration, that the difference between the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander was that the Emperor thought himself very clever and was a "d——d fool," whereas the King of Prussia "thought meanly of his own talents and was a very sensible man." For the preservation of this caustic remark, we are indebted to Mr. Croker.

Stein's intimacy with Alexander began when the former was exiled from Germany by the French Emperor's influence. He then became the unofficial but confidential adviser of Alexander, a position which he held for a considerable time. And though he criticised the Czar and began by thinking little of him, he was quick to note and value the finer traits in the Emperor's character, and so grew gradually to estimate him more highly. When, in February 1813, Alexander had

requested the King of Prussia to send troops to Glogau to prevent its French garrison from receiving reinforcements, and was refused, Stein spoke out boldly as to his belief in the purity of Alexander's intentions, whilst pointing out that if frustrated they would be so by the ambitions of his counsellors, and not by his own want of good faith. Again, after the battle of Leipzig, Stein speaks of the "shameful fetters" with which Napoleon bound Germany as being broken, adding, the "shame with which they covered us is washed out in streams of French blood. We owe these great results to the firmness and noble courage which the Emperor Alexander discovered in the great decision of last year, the heroic devotion of his people, and the spirit of justice and moderation which he displayed in all negotiations with the Powers, which he invited to join their efforts to his own."¹

Again, at Vienna in 1815, Stein was witness to Alexander's magnanimity to Metternich, on receiving the document discovered by Napoleon at Paris, after his return from Elba, and which had been left behind by Count de Jaucourt. This paper witnessed to a secret treaty entered into by France, England, and Austria against Russia.

That Stein did not alter his good opinion of Alexander despite the changes of years, is clear from the fact that the veteran statesman was not ashamed to weep bitterly, and pay a warm-hearted tribute to the dead monarch's virtues, when in 1825 Alexander succumbed to fever at Taganrog.

Alexander has been censured by some writers for his duplicity, because he armed himself with secret information at the time of and previous to Buonaparte's invasion of Russia, with a view to becoming acquainted with the former's designs. It is known that he held secret intercourse with both Caulaincourt, the French Ambassador at his court, and also with Talleyrand, whose acquaintance he had made at Erfurt. Why Alexander should be singled out as a scapegoat for this is hard to understand. The years which destroyed the power of Buonaparte were years when his leading opponents engaged in such practices in self-defence. They held that by no other means could the balance of power be maintained, and, rightly or wrongly, believed they

¹ *Life and Times of Vom Stein*, by T. R. Seeley, M.A.

had to do with an enemy to whom no promise of friendship was sacred, which clashed with his ambitions. We have to thank Count A. de Nesselrode for giving his relative the Russian Chancellor's letters and papers to the world, and allowing us complete insight into the correspondence which he carried on while in Paris with his Imperial master, through the medium of Speranski. The letters show the venality of the times, francs and roubles playing a large part in the obtaining of information. Under the appellation "*mon cousin Henri*," and five other disguises, we learn the opinions of Talleyrand, the same plan being adopted in regard to Fouché, Alexander, and Buonaparte, whom it is harder to recognise as "Sophie Smith," than to remember that foreign wit has dubbed England "*le gousteux*."

If Alexander was strengthening his position by receiving secret information, Buonaparte was clearly playing fast and loose with him to gain time to put his army in such a state of efficiency as he desired for commencing this Russian campaign. He knew well enough that there were certain points on which Alexander was imperative, such as requiring that Poland should not become an independent kingdom again, and resenting utterly, that Oldenburg should have been annexed. It was a country with which he was most closely connected. His sister, the Grand Duchess¹ Catharine, had married Prince George of Oldenburg, and been suddenly left a widow. In addition to the afore-mentioned grievances, the effects of the Continental System had caused widespread misery and dissatisfaction in Russia, for it crippled the export trade of home commodities, and flooded the country with inferior French goods.

Neither the French statesmen, who conferred with him in secret, nor indeed Alexander himself, cherished any motives detrimental to France. Their object was to free both Russia and France from what they had come to look upon as the baneful influence of Buonaparte. Even Talleyrand was as single-minded in this instance, as it was possible for him to be. If he was true to anything beyond la glorification de Talleyrand, it was to the individual welfare of his country,

¹ Afterwards Queen of Wurtemberg, mentioned in Part I.

independently of dynastic considerations. Perfectly sincere he rarely was, probably not even when he rushed from his dressing-room in a seeming ecstasy of emotion on the arrival of the Allies in Paris, and showered embraces and hair powder on Count Charles Nesselrode. No man understood how to play a game of bluff, nor the art of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, better than himself, and he was in so far akin to the vicar of Bray that he managed to be in with either Napoleon or the Bourbons, as fortune favoured the one or the other. At the same time it must be said to his credit, that he did not achieve this by subserviency and sycophancy, for Buonaparte found him so tough to deal with, that he discarded him as a minister for the more pliable Champagny. Talleyrand's cupidity has been more than hinted at, and not, it would appear, unjustly, although he did not take the Prince of Weilburg's proffered price for the sovereignty of Holland. It is also but fair to accept, that he believed himself acting for the welfare of France in seeking the restoration of Louis XVIII, and in putting himself, with that object in view, in secret communication with the Russian Emperor. Yet his action is evidently no more to be construed into any really friendly feeling towards Russia, than his advice to that country on a different occasion to bring about a reconciliation with the Porte, although the counsel was sound in itself. To Napoleon, the misunderstanding between the Porte and Russia concerning the Danubian Provinces was a sore to foster, when Alexander was no longer his friend. It had then become of importance to him to encourage the enemies of Russia, and thus to dissipate her forces. The Treaty of Bucharest in May, 1812, which brought about a temporary peace between the two nations, must have been in nowise acceptable to him, for the reasons indicated.

No part of Alexander's life was subject to such repeated and varied comment—often of an adverse nature—as the period of his career which was directly influenced by Madame de Krüdener. It is indeed a strange tale. What more hard than to imagine the Autocrat of all the Russias kneeling down and opening his heart in a cottage by the Neckar, and

receiving reproof and instruction with all the contrition and self-abandonment of a Salvation Army convert at the penitent's bench? Yet this was happening at the momentous time when Europe was passing through the crisis before Waterloo. Mr. Clarence Ford has given a succinct and interesting account of all that happened in his book entitled *Life and Letters of Mme. de Krüdener*,¹ and various earlier French and German writers tell the story from their individual standpoints, but all look on it as worth recording. Most striking of all are M. Charles Eynard's two volumes, *Vie de Madame de Krüdener*, published in 1849. Their keynote will be found in the words "*il faut à l'homme la souffrance pour que Jésus Christ lui profite, comme il lui faut Jésus Christ pour que les souffrances lui profitent.*"

Remarkable, indeed, was the mutual desire of Madame de Krüdener and Alexander to meet. For a considerable time the Czar had been searching into his own soul and into the reason of things, being led in the first instance by Prince Alexander Galitzin to seek the explanation in the Bible. Madame de Krüdener had been likewise conscious for a considerable time that she was called of God to bring home to her Sovereign the saving faith, which had been revealed to herself. It is hard to decide whether she possessed a true touch of the prophetic spirit, or whether her foretelling Napoleon's return from Elba, and much that would ensue, were not merely results of the quick intuition of a gifted woman, whose natural versatility was quickened by her having been the wife of a diplomatist.² Sometimes her vaticinations were distinctly beside the mark, as when she prophesied at Karlsruhe that Paris would meet with a like fate to Jerusalem, and that a time was at hand when God Himself would set kings on thrones by direct interference. Yet one thing is certain, namely, that Madame de Krüdener believed herself to be the divinely appointed instrument to regenerate the soul of Alexander, and through him to rescue Europe from Napoleon's thralldom. That faith was the source of her strength. She had to do with a man who,

¹ Published by Adam and Charles Black, London, 1893.

² Baron de Krüdener was Russian Ambassador at Berlin.

when he realised a responsibility, made straight for its fulfilment, one who possessed in the depths of his nature the simple faith and trustfulness of a child, together with a child-like desire for guidance and readiness to accept correction. It is the absolutely simple deed, which calls forth the most explanations from superficial observers. It is the rare souls that retain an elementary simplicity of action despite the artificialities of life; and so when Alexander did the thing that lay nearest, and rose up, and for a time at least followed the call which has made hermits and saints and martyrs of men according to their circumstances and dispositions, the world attributed every motive to him excepting the direct one. And meanwhile the influence upon him of the woman, who spoke to him as surely never subject of absolute ruler spoke to her sovereign before, led him to conviction of sin, to stern self-repression, to a distaste for life's softnesses, and to seeking to make his political and religious life one.

Though in the handwriting of Alexander, it is no doubt that the spirit of the declaration of the Holy Alliance, the solemn assurance given to the world that the three leading Continental potentates of Russia, Austria, and Prussia acknowledged all men as brethren, and themselves as bound by Christian principles in their international dealings, was inspired by Madame de Krüdener, and by the purest religious fervour. Yet Alexander was credited with having designed a piece of blasphemous Machiavellianism merely to mask his evil designs. Furthermore, it has been held, that the influence of the declaration proved the cause of infinite evil. Whatever other men may have made of it in the handling, it will yet stand out in history as a unique and solemn acknowledgment of a divine Guide of nations, and of the obligation of their rulers to acknowledge Christ's rule. That Madame de Krüdener's ways and utterances should not always appeal to us, and sometimes even offend our taste, seems a small matter by comparison.

Most of Lord Walpole's letters to Mr. Disbrowe were written in the momentous year of 1815, and on the eve of or subsequent to the events which sealed the downfall of

Napoleon. But from the quiet tone of his missive of June 25th, 1815, which alludes to tariff questions, to the Swedish envoy Count Blöme joining Lord Wellington, to the Russian quarrel with the Porte, which it had ever been Buonaparte's object to foment, and to several other matters of lesser importance, one gathers that the news of Waterloo had not yet penetrated as far as St. Petersburg. The information had only reached the Russian headquarters at Heidelberg in the course of the 21st of June, when Alexander had sent General Stockhorn post-haste to Bruchsal to acquaint the Empress Elizabeth and the Margravine of Baden with the joyous fact. General Stockhorn followed close on the heels of another messenger bringing the sad news of the Duke of Brunswick's death at Quatre Bras, and, despite the joy of victory, had forced the remark, amid tears, from the Margravine, "Yet this will not bring the poor Duke back to life again."

From the autumn of 1814 the Congress of Vienna had been sitting—or, as the wits said, dancing. Every costly form of sport and amusement, shooting, acting, sleighing, skating, carousing, was indulged in day by day at the cost of a weekly outlay of some fifteen hundred thousand or more florins, and to the detriment of the Emperor Francis's exchequer, causing it to be commonly said that he paid, whilst one monarch made love, another danced, a third dined, a fourth hunted, and the like. It fell to Francis's lot not only to cater for the entertainment of the Emperor and Empress of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Denmark and many minor potentates, but also to act the lavish host to ambassadors and statesmen innumerable, including Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Dalberg, the Duke of Wellington, Prince Hardenberg, Prince Talleyrand, Count Bernstorff, Count Nesselrode, and many others.

What tried the temper of many gathered at Vienna most of all was that Prince Talleyrand, the representative of the lately conquered French nation, arrogated to himself the office of mentor to his conquerors: Talleyrand, the many sided, the inimitable, the man with the big brain, and low forehead and the general exterior which scattered all preconceived phrenological theories to the winds—Talleyrand of

whom Croker says that he is "fattish for a Frenchman, his ankles weak and his feet deformed," with "a face not at all expressive except it be of a kind of drunken stupor," indeed "altogether like an old, fuddled, lame village schoolmaster," and with a "deep and hoarse voice,"—and yet with all this Talleyrand, the irresistible, or, as he the erstwhile bishop has been called, "Talleyrand the Diabolical." It was left to rough, honest-hearted old Blücher not to be attracted by him. When with the Allies in Paris in 1814, Blücher is said to have sent the great minister a message to the effect that he was not only prepared to blow up the Bridge of Jena, but should not regret to find that Monsieur de Talleyrand had been seated upon it. It was fortunate that the bluff old hero was hindered by the timely arrival of the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander from carrying out his intentions in regard to the bridge, even minus Monsieur de Talleyrand. Yet revenge must have felt sweet to him for what seemed to his simple soul unnecessary refinements of consideration, when he had an opportunity of proposing his famous toast at the second gathering of the Allied Sovereigns in Paris, in the following year. At a great dinner given by the Duke of Wellington, Blücher raised his glass, and cried in stentorian tones, "May the pens of the Diplomats not spoil that which the swords of the united armies have won at so great a cost." Honest, rugged old Marshal Vorwärts, if unrefined, his character and simple faithfulness to his friends and honest hatred of his foes, is refreshing to contemplate in contrast to the intrigues of many of his famous contemporaries. It is fair, however, to Blücher to state, that Lady Brownlow, who met him frequently in Paris in 1815, says, "He was not a coarse and rough old fellow, but pleasant and hearty and perfectly well bred." She considers that he must have been handsome in his youth, and mentions his well-shaped aristocratic hands and delicately curved ears. She danced both a valse and a mazurka with him, and his dancing could have put many younger men to shame.

The following six letters from Lord Walpole from St. Petersburg are full of interesting references to international

politics in 1814 and 1815, and this is very specially the case in regard to Great Britain's relationship towards Sweden, Denmark and Russia. The letters are addressed to Mr. Disbrowe at Copenhagen, and therefore presuppose in him an intimate knowledge of the affairs of Denmark as well as of those of the neighbouring kingdom of Sweden. Amongst names of famous men mentioned in the first letter is that of Karl, Prince of Schwarzenberg, the hero of Wagram, and conqueror of Leipzig, where he commanded the allied forces of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, and won his well-known triumphant victory, although Napoleon had been so certain of success that he had ordered the bells of the city of Leipzig to be rung to announce his subjugation of his enemies.

Another important name figuring in this first letter is that of Count Nicholas Petrovich Romanzoff, or as given by Russian writers Roumiantsov or Romientsov. The Count filled various offices in the reign of Alexander I., amongst others that of Minister of Commerce and Chancellor or Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was Alexander's close adviser, till superseded by Baron vom Stein. The Count, alarmed by Napoleon's invasion of Russia, was anxious, that his Imperial master should come to terms with the French Emperor. Had this pusillanimous policy been followed, the history of 1813 and 1814 might have been very different, and disastrous for all Europe. Fortunately Alexander repudiated the advice and showed a determination which went far towards crushing Napoleon, and which even the burning of his beloved Moscow could not destroy. Indeed, his religious faith, as he himself declared, came out strengthened and purified from the ordeal, and he believed that God was on his side. The retreat from Moscow with all its terrors has been described by abler pens than mine. Of commissariat there had been no notion from the beginning. Authorised looting, followed by a distribution of rations, had been the order of the day when the French Army entered Russia, and already at the beginning of the campaign the want of arrangements for the care of the wounded was such as to baffle the most self-sacrificing efforts of the surgeons, who tore up their body

linen to bind up wounds, and seized such books and documents as they could lay hands on, to use the paper for staunching blood. But all that was as nothing to the horrors of the Retreat. If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry, is a thought applicable to the difference between the French invasion of Russia and the return of that fragment of the Grand Army which was not buried beneath the Russian snow. Yet all this served to further the restoration of peace among the nations. One cannot help looking on the thousands of nameless Germans and Poles as well as Frenchmen, Italians, Belgians, and even Spaniards, who were sacrificed in this disastrous expedition, as martyrs, to whom it will be counted for righteousness that they laid down their lives for their brethren. But for the sacrifices, which the spirited French people made for Napoleon at this juncture, even the German campaign of 1813 would have been an impossibility for him. We have already alluded to the unwillingness of France to forsake him. Half a million of men were gone, two hundred thousand prisoners lay in Russian prisons. Most of the trusty veterans of repeated campaigns had fought their last fight and succumbed, and no three young conscripts could fill the place of one of the Old Guard. Early in December, 1812, Napoleon had left his Army for Paris, unable, so his friends said, to bear the awful scenes daily before his eyes, and the sufferings of his beloved soldiers.¹ Flight, confusion, destruction, almost annihilation, closed the year. Nevertheless, some three months later a fresh army, numerically strong if inexperienced, took the field, supported by contingents from the Confederation of the Rhine.

Yet another noteworthy reference in the first letter before us is to the state of affairs between Russia and Persia, with which Lord Walpole and Sir Gore Ouseley may be pardoned for deeming themselves better acquainted than Lord Castlereagh, who had not even watched them from afar, and that according to his own dictum. Sir Gore was a leading

¹ Others attributed his hurried flight to callousness and the instinct of self-preservation. He himself said to his generals, "I leave you, but it is to fetch 300,000 soldiers." His presence in Paris had become a political necessity, and the need to find fresh officers was paramount.

authority on Persia, and had been instrumental in bringing about peace between Russia and Persia. Like the Porte, Persia was a continual thorn in the side of Russia, who coveted her treasures, and was constantly at two with her on the question of boundaries. Peace had been made between them at Gulistan in October, 1813. It was then that Baku, now the centre of petroleum industries, became Russian property, together with other Russian possessions on the borders of the Caspian Sea. Peace with Persia did not, however, prevent perpetual fresh causes of jealousy from springing up between the two countries, and in 1826 they were again at war. Regarding the state of Persia at that date, we have letters from Sir Henry Willock, which will be produced in due course.

From LORD WALPOLE to MR. DISBROWE.

“ St. Petersburg, *Oct^{br}. 13th*, 1814.

DEAR DISBROWE,

No opportunity having yet offered to send your books, I have now to thank you for yours of the 1st Sept^b. from London, and 21st Sept. from Copenhagen, whatever may be the other qualities of the last, it has at least considerably mended your writing. Blachford's entry into the Corps Diplomatique does not surprize me, his future success will surprize me still less. You will see I already knew of the other foreign nominations, tho' not the wisest they are very *natural*. The Pope or America is alone left for Mackenzie; Catholick or Presbyterian is much the same to him. Our *Corps* increases. C^t de Noailles, the French Ambassador, is a very gentlemanlike, agreeable man. C^t Wintzingerode,¹ from Wurtemberg, still conceives the ‘Princes de la Confédération’² to be as powerful and independent Monarchs as when Bonaparte went to Moscow. Mr. de Bordeaux, you will know from where you are—Bardaxi³ is gone, perhaps to return—The Emp^r was received with great honor at Vienna,

¹ A favourite of the King of Wurtemberg, one of whose first acts on being created King by Napoleon was to amuse himself creating fresh titles of nobility. Wintzingerode was amongst the favoured.

² Of the Rhine.

³ The Spanish Minister.

was most flattering, as the Dolgoroucki tells me, to C^t Stackelberg,¹ whom I therefore judge, he is about to dismiss, and send Stanislaus Potocki² into Bohemia to enquire after Schwarzenberg's health who is detained there by illness. *Les affaires ne se font pas comme cela, mais ça viendra*—Mad^m Narischkin leaves this about the middle of the month, no successor talked of—I think the title will lay, like Romanzov's, in abeyance. It is impossible to foresee any political changes. As long as the machine can go, it will probably go as it does at present. . . . A late Ukase permitted the importation of pears and apples, some baskets of Bergamots, presented themselves at two o'clock in the morning, *le Comité des Ministres* pronounced them not of the *pear genus*, but as you learnt before leaving this, oysters from the same authority have been declared colonial production . . . so much for political economy.

Sir G. Ouseley³ from Persia has been some time here, and will continue till after Lady O.'s confinement. He has brought me a couple of Arabs, and consequently is in high favor. He pleases very much here. The Emp^r gave him St. Alexander⁴ in brilliants, which Castlereagh has ordered him to refuse. We are both much out of favor at H^d Quarters for having written pretty strongly, and pretending to know more about the relative affairs of Russia and Persia than L^d Castlereagh, who fairly owns he never read a line upon the subject. We are told the Emp^r of Austria is to be King of Italy. Can such things be, and C—— not fear that old Chatham will start from his grave?

Let me hear of maps, charts, etc., of Denmark and other countries.

How is Ld. Stuart?"

Y^{rs} sin^{cr}

WALPOLE.

¹ Count Gustavus Stackelberg was the son of Count Stackelberg, Russian Minister to Warsaw at the close of the eighteenth century. Count Gustavus followed in his father's steps, and filled several diplomatic posts, which included Turin, the Hague, Berlin and Vienna. The Russian Chancellor, Nesselrode, began his diplomatic career by being sent as Attaché to him at the Hague.

² Son of Prince Potocki, the idol of the Poles.

³ Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., was appointed Ambassador to Persia in 1810.

⁴ The Order of St. Alexander.

From LORD WALPOLE to MR. DISBROWE.

“St. Petersburg, Jan. 11th, 1815.

DEAR DISBROWE,

YOUR letters to the 21 Sept^{br} from Copenhagen were answered in the beginning of Oct^{br} when I sent to Mr. Fenwick¹ a volume of *Humboldt*, which had been left here. Since then we have heard nothing of you.

We go on much in the same way as last winter, but I think dullness has made a rapid progress. I am now living *bien malgré moi* upon the English quay: my house is warm, clean, etc., but I dislike its situation. It will hold more people than the former one, but Francis is the only inmate. Bardaxi² you know is gone, he and his children were nearly drowned in crossing a river near Barcelona, where he was on the 26th Nov. He had not been *arrested*, and intended to prosecute his journey to Madrid, where his former moderate Conduct, and his former friend Cavallos, will I hope ensure him a tolerable reception. It is not impossible that he may return to St. Petersburg. Zea's³ wife is arrived, he was on the point of leaving here for Spain, but has delayed his journey.

C^t Noailles, the French Ambassador, is a gentlemanlike, amiable man, and Sir G. and Lady Ouseley are of great resource. *Our* old Persian Ambassador is coming here; he is now at Moscow, where they will probably keep him till the Emp.'s return; for this no surmise fixes the period, we only know that he quits the Emperor Francis' palace at Vienna, and goes to live with Razumofskoi.

You will probably know more political and home news than we do here; our last letters speak with less confidence of peace with America, and from Vienna we literally know nothing. The affair of Saxony and consequent arrangement of Poland has mightily deranged high and mighty plans: all here abuse *us* as the cause: they do us, I am afraid, too much honour.

¹ A Post Office official.

² He was left early a widower with several children. His wife, when only twenty-four years of age, was nearly burnt to death, and though recovering from her injuries, died suddenly that same year.

³ A Portuguese diplomatist.

Pray ask after the charts named in the enclosed paper, and if they are esteemed good ones, procure them for me : have you anything else in that way at Copenhagen ? or books, pictures, etc. ? Bailey desires to be remembered to you as well as Francis.

Y^{rs} very sincerely,

WALPOLE."

Count Andrew Razumovski, with whom Lord Walpole said that the Emperor Alexander took up his abode whilst at Vienna for the close of the Congress, was a Russian diplomatist, who filled many important posts, but his would seem to be a case of *faute de mieux*, for he was often out of favour, and credited with more than one blunder. He died in 1836, having been made a prince for the length, if hardly for the distinction of his services.

The most significant point mentioned in this letter is the Saxon question, so closely bound up with that of Poland, and from another aspect with that of Prussia. Prince Hardenberg's Memorandum, which will follow these letters from Lord Walpole, gives clear proof of his extreme anxiety in reference to the rectification of the frontiers of Prussia, which had fallen on evil days of late. Alexander had not shown himself hostile to Prussia, but it was believed by Prussian statesmen that this was owing rather to Stein's influence than to any special feeling of friendship on the part of the Russian Emperor, although in one of those outbursts of sympathy, which were part of his nature, Alexander had sworn eternal amity to the King of Prussia at the tomb of Frederick the Great. Prussia desired to possess Saxony as a bulwark to shelter her own weakness, although she pleaded that if she were strong it would be to the advantage of the neighbouring German powers, whom she would then be in a position to take under her protection. The Prussians feared the possible results of the Emperor Alexander's lately awakened energy and ambitions, and Talleyrand did his best to stir up suspicions and strife. He coined the word "Legitimism," and the bait took with many members of the Vienna Congress. The expression seemed to focus all the dangers to be guarded

against. Had they not had enough of plunder and had not Europe suffered sufficiently at the hands of the arch usurper? Assuredly this was so. Therefore kingdoms must not be allowed to change hands and pass from under the sway of their legitimate rulers, ruled they never so unwisely. Here Talleyrand played a big trump. England and Austria were both impressed by its magnitude. The subtile past-master in the art of dissimulation desired to sow the seed of discord amongst his fellow-diplomatists, and well-nigh he succeeded. Fortunately, there was one thing the great men assembled at Vienna were heartily tired of, besides revolutionary measures, and that was war. And so they snarled by day and made it up by night. There was much barking, but no biting, and seventeen days after Lord Walpole's letter mentioning the subject was written, the controversy entered on a fresh phase and was settled definitely in the middle of the following month. Prussia was allotted a portion of Saxony, and Russia contented herself with a modified control of the Duchy of Warsaw, which Alexander had urgently desired to incorporate with Poland. The onus of this arrangement did not rest with us. Castlereagh was certainly not too favourably disposed towards Prussia and vetoed her becoming possessed of Leipzig, but he knew the temper of the British Government too well to care to push matters to extremes, and therefore, together with Metternich, he urged a modification of their demands on both parties. These terms were acquiesced in momentarily by Prussia. Prince Hardenberg acknowledged the responsibilities thus incurred by him on behalf of the country he represented, yet this territorial question remained a source of deep anxiety to him. The lapse of years did not modify his individual opinions, and his Memorandum shows, that they remained substantially the same in 1818 as they had been in 1815. Lord Walpole refers also to American affairs. Exclusively English interests have little to do with the scope of this chapter, but let it be recalled in passing that the continuance of the American War was always troubling the minds of thoughtful Englishmen, even as it pressed upon their King. Its conclusion was a source of general rejoicing, for it had drained the resources of this



C. W. L., Fürst von Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen
1773-1859

OUR RELATIONSHIP TO DENMARK 183

country both in men and money for three long years, greatly complicating our Continental difficulties.

The four letters next in order refer to our relationship to Denmark, our differences with Bernadotte¹ and the question of Guadeloupe, also to tariffs and commercial treaties, and, to glance for one moment homeward, to the perennial Catholic Question. It appears to be the fate of Norway to be in some sense the shuttlecock of Denmark and Sweden, and the events of 1905 can but recall to mind those of 1814. By the Treaty of Kiel, of January the 14th, 1814, the King of Denmark, Frederick VI, had conceded Norway to Sweden, which had lost Finland in 1809, and desired in consequence to salve her wounded pride by increasing her territory in another direction. The Norwegians resented the transaction, looked upon it as beneath their dignity to be disposed of in so summary a fashion, and elected Prince Christian Frederick of Norway as their king. It was the invasion of Denmark by the Swedes, when Bernadotte had shaken off the yoke of Napoleon, which led to the cession of Norway to the invaders. Denmark sided with Napoleon, and had, as we know, more than one grievance against us. The transactions of Denmark remind one of the countryman in the old fairy story, who was always making exchanges, whilst his returns became each time beautifully less, till they reached a vanishing point. Norway exchanged for Pomerania, and that again parted with for a small district in Lauenburg, does not seem advantageous, and yet the gallant little kingdom appears none the worse, but rather the better, for having rid itself of sundry troublesome children. That thought, however, would bring us, if we pursued it, to the Schleswig-Holstein question, which would be anticipating; and of that it has been said, facetiously, that it was a question which only one man understood, and he had not quite grasped it. Whether this was so or not, he has long since joined the majority, and cannot therefore be consulted. Lord Walpole's information concerning the way in which the Duke of Wellington and Lord Clancarty stood up for Denmark at Vienna shows that the *entente cordiale* between Denmark and ourselves was

¹ Then Crown Prince of Sweden, but already King in all but name.

already dawning, and our friendly relationship to each other has not since been disturbed. Lord Clancarty, of whom Lord Walpole speaks, was the third earl, and it may be remembered that he was "attached in 1813 to the Person of the Prince of Orange," when the latter was restored to the sovereignty of the Netherlands. Lord Clancarty landed with the Prince at Schevening, and remained as his ambassador for two years, being succeeded in 1815 by Sir Charles Stuart, with whom we are already acquainted.

We find Lord Clancarty again in Holland in 1817, then acting for two years as ambassador to the Low Countries, after the Protestant States had been incorporated into the kingdom of the Netherlands, subsequent to the fall of Napoleon.

My recent reference to Bernadotte carries my thoughts back to the circumstances which brought him to Sweden, and recalls some of his predecessors of the old Royal House of Sweden, and amongst them Gustavus IV, the eccentric king, whom Buonaparte nicknamed the "Don Quixote of the North." Gustavus' people hated him, not only for his inconsistencies, but because there were rumours to the effect that some mystery attached to his birth and parentage. The truth concerning this we cannot determine. His father, Gustavus III, had been murdered when his son was still under age. Sir Edward Disbrowe, when minister to Sweden in 1833, had rented him the "*Oeil de Boeuf*," or stage box in the theatre where the crime had been perpetrated. Gustavus III had been hated by the nobility, who were credited with having connived at his murder, but he was beloved by the peasants and burghers, for in the early part of his reign he showed great liberality in his administration, though he adopted a reactionary policy towards the close, fearing that he had made too great concessions to the populace. Gustavus IV has been mentioned as the husband of Frederica, younger sister of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia and daughter of the Margravine Amelia of Baden. Queen Frederica's brother, Grand Duke Carl, was one of those German princelets whom Buonaparte had thought well to attach to his cause by a union with Stéphanie Beauharnais, a

flighty, fascinating, irresponsible creature, whose daughter, Princess Marie, was the wife of the Duke of Hamilton. Stéphanie's French *joie de vivre* was severely criticised by the more staid Germans. I have, however, known many people who were acquainted with her personally, and who talked of her social qualities and occasional defiance of etiquette with genuine enjoyment. Yet, there were shadows in the old Palace of Mannheim which were never lifted. To this day there are those living, who say that Grand Duchess Stéphanie spoke openly of her faith in Caspar Hauser being her son, declared to be dead, but stolen from her in infancy. The mysterious grey lady, who is believed to be connected with the Baden House, would have strange stories to tell, if we could but interview her. What would those interested in psychical research not give to have heard, as I have heard, tales regarding that same grey lady, from those who have seen her, and received communications from her, in the palaces of the Princes of Baden. My grandfather, the Hon. Robert Kennedy, rented the palace of the Margraves of Baden on the Schlossplatz, at Karlsruhe, for many years, and the little grey lady was seen in his day.

Queen Frederica of Sweden, driven into poverty and exile by the conduct of her husband, which seemed often to verge on madness, was perhaps the most to be pitied of all the luckless family of the Margravine Amelia. On the dethronement of Gustavus, his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, became at first head of the temporary government, and was shortly afterwards elected king by the Diet. The new king being an old man, his chosen successor, Prince Christian of Augustenburg, was practically regent, and allied himself very closely with Buonaparte, adopting his political views and the Continental System, the scheme by which the French ruler sought to boycott British goods. Buonaparte made the prohibition of their importation the touchstone of the friendship of his allies. The sudden death of Prince Christian, which was attributed by many persons to poison, necessitated the choice of a successor. It was a peculiarity of the Swedish laws that the position of Crown Prince was elective. Various candidates were brought forward, including the son of the

late king. The first selection did not give satisfaction to the Diet, but a nobleman named Count Mörner had journeyed meanwhile to Paris and sought for a new candidate. He lighted upon Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo, who was not of noble birth, as was indeed generally the case with Napoleon's generals, but fair-minded, possessed of much administrative ability, and remembered by many Swedes for the great consideration he had shown their fallen countrymen when prisoners at Lübeck. The Swedes are under the impression, that English people believe Buonaparte to have instigated this appointment, or that at least it was made by Sweden for the purpose of keeping on good terms with him. This the Swedes deny, attributing the choice entirely to Count Mörner's discrimination. Certainly, Buonaparte was not likely to desire the elevation of his former general and favourite, considering that they had quarrelled. Once, they had been close friends, but there had been moments when Bernadotte was on the verge of being court-martialled. Old friendship prevailed and extreme measures were not adopted, yet a cloud came between Pontecorvo and Buonaparte which was never lifted. It led eventually to Bernadotte, when Crown Prince of Sweden, siding with the French Emperor's foes and leading an army against him at Leipzig. One cause of their rupture was an unauthorised bulletin, praising the conduct of the Saxon troops, published by Bernadotte after Wagram, which called down upon him the Emperor's censure.

I gather from Miss Disbrowe, who went with her parents, as a child, to the Swedish Court, that Bernadotte had little of the manners one associates with royalty, but that he was eminently good-natured, as was also his Queen Désirée. Neither of them were adepts at the Swedish language, nor did they altogether enjoy their exalted position. The good looks of the present Royal House were derived, probably, from the fact of Bernadotte's successor, Prince Oscar, himself a fine looking man, being married to the daughter of Eugène Beauharnais, who possessed much of the beauty of that handsome race. It was a sore subject with those in attendance on him that Bernadotte could never accommodate himself to

ordinary hours. He preferred being in bed all day, and up all night, and was in constant dread of being assassinated, but the Swedes in general liked him, and had no objection to his predilection for raw apples, which he ate in quantities; and their descendants still hold him in kindly memory. The cause of friction between England and Sweden in 1815 was the acquisition of Guadaloupe by the latter country. Sweden, like Germany in the present day, was seized with a fancy for colonial possessions, and acquired the island of Guadaloupe in 1813 from England, but it was three years before the English evacuated the island, owing to the terms agreed upon not being fulfilled by Sweden. This was the origin of the altercation between Mr. Thornton¹ and Karl Johann, as Lord Walpole terms him. Miss Disbrowe, who has very vivid recollections of those early days in Sweden, says that Bernadotte was very particular about being designated Charles the XIVth JOHN. An inscription describing him thus may be seen at Walton Hall on a tall red porphyry jardinière, presented by him to Lady Disbrowe to express his gratification at the conclusion of a Navigation Treaty by Sir Edward, and to solace his grief because the English Foreign Office regulations forbade his bestowing a gift on Sir Edward himself in recognition of this service. It will be noticed that in the chapter referring mostly to Danish and Swedish questions that M. de Dedel mentions the delight of the Duke of Devonshire at the purchase of a vase made of this precious Swedish porphyry. The hardness of the substance caused the process of procuring and preparing it for use a protracted one, in days when machinery was far removed from its present state of perfection. The Walton jardinière is beautiful in colour and attractive in the severe simplicity of its design, a bowl of considerable circumference standing on three tall pillars. The pillars rest on two steps, which are also of porphyry, the first being three-cornered and the second round. We shall have reason to refer again to the commercial relationship between Denmark

¹ Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Thornton, sent three times on missions to Sweden and appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swedish Court on August 5th, 1812, which post he held for three years.

and Sweden. Tariffs and taxation were matters for serious consideration in the days which saw the fall of Napoleon. He had known the value of the former so well that he had, as we know, made the acceptance of his Continental system a *sine quâ non* for those nations who desired to be reckoned amongst his friends. In this the Emperor Paul of Russia had been with him, hating England because the British Government had refused to give back Malta to the Knights of St. John. In revenge Paul had gladly joined with other northern nations in the League, which was antagonistic to British interests. After his death Alexander held to the same opinion as long as he was under the glamour of Buonaparte's influence. When his young enthusiasm for the French Emperor had died away, the Russian Emperor realised that the material welfare of nations depended on maintaining a friendly policy in regard to their import trade; in fact, that reciprocity was a sounder basis for worldly prosperity, as well as ethically more commendable than retaliation.

Remarks made both by Lord Walpole and others contained in letters which we shall quote from diplomatists in Denmark and Sweden refer to widespread financial difficulties among various nations, which owed their origin to the wars that had been devastating Europe. Forced paper currency with the rocks of bankruptcy in sight, had become very general. In his excellent contribution to the Cambridge Historical Series, on the "Expansion of Russia,"¹ Mr. Skrine mentions that notes had been issued in Russia "to the nominal value of 836,000,000 roubles, which circulated at a discount of 75 per cent." There followed the obvious result of commerce being at a standstill, whilst all officials in the pay of the Government suffered from receiving their salaries in paper currency.

The next three years were occupied by Alexander in reviewing the situation, and taking such steps as recommended themselves to him, to obviate the various financial difficulties. The Bank of St. Petersburg was established by an Imperial Ukase, sundry loans were floated, and the

¹ Published by the Cambridge University Press.

proceeds employed for the purpose of redeeming a large portion of the paper money. Russia's national debt owes its existence to those troubled times. In this case a nation's debt proved a nation's blessing.

In his letter of August the 8th, 1815, Lord Walpole refers to the treatment of criminals to be expected from Talleyrand and Fouché, or to give him his full title, the Duc d'Otranto, a distinction which the former revolutionist accepted in 1809. He and Talleyrand were eminently fitted to run in double harness, not from any mutual affection, for they hated each other, but from the genius they both exhibited in wearing a mask, and concealing their intentions. If the flippancy of the remark may be pardoned, they were like the niggers Cæsar and Pompey, supposed to be exactly alike, *more especially* Pompey. Fouché out-Cæsared Cæsar, if that may be understood as being more false than Talleyrand. The system of *espionnage* of the notorious Minister of Police has become a byword amongst honest men. He pursued also in an eminent degree the talent of always being on the side of the winners; Revolutionaries, Buonaparte, or Bourbons were all alike to him, provided they had the upper hand. He was apparently indispensable, or Louis XVIII would not have received him again after his desertion of him during the Hundred Days. Napoleon had said on a previous occasion that he did not care to have a minister about him who would search his writing-table and not stop short at his bed. Double-faced at all times, Fouché was notably so when the end of the French Emperor's greatness drew nigh, even to communicating with Lord Wellington with a view to preparing himself a place of refuge in England to receive him, if all other niches failed. At the same time he was playing Louis XVIII against Napoleon, and Napoleon against Louis. To the Count in retirement at Gand, he represented Napoleon as a madman, fit only for incarceration, whilst he allowed France to be flooded with caricatures and lampoons showing the rapacity and weakness of the Bourbon King. Anxious to hold yet more threads in his hand, this hypocritical political wire-puller sought to intrigue with Metternich, thus bringing the ignoble art of hedging almost

to the perfection of an exact science, in regard to which he could count on results to a fraction.

It will be noticed, that Lord Walpole puts no credence in either Talleyrand or Fouché pursuing a line of conduct which would prove salutary to France. Of Fouché, one of his own countrymen has said, that he effected a little good and did very much evil. His most¹ honourable act was when, as President of the Provisional Government after Waterloo, he counselled Napoleon to abdicate. Fouché saw that further resistance could but end in disaster, and his advice was honestly given. Talleyrand had remained true to the Bourbons after Napoleon had been forced to retire to Elba, and he kept his head when other people became intoxicated with hopes of restoring the Empire, during the triumphs following on Napoleon's reappearance in France. At the return of Louis XVIII, he was made Foreign Minister, and lived to see Charles X. and Louis Philippe each in their turn ascend the French throne. He remained at Paris and served his country till 1830, when he was appointed Ambassador to London, then returning once more to his beloved Paris, he breathed his last there in May, 1838, at the ripe age of eighty-four. Fouché and he loved to outwit each other, but the highly bred gentleman with all his plans and schemes never stooped to the falsity of his less well-born colleague, nor had he ever been guilty of such atrocious cruelty, as had left an indelible stain on Fouché's early career. For Fouché had been foremost with Collot d'Herbois in instigating the wholesale executions at Lyons in 1793. Mademoiselle des Écherolles, afterwards lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Wurtemberg and governess to her children, has given a graphic description of those days in her memoirs, published some seventy-five years ago. I am the possessor of one of the copies of the subscribed edition of this work, bought chiefly by the Royal House of Wurtemberg. There were only six Scotch and English subscribers, five copies being taken by members of my own family. I have heard my mother and aunts speak of the tiny little lady, who as a girl of fourteen, had gone through the horrors of those evil

¹ Some historians put a different construction on this.

days at Lyons. Her father was proscribed and in hiding; the aunt with whom she lived was seized by the revolutionists and guillotined, and she, mere child though she was, visited her and took her food during her cruel imprisonment. Mademoiselle des Écherolles, after many vicissitudes, escaped to Paris, and thence by the influence of friends to Stuttgart, where she became the devoted friend of the Princesses of Wurtemberg. In connection with this lady an amusing incident occurs to me. My grandfather's three youngest daughters, my mother being the youngest of the trio, paid a visit in their girlhood to the Duchess Louis of Wurtemberg at her country seat near Stuttgart. The visit being ended, the Princess sent to enquire what the Kennedy family motto might be. The desired information was sent to her Highness, and her late guests were surprised one day by the arrival of three high tortoise-shell combs to be worn *at the back of the head*, each adorned with the familiar motto "*Avisé la fin.*" To wear these combs must have been a trial to three fair damsels, possessed of a keen sense of humour. Yet it had to be done: the gifts of a Princess demand to be treated with respect.

Lord Walpole's letter referring to Fouché speaks also of Queen Hortense, known later as the Duchess of St. Leu, wife of Louis Buonaparte, sometime King of Holland. Miss Disbrowe tells me that Hortense's memory was not held in esteem at the Hague, whilst Louis Buonaparte, the husband, whom she made so miserable, was talked of by the Netherlanders as a well-intentioned man, who desired to do his utmost for the country, over which his brother had placed him, but was thwarted by the French Emperor in his aims and ambitions.

Hortense, brought up at Madame Campan's with her cousin Stéphanie, afterwards, as already said, Grand Duchess of Baden, has been described as excelling in all polite accomplishments, which we may believe to have been the case, though her career does not indicate, that she did credit to Madame Campan's declared talent for forming the minds and hearts of the young. Perhaps her previous tropical rearing in Martinique had made her the flighty creature of unbridled

imagination and fancies, which she proved to be. Hortense was credited with loving Duroc, who fell at Bautzen. A cannonball aimed at Napoleon and his staff killed General Kirgener and wounded Duroc mortally, whose last act was to raise his imperial master's hand to his lips, and utter words of devotion to him. Napoleon said of Duroc, he was "a pure and virtuous man, totally disinterested and extremely generous. Throughout my career he was the only person who possessed my unreserved confidence. He would never have abandoned my person or my fortunes." Perhaps if the fates had been propitious, Hortense too, would have left a different record behind her.

We turn once more to the letters.

From LORD WALPOLE to MR. DISBROWE.

"St. Petersburg, *June 2, 1815.*

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

Yours of the 4th, 22nd, and 27th April are now before me, but the Anterior letters you mention having sent to Thornton have not yet reached me. The Duchess is much obliged to you, the other articles are not come. Till Mr. Rosencrantz' arrival a week ago, I had been ignorant of your accident,¹ I hope that you are by this time quite recovered.

I have only your No. 2 of Cypher, and am afraid that your false names would only add to the number, if you have such a table, send it to me, and I willingly will adopt it.

I am of your opinion that Denmark's counsels are for an hearty union with us, she certainly has the strongest reasons to be discontented with Russia, and I have strongly impressed upon Blöme,² the different conduct of the two Countries. That whilst Russia appeared to guaranty the Treaty of Kiel, the Emp^r has unequivocally refused to guaranty any thing except the advantages to be derived by Sweden; to the indemnity promised to Denmark he will not become a party. Blöme tells me that Lord Wellington stood up for Denmark at Vienna, and that Clancarty has done the same (but it

¹ Mr. Disbrowe had broken the small bone of one of his legs whilst in Denmark. Later correspondents refer also to this accident.

² A Danish diplomatist.

appears to me that Rosencrantz thinks not with the same verve of decision). Bailey, whom I sent to England the end of April, writes me word from Stockholm that Bernadotte and Thornton had had high words, and that we had positively refused to pay the million for Guadaloupe,¹ unless the treaty of Kiel was strictly executed. I understand from Blôme that Pomerania would be ceded to Russia, moyennant the immediate payment of 600,000 Roubles to Denmark by Russia.

I shall always take very sincere delight in your success. I cannot therefore praise too highly your letter of the 27th April with the enclosures you were so good as to send me. I am not Frenchman enough to criticise the idiom; but the Queen's message will have proved to you that it was thoroughly understood, and in my opinion is clear and well drawn up.

As to our little affairs here, a foreign Courier arrived yesterday; the Emp^r leaves Vienna (as he says) on the 24th or 25th June. The Emp^r of Austria goes to Heilbronn. I send you a corrected copy of my private letter to Castlereagh; the Committee alluded to consists of the four persons therein named. The Emperor has formed (it) to revise the different projects, and form a tariff (upon liberal principles towards G. Britain as he told Castlereagh) for the year 1816. *Tout ceci ne fera que de l'eau claire*, he wanted to get something out of us. I believe has got it. I can assure you that Bernadotte has both cajoled and frightened Alexander, and succeeds with him in proportion *as he substantiates* the latter feeling.

Your Princess has not been visible for some time, she is again lying in; the Boris Galitzin is gone to her *terres* with Sophie Alexandrine and Lize Troubetzkoi, but Tetian Potemkin, who is with child, and whose husband marches with his regiment, has written to her to come back. I shall learn in a few days what she resolves. Lize Kourakin *qui'a de l'esprit* is as great an imbecille as ever. The Persian Ambassador is here, dines with me to-day with the Ouseleys,

¹ In view of what happened regarding Guadaloupe, this sentence is obscure.—M. M.-C.

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the Princess Gagarin, her sister, and the children come to look at this black-bearded fellow.

Francis, who was to have carried these despatches, remains a month longer; he is desperately in love, virtuously with one, *outré les bonnes fortunes qu'il prétend*. I think it is probable that I shall leave this before the summer is over, if ever it commences, and intend passing through Stockholm, and coming over to see you, from thence to embark at Cuxhaven.

Ever yours most sincerely,

WALPOLE."

"St. Petersburg, *June 25, 1815.*

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I take the opportunity of Sir Gore Ouseley's departure by sea and necessary stopping at Elsineur to write you these few lines; the seeds for the Princess have not reached me tho' your letter was sent from Stockholm. You will by this time have rec^d my bag by the Barossa, I had nothing more worth writing, and my stock is not increased since then,—a very considerable force had been sent to the Turkish frontier; the Porte demanded of the Commander-in-chief why his troops were reinforced and had augmented their own way in consequence, but nothing was expected from these bickerings. Bailey¹ is in London, I do not expect him back till the end of August, when I returned to England, or hope so to do. Francis will probably pay you a visit in a short time on his way home. Blöme goes to see his King, from thence he hopes to go to L^d Wellington's H^d-quarters.

The Emperor has named Kotchenberg, Gourieff,² Kasadawliew and Campenhausen a Committee to examine and form the new Tariff, but there is little expectation that there will be anything but continuing the old. New taxes to a very considerable extent are to be laid.

Let me hear from you soon. Best compliments to Foster,
Yrs. very truly,

WALPOLE."

¹ Lord Walpole always uses the spelling Bailey, yet we believe he means Sir Daniel Bayley.

² Gourieff was Minister of Finance.

“St. Petersburg, *August*, 1815.

DEAR DISBROWE,

I know not whether this will find you at Copenhagen, but as Francis carries it to Stockholm, I would not lose this opportunity of thanking you for your constant correspondence, it has been very interesting to me, and if I have not paid it in kind, it is not from want of will, but of matter.

Our Emperor writes that he shall be back by the end of August O.S., and I think it not improbable, considering that he is not now the greatest man at Paris. I am well informed from London that his *talents and his faults*¹ are fully appreciated; against his speedy return we have to place his dislike to come back here, *pour s'ennuyer*, his immense army which he will be unable to get back, which he does not like to leave there, and which he can neither pay or controul if he ever gets it here; the chaos of the internal organisation of the country, commerce, etc., and the mass of papers which for three years have been accumulating for the *menus plaisirs* of a man who hates business himself, and will suffer no one to do it for him. With these contradictory reasons for and against, decide for yourself. *Au reste*, he some time ago ordered a committee Kotchenberg, Gourieff, Kasadawliew, and Campenhausen to frame a new Tariff. The Minister of Finance presented it, no prohibitions, but heavy duties, which he supposes will augment the revenue (for money they want). The first approves the principle, *sauf* to join his Master as soon as he may learn his ideas upon the subject. I do not think it will succeed, either for this country or for Gourieff, whom it appears to me will be exported, previous to the import of foreign manufactures. In addition to the money we have been extravagant in giving, taxes to the estimated amount of 60,000,000 per annum, are proposed to be laid.

The Corps Diplomatique dined yesterday at Paulowskoi. The French Ambassador and myself were particularly well

¹ Alexander was very popular in London with the general public, though good-naturedly criticised as “a dandy.”

treated, which I attribute more to the having forced an apology from certain high personages some time ago, than for being Wellington's countryman. Your friend, the Scherbatoff was there, looking very pretty; she has not rec^d your clover seed. I know not how the Duchess's succeeds, for I have not been there once this year. The Boris Galitzin *est dans ses terres*. I hear Lize Kourakin is in town, but she is so entirely occupied by Maistre,¹ and *les Pères de l'Eglise*, that I never see her, not being one of the Elect, though the Count swears that *We* are all about to turn Catholicicks, the which assertion he corroborates by Castlereagh's and poor Whitbread's speeches, *risum teneatis!*

I now and then go to Mad^m Svetchine's, near Peterhof, the evening to Gourieffs. The Princess G——has the same house as last year, upon Orloffs island, and my Arabs have a cursed trick of always taking that road.

My friend Blôme will probably remain, tho' he curses his stars that he was not in time to join L^d Wellington (to whom he has been accredited) before the 18th June. Mr. Heming has not made his appearance—*voilà assez de Petersbourg*.

Your Cypher No. 2 is the only one I have; was it your's or my fault that I could not make out the latter part of the first section?

I have no doubt of Carl Johann's project, and the support *promised*, but am inclined to think that it never was intended to be fulfilled, and am quite sure there has been no possibility for some time past. *We* are apparently quite changed in our conduct at Paris from that which *we* observed last year. Hortense even has not been visited, etc., etc. I much fear that none of the blessings which Severity would shower upon France are likely to fall to her lot, that wholesale murder, the pardon of Criminals is the foul stain of Louis 18, nor do I think that Talleyrand and Fouché will help to wash it out, should they ever prove true for the future, the which I am half inclined to doubt. If you see Stuart my best regards

¹ Comte Joseph Marie de Maistre, for many years Sardinian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, a philosopher but also a violent ultramontane.

to him, and most sincere congratulations upon his well earned and deserved honours.

Your most sincere,
WALPOLE.

The Swords were directed to L^d Castlereagh; the Maps I rec^d, they are very little worth."

" St. Petersburg, *Sept. 5, 1815.*

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

In the bag of despatches which accompanied the two swords and was conveyed to the Barossa in June and July, there was a little deal box containing a small picture and which does not appear to have reached England, at least Lady W. does not accuse the reception of it, it is more than probable she may have rec^d it without saying anything about the matter, but as I value it much, pray have the kindness to make a few enquiries about it for me.

We have nothing new, the Emperor's return is not yet fixed, but I am told from London that Cathcart will be back before Xmas, he formerly was said to be likely to return in Oct. Lady C. is at Hanover waiting his arrival. Your friend Heming seems a good sort of fellow, I see him de tems en tems, he seems alive for news almost as much as Blöme.

With compts. to Foster and his Wife,

Ever your sincere
WALPOLE.

I have no late letter from you. Stockholm was in mourning at the extinction of Boney's hopes. Thornton is gone home."

This last paragraph is very significant as to the political leanings of Sweden at that date.

Although Lord Walpole's correspondence contains no direct allusion to the greatest event of 1815, it had nevertheless taken place between the dates of the second and third of the letters by him, which we have just given. This was the return of Napoleon from Elba, the news of which fell upon

the Allies assembled at Vienna like a bomb shell, putting an end for the moment to any bickerings, and uniting them in the all-absorbing aim of freeing Europe once more from the foe who baffled them all. It was that which brought the Emperor of Austria to Heilbronn, as it also did Alexander. Never had the two mediæval towns of Heilbronn and Heidelberg on the green banks of the Neckar, with all their store of historic reminiscences, known such distinguished company as in June, 1815. Heilbronn now degenerated, from the æsthetic point of view, into a manufacturing centre, is full of old-world recollections. We cannot think of this once independent city of the Empire with its delightful old-fashioned houses, its high sloping brown roofs, its picturesque nooks and corners, its fascinating bits of German Renaissance and Gothic architecture, without visions of Götze von Berlichingen's iron, and most unsaintly hand, transformed into a sacred relic for curing "head-ache, tooth-ache and all the ills to which flesh is heir," or of Franz von Sickingen and his plans for his country's reformation, and last but not least—the hibernianism is tempting—of the immortal but traditional Kätchen of Heilbronn.¹

But in 1815 it was the stern necessities of war which brought the two Emperors to the smiling little town on their way to fulfil their part of the military programme of the Allies, which was to enter France by way of Mayence and Belgium, with the intention of marching on Paris.

The Emperor of Austria was not an interesting personality. Kindly and affectionate in disposition, keenly sensitive to the ties of kindred, he lacked backbone, and was a mere tool in the hands of Metternich. In strong contrast to his own, the character of Alexander of Russia reminds one of some beautiful, but unfinished piece of statuary. It is so fascinating that I must not forget that we have dwelt on it already. Alexander, never robust and always leading a strenuous life, living every minute of it to the full, with his mental powers keenly on the stretch, had come to Heilbronn a brain-weary man after the fatigues and anxieties of the Congress of Vienna. Sick in body and troubled in mind by

¹ See Appendix D.

the unsatisfactory state of the political outlook, he gave himself up to the deepest depression. The strong counsellor of a forward policy to the Allies of 1814, the Sovereign to whom all had looked, and not in vain, for determined action at their first entrance into Paris, was momentarily at the end of his strength. The fierce reaction natural to one so highly strung had claimed him as its own. The awful sufferings to which his people had been subjected during the Russian Campaign had turned his thoughts to the mysteries of existence, and we know that aided by Prince Galitzin he had sought the answer in the Bible, which he decreed should be henceforth an open book to his subjects, and thereafter he always preserved his reverence for the Scriptures, of which he was a close student. Eynard mentions that he formed the habit of reading three chapters daily, choosing them from the Prophets, Epistles, and Gospels. It is a notable fact that though his married life was not a happy one, in that there was an irreconcilable incompatibility of disposition between him and his wife chosen for him by the arbitrary will of another, the Empress Catharine, yet it was owing to the Empress Elizabeth that in two crises in his life spiritual consolation was brought to him. It was to her that he turned for a copy of the Bible, hitherto an unknown book to him. It was she who, at an opportune moment at Vienna, laid the letters before him which Mademoiselle de Stourdza had received from Madame de Krüdener. Mademoiselle de Stourdza came of a noble Moldavian family, and was lady-in-waiting to the Empress Elizabeth, to whom she was sincerely attached. She married Count Edling, a diplomatist from the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar and left some interesting reminiscences, which were published at Moscow, entitled "*Mémoires de la Comtesse d'Edling.*" Like the Emperor Alexander, with whom she was always on excellent terms, Mademoiselle de Stourdza had a penchant towards mysticism, and was genuinely interested in religious questions. At the same time, she made the impression at the Baden court of a woman who knew how to make the best of both worlds, possessing many social talents and not averse to attracting notice where it was for her worldly advancement. Be that as it may, it was

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through her accompanying her Imperial mistress on visits to the Margravine Amelia that she became acquainted with Madame de Krüdener, who was often at Carlsruhe for the sake of the pleasure which intellectual intercourse with Jung-Stilling, the theosophical oculist, afforded her.

Madame de Krüdener had an enthusiastic admiration for Mademoiselle de Stourdza, in whom she discovered a kindred soul and poured out her beliefs and prophecies to her in frequent letters. Their import is summed up in her own words contained in one of them. "Everything is distorted and perverted, and all the traces have been burst, which should have served to guide those who wish to live for eternity. We must have recourse to the Gospels." Together with spiritual counsel, the strain of prophecy never far from Madame de Krüdener's lips or pen runs through the correspondence. She foretells the scourge which shall fall on France, the return of Napoleon, the fading of the Bourbon lilies, and denounces the follies of the French nation and the frivolities which were the order of the day at Vienna, where the vital interests of nations should have been the sole object of consideration. With it all, she expresses in no uncertain tone the belief that it will be permitted to her to meet her Sovereign, the Emperor Alexander, to whom she has been given great things to say, and whose heart will be prepared to hear them. Such in briefest summing up was the tone of the letters which the Empress Elizabeth laid before Alexander, who conceived an overwhelming desire to see Madame de Krüdener. At the end of May he had left Vienna for the purpose of joining his headquarters at Heidelberg, and the 4th of June found him at Heilbronn. He wrote himself, concerning that momentous day in his destiny to Mademoiselle de Stourdza, letting her know his thoughts had turned to her in his depression, and to what she had told him concerning Madame de Krüdener, and how he had evinced an overwhelming desire to see that remarkable lady. By some thought wave, Madame de Krüdener was driven as with an inevitable impulse to Heilbronn to seek her Sovereign. Arriving late at night, she sought out Prince Volkonsky, who was in attendance on the Emperor, and who

would have barred the door to her, but who at length admitted her to the Emperor's presence, though very unwillingly, being conquered by her importunity. With absolute fearlessness, she went straight to the point, telling Alexander of his sinfulness and need of pardon, and for some hours they spoke from heart to heart of religious questions. Next day the Emperor journeyed on to Heidelberg, and there the constant interviews in the little cottage by the Neckar took place, in which Alexander was content to receive instruction and correction in all simplicity and humility. In Paris they met again constantly, and whilst the Emperor was looked to by other sovereigns and diplomatists as a tower of strength and wise adviser, he was pursuing in his private life the same path of self-abnegation and self-restraint which he had marked out for himself since the remarkable change had come over his life, and bowing in all humility to the guidance of his spiritual directress. The annals of history provide no stranger phenomenon.

If Heilbronn entertained unusually notable guests at the beginning of the month, famous for the victory of Waterloo, this may be said with equal truth of Heidelberg, the Palatine town so rich in historic associations, and not only of Heidelberg but of its environs. This was the year in which the Margravine's small country house at Rohrbach was the place of *rendezvous* of crowned heads. The Austrian and Russian Emperors were amongst those who dined with the aged Princess in quiet friendly fashion, laying aside all state. It was on such occasions that Alexander was always at his best. When the Margravine was slightly embarrassed in regard to the manner of going in to dinner, so as to show proper respect to both Emperors, Alexander exclaimed, "Treat me as a child of the house, Maman," and leaving her to take the arm of the Emperor of Austria, offered his own, and also a little bouquet of carnations, to the lady-in-waiting, Fräulein von Freystedt. There was nothing that gained Alexander more friends than his readiness to unbend. His interviews with Madame de Krüdener took place at her humble lodging on the road to Schlierbach, in what might be termed the lean-to of a cow stable, his own quarters were at the house of a

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wealthy Englishman named Pickford, not far from the Carlsthor, the town gate, which commemorates the reign of the Elector Carl Theodor. The house exists to this day, and is a somewhat melancholy looking building with white pillars and green shutters. A friend long resident at Heidelberg tells me, that she often heard her father say the house did not possess any shutters originally, but that these were given by the Emperor in remembrance of his visit.

CHAPTER V

PRINCE HARDENBERG

THE Memorandum by Prince Hardenberg, which we are able to reproduce in the Appendix, is distinctly interesting both in itself and in reference to the view which Baron vom Stein took of the writer.

In early days these distinguished statesmen had seen face to face, but Stein could not separate the politician from the man, and the latter he looked upon as an immoral weakling, leading a life which deserved to be held up to reprobation. However justified he may have been in coming to this conclusion, he did, as his own able English biographer has discovered, scant justice to his colleague's attachment to the country of his adoption. Karl August von Hardenberg was of Hanoverian birth, though the trend of circumstances brought him to serve the Prussian monarchy. Vom Stein though an excellent adviser in a political crisis, was no diplomatist by nature. He preferred rough and tumble methods, and that spirit of "*thue Recht und scheue Niemand*" which appeals to the honest Teutonic heart, as exhibited by its best representatives. Why conceal things if you think rightly and mean to act straight-forwardly, was the line of conduct congenial to Stein. This prevented his appreciating or even believing in the steadfastness of a man, whose actions were guided by the desire to conceal his real motives. Prince Hardenberg was of a nature directly opposed to this. Being a born diplomatist, he played his cards with skill and dexterity, purposely concealing the drift of his game. Napoleon had begun by looking favourably on him, but he ceased to do so after the peace of Tilsit, and Hardenberg was not slow to

recognise that Prussia's geographical position exposed her to exceptional difficulties, that great circumspection was necessary to secure her independence, and that to dissimulate and not break too soon with France was necessitated by her want of power. "Prussia is the friend of all the world," had been said sarcastically of her, because her policy was hard to understand, but the Prussian Ministry was patriotic at heart, and her Ministers, with ostensibly French leanings, were men of straw, with other influences behind them. Stein was an altogether finer character than Hardenberg, but like many fine characters not easy to have to do with, and so the King of Prussia found, and therefore held to the more easy-going Hardenberg. And whilst the Prince leant towards Austria, Stein, as we are aware, sided with the Emperor Alexander during the campaign of 1813 to 1814. To read the political history of Germany of the next few years is to find Hardenberg constantly reiterating Prussia's difficulties. He pleads at Vienna with his colleagues in general, and puts the matter urgently before Metternich. Our memorandum is written in the same strain. Undated, its internal evidence points to its having been composed in 1818, when the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle published its decision on the 9th of October, causing the army of occupation to evacuate French territory on or before the following 30th of November. I take this information from a copy of the Convention of which a hundred only were printed for the private use of the different cabinets, one of which is in Miss Disbrowe's possession. Hardenberg's memorandum reads undoubtedly, as I began by hinting, like a refutation of Baron vom Stein's opinion of the lukewarmness of the Prince.

Memorandum by PRINCE HARDENBERG, translated from the French.

(For the original, vide Appendix E.)

The protection of Prussia is undeniably most difficult. A glance at her geographical position suffices to convince one that, being divided into two separate parts by foreign possessions and covering an expanse of 19 degrees, reaching from



Karl August, Fürst von Hardenberg
1750-1822

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the Niemen to the Meuse, her means are not sufficient for an effective defence against the attack of a powerful adversary of superior force.

Her population, far from being animated by the same spirit, is, and will be composed for a long time yet, of heterogeneous elements. It will need much care and time to amalgamate them. The manners, the characters, the religion, the needs and habits of the provinces which compose the Monarchy of Prussia, differ greatly and can only with difficulty constitute a whole.

These truths were put forward during the Congress of Vienna, but unfortunately Prussia alone could not obtain the rectification of frontiers, which was adjudged to all the other States, and to which she had quite as much right to pretend, seeing that her need was pressing, and which would have been indispensably necessary as much for assuring the European system, which at that time monopolised the general attention and suffrages, as for the sake of her own safety. An evil leaven has yet been left in the court of the Monarchy, owing to assigning dismembered pieces of land to Prussia, and in thus perpetuating germs of jealousies, anxieties and discontent with the plots and hatreds which are inseparable from them.

Prussia has yielded to the force of circumstances because it was necessary above all else to preserve a good understanding between the High Allies, and to unite anew against the common enemy. She must lend herself to the arrangement which has been made, however unadvantageous it may be. But we would seek permission to lay stress on what renders the position of Prussia doubly embarrassing at the present moment.

The state of its possessions, such as it is, must be maintained, the weight of the reasons opposed to this being altered, however advantageously, cannot be ignored, but one cannot refrain from asking for the most scrupulous attention of the statesmen who are occupying themselves with the great interests of nations to this, and also to the dangers, which not only threaten Prussia but the whole of Europe. One cannot prevent oneself from inviting them to reflect on

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those dangers, and on not neglecting the means to prevent them.

Our armies are about to evacuate France. However much one may congratulate oneself on seeing order and repose consolidated in that country, one must acknowledge that there are full and sufficient reasons for fearing the opposite people, who, knowing the interior of France, foresee the extreme likelihood of fresh revolutions.

They fear these particularly if Louis XVIII. should fail, and if his ministry should continue to act as it has done hitherto, favoring the Buonapartists and known revolutionists and their measures. War would then be inevitable, and even without a revolution the King might be drawn into it against his will.

Let us examine the situation in which the various Allied Powers would find themselves.

RUSSIA has nothing to fear from France. Her great power, her distant position, the experience of the past, guarantee to her her repose and her security, her Allies serve as bulwarks to her, and one would need to destroy them before being able to attack her.

AUSTRIA is more exposed, but her intrinsic strength and her surroundings are equally sufficient guarantee to her.

Insular England, holding the trident of Neptune, able to oppose France with immense forces, has no reason to fear an attack, she can be above apprehensions.

But what would be the fate of Prussia? She alone would be exposed to the first blows. Victim of France, possessing provinces which the latter covets, she is and will long remain the particular object of her hatred and vengeance and of her plans of conquest. Those of retaking the provinces as far as the Rhine and Belgium are announced sufficiently loudly by all parties, and however pacific the principals of the Cabinet of the Tuileries may be, one cannot count on their stability, a change of system can convert them from day to day into hostile measures. To what efforts, to what outlays Prussia has already had to subject herself in order to prepare herself for such an event, and what remains to be done to resist the first stroke? The friends and Allies of Prussia being all far

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away, perhaps being partly disarmed, will find the impossibility of flying sufficiently promptly to her aid. Prussia alone is under the necessity of remaining armed, of refusing to spare herself in any way in regard to this expensive object, and of renouncing any solace for her people, who have merited so well of the European cause, and who stand in greater need of help than many others.

Meanwhile the danger will increase for Europe in general as for her in particular, in proportion as time passes, and the remembrance of the heroic deeds of the past becomes more feeble everywhere. Others will lean more and more, and only too much towards abandoning themselves to a treacherous security; Prussia alone will never venture to do it.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands should undoubtedly follow the same system. Placed by her side, it should be her closest ally, even as Prussia desired to be the same to it. These two States are called to support each other mutually and to serve as a bulwark to the whole of the north. But the bad spirit which reigns in Belgium, the impossibility of amalgamating it with Holland, the intrigues of the French exiles, the great faults of the constitution given to the kingdom, the faults and feebleness of its government, which will not attach the Belgium people to it, and the principles which it follows towards Prussia, to conform to its true interests, and to the events to which it owes its existence, give no hope from that side. It is only too probable that at the first invasion on the part of France, Belgium will throw itself into her arms, and instead of serving as a guarantee against the danger to the rest of Europe, will only augment it in an alarming manner. To what use would these fine fortresses, built at great expense, be, which the Army of the Netherlands could neither furnish nor defend? They will become so many weapons against us, if we do not heed them seriously.

It is evident that all the forces of France, augmented perhaps by those of Belgium, will fall first on Prussia. In spite of all possible efforts, she could not resist long; there is little trust to be put in her fellow German States, and supposing that the High Allies should recall her sacrifices and the interest they take in her at this moment, they will only

arrive in time to contemplate the disaster, that she could not avoid, and will perhaps find difficulties in repairing the harm that will have been done. Certainly, the misfortunes are incalculable which may result from this state of things, for the system so happily established at the price of so much blood.

It is for the Wisdom of the High Allies to present them, and not to expose themselves to the reproach they would without fail have to make to themselves, if they could neglect to take wisely combined measures.

1, to assure themselves of Belgium.

2, to place Prussia in a position to be able to maintain, and to fulfil the difficult *rôle* which is assigned to her, a task much above her strength and her finances."

Such is the conclusion at which Prince Hardenberg arrives, three years after the Congress of Vienna, which dealt with these territorial questions. It shows his undoubted attachment to the cause of Prussia—but after wading conscientiously through a heavy volume containing the official report of what took place at Vienna, I feel towards Hardenberg even as Miss Disbrowe feels towards a later Prussian statesman, that he was decidedly grasping, and that it would not have been easy to give more to Prussia.

CHAPTER VI

OPINIONS FROM COPENHAGEN AND STOCKHOLM

MR. DISBROWE, after accompanying the Allies to Paris in 1814, of which journey we have no further record, was sent as Secretary of Legation to Copenhagen, where Mr., afterwards Sir Augustus Foster, was the English Minister. Mr. Disbrowe did not sever his connection with the Danish court till after the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, but was absent from Copenhagen more than once for the purpose of being present at that Congress and on other accounts, ere taking his final departure from Denmark. On the other hand he had also to act for a time as English *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Danish court during the absence of Mr. Foster, whose marriage to Miss Albinia Hobart took place whilst Mr. Disbrowe was in Denmark, and who also made a journey to Rome to visit his mother, the Duchess of Devonshire. It will be remembered that Lady Elizabeth Foster became the second wife of the Duke of Devonshire, and was a very popular and attractive woman. She was the faithful friend of that martyr to political considerations, Mrs. Fitzherbert, the wedded wife of George IV.

Mr. Disbrowe's appointment to Copenhagen dates from late in 1814. Two letters received by him from his father, in the following year, are in preservation. One written on the 7th of March, 1815, says: "We are all much alarmed at the news from France. Bonaparte has got on foot again, and I fear Europe will again be disturbed by his ambition. The

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accounts of last night gave him possession of Lyons with a considerable force. London is free from riot. The Corn Bill has been read a second time in the House of Lords, and the Majority has been great in its favor. Foster and Albinia Hobart are to be married to-morrow. I am not sure that my heart will permit me to go to the wedding." The other letter mentions that Colonel Disbrowe has seen Lord Liverpool, and obtained leave from him for his son to absent himself from Copenhagen. He is anxious to see him in England on private matters. It will be remembered how Queen Charlotte expressed anxiety for the welfare of Lady Sarah Robinson, Mr. Disbrowe's cousin, in a letter written only one day later to Colonel Disbrowe, so that the freedom from riot must have been of very recent date.

The friction which we have noticed as existing during the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, between England and Denmark, appears to have passed utterly away during Mr. Disbrowe's sojourn at Copenhagen, where he met with nothing but kindness. Frederick VI. had seemingly consoled himself for not obtaining the hand of one of his many marriageable cousins at Windsor, and Count Blöme¹ may have made representations to his Government, which led them to believe more in the good intentions of England than in those of its more immediate neighbours.

The letters we are in a position to quote, are almost all from diplomatic colleagues of Mr. Disbrowe, and in addition to touching on more important matters, refer in a pleasant way to the social life of Copenhagen and Stockholm, whither some of his friends had been transferred. The first is from Mr. William Temple, a younger brother of Lord Palmerston, and afterwards Sir William. In 1832 we find him as Minister at Dresden, and in the same year sent to the two Sicilies. He was also Minister *ad interim* at St. Petersburg in 1828.

¹ Mentioned by Lord Walpole.

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From the HONBLE. WILLIAM TEMPLE to MR. DISBROWE.

“*Stockholm,*
Oct. 11th, 1816.”

DEAR DISBROWE,

I was very fortunate in my passage to Malmö on the day we parted, having been only three hours on the waters. On the following day I arrived at Count Charles Piper's residence Pragerholm, having first found that Malvinsholm had been evacuated by its proprietors, Count Eric and his wife having left it two days before for Copenhagen. I passed five days very agreeably, though my success in the shooting way was not great. All the Partridges had been destroyed by the severe winter of 1814. I went twice into the woods, in the hopes of killing a stag, but only met hinds and their young, which I was too magnanimous to shoot. I saw, however, some of the finest forest scenery possible, the woods being even finer than in Zealand. After leaving Pragerholm, I went by Carlscrona to Calmar, which I found a much more interesting road than that which I had taken on my way to Helsingborg, and the more so as I was admitted at Carlscrona into that Sanctum Sanctorum, the Dockyard. On my arrival I met young Pake, whose Mamma was fortunately absent, and who introduced me to the Admiral. I found that permission had actually been given for my admission, and an officer was sent to me the next morning to do the honours of the old Ships and the new docks, all of which I had an opportunity of viewing. The basins and three of the docks are complete, and though the work is discontinued, they are in a state to be serviceable, indeed they are building an 80 gun ship in one of the new docks. You have heard from Genl. Favart, no doubt, of the fêtes which took place here on the arrival of the Russian travelling officer, young Zuchtelen¹ and his ship load of Military patterns, one sample has been approved of and a squadron of the *garde à cheval* is to be converted into a corps of lancers. Nothing else has occurred here of much interest except

¹ Also spelt Suchtelen.

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perhaps the creation of two Seraphines¹ and an Excellence in the person of Admiral Cederström for Norweden and Count Tott as a reward for their invaluable services and latent merits.

I am still in the rooms that you occupied during your visit here, Thornton's house being too small to supply me with an apartment, I have received, however, a general invitation to dine with him when not otherwise engaged, so that I am not under the necessity of keeping an establishment.

The Ceremony of kissing hands at Court has been abolished, and the Ministers' wives will very soon be presented at Court, though the day is not yet fixed.

Pray remember me very kindly to Mr. Foster and give my best Compts. to the Ladies of your party, and believe me

Ever truly yours,
W. TEMPLE."

"P.S.—Madame Dedel desires me to say that she should be much obliged to you, if you would send her 12 pairs of white French long gloves when you send the shoes."

Madame de Dedel was the wife of the Dutch Minister at Stockholm. They were very intimate and valued friends of Mr. Disbrowe's. It will be noticed that another correspondent refers to them, and to the high character and conspicuous talents of M. de Dedel.

It may be wondered perhaps, why we reproduce but little from Mr. Disbrowe's own pen. Much that was confidential has been destroyed, and his daughter tells me, that when she asked him why he had not put down an account of his experiences at Aix-la-Chapelle, he replied that the constant attendance at the Congress during the day, and the way in which the secretaries were kept hard at it all night, made them too utterly weary of putting pen to paper. Such letters, however, as are extant in his handwriting, deal nearly always with weighty matters.

¹ A Swedish order.

The gravity of the subject must excuse my interpolating amongst questions of international interest, a letter dealing with such an insular matter as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,¹ of which a fragment addressed to Colonel Disbrowe has been found amongst the family papers. It will be seen, also, that even Mr. Disbrowe's friends in the Far North are alive to its importance. The year 1817 opened critically for England. Heavy taxation and depression in trade were causing much poverty and inevitable suffering, and the working classes were roused to anger by the flattery and exaggerations of irresponsible demagogues. Crime was rife, the Regent was exceedingly unpopular, and the windows of his carriage were smashed on his returning from the meeting of Parliament to Carlton House. Seditious meetings continued to be held, although he gave up £50,000 of his income to help reduce the taxation, and though his example was followed by the Marquis of Camden, who returned the fees of the tellership of the Exchequer, prompted by the same motive as the Prince of Wales. On February the 24th, the Act was suspended.

Mr. Disbrowe concludes his letter to his father by alluding to Princess Elizabeth's desire to hear about her Danish cousins. There was always a strong "clannishness" about this Princess, which was worthy of her great warmth of heart. Miss Swinburne's *Recollections* bring this out very forcibly, showing the Princess Elizabeth's deep interest in the joys and sorrows of her kindred, whether at home or abroad, and the same may be said in regard to the letters in Miss Disbrowe's collection.

From MR. DISBROWE to COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P.

"Copenhagen, March 15th, 1817.

MY DEAR FATHER,

Yours of the 4th Febry. via Holland reached me yesterday, at the same time as the newspapers containing the last Debates on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

I suppose Country Gentlemen know more of the disturbed

¹ In the *Edinburgh Review* of August, 1817, the subject was severely dealt with.

state of the Districts in their Neighbourhood, than they have chosen to state to the House, and in that case, you, who are on the spot, will be best able to judge of the necessity, but on the other hand you will allow that those who are at a distance, and who consequently must be unbiassed by the outcry raised on one side or other of the Question, may be capable of considering in an unprejudiced manner the evidence which is produced, and I must confess that after an attentive perusal and consideration of the Reports of the two Secret Committees and the Debates in both Houses, I am of opinion that no *prima facie* case has been made out for the repeal of that Act. I repeat, Government must, and Country Gentlemen probably do know more of these Conspiracies, and have information which they did not think proper to produce to the House (I judge so from the Majority in favour of the measure), and certainly Ministers would not have proposed it without being convinced of its necessity. But in such extreme cases as taking away the liberty of the Subject, I cannot think that conviction on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, is a sufficient ground for Parliament to legislate on. The evidence before the Committee was offered to be contradicted on oath at the bar of Parliament, but no enquiry was instituted, Everything was done to stifle the examination. Surely your own secret Committee might have been deemed capable of examining into the matter, and if they then persisted (on the examination of two or three Witnesses only) in their former opinion, it then would have had the greatest weight.

As the matter now stands, unless Govt. can *convince the Nation at Large*, by numerous convictions of Individuals concerned in most dangerous and most secretly organised Societies, conspiring against the State (while it was totally impossible for the existing Laws to reach the Individuals and Societies), and unless they will bring these facts perfectly home to the minds of all impartial men, the measure must be deprecated as unfortunate and mischievous in its tendency, for Parliament will then have furnished the strongest argument to the factious Promoters of Parliamentary Reform, whilst the deep designers of Revolution will find amongst the

Reformers their best and strongest Supporters (although possibly unwillingly in many cases) without the necessity of entering into treasonous Plots to further their own views, only showing themselves at the moment of the explosion whenever it may take place.

I daresay Government have gone on good grounds and that they will hereafter do what they have not yet done, viz., show the absolute necessity of the Suspension, for neither in the Report of the Committees, or in the Debates, have I been able to find that *prima facie* evidence which I hoped to see, and Parliament is now more particularly bound than ever to show that in all strong measures, particularly, and Laws which they enact they proceed upon their own mature conviction and not at the beck of this or that Minister. This I conceive is the only way of effectually silencing the Advocates for Parliamentary Reform.

I hope still to see Ministers coming down to the House whenever the Trials are over, and the Habeas Corpus Act once more in vigour, groaning under Papers, and manfully stating you trusted to us, or rather to your own secret Committee, when for certain reasons we could not put you in possession of the evidence on which we formed our judgment, the time is now arrived when we will show you on what grounds we proceeded, and trust you will find them sufficient. This will be best proof, but let it be done openly and manfully. I agree with you perfectly in the opinion that one must adopt some system, and chalk out some line we would adopt, and even frequently vote against one's own conviction in particular cases, to forward a general system, which amounts in fact only to submitting one's own opinion to that of the majority, or of others who ought to be better informed, but there are bounds to this. And in the case before us, one should not lose sight of the fact, that Parliamentary reform is intimately connected with the present troubles, probably as an Instrument in the hands of the designing, and that by silencing them, you define the factions of a very powerful instrument, and see no way so effectual as that of convincing the People, that Parliament acts in all vital questions on its own conviction, and not at the beck of any Ministers.

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So much for my opinion, I have been led on much further than I was aware of, however if I am wrong I am open to conviction, but not from the common place observations, already much too hackneyed to be used on so serious an occasion. In short nothing less than proof positive, which will be best shown by the use made of the Act now it is passed.

Captain Lindau, an officer in the R.S.L., who has served all the Campaigns in Spain and at Waterloo, has taken charge of the three prints of the burning of Copenhagen, which I said I would send you as well as of one of the Royal Family of Denmark. The King is a very strong likeness, the others are in caricature and not so like.

Princess Elizabeth often asked me about them, and if the King was not a Great Lion, and desired to speak (?) what I thought of her good cousin, so if you chose it you may show it to her from yourself."

The burning of Copenhagen can scarcely have formed a pleasant subject for a picture, unless as a memento of the extraordinary heroism shown both by Englishmen and Danes on that terrible occasion.

A notable fact in the letters which form the bulk of this chapter, is the excellent and fluent English in which several of Mr. Disbrowe's foreign correspondents are able to express themselves. In some cases the character of the handwriting is quite in harmony with the British tone of the letters. Frenchmen, whether diplomatists or not, prefer expressing themselves in their own language, and in the Marquis de Bonnay, with whom Mr. Disbrowe had made acquaintance at Copenhagen, and who was afterwards promoted to Berlin, we find no exception to this rule.

A letter from the Marquis contains an interesting reference to the cession of Norway to Sweden. Russia, as Lord Walpole said, did not support Denmark in exacting the loyal carrying out of the terms of the treaty of Kiel, and this although Russia posed as the friend of Sweden. By that treaty, Denmark was to receive Swedish Pomerania. In 1815 Great Britain insisted on these terms being fulfilled. But the attitude of the weak, though well-meaning, King of Denmark



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had laid him open to being regarded contemptuously by his enemies, and it was no easy matter to enforce his rights.

From the MARQUIS DE BONNAY, French Minister to the Court of Prussia, to MR. DISBROWE.

“Berlin, 17 Mai, 1817.

MON CHER DISBROWE,

On ne saurait mieux reprendre une correspondance que par l'annonce d'une couche heureuse. Du reste je crois que c'est vous, qui désirez une fille afin de pouvoir l'épouser dans 20 ou 30 ans d'ici, ou bien c'était pour vous la donner un jour que ses parents l'auraient préférée.

Autrement leur souhait était contre l'ordre. On ne réserve jamais aux filles que le troisième tour. Dites leur, en leur faisant mon sincère compliment, que la première fois ce sera une Miss aux yeux bleus qui fera un jour tourner bien des têtes sans compter la votre.

Mais je vous prie, le nouveau né a-t-il des dents? A-t-il de la barbe? Il s'est tant fait attendre qu'on peut se permettre toutes ces questions. Le Duc de Devonshire sera justement arrivé à tems pour lui servir de parrain, si on a voulu de lui. Pourquoi un homme de son âge est-il sourd? J'ai soupé à côté de lui, sans pouvoir m'en faire entendre, et de l'autre côté était une demoiselle qui ne comprenait pas le Français.

Vous allez donc encore une fois rester à Copenhague comme Chargé d'Affaires. J'espère que vous vous en tirerez avec autant de succès que de mon tems. Je ne sais pas du tout encore si je ferai cette année le voyage de Paris. Vous savez qu'un Ministre employé au dehors ne dépend pas de lui. Si on me demande j'en serai bien aise. Je suis pressé par mon extrait baptistaire de présenter Madame de Bonnay à ma famille, à mes amis, et de lui faire connaître la France. Nous serons charmés de vous y trouver en même tems que Madame Foster et son Mari.

Vos voisins de l'autre côté du Sund me paraissent puisés à bout, amis et ennemis. Ils vont trop loin, il faudra qu'ils reculent, et quand ou recule, on court toujours risque de tomber. Je n'augure pas bien pour eux de la fin.

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La prohibition du vin et du café feront plus de tort aux douanes, que de bien au pays. Les gens riches, feront venir de tout part contrebande, l'argent passera également à l'étranger à la seule différence qu'il n'en entrera rien dans les coffres de l'état. Je suis sur que vous n'aurez pas conseillé cette mesure.

Si j'avais été le Roi de Danemark, je crois que j'aurais quitté les armes de Norvège sans attendre que l'on me le demandait. Alors la chose eut été simple. A présent c'est une concession beaucoup plus pénible pour l'amour propre.

Je suis charmé que vous m'ayez donné des nouvelles des parents de ma femme, car voici deux couriers qu'ils m'ont écrit. Ma dite femme vous remercie beaucoup de votre souvenir et vous conserve tout le sien. Nous jouons quelque fois aux échecs, et elle ne manque jamais de me dire que vous jouez beaucoup mieux que moi, mais qu'elle joue beaucoup mieux contre vous, que contre moi. Vous voyez ce que c'est que l'ascendant d'un mari sur sa femme. Voilà pourquoi Mde. Dohner, Mdme. Bille, Mdme. Dedel, Mdme. Le Witzau sont des femmes soumises. Il n'y a que Mde. Favart, qui est une petite révoltée.

Adieu mon cher Disbrowe,

Truly yours and for ever,

BONNAY."

Monsieur de Dedel, the writer of two most interesting letters, is a notable example of foreign diplomatists, who express themselves happily in our language, and this very specially so even for a Dutchman, though it is no rare gift amongst his countrymen.

From M. DE DEDEL to MR. DISBROWE.

"STOCKHOLM, *June 20th, 1817.*"

"MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I have according to your direction chosen a porphyry Vase² like the one you brought with you, and shall consign it to Mr. Foy to have it forwarded by the first opportunity.

¹ The question of uniting the several crowns on their escutcheon was a source of perennial quarrels between the three kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Sweden.

² Vide the previous Chapter.

The Duke of D. (Devonshire), independent of many other purchases, bought the two large vases you may perhaps recollect to have seen, five feet high, for a thousand Dollars each. They exceed in dimension and height the two sent to the Emperor Alexander by the Crown Prince.¹ They are intended for the open air. I have found tolerable harness and cheap, and thus shall not trouble you.

The Duke and his friends appeared delighted with Stockholm. This time they only stayed four days, had they staid longer they probably would have thought us immensely stupid. As it was all things went off very well, and we had talk and cheerfulness. The D. seemed more interested about the Crown Prince than I possibly could have conceived. They were all presented and asked to dinner. I was of the party and we had an *après dîner* of (?) (illegible) and exhibition such as must exactly have answered the Duke's purposes and desire. It was a very amusing day, and we saw the Prince in full display, he was remarkably and pointedly civil.

Maltzahn's letters for Stuttgart have been despatched, but that's no matter. I somewhat suspect, that the people to whom I addressed him have completely forgotten that such a creature as myself exists in the world. It is ten years ago I was there.

A thousand thanks for the "*Manuscrit de St. Hélène.*" I am the only one here, who has got it, *C'est lui, mais non pas de lui.*

Our Waterloo dinner this year went off remarkably well. I was in the chair, and I flatter myself that Waterloo was given with effect. Can you conceive that the Transatlantic Hughes refused to be of the party?

This said Hughes is a good humoured gay chattering young man, but his conduct in this instance has given great offence to all of us, and with reason. Rosencrantz (?) likewise kept away, but that can be accounted for. Ld. Strangford leaves England on the 12th of next month.

Have you by accident any new novels for my wife? She desires to be very particularly remembered to you as well as

¹ Bernadotte.

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to Mr. and Mrs. F., and sends love to Miss Hobart, to all of whom I beg you will give my best Compts.

Ever my dear Disbrowe yours truly,

DEDEL."

Lord Strangford, whom some of Mr. Disbrowe's correspondents find delightful and others nervous and difficult to get on with, was at that time our Minister to Sweden. From thence he went as ambassador to Turkey, and his and the Disbrowes' paths crossed more than once.

By far the most important item mentioned in this letter is the St. Helena Manuscript, or to give it its full title, "*Manuscrit venu de St. Hélène d'une manière Inconnue.*"

The "Advertisement" as it terms itself, or the preface as it would seem natural to call it, of the "*Manuscrit de St. Hélène*" lies open before me at this moment. It is the third edition, and was published in 1817. The tone of the Advertisement is in harmony with Monsieur de Dedel's dictum, that it is Napoleon in sentiment, but not written by him. It says, that the manuscript was given to the publisher with the assurance, that it had been brought from St. Helena, but that there was a mystery made of the manner in which it had been conveyed from thence. It declares that the authorship must ever remain an unsolved riddle. The manuscript may be by Napoleon or by some confidential friend of his, it bears "some resemblance to Buonaparte's style, more to his manner, and is altogether just what the ostensible Author or an able apologist and exponent of his views might be expected to say of his opinions, motives and actions." In other words, the authorship is no more likely to be proved to a certainty, than that of the "Letters of Junius," concerning which people have rung the changes between Colonel Francis, Lord George Sackville, and the Reverend James Wilmot, D.D., rector of Barton-on-the-Heath and Aubcester, Warwickshire, of which county he was also a Justice of the Peace.

The *Manuscrit de St. Hélène* begins by describing Buonaparte's tastes and characteristics in his early days. They are such as one would find in many a youth of unusual ability, namely, a singularly active brain, always keenly alive to new

impressions and to assimilating knowledge. The writer confesses to having an intuitive grasp of the bearings of any question which proposes itself and great quickness in dealing with mathematical problems. He looks on the idea of some day becoming a Colonel of artillery as an almost bewildering possibility, indeed as the *summum bonum* of existence.

There follows a description of early days in the army, of opportunities made use of for obtaining advancement, and of the circumstances which led the author of the manuscript—who poses throughout as being Buonaparte—to throw in his lot with the Revolutionaries. He tells his readers, that it was Barras who suggested his marrying Joséphine Beauharnais, and adds, "if there have been happy moments in my life, I owe them to her." But this is his only reference to Joséphine, beyond saying that he divorced her to secure the succession and the support of Austria.

In unfolding the story of his life, he makes the startling confession that the death of the Duke d'Enghien was a crime, and that he means what he says, fully understanding the full value of words. The Duke's plots he avers, were limited to correspondence with a few ancient Alsatian baronesses. His intrigues were watched, and constituted no danger either to Napoleon nor to France, but he was sacrificed to political considerations and to a train of strange and disastrous circumstances.

As already said, the evidence regarding this event, which roused such widespread indignation, is most conflicting, and the present statement does not coincide with that of Warden, the surgeon of the "Northumberland," published by Ackerman in 1816. According to him, Napoleon¹ justified the shooting of the Duke as necessary in itself, and for the purpose of hurling a thunderbolt amongst the Bourbons. We shall come presently, to yet another version, dictated by Napoleon himself.

Passing on to the fate of Ulm, and the triumph of Austerlitz, the would-be Buonaparte goes on to tell of how he desired to befriend Poland, and also saw in her a barrier

¹ Lord Rosebery has also something to say on this question in his *Napoleon, the Last Phase*.

against Russia, and a counterpoise to Austrian influence, but that the volatile character of the Poles brought their own fate upon them, and frustrated his plans. His next move was to take steps as would shake the aims and welfare of other countries identical with his own, and for this reason he placed different members of his own family on vacant thrones, beginning by Naples and Holland, whilst using the sovereignty of Lombardy for himself, as alone fitted to wear the iron crown.

Hereupon, reference is made to his plans for putting the army on a thoroughly practical footing, and the fact insisted on that under his rule, both military and civil preferment and distinctions were thrown open to all alike and made to rest on merit only. Fiscal reform, a preference for imposts to loans, the making of high roads, the opening up of international communication, the erection of public buildings and monuments, with other measures, all pursued with the view of promoting the welfare of France, are very fully described, and followed by an account of the supposed Buonaparte's differences with Prussia, coupled with an acknowledgment that the victory of Jena, and the consequent adulation that he received, rendered him careless and too sure of success. Most important of all is his explanation of the origin and aim of the Continental System. It was born of his realising, that the most difficult and important factor to reckon with in extending the area and preponderance of the Empire, was, that England would foment strife on the Continent as long as she had a cent. left in her exchequer with which to supply other nations with the sinews of war. This was a far harder problem to deal with than that of Prussia, which could be held in check to some extent by the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he says, that he founded it to control one State by means of the other, for which purpose he owns to having created a few sovereigns at the expense of a "cohort of petty princes," who only consumed the money of their subjects. With England, it was different, the "benefits of the war, fed other wars and created a vicious circle," the result of which would have been the ruin of the Continent. It was therefore necessary to find a means of destroying the advantages which were accruing to

England from a maritime war. In addition to this, the commercial popularity of France had to be revived. "There was no other way of doing it, than by taking the monopoly of industrial manufactures from England. It was "*necessary* to create the *Continental System*," so the writer avers, though few people understood it, and though it was popularly declared that he only meant to put up the price of coffee. For the reasons touched on, this Continental System was to be the hall-mark of Napoleon's friends, their "ensign and palladium." The writer concludes his remarks on it, by declaring that if France would but change the name, but hold to the system, it would ruin the English commerce. The truth of this seems overlooked, or is at least often, perhaps too often, pooh poohed at the present day.

"When England realised this," says the self-styled Buonaparte, "the war grew popular, and the English trusted no longer to their allies to protect them. They took the matter in hand themselves." And he owns that when this took place his former intrepidity forsook him, and that self-distrust engendered in-decision, and changed his disposition. Then came the war with Spain. He has no ill opinion of the rightful King of Spain, though he thinks he let himself be too much governed by Godoy. He himself had sought to gain favour with both Charles IV. of Spain, and his son, who were as we know antagonistic to each other. The Spaniards were weary of their old King, and made a hero of the Prince of Asturias, in whom they saw infinite possibilities. The writer of the St. Helena Manuscript owns, it was a mistake not to allow the son to remain on the throne where his people had placed him, and foolish to give the old King an asylum in France. To have left this undone would have been to create a good impression, and Spain might have been controlled all the same, and have become the ally of France against England, instead of being the ally of England against France. But English gold armed Austria, and the French armies were scattered, troops having been sent to Naples, Madrid and Hamburg. Success was with them for a while in Austria, but this took Napoleon from Spain, which proved fatal.

Next, the writer explains his reputed actions in regard to the Pope. The clerical party hated him, for he was destroying their power. The faithful detested him, because of the reputation given him by the clergy. The lower classes were all under their influence, and Rome was a centre of intrigues, whence anonymous tracts were issued, inciting the French people to revolt. England connived at this according to his belief. He says that if he complained to the Holy See, the Pope preached patience, but it was a quality which he did not possess, and did not feel disposed to cultivate at that juncture. He occupied Rome with his troops, and seized the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, though he did it reluctantly. Charles V. had done the same, and it had answered. It would deal a crushing blow to the clerical party, so the Holy Father was taken first to Savona and then to Fontainebleau. The end justified the deed. It broke the power of Rome. Then the aspect of affairs improved owing to the Austrian Alliance, and the birth of the King of Rome, and internal prosperity returned to France, but the real danger came from Russia. There was strife regarding Oldenburg,¹ which had been annexed as being a hotbed of disaffection to France, and troubles about the smuggling, which prevailed in Russia owing to the Continental System prohibiting the legitimate importation of many necessaries. There were high words on both sides, and war was inevitable. He underrated the strength of purpose and power of resistance of Russia, and flattered himself that other nations would recognise the advantages to themselves of allying themselves with him. Poland, he blushed to confess, was sacrificed to expediency. Could her integrity have been maintained, she would have saved Europe from Russia, but to aid her, he lacked the needful support of Austria. The Russian campaign dealt him the final blow, and the outlook was rendered darker

¹ Napoleon told Kourakin that Oldenburg had not fulfilled its destiny as one of the States belonging to the Confederation of the Rhine. It had held illicit commercial intercourse with England, and had ignored the promise to provide a contingent in the war with Austria. He also said, he believed Alexander had designs on Dantzic and Warsaw. In Nesselrode's opinion, he only temporised with Russia, looked askance at the size of her armies, and hoped by destroying her commerce to take from her the power of revenge.

by England concluding a treaty between Austria and the Porte, which set another Russian army free to fight; and the enmity of Bernadotte, who drew a plan of campaign for Russia, created further difficulties. After the disasters in Russia, there followed the German campaign of 1813 to 14. Then came the events at Reichenbach, the armistice, and the peace overtures of the allies, of which the Emperor of Austria was made the mouth-piece. I take the comments on this *verbatim* from the St. Helena Manuscript. "The conditions were seemingly tolerable, many in my place would have accepted them. They only asked for the restitution of the Illyrian provinces and of the Hanseatic towns, the nomination of independent Sovereigns in the Kingdoms of Italy and Holland, the retreat from Spain, and the restoration of the Pope to Rome. I was further to be asked to renounce the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Meditation of Switzerland, but these two articles might be waived."

"If I had consented to accept peace, the Empire would have fallen more quickly than it had arisen. By this Treaty, it still remained mighty on the map, but was in fact, nothing. Austria in accepting the part of intermediary broke our Alliance and joined the enemy. In restoring the Hanseatic towns, I should have shown my readiness to make restitution, and everybody would have desired independence. I should have raised insurrections in all the countries, which were then united. In abandoning Spain, I should have encouraged all resistance. In resigning the iron crown, I should have put that of the Empire in jeopardy. The chances offered me by peace were dire, war could save me."¹

Peace was refused. Defeats and retreat, for though orderly, it was still retreat, followed, and the three disastrous days of Leipzig, pregnant with consequences, were succeeded in their turn by the weary march back to France. This recalled the return from Moscow; hunger and privations decimated the remnant of the gallant army, and France was

¹ Talleyrand's successor, Caulaincourt, was not of this opinion. Both he and Fouché declared they would have accepted the terms offered at once.

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not in a position to offer resistance to the advancing foes. Its strongholds were in disrepair, their commandants were for the most part old and blind. And yet, the Allies were doubtful as to results, and offered fresh terms of peace from Chatillon. It was again refused; to save France, her eagles must be once more planted by the Rhine. An intercepted letter addressed by Napoleon to the Empress Marie Louise gave the allies an insight into the situation, and they took heart again. The march on Paris was begun. An act of abdication was signed at Fontainebleau, and the momentary return of the Bourbons saved France from anarchy. Events had now to be watched from the loneliness of Elba. Louis XVIII had bestowed a charter on the French people, only for the Royalists to withdraw its privileges, bit by bit, because these did not fall in with their wishes. There was no confidence in the existing state of things, nor in the people on the part of the Government. "The Nation had felt that its interests were not identical with those of the Throne." It was time to take fresh steps, and the most audacious step in history was planned. The English Colonel, Sir Neil Campbell, set to watch the ex-Emperor, had gone to Leghorn for a few days, and the moment had come. The landing in France was decided on. Though Buonaparte knew his forces were weakened, and though his soldiers were in rags, he felt himself stronger than the Royalists. What followed all the world knows. There was practically no resistance. The Royalists only called to the Allies for help. France no longer feared Napoleon, but hailed him as a saviour.

"I had refused the peace offered me from Chatillon, because I was then on the throne of France," says the author of the manuscript, "and it would have made me descend too low. But I could accept the terms allowed to the Bourbons, for I came from the island of Elba, and one may stop in mounting, one cannot in falling. The self love of the allies awoke, and it was too late." He was broken in health, his soldiers were enthusiastic, but their leaders had grown older, more ease loving, and tired of war. It was only human. The end was defeat. Let the writer of this strange manuscript have the last word himself.

DEATH OF PRINCESS CHARLOTTE 227

“The demand was made to the French to give me up. It was for me to give myself up.”

Thus the glory of the Hundred Days was over, and Napoleon fell.¹

The letter which follows Monsieur de Dedel's, speaks of very different matters, of the severe winter of the North, of the newest books, and what thoughtful Danes are thinking about English affairs. It takes us far away from St. Helena and the fate of the first Napoleon, and refers to the great calamity which befell the English nation in the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. The letter is one of those wonderful triumphs of finished English from the pen of Mr. Disbrowe's friend, Broder Knudtson. It is written from Norway, and we have few details referring to the evidently gifted writer,² but his name is one of great antiquity, indeed of royal descent, and Mr. Knudtson is clearly no stranger to the ways, beliefs and modes of thought of the English people. It is noticeable that he shares his friend Disbrowe's views on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

It may be difficult at this distance of time to gauge the extent of the grief which was experienced in England in 1817, on the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, but we must remember that on her the maintenance of the succession to the throne, and the hopes of England rested. Amid all the scandal that centred round her mother, a brighter state of things, in the not far distant future, was looked for through the instrumentality of the only daughter born of the Regent's miserable marriage. The history of Princess Charlotte's short-lived wedded life has been told so often, as to justify our doing no more than allude to it, even as we dismissed the monstrous suggestion of her grandmother having hastened her decease. There is, however, one incident connected with the Princess's life on which Miss Disbrowe throws some light, and which has not been much dwelt upon by other writers. The miserable differences

¹ I have given Napoleon's critique on the *Manuscrit de Sainte Hélène* in Appendix F.

² Miss Disbrowe speaks of him as a banker and consul, and other contemporary letters give his name among others as forming one of their circle in Continental and London Society.—M. M.-C.

between her parents could but render her growing-up days unsettled, and mar their brightness to some extent. Yet, she showed decided independence of spirit from her earliest years, and a great capacity for enjoying life, maintaining her own opinions even to standing up to her grandmother, Queen Charlotte, of whom she said frankly, as a child, that she detested her.

The circumstance to which Miss Disbrowe calls attention, is the agreement of what she herself remembers, with a statement made by Lady Brownlow in a valuable little book of reminiscences, published some forty years ago. This refers to an engagement between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and the hereditary Prince of Orange, which was eventually broken off, but was very popular when first entered into, and which had given every promise of being for the good of England and the Netherlands.

Lady Brownlow says, that when after the Treaty of Paris the Allies came to London in 1814, she was at a select party given by the Regent to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and that she remembers seeing the Princess Charlotte and the hereditary Prince of Orange, whom Lady Brownlow had often met at the Hague, "walking about arm-in-arm perfectly lover-like and happy." She goes on to wonder what influences and intrigues were brought about, to change the Princess's feelings and to cause the marriage to be broken off. Whatever the explanation, the Prince got his *cong e*. Lady Brownlow adds, "The last time I saw him before he left England I was at a great ball at Devonshire House, when he came up, took my hand, and said, 'Good-bye, God bless you, Lady Emma,¹ I am off to-morrow.' Tears were in his eyes, and he appeared miserable, and well he might, for under any circumstances such a dismissal would be sufficiently mortifying, but at so public a moment it must in every way have been most galling to all his feelings."

It was, indeed, a very important moment. London was full of monarchs, princes, and notabilities after the peace of Paris, and amongst greater folk there came ere long a prince

¹ She was then Lady Emma Sophia Edgecombe, being the daughter of the second Earl of Mount Edgecombe, and married to the first Earl Brownlow.



HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS
THE GRAND
DUCHESS OF OLDENBURG

who was as yet of little account, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Was it that a heart was caught in the rebound, or were there other powers at work to bring him into special favour with the Princess Charlotte? Who can tell? The testimony of Lady Brownlow and of Miss Disbrowe harmonises, though Miss Disbrowe's information is more complete. We know, that Queen Charlotte sent a very courteous note to the Duchess of Oldenburg about a possible meeting, but did not seem able to make definite arrangements about effecting this. That clever Princess's visit to England has been credited with having been of more than mere social import. Lady Brownlow recalls it in mentioning the engagement between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, saying, "This is another mystery of that eventful period. Was the same brain at work to promote this marriage, which it was supposed had exerted itself to mar the other? and that intriguing brain, was it the Duchess Catharine's, as many thought? Who knows?" To these words Miss Disbrowe, who was resident for sixteen years at the Hague when her father was Minister to that Court, and who had a close acquaintanceship with the Dutch Royal Family, gives us the following significant addition. "As the daughter of an old Diplomatist, forty years in the Service, I venture to put down a few of the reasons I have heard named, to account for the breaking off of the marriage between Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Prince of Orange. The first is, that both being future Sovereigns, neither of them would yield as to where they would reside during the greater part of the year. The Princess, it was said, refused ever to leave England.

Then, no one has any doubt that the Duchess of Oldenburg, one of the elder sisters of Alexander I, the most intriguing princess of her time, wanted the Prince of Orange for her youngest sister, Anna Paulowna,¹ whom he afterwards married. Probably, also, Russia did not wish England and the Netherlands to be united under one sovereign, as they would have been under a child of Charlotte of Wales and William of Orange.

¹ She became in due course Queen of Holland.

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Lady Brownlow, like the authoress of "Old Days in Diplomacy," though belonging to an older generation, was in touch with many of the very same people through whom Miss Disbrowe's early opinions must have been largely formed. And these persons were likely, from the nature of their occupations and positions, to be specially well informed about the true motives for many actions about which the general public could only form vague conjectures. Let us see what Mr. Knudtson has to say about English affairs:—

From MR. BRODER KNUDTSON to MR. DISBROWE.

TRONDTHEIM, 8th Janry., 1818.

"The challenge, my dear Disbrowe, being thrown out by me, I do not know how to make apologies for my tardiness in offering you my most hearty thanks for the readiness with which you kindly took it up. Imprisoned by an obstinate rheumatism for two months, when my mind, confined within the narrow precincts of four walls had its ideas continually reflected back upon itself, my soul has been 'overshadowed by the pale cast of thought.' But nothing, as I have often experienced and as often forgotten, is won by postponing our duties. The 'nipping air' contributes very little to exhilarate my spirits, and having overleapt the bars of imprisonment, I find myself as much a captive as before—not of love, whose chains I most willingly would bear.

Enough, in conscience, has been said of myself, and I have nothing to say of my friends the snow, the ice, the northern lights and the cold and pallid moon—whom I expect in a few days. If, of these cold ingredients, you can make a compound, you must be a conjurer. There is no necessity of describing to you the gratification I felt on receiving your kind letter, when the mere perusal of it can make me throw aside my coat of seriousness, and put on my Sunday dress of gaiety.

As I had heard nothing of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, except what the German papers told, that they had passed Frankfurt, I was most delighted to learn from yours, that they had

safely arrived at Rome, and if, by now and then informing me where and how they are, you will strike some sparks out of my memory to cast a momentary lustre over the universal darkness, you will oblige me exceedingly. My brother remained in England much longer than he expected, on account of his friend, M. Baileu, who had the rheumatism. He is now in Paris, where I believe he will wait for the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, from whom he may have news of Sir Charles Stuart. From Paris he goes to Vienna, I do not know why, not being able to imagine what there is to be seen or to be loved. Mr. Edward Montague was at Paris, and poor, abandoned Mrs. Rawdon, longing for Betsy, who was the *Sun*, by whose light more material plans were illuminated. My brother was obliged to laugh at a foolish farce in the Théâtre des Variétés, '*Les Anglais pour rire*,' in order not to give his neighbour, a Frenchman, the satisfaction of seeing him angry with such stuff. Catalani, I hear, has bid good-bye to nature and sings in the French style, which is enough to murder any musical ear.

About a month ago I received a large parcel of English papers, which amused me very much, some of them were very old, but the debates are always interesting. By the same opportunity, I received the '*Lamentations of Tasso*,' and a dramatic poem of Lord Byron's, and '*Lalla Rook*,' by Moore, which is amusing enough, but not, as far as I can judge, to be compared to the greater part of Lord Byron's poems.

It gave me much pleasure to learn, that Miss Hobart had been more lucky than my brother in her passage to England. You were very right in abusing Sir William Chatterton¹ (though a Litterati) for his having been one of those who subscribed to give a Ball to the King of the Grooms,² nor could this idea, I think, have been engendered but by the spirit of opposition.

Any news you are able and will be kind enough to give me about England, and those you think I may know there, will be most gladly received. Do you know anything of the Miss Berrys?

¹ See next letter.

² An uncomplimentary way of speaking of Bernadotte.

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The Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, I trust, will not be continued after the meeting of Parliament. I do not believe there ever was any imminent danger—now, I hope, there is none, and as I look upon this suspension as a blot in the English History, and as shackles on that Constitution, which is the pride of every Englishman, it ought not, I think, to be continued longer, and I cannot conceive that ministers are not aware that such a measure must needs make them unpopular.

Mr and Mrs. Foster will, I presume, pass the winter in London; do you expect them to return to Copenhagen towards next spring? The beginning of the winter has been very severe, but on account of my indisposition I have neither been sledging nor skating, nor been on Shies (a kind of wooden Skates for the snow, about three yards long). Have you read or heard of any new English books? Madame de Stael's pretended Letter to Fouché is a curious document. Mistress Brun must probably have forgotten me. I believe she is a clever woman. But I know more amiable blue-stockings, tho' not in Denmark, where the only one I saw, was deaf.

The sudden and unexpected death of the Princess Charlotte was a most melancholy event, which I must needs regret, as it virtually threw a gloom over a Country to which I am so much attached. From the papers it would seem that the Princess of Wales is going to return to England. Well had it been for her had she never stirred.

It is not very likely that I shall move from hence for some time, yet that time I hope will come, and my good star, I trust, will not deny me the pleasure of shaking hands with you again. For you, letters from this solitude cannot have much attraction, yet I trust you will not be displeased with my troubling you with a few lines now and then, and very gratifying will it be to me to hear from you whenever you are disposed to comfort the Solitary Hermit of Drontheim.

Believe me, my dear Disbrowe,

Yours very truly,

BRODER KNUDTSON."

From MONSIEUR DE DEDEL to MR. DISBROWE.

“MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I fret at my unpardonable negligence, and fret the more as I suspect you are very angry. I am sure you have reason enough for anger and bitterness, and yet be merciful I beg. How I have contrived to become so uncourteous, I am unable to explain. I feel something in this cursed place like the shackles of destiny. There has not been one impediment for not writing, and still I have not written. I am afraid my case is a hopeless one, an easy excuse, you will say, for future anticipated omissions, which yet I assure you I do not intend, as I have a great value for your kindness, and am always hoping to do better than I have hitherto done.

Sir William Chatterton, an Irishman, sets off to-day for Copenhagen. You will, of course, see him. He is a prodigious traveller. He has sat among the ruins of Palmyra¹ with his hand beneath his head, and has made love to Lady Esther Stanhope² on the banks of the Euphrates. These are great prerogatives, but what is still better, *il est simple, poli et de fort bonne compagnie*. I think you will like Him.

Of the Viscount³ I hardly know what to say or what to make. He is, of course, very clever, very civil and Gentlemanlike. He has a fair establishment, and gives good meat and good wines, but there is a want of companionableness about him somewhat discouraging for his friends, and a nervousness in all his motions and doings quite painful and oppressive to the feelings and imagination. All this most religiously *entre nous*. Lady S. is a remarkably pleasant woman, and good-nature itself. We have here besides attached to the Mission Mr. Ouseley, a nephew to the great Orientalist, and Mr. Stanhope, a son of Lord Harrington, both very pleasant men. Ward, upright and perpendicular, yet a very good fellow, closes the train.

¹ In Syria, famous for its ruins, which include a temple dedicated to the sun.

² The clever, but eccentric niece of Lord Chatham, who lived in Syria to study astronomy.

³ Lord Strangford.

It is generally expected, though not by me, that we shall see some sport this winter. You have heard I suppose of our late blunders and embarrassments, and how on a sudden the several Discount-Banks stopped payment all over the country,¹ and how, not knowing what we were about, we have plunged from Bankruptcy into the hazards of a Diet, at which we have grasped as our last hold. This convocation of a Diet is considered in the present circumstances as a mighty silly thing; it was done *ab irato* and without necessity, and they now rue the measure and would be glad to get rid of it. Yet it will give him an opportunity to talk, and, Ye Gods! how he² will talk. This *besoin de parlage* is getting every day stronger. The opposition, of which there is much talk, will I am sure dwindle to nothing provided the Court only keep their countenances. The Prince has certainly not been gaining in popularity of late; but where is the Swede who will venture to arraign him, and boldly to offer himself to the contest? There may be some *jaw* perhaps, but even of that less, I am convinced, than is commonly supposed. At all events, we shall not remain behind with them, and *si replenda est Curia verbis*, Francis will be found on his very strongest guard, for whatever may be said of him, it is certainly not the *Copia fandi* he is wanting in.

When you write to the Fosters, pray give my very best Compliments to them. What delightful weather they have had on their journey to Rome, and how I envy them! Nothing you must allow, can exceed the good sense and liberality of your Government. Old Baron de Nagell would see me d——d first, before he would let me pass a twelvemonth of Gusto and Virtù in the Land of dancing and of singing slaves. Lord Castlereagh, God bless him, has no such idle scruples.

You have had several new-comers, some of them agreeable I hear. Of le Comte de la F. much good is spoken; yet I regret his arrival on account of poor Cabres upon whom a reduction in cash and appurtenances cannot operate very pleasantly, I should fancy. You know that the late American Minister at this court, Mr. Jonathan Russell,

¹ Under Bernadotte the financial prosperity of Sweden returned gradually.

² Presumably Bernadotte.

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has been playing the same trick to Hughes (by far the best and most humble Transatlantic I have ever known) and is daily expected here with his young wife, rather an oddish kind of woman, I understand, and as one of your countrymen once said to me of a friskiesh acquaintance of mine '*une femme extrêmement divertissante.*'

A schooner belonging to Mr. Fox will sail in about three weeks for the Thames and will convey the long expected Vase to Elsinore whence it may be forwarded to Copenhagen, unless you prefer to have it sent to England in which case you will have the goodness to write us word and add the address to whom we are to direct.

My wife, who is well, but who coughs a good deal, desires to be very particularly remembered to you. I remain, dear Disbrowe, yours ever affectionately

D."

Stockholm, October 21, 1817.

We now come to a note from an old friend, Sir Charles Stuart, English Ambassador to Paris since 1814. The tenour of the note is merely to inform Mr. Disbrowe as to what steps are being taken to make known to those diplomatists, whom it may concern, certain steps, which were being taken in advance in reference to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, that was to begin some two months later, and to which we give Lord Castlereagh's consent to Mr. Disbrowe proceeding. This permission is of course a necessary form, but the purport of Mr. Disbrowe's presence was to act as Secretary to Lord Castlereagh himself.

From Sir CHARLES STUART to Mr. DISBROWE.

"My dear Disbrowe,

I am to thank you for your letter of the which reached me last week and though I presume that your doubts upon the subject of the circular communication will have been set at rest before this can reach Copenhagen, I lose no time in letting you know that my three colleagues wrote directly to the Ministers accredited at the several Courts by their respective Sovereigns. The circular Letter¹

¹ Verbatim.

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which was drawn up at the conference; the immediate neighbourhood of Paris however induced Lord Castlereagh to sign the Copies which were forwarded to the accredited agents of His Majesty upon the same subject.

Ever yrs faithfully.

C. STUART."

Paris, 27th June, 1818."

From the HONBLE. ROBERT STEWART VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,
to MR. DISBROWE.

*"Foreign Office,
August 24th, 1818.*

"SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 10th Instant, soliciting permission to absent yourself from your Duties as His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Copenhagen, and to proceed, for a time, to Aix-la-Chapelle. And I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that you are at liberty to avail yourself of that Indulgence.

I have great satisfaction in signifying to you at the same time, His Royal Highness', the Prince Regent's perfect approbation of your Conduct during the period in which you have acted as His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Foster from that Residence.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant

CASTLEREAGH."

"EDWARD CROMWELL DISBROWE, Esq.,
etc., etc., etc.

The chief object of the Congress, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, in August 1818, was to make arrangements for the removal of the Army of Occupation from France, which matter was satisfactorily concluded on the 21st of November of the same year. It has been always considered a more sober minded Congress than that of Vienna, meeting for hard work and not for play, not dancing instead of getting on, as

Les hauts Souverains ayant daigné agréer le Bal,
que la Ville d'Aix-la-Chapelle aura l'honneur de
leur donner, le 4 de ce mois à 7 heures du soir,
dans la Salle de la nouvelle Redoute, nous vous
prions de vouloir y assister.

Aix-la-Chapelle, le 1^{er} octobre 1818.

Le premier Bourgmaitre et les Députés
du Conseil Communal de la Ville
d'Aix-la-Chapelle.

De Juarin

*Springfeld
für uns
J. Peltzer
M. W. J.*

INVITATION TO MUNICIPAL BALL
AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

had been said of the gay doings in the Austrian capital in 1815. Still we have proof that dancing was not altogether omitted, at Aix, being able to reproduce an invitation from the Burgomaster to Mr. Disbrowe to a municipal ball given in honour of the assembled diplomatists. The invitation which has been photographed was preserved by the faithful Eggert, and sent to Sir Edward Disbrowe's family many years after most persons, who danced at the Congress, had passed away.

Another letter from Lord Castlereagh shows, how ready he was to consider both Mr. Foster's and Mr. Disbrowe's wishes in regard to such leave of absence as they respectively desired. Mr. Disbrowe had been to England late in the previous year and had been met near Canterbury by two men on horseback, riding at the top of their speed. The sight of them had caused him to call to his valet to produce his pistols, for he feared they were about to be attacked by highwaymen. The horsemen were, however, only two old family servants bringing the sad intelligence of the Vice-Chamberlain's death. The letter from Lord Castlereagh probably refers to the arrangements for Mr. Disbrowe's final departure from Copenhagen, as he was shortly afterwards appointed as Chargé d'Affaires to the Helvetic Republic. In giving the second letter from our Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the present juncture, we must acknowledge that we are somewhat anticipating events, as there are others from numerous diplomatic friends of Mr. Disbrowe, and one indeed from his own father, from which we shall subsequently quote. To insert Lord Castlereagh's letter at this moment, is only done with the object of preventing the interruption of the various events of more general interest now passing under review.

From VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH *to* MR. DISBROWE.

*“Croze Farm,
22 Aug. 1819.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I shall have great pleasure under the particular circumstances of the Case in Complying with your wishes, if you can

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Settle with Mr. Foster, that one of you should be present at Copenhagen, but as he has been encouraged to expect Leave of Absence, I don't know how I can arrange for your mutual Convenience without requesting you to Confer together to see how the period of his coming away and your going may be made to Coincide.

I wish you Joy of your Sister's¹ Choice. It could not have fallen on a more respectable Person.

Believe me to be D^r Sir
faithfully Yours

CASTLEREAGH."

As reference has been made to the death of Mr. Disbrowe's father, this seems the moment to give the last communications, which we find from the Colonel to his son. One letter referring for the main part to matters of a private nature and written on the 26th of October 1818 says, "they are making great reductions in the Military Establishment. The Guards are to be reduced, one officer and ten men in each company. Lord V—— is dead. His death is really supposed to have been occasioned by wearing Stays. A good lesson to the Dandies."

The last letter from Colonel Disbrowe refers to the serious illness of the Royal mistress, whom he had served so faithfully, and whom he was so soon to follow to the grave. It is pathetic to note his intention to be "in high health" to receive the son, whom he was destined never to see again.

*From COLONEL DISBROWE, M.P., to MR. DISBROWE at
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.*

"MY DEAREST EDWARD,

We are all very anxious for the 18th of this Month, and hope that many Days will not elapse after that period before we shall have the happiness of collecting all together. Charlotte has received your letter and the two Parcells of Gloves. We remained at Mr. Legge's untill last Monday—Charlotte was obliged to be in waiting on that Day—she will be free

¹ The marriage of the eldest Miss Disbrowe and Sir Herbert Taylor.

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again on the 1st of December. The poor Queen is going on as usual, I fear. She suffers a good deal. What a Melancholy Fate is poor Sir Sam^l Romilly's. The Loss of His Wife deprived Him of His Senses, and he cut His Throat. He has left a Son and Daughter. He will be a loss to His Party, but the country has sustained a far greater Loss in my friend Wm Elliot, a Cousin of Lord Minto, and a great Friend of Windham's and Barker. He is the last of that School. I have just had a Letter from Henry with an account of the Election at All Souls. I am sorry to say Master Edw. failed. The Successful Candidates were Frederick Sullivan, Deedes, Gambier, Barrington, Bramston, Ogle and Clarke. My Gout is, I trust, going off—I intend to be in High Health to receive you. All our best Loves attend You. God bless you.

My dearest Edward,

Your most affect^o Father

E. DISBROWE."

Nov. 8th, 1818.

A notable reference by the Vice-Chamberlain is to the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. As we pass the days when George III was King in mental review, and see on all sides venality, corruption, indifference to political morality and to all humanitarian claims, one giant figure stands out amongst public men, a head and shoulders above his fellows, as that of a man making for righteousness. It is the Whig Attorney-General, Samuel Romilly. Of French extraction, he possesses all the quick insight of the nation from which he has sprung, and with it the single heartedness which is not sought in vain amongst the best of the upper middle classes of our neighbours across the Channel. Romilly was a man greatly in advance of his times, who used the influence given him by his official position not for personal aggrandisement, but to seek to ameliorate the lot of the oppressed and to proclaim the truth at any cost. Even if he desired to buy a seat in Parliament it was not for personal or party gain, but to preserve his independence. We may not accept his opinions in regard to the case of the Duke of York, but we cannot for one moment

doubt his integrity. According to him, though there was not sufficient proof to bring home to the Duke the misconduct attributed to him, it could not be gainsaid that there was sufficient *primâ facie* evidence to bring the charges against him. Sir Samuel could not understand the conduct of Perceval or of any other responsible member of the Ministry, ready to bring forward or support a motion to the effect, that there was no ground to charge the Duke with corruption or with conniving at the corruption of Mrs. Clarke.

Sir Samuel thought it established beyond controversy, that the Duke of York had allowed the French polisher's widow to influence military promotions, that he knew that she took money in connection with them, and that she paid her house-keeping expenses with the proceeds. Romilly took a leading part in this famous case, and was instrumental in bringing certain incriminating evidence to light. His contemporary, Sir James Mackintosh, expresses himself on the subject to this effect. "I envy Romilly neither his fortune nor his fame, though I am likely to be poor and obscure enough, but I do envy him so noble an opportunity of proving his disinterestedness. If his character had been in the slightest degree that of a demagogue, his conduct might have been ambiguous, but with his habits it can be considered only as a sacrifice of the highest objects of ambition to the mere dictates of conscience." Sir James's reason for using the word "mere" in conjunction with the "dictates of conscience" is an enigma. To Romilly they were clear and compelled him to obedience. He listened and counted the cost; he knew that to take the line which his principles forced upon him was to give up all hope of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. But with him integrity of purpose was paramount, even when it led him to forego his private friendships, as was the case in regard to Spencer Perceval. Why men should not agree to differ on public affairs, and yet be friends in private, is another matter. And yet it is often so to this day amongst provincial politicians, who cannot seemingly live and let live. In old days it happened still more frequently. Those who are accustomed to wider views of life, fail to see

the necessity for it. It is, however, a subject on which argument is of little avail, and to Romilly there seemed only one way of looking at it.

We find in him the usual painstaking conscientiousness relative to the enquiry into the suspicions aroused by the conduct of the Princess of Wales, with which he had to do in the early stages of that notorious case, which was eventually to call forth such violent party feeling. His single minded fairness, searches anxiously into the evidence, and he is quite prepared to give the Princess the benefit of any doubt. Whoever desired to make political capital out of the tragedy of her domesticity, it was not Samuel Romilly. For him there was one object to be pursued, and that object the truth. We shall have occasion to allude once more to Queen Caroline in reference to the part assigned to Mr. Disbrowe, in the search for foreign witnesses at the final enquiry into her conduct.

It was not only in connection with State trials, that Samuel Romilly made his name respected. The poor had reason to love and bless it, for his chief endeavour was to promote such legislation as would be calculated to bring about an amelioration of their condition. The laws in Georgian days were for the most part Draconian, the penalties enacted being quite out of proportion to the crimes and misdemeanours, which they were meant to punish. This state of things whilst causing widespread misery, did not tend to produce the effect which it was intended to promote, for people were unwilling to accuse the guilty. Out of sheer humanity they dreaded bringing about a conviction for some trifling act, which might, indeed probably would, include the death penalty. Our paternal government of the early part of the nineteenth century, founded its security chiefly on a principle akin to a sentiment which we find in "Alice in Wonderland," namely, "Off with their heads." People made occasional gruesomely facetious remarks about this preventing the delinquents from doing the same thing again; and when a man was hanged in one of our Western Counties for cutting down a cherry tree, it was even said, that such wholesome severity made people learn to behave themselves. To anyone who has studied the

Diary of Samuel Romilly, such jesting can only appear singularly out of place. There, one learns about the death penalty being enacted in the case of any discharged soldier, sailor, or marine begging for alms without leave from his commanding officer, and of men and women executed for paltry shoplifting, of children of ten years old lying in Newgate under sentence of death, of the barbarous flogging of soldiers for slight breaches of discipline, till the tortured victims could have hailed death with thankfulness. Against all these atrocious barbarities Samuel Romilly set his face and uplifted his voice, often defeated, often unheeded, yet he gained this victory, he aroused public interest and filled thinking men with a deep sense of shame at the legal iniquities against which he inveighed.

The list of public men, who committed suicide in the earlier days of the last century is a large one. One thinks at once of Lord Castlereagh, broken down mentally and physically and ending by cutting his throat. Saddest amongst many is the death of Saml. Romilly, to which Queen Charlotte's Vice-Chamberlain alludes in a final letter to his son. Utterly opposed as they were in politics, we can understand what is meant by his allusion to the yet greater loss of a man who was more in accord with his own views. England lost more in Romilly. Like many eminent contemporaries he had found the strain of public duties exceedingly severe, but it was domestic grief which dealt the final blow. No one can read his life without noticing the tender love which he cherished for his wife, and one can imagine how refreshing the sweet home ties must have been to this hard fighter for the public good. It was his beloved wife's death, coupled with anxiety regarding the future of his large family, that had been left motherless, which turned his brain, and made this high-minded man commit the one crime—if so indeed it should be designated—of his blameless life, in quitting it.

So many and such varied subjects are brought before us in the correspondence addressed to Mr. Disbrowe at the time with which we are dealing at present, that it is impossible to keep strictly to the chronological order of the letters. It is a matter of regret that we have not been able to obtain personal

touches regarding some of the writers' friends beyond those contained in their own words. All have something interesting to say, either on contemporary politics, or life in diplomatic circles, or in respect to the history of the countries where they sojourn. To Monsieur de Bardenfleth we are indebted for some valuable remarks on the question of the Danish succession; Count de La Ferronaye expresses what he believes to be the feelings of all patriotic Frenchmen relative to the results of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and Monsieur de Cabres'¹ letters are always entertaining and generally instructive. He writes invariably in English. His name is that of an old legitimist family. The Abbé de Cabres was a member of the ancien régime, well-known in Paris in Napoleon's day.

Following on Monsieur de Cabres' pleasant gossip come two letters from Mr. Foster, who married Miss Disbrowe's cousin, Miss Hobart, who, together with her sister, was subsequently given the precedence of an Earl's daughter. Mr. Foster, after Sir Augustus, was the son of Mr. J. T. Foster, M.P., and of Lady Elizabeth, second daughter of the eccentric Bishop of Derry, who became third Earl of Bristol. It is Lady Elizabeth's second husband, the fifth Duke of Devonshire, whom Monsieur de Dedel mentions as purchasing the porphyry vases. Mr. Foster began life as a Cornet in the Blues. Exchanging the sword for the pen, he entered the diplomatic service in 1801, was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm in 1808, and was expelled thence by order of Napoleon in 1810. His subsequent appointments as Minister included Washington, Copenhagen, and Turin, at which last place he died. He and Mr. Disbrowe remained close friends through life, and if not an exceptionally distinguished diplomatist, he was always looked upon as an excellent comrade. His wife was not the only member of Lord Buckinghamshire's family, who resided at Copenhagen. His sister-in-law was the wife of the Danish General, Jasper Scityon Hagerman, and lived there also. Miss Disbrowe remembers spending many happy days at Lady Harriet Hagerman's in her childhood.

¹ He was evidently French Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* before the arrival of M. de La Ferronaye.

Mr. Foster has something to say about a heavy loan required to help the Norwegian landowners out of their difficulties. It is curious to note that, though England was groaning under the weight of taxation, going to bed and getting up with it, meeting it at her breakfast-table, hindered in opening her windows because of it, and even finding it interfering with the hair-powder of her flunkeys, yet English gold provided the sinews of war for Continental nations, and it was to her, they turned to help them out of their difficulties in the piping times of peace. Cast off by Denmark and invaded by Bernadotte, Norway had suffered much financially in past years, and the onus had fallen on the holders of land who had to contend with a severe agricultural depression owing to the price of corn having fallen very considerably.

Our next choice falls on a letter

From MONSIEUR DE CABRES to MR. DISBROWE,
when Secretary of Legation to the Court of Denmark.
Undated, probably 1818, and written in English.

“DEAR DISBROWE,

The Marquis¹ left us yesterday for Paris, where I hope you shall see him. He was in too great a hurry to answer your letter, and desired me to tell you so.

I am delighted at the idea of spending another winter with you here. They say we shall be very gay. Princess Charlotte, second sister of Prc. Christian, is come from Hesse. She is an agreeable little woman, and rather handsome. She has kindness for a member of the Lower Diplomacy. She was very strenuous in supporting our claim to be admitted to the Court balls. But I fear she has been foiled. The best of the joke is that I think the Ministers thenceforward themselves will no more be admitted.

Defoullon has left us. A few evenings before his departure, he almost put out Mrs. Dedel's hip, by knocking her against the pianoforte at Oxholm's *en walzant*. Such a blow, I think I never saw or heard. He behaved with remarkable coolness upon this occasion, said, she had only been a little frightened

¹ De Bonnay.

but had not hurt herself, although the poor little woman limped into the next room to ascertain whether anything was broken or not. She has kept her bed for several days after. Would you believe it the little puppy had not the civility to enquire how she did. Thank God he is gone. He gives it out that—(illegible) has sent for him to be of the Italian gov^t. I think he lies. I think he was even refused and roughly so, to go as courier. Bombelles¹ was told that Defoullon had never deserved that favour.

If you receive this before you go to Paris, or when you are there, go if you have a leisure hour and the disposition, to my sister's in the Rue d'Artois No 28, Countess Laborde, I have prepared her for your reception as my friend. She is an agreeable woman, and has been thought very handsome. If she can be of any service to you, she will be very happy.

Adieu my dear Disbrowe, thanks for you recollecting yours truly,

DE C.

Be so obliging as to join to my coats, a dozen of worsted ankle socks."

From MR. FOSTER to MR. DISBROWE.

"Copenhagen, Nov. 3, 1818.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

Many thanks for your Letters of ye 13th and 15th as well as of the 21st. The cheapness of living at the Place quoted by you seems scarcely credible, and I cannot but think it exaggerated or else taken on a Calculation during the War when there were few concurrens for Houses etc. in that part of the world, however it certainly is tempting and I will see about it, and let you know as soon as I can anything certain on the subject. The Nicolais² arrived an hour ago, much fatigued I hear, so I shall not see them till to-morrow, they have had fine weather and even now the Thermometer is at

¹ A diplomatist of whom Lady Disbrowe writes in 1825 that he is expected as Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg.

² The name often occurs amongst Russian diplomatists, and the Disbrowes visited friends of that name at their country seat in Finland in 1825.

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9 degrees Reaumur of heat. Ye Browns are come to town. M^d. Pauli made many enquiries after you, as many almost as Made. Bardenfleth ; she desired me to say that the ladies on the other side of the Bridge were very anxious to hear of you. Who they are I pretend not to know. I hope you have got well again. You do not say if you use the famous baths.¹ I thought them delightful. I am very happy indeed to find you are so much employed ; it was what you had a right to expect certainly, but it is satisfactory to know that you are one of the many active members at so famous a Congress. I sent you a letter from Mde. Brun last post, I believe I told you. There is a want of news as usual here. Cambruzzi (?) gives us a dinner to-day and has invited the Ladies, which is quite an Epoch. Nothing fresh from Sweden since the offer of £250,000, and thrice as much in Bonds. Wedel Yarlsberg is going to England to try to raise £200,000 for the Norway Landholders ; it is thought ye Pt. of Lauwig will be assigned as Security. Do you think Baring and Co. will listen to it ?

Pray tell me if I have given you information enough about the Danish claims or if there is any point wants clearing up. Albinia and Harriet desire their best remembrances to you.

Ever your
most affectly.

A. J. FOSTER."

From THE SAME to THE SAME.

"Copenhagen, *July 30, 1819.*

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I have just received your interesting Letter of the 17th respecting the state of Parties, and Armbruster's affair, in regard to the latter I cannot, I confess, think blame can attach to Ministers. The case of Marshal Brown entering the Austrian Service and fighting the Russians is that of Armbruster entering into ye Swedish service and had the Russians shot Brown or Downe, I forget which it was, it would have been for Austria to retaliate, not Great Britain—

¹ Of Aix-la-Chapelle.

for when you take service in another state you certainly forfeit your claims to protection from your own Country, and I hope we shall not be expected to retaliate if L^d Cochran¹ should be hung by Artizas or the Portugese. It is to Spain or the Swedes that Arbuthnot's friends should look for revenge, and not to us. But it is a matter that will do for the opposition who can chew and grind anything into a grievance.

You don't say if you frequent the Foreign Office much, so I know not if you have received the amusing communication from Stockholm, which L^d H. has lately been able to make, but it is worth your while to go there now and then while this Agitation continues so hotly.

Albinia and Harriet were both very sorry to hear of your Sister Harriet's low state of health, but I hope the Spring will do her good and increase her strength. I told Albinia and her sister not to write about it, as you desired. We are very busy looking for a house. M—— having by yesterday's mail expressed his vile intention of coming to take possession of this. I have just made an offer to C (ount). R—— for the whole of his, it is one of the most comfortable and only wants a ball-room to make it complete, you shall have a pleasant apartment in it, if we get it, as from your letter I look forward, with great pleasure and the hope of seeing you with us again.

Laferronaye, I am sorry to say, will leave us in May; he is now in better spirits than before. The D(uc) de Richelieu called on Made. Laferronaye along with Desrolles, and he will probably get a good post elsewhere, and we shall have a M. Maraudet, who is not the most agreeable person in the world, so I am told.

No news now, except that Moltke has been appointed Baillie of Iceland, and we have complimented *la petite Bardenfleth* upon her father's vice-regal honour.

Would you do me the favour to ask some member of

¹ A very distinguished naval officer, who defeated the French fleet in the Basque roads in 1809. In 1818 he served with the Chilians and Peruvians against Spain, and was of great assistance to them in securing their independence. Vide Burke's Peerage.—M. M.-C.

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Watiers' Club to look into the books of the Club and see what I am charged with owing. I think members absent on duty are excused from the subscription, but wish to be sure.

Many thanks for ordering me out Gentz's¹ Pamphlet; any interesting pamphlet, not too large for a letter, I wish you would be so kind—that is to say if it is reported good—as to fold up and send to me at ye Foreign Office, to be forwarded to me by Rolleston. Is Byron's 'Curse of Minerva' too large for this mode of conveyance?

I sent your letter to Nicolai.

Ever yours, my dear Disbrowe
very truly,

AUG. J. FOSTER."

Mr. Foster refers to Monsieur de La Ferronaye, by whom the next letter is written. We have to thank one of his descendants for another allusion to the Count in an extract from one of Mr. Foster's letters, reproduced in his book entitled "The Two Duchesses." It was written August, 1818:—

"I have found M. de Laferronaye a great resource here. He has been nearly caught and hung by Buonaparte's creatures; often on the coast of France disguised as a smuggler, and for six years was a common soldier in the Austrian army, frequently without enough to eat. His brother was killed as a common soldier at the battle of Lützen, being then in the French service as a conscript. He was with Korsakow at the tremendous battle² of Zürich, and saw the ditches of Waterloo strewn with French and English soldiers."

Allusion has already been made to Monsieur de La Ferronaye's opinion of Alexander I, and also to the fact of his being the father of the talented authoress, Mrs. Augustus Craven. I have often heard my mother's twin sister, the late Baroness de Weiler, speak of Mrs. Craven. Her husband was in the English diplomatic service and Secretary of Legation

¹ Vide Chapter I., Part II.

² It lasted from the 15th to the 17th September, 1799, when Masséna surrounded Korsakow's army, compelling him to retire into Zürich, whence he only escaped with 10,000 men.

at Stuttgart. My aunt was married from Mr. Craven's house, as her wedding took place not many months after her father's¹ death. The origin of her friendliness with the husband and wife must be traced back some thirty years to the time of her brother-in-law, Sir Edward Disbrowe's early diplomatic life in Sweden. The acquaintanceship he formed there with M. de La Ferronaye was revived on his going as Minister to Russia in 1825. There, too, he met again with his old friend Lord Strangford, who lost his wife at St. Petersburg, in consequence of which he left Russia, and Sir Edward's mission to that court was prolonged till the appointment of Sir William à Court, the future Lord Heytesbury, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Lady Disbrowe, writing in 1825 and 1826 from Russia, makes repeated mention of the de La Ferronayes. Monsieur de La Ferronaye appears to have received as much appreciation from the Emperor Alexander as he felt for that monarch. He was much in evidence at the Russian Court on all great occasions, and on the accession of Nicolas to the Imperial throne, was decorated with the Cross of St. Andrew.

Lady Disbrowe mentions that at a dinner given by the Duke of Wellington at the Coronation fêtes, "Madame de La Ferronaye was 'armed' in by Lord Strangford and the Duke of Wellington." Though diplomatic etiquette demanded it, the allowance of cavaliers strikes ordinary people as very liberal. In 1828, Monsieur de La Ferronaye became Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris. The important letter which fills the next pages is from him to Mr. Disbrowe. It bears no date, but might have been sent to Aix-la-Chapelle at the close of the Congress, for it expresses the writer's joy at the arrangements being consummated for removing the army of occupation from France.

From COUNT DE LA FERRONAYE *to* MR. DISBROWE.

(No date.)

"Le Baron de Nicolay m'a remis votre bonne lettre; mon cher Disbrowe, j'aime à espérer que vous croyez assez à mon

¹ Honourable Robert Kennedy.

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amitié pour être bien sûr du plaisir que m'a fait cette lettre, et combien je suis sensible à cette marque de souvenir de votre part.

Je vois d'après ce que vous nous mandez que sauf l'agrément de protocoler toute la journée et l'intérêt très grand sans doute d'être témoin du brillant et important rassemblement d'Aix-la-Chapelle les plaisirs n'y sont pas d'ailleurs très vifs. Le congrès de Vienne dansoit et ne marchait pas ; celui d'Aix-la-Chapelle a couru sans danser ; celui n'aura pas fait le compte de tout le monde, et je me figure que plus d'un curieux, et plus d'un Spéculateur, auront été désappointés. Nous du moins, nous ne l'avons pas été, et vous ne vous trompez pas en pensant que j'ai été le plus heureux des hommes en apprenant le résultat des négociations. Sans doute il nous était permis de le prévoir et de l'espérer, mais comme dans ce bas monde tout ce qu'est encore à faire est souvent bien loin d'être fait, j'éprouvais malgré moi une inquiétude gênante. Il n'y a pas un Français aimant son Roi et sa Patrie pour lequel le jour où la convention a été signée n'ait été un jour de bonheur ; j'espère qu'elle met le dernier sceau à la tranquillité générale. Nous avons mérité la confiance de l'Europe par la scrupuleuse exactitude avec laquelle nous avons remplis les durs engagements auxquels nous condamnoient les traités. Nous prouverons maintenant que nous saurons jouir sans en abuser de la liberté et de l'indépendance qui nous soit rendus.

Nos bons Danois s'étaient persuadés que la question qui regardait la France une fois décidée, une des premières dont on s'occuperait serait celle qui leur tient haut à cœur. Je suppose que les lettres de Foster rendent inutiles tout ce que je pourrais vous dire sur ce sujet. On s'était flatté que le Baron de Nicolay apporterait quelque chose de plus que de bonnes paroles, mais je commence à craindre que les mesures sur l'effet desquelles on comptait si bien ici ne traînent en largeur, et la partie diverse aura déjà obtenu beaucoup en gagnant du temps. Étranger à cette question je dois m'abstenir de toutes réflexions, mais malgré soi cependant on ne peut s'empêcher de faire des vœux pour ceux du côté desquels la justice et le droit paraissent évidemment placés.

D'après ce que vous nous mandez, il paraît que vous êtes encore bien indécis sur vos projets, aussi, ne sachant où vous prendre ni où cette lettre pourra vous trouver, je la confie à Foster ; quelque soit le poste que vous prenez je n'espère plus vous revoir ici avant le printemps. Qui sait ce que d'ici là nous serons tous devenus, et si ma destinée ne m'aura pas déjà entraîné bien loin de Copenhague. Dans notre Carrière on a de moins plusieurs chances pour se retrouver, et c'est un espoir que j'aime à conserver.

Ici, mon cher Disbrowe, tout va toujours de même : c'est une horloge dont l'habitude règle le mouvement, le temps se traîne mais la bonté et la bonhomie des naturels du pays fait que cette monotone a quelque chose qui repose, et je m'en accommoderais très bien, si je ne me trouvais pas aussi seul en rentrant chez moi.

Vous me demandez de parler de vous à tout ce qui vous conserve souvenir ; il aurait fallu pour cela avoir recours à la gazette, car tout ce qui vous connaît vous aime, et vous regrette. Je me suis cependant engagé bien avec une de vos meilleures amies à joindre mes instances aux siennes pour vous conjurer de soigner d'avantage votre santé. Elle m'a paru effrayée des infidélités que vous pouvez lui faire en faveur du Claret, Champagne, Madère et Campagnie. D'ailleurs point de nouveau. La petite Favartina a manqué partir pout l'autre monde ; mais le Ciel a eu pitié de nos larmes, des miennes surtout, et tout nous porte à espérer que cette mère des graces nous sera conservée. Favart lui-même semble en prendre son parti.

Si vous allez à Paris, promettez moi de faire une petite visite à ma bonne et vieille Moitié et d'embrasser une demi douzaine de mes enfans. Adieu, cher Disbrowe, croyez pour la vie à mon sincère et inviolable attachment,

LA FERRONAYE."

The desire of kings and princes to bestow presents and orders on our representatives, the acceptance of which has not been permitted by the rules of the Foreign Office, has not unfrequently caused annoyances at foreign courts, as was the case when Bernadotte salved his wounded feelings by

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bestowing the porphyry jardinière on Lady Disbrowe. We have here the record of a present which was sent to Mr. Disbrowe as a parting gift by the King of Denmark; the letter from the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs expresses the King's wish, and Lord Clanwilliam's reply to Mr. Disbrowe states that the present may be retained in this instance.

From COUNT ROSENKRANTZ to MR. DISBROWE, on the occasion of the latter's termination of his term of residence at the Danish Court.

“MONSIEUR,

Si en apprenant Votre nomination à la nouvelle place que vous venez d'occuper, Monsieur, près de la Confédération Helvétique c'est pas sans regret, que je vois par là interrompre les relations avec lesquelles je me suis trouvé avec Vous, il m'est pourtant agréable de pouvoir Vous assurer de la bienveillance du Roi que Vous Vous êtes attiré, Monsieur, pendant que Vous avez été Chargé des Affaires du Roi Votre Maître à la Cour de Sa Majesté, et dont je me fais un plaisir de Vous faire tenir une marque, par la bague que j'ai l'honneur de joindre.

Et tout comme je Vous tiens compte des sentimens que dans Votre lettre du 13 du mois passé, Vous avez bien voulu exprimer pour moi. Je vous pris, Monsieur, d'être persuadé de la considération très distinguée avec laquelle, j'ai l'honneur

d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble

et très obéissant Serviteur

ROSENKRANTZ.

Copenhague,

28 Juillet, 1820.”

The Right Honourable Charles Francis Meade, G.C.G., third Earl of Clanwilliam, was born in 1795, and attained the age of eighty-four. Having entered the diplomatic service,

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he was present at the Congress of Vienna in attendance on Lord Castlereagh. From 1820 to 1823 he was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. From 1823 to 1827 he was British Minister at Berlin. This letter is addressed by him to Mr. Disbrowe, and in view of the English Minister now having for many years resided at Bern, the liberty of choice given to Mr. Disbrowe is interesting. He appears to have established a precedent by his residence at Bern.

“ Foreign Office,
Nov. 2, 1820.

DEAR DISBROWE,

I have many apologies to offer for not sooner answering your letter about the King of Denmark's ring offered to you through Mr. de Rosenkrantz, and respecting your future place of residence in Switzerland.

With regard to the first, Lord Castlereagh sees no objection to your acceptance of such a mark of H. D. My's regard for you; and as to the second query, His Lordship gives you full leave to make either of the towns mentioned by you your residence, nor indeed do I conceive that there would be any inconvenience in your taking up your abode in any of the capitals of the principal Cantons of the Confederacy, provided you gave notice of the place to which you may propose to remove.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,
CLANWILLIAM.

P.S.—Many thanks about my 'letter.' I daresay it will turn up some of these days.

C.”

Brief allusions, not always absolutely complimentary, have been made in these pages to Madame Brun, a literary lady, who wrote of her travels and had no mean opinion of the merits of her productions. Her style is occasionally bombastic and indirectly self-laudatory, but her general knowledge of political matters, and notably of those in Italy, makes what she says worthy of reproduction.

“ SOPHIENHOLM, le 5 d’Août, 1820.

MON CHER DESBROWE !

Votre petite bonne lettre m’a donné un grand plaisir car chaque souvenir en est un ! Nous ne pouvons point du tout encore nous accoutumer à ne pas vous voir arriver ici où votre arrivée causait toujours un plaisir si vif. Nous sommes tellement appauvris en amis depuis deux ans, et en amis qu’on ne peut, ni ne veut, remplacer. Je suis bien aise de vous savoir en Suisse parce que vous êtes plus chez nous. Jouissez de cette nature si grande, si vierge, et si majestueuse. Pourquoi ne savez vous pas l’Allemand, alors vous demanderez à mon ami Füssli à Zurich mes ouvrages sur la Suisse, et vous ferez ce qu’ont fait le Prince Chrétien et Steigentesch, vous prendrez les Panoramas de L’Albis et du Rigi dans une main et mes descriptions dans l’autre et vous examinerez si votre amie a bien vu.

Vous avez su que Bombelles allait à Naples ? J’en étais dans la joie de mon cœur, car la santé d’Ida exigeait impérieusement un autre climat ; et Munich me faisait trembler. Voilà cette révolution de Naples, cette éruption Volcanique, qui le rend très douteux à mes yeux, si l’Autriche dans ce moment voudrait envoyer un ministre à Naples, vu la manière dont est parti le général Nugent. Quel moment intéressant pour quelqu’un qui doit régner un jour, que celui pendant lequel notre Prince de Danemark se trouve sur le bord de ce cratère politique. Je souhait des constitutions, garantis et une liberté raisonnable à *tous les peuples* le tems en est arrivé. Mais je tremble pour Naples, car la masse du peuple y consiste dans une espèce d’enfants sauvages, quoique nullement méchants. Il y a entre les classes cultivées beaucoup de gens instruits, nobles et patriotiques, Medici, Tommasi, les deux Filanghieri (le général et le publiciste Carlo Delfico, le duc de Casciano, Vargas, Macciacca, le Duc Ventignano, etc., etc.) sont des personnes de grands talents et du plus rare mérite, mais la masse paraît encore trop brute. La France ne peut être que ce qu’elle est. Son existence n’a pas le sens commun, elle ne vit que du passé, de l’imagination, et des prestiges enchantées de l’art, tous les éléments d’une vie sociale tempo-

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relle y manquent. Il n'y a ni Bourgeoisie ni peuple de la campagne, seule elle brille de son éclat immortel, la Reine du Désert! Si l'on y touche le beau boulet de savon (dans la Sphère brillante et illusionnée duquel je voudrais passer ma vie) crêpe, et l'ensemble disparaît.

La Toscane, le royaume d'Italie, sont bien dans la réalité du présent, mais leur bonheur n'a pas de garantie. Mais comme le militaire qui sera appelé à tenir ces pays en ordre n'est pas né dans son sein il ne nous donnera pas ce noble exemple qu'à donné celui de l'Espagne; et de Naples—et que je crains donnera bientôt (et avec une autre énergie) celui de la Prusse.

Hélas, nous sommes tous à la veille de grands événements et la *terre ferme* manque par tout à nos pas! Je n'ai pas besoin de Vous dire ce que je crains; vous me divinez.

Je suis assurée que Vous avez partagé la douleur, que nous à causé à tous le désastre arrivé aux *Families Ryberg* et *Deconing*! ces Maisons tellement distinguées par la manière noble de penser et d'agir, par leur générosité, et par la bonté de cœur héréditaires en elles! La troisième faillite, celle de la Maison Juive, en entrainera bien d'autres, et porte le coup mortel à notre crédit dans l'étranger. . . .

Toute la communauté de Sophienholm est très sensible à votre souvenir amical. Tout le monde se porte bien cette année, et Monsieur Brun jouit d'un bien-être qu'on aurait à peine osé espérer. . . . Voulez-vous des Lettres pour Berne, Zurich, et Genève?

Aujourd'hui, je veux faire partir celle-ci seule, adieu!

F. BRUN."

General Nugent, to whom Madame Brun alludes, was one of many gallant Irish Roman Catholics, whose services we lost because of the laws which prevented members of their church from rising to military distinction at home. In consequence they offered their swords to other Governments under whom no such disabilities existed and notably to Austria, where the O'Sullivans, O'Donnels and many others form a noble muster roll of heroes. They were not, however,

unmindful of the home country, though it had treated them in such step-motherly fashion. This was undoubtedly the case with General Nugent, who kept himself in touch with the British Government, and with its sanction and co-operation made a special journey to the Peninsula to consult with Lord Wellington as to whether he would undertake to command the forces of the Allies in the event of a fresh combination against Buonaparte. The friendship then begun with Lord Wellington was strengthened by subsequent visits to him at Walmer Castle. Having served with distinction with the Austrians in Bohemia, Count Nugent took part in the diplomatic negotiations with Napoleon, which were planned by the members of the Congress of Reichenbach, and also fought at Leipzig on the side of the Allies. This brave soldier of fortune played a conspicuous part in the attack on the French strongholds on the Adriatic, and notably in the neighbourhood of Trieste and Fiume. In his letter from Vienna to Mr. Disbrowe, in 1813, Mr. Perceval mentions that he is off to Fiume with the avowed and unpleasant object of "seeing some bloody work," a ghastly gratification, which was not likely to be denied him. Count Nugent married a lady from one of the Austrian provinces and received various distinctions both from the Pope, and from the Austrian Government. When Joachim Murat was still on the throne of Naples and temporarily alienated from Napoleon, Count Nugent, sent by the Austrian Government, led a detachment of Neapolitan troops against Eugène Beauharnais. Later, when Murat had returned to his allegiance to the Master, whom in his heart he idolised, Nugent was despatched by the Austrians to subjugate the Neapolitans. After the Bourbon restoration we find him in the confidence of Ferdinand, bringing the undisciplined Neapolitan soldiers into line, but in such a pleasant way as to cause him to be very generally liked, even by the officers towards whom he was in such a difficult position. He held his own with the army till July, 1820, when the influence of the powerful Carbonari swept everything for a time before it, and a regular *saute qui peut* took place. He then sought refuge in the first instance in the house of the British Minister, Sir William à Court,

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who had always thrown the weight of his influence on the side of the Bourbons.

It is evidently to this that Madame Brun refers. Madame Brun touches also on a subject on which I know no better authority than Mr. R. M. Johnston, who has dealt with it in a most able and interesting manner in his "Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy," namely, the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820. Clearly and graphically he describes what happened in that eventful year, and all which led up to it, including the vicissitudes undergone by the people of Naples during the change from Bourbon to Napoleonic rule, and then back again to a Bourbon Administration. Each year was pregnant with events, but we can only allow ourselves space to touch on them most briefly. Ferdinand IV. of Naples and of the Two Sicilies has been accused of ruling by the power of the scourge and scaffold. In the earlier part of his reign executions were daily occurrences, but the lawlessness of the times and the widespread evils of brigandage made desperate remedies almost indispensable for the restoration of order. After his reinstatement through the influence of the Congress of Vienna, we find Ferdinand the weak, unwilling puppet of the Carbonari, and forced to act as popular marionette to their wire-pulling rather than playing the tyrant.

When, after Joseph Buonaparte's translation to the throne of Spain, Napoleon made his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, ruler over the kingdom of Naples, it appeared as if fiscal reforms and a constitutional government might yet make a happier people of the Neapolitans. But Murat, kindly, brave, impetuous, though by no means free from faults, soon found himself in the position of a man with his back against a wall. There is ample testimony that he was brave enough to meet danger unflinchingly in cold blood; by the way, he faced his soldiers at a review, where some traitors had loaded and fired with ball cartridges. Instantly Murat commanded a second volley, riding up close to the muzzles of the men's muskets as they were about to fire. And nothing could be more dignified than the manner in which he met his death, in 1815, on being overpowered and taken before a court-martial at Pizzo, after making a forlorn attempt to regain his

kingdom. A quick trial, and fifteen minutes between sentence and execution, whilst the officer whose duty it was to have the sentence carried out broke down, shaken with sobs at so brave a man's fate; such was Joachim Murat's end. Harder yet must it have been to have been misunderstood by his Emperor and friend, for though he could differ from him, he would never have turned from Napoleon if the antagonism of England and bullying of Austria had not made his position untenable. Yet when his last campaign cost him his throne, and he fled to France, Napoleon seemed unable to forgive and forget the momentary desertion of his cause. With Murat's flight and Ferdinand's return, a quieter state of affairs appeared to be inaugurated. In reality, circumstance after circumstance was leading up to the revolution to which Madame Brun refers, and which was hastened by the discontent and distress arising from repeated bad harvests and the cruel burthen of over-taxation. A further cause of the outbreak was the unsatisfactory state of the army, where there were too many officers with too little to do. Much sympathy had already existed between the Neapolitan soldiers and the Spaniards, there being a large Spanish element in their midst, and Spain's insistence on a constitution led to a like demand at Naples. More officers and soldiers than not were Carbonari, and the spirit of independence gained strength, till at length a portion of the Borbone Cavalleria, stationed at Salerno, gave the signal for revolt, taking up their position on a mountain pass with the cry of "Viva la Costituzione." Regiment after regiment followed suit. Though a great panic prevailed, and the King took to his bed with fright, it was a bloodless revolution, but the Carbonari gained their end, the proclamation of a constitution, which for the moment satisfied their demands, though they knew next to nothing of its provisions, and though the Powers as we shall see did not look upon it with favour.

Madame Brun speaks of several individuals playing prominent parts in Neapolitan affairs. De Medici, distantly connected with the great Florentine family of that name, began life as a lawyer, and ended by becoming one of the best ministers that Naples possessed. He was not of eminent

ability, but upright and distinctly above the average of his contemporaries. He served both under Murat and Ferdinand, was head of the Police, Director of Finance, and virtually also Prime Minister.

Gaetano Filangieri was a lawyer, and belonged to the Liberal party, as did also his brother Carlo, who played a more conspicuous part, and was a brilliant general. Carlo was one amongst eleven others who signed the petition for the constitution and for the ejection of Frenchmen from Government employment. During Murat's reign he was at one time disaffected towards him, but, nevertheless, in the former's attempt to gain Italy for France, in 1815, he showed him a devotion not found amongst the other generals, and though severely wounded, carried a bridge near Modena with his men, changing the fortunes of the day, in spite of the heavy fire of the Austrians.

Carlo Delfico, the eminent publicist to whom Madame Brun also refers, was a devoted Neapolitan patriot, respected alike for his moderation and his liberal views, and, of course, one of those desirous for a constitution.

Madame Brun speaks of the state of Tuscany, which was also experiencing a time of stress and trial. It had been made the shuttlecock of various royal owners, and was given over in 1737 by Don Carlos of Spain to Francis Stephen of Lorraine, husband of the Grand Duchess Marie of Austria. Napoleon's ascendancy put the Duke to flight. In 1814, an Austrian, Archduke Ferdinand, brother of the Emperor Francis II., became possessed of the fair Tuscan land, a fact causing continuous troubles, and resented by the brave Italian people, who hated the Austrian rule, and were never content till the years following 1848 brought them ultimate freedom through the intervention of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel.

Mr. Disbrowe's very friendly Danish correspondent, M. de Bardenfleth, writes to wish him well on beginning his new life in Switzerland, which he did in July, 1820, being appointed as Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* on June the 20th. He was received at Lucerne by the firing of a salute, on taking up his residence outside that quaint old town, with the French and Spanish Ministers as his neighbours on either side.

Monsieur de Bardenfleth begins by alluding to a journey which his wife had undertaken to Iceland, where her daughter's father-in-law, Count Moltke, was acting as governor. The letter soon passes on to what is much more important for us, namely, an interesting point in connection with the Danish succession. Unlike the man who had *almost* conquered the intricate Slesvig Holstein question, I confess to having no grip of it at all. I attribute this partly to having started wrongly. Through the long vista of years, there comes to me a vision of weather-beaten German soldiers, whom I enjoyed seeing stepping out briskly to that most inspiring tune called "the Düppeler Sturm Marsch." I never heard a more enthusiasm compelling piece of martial music. It did not seem possible, that men who marched to such a tune, or the side whence it emanated, could be anything but wholly in the right! I can hear it now, after forty years, and feel carried away by it. The impression, made in those far off nursery days was strengthened and deepened by a picture of the men, who stormed the heights of Düppel, and whilst I can still hear the march, I could draw the picture. All this is hopelessly illogical, yea, irrelevant, I confess it. All the same it has made an unbiassed opinion on my part on the Slesvig Holstein question impossible, even if my logical powers were sufficient to grasp its bearings. Verily, the pedigrees to be sifted in respect to the Danish succession are too tough a morsel even for my Scottish genealogical appetite. On this account I do not attempt to add reflections of my own to what has been already written by others, and not to make confusion worse confounded, I simply repeat the information given by Monsieur de Bardenfleth as contained in his letter of August the 22nd, 1820, and add to it some remarks made by the authoress of "Old Days in Diplomacy," who takes a keen interest in the subject and is wholly on the side of the Danes, partly on cogent and solid grounds, partly from the delightful woman's reason that she detested "that all-grasping Bismarck," and to this I have added some dry statements of historical facts. To both sides Slesvig Holstein has been a burning question. Between new colonies, and warlike demonstrations, and the latest vagaries of the Kaiser,

the dear German people, who have not been quite so *gemüthlich* as they were, ere Prussian sentiments ruled supreme over them, have many subjects to divide their attention and interests. In the good old times when life was simpler and distracting ideas were fewer, every German boy's heart beat faster and his cheek blushed very red at the sound of¹ "Schleswig Holstein's Meer unschlungen, Deutscher Sitte treue Wacht." What the Danes sing regarding it, I do not know.

Miss Disbrowe, who takes a keen interest in the matter and its more recent developments, says "About the Schleswig Holstein question there are certainly more wrongs than rights. Frederic VII., the last King of Denmark of the direct Royal line, died without direct heirs, in November 1863. The Treaty of London of May 8th, 1852, had secured to Denmark the possession of the Duchies on condition that the independence of the provinces and the rights of the German population were respected. As far as I remember there were three lines to choose from and the present King of Denmark, Christian IX. of the House of Glücksburg, was really of the third line, but the late Queen, his wife, was the representative of the elder line, being a direct descendant of the mad King Christian VII. and the unfortunate Queen Caroline, sister to King George III. of England, through their only daughter who married a Prince of Hesse, and thus two of the lines were united. Owing to the Salic Law, the Queen could not reign over the Duchies, though she might have been a sovereign in her own right in Denmark, and it was to preserve those unfortunate Duchies that her right was set aside.

The Duke of Sonderburg-Augustenburg accepted an indemnity of 2,500,000 thalers and resigned his hereditary claim to the Duchies, he being the head of the second line. His two sons repudiated this arrangement, and claimed the right of the eldest Prince Frederick to these Duchies, and, I believe, kept the indemnity. However, the sons never received their claim, whether they were in the right or not, and that clever, all-grasping Bismarck led his sovereign to

¹ See Appendix G.

urge war against poor little Denmark, and despoil her, as she has been despoiled throughout history. The war with Austria grew out of this." Mrs. Thomas's interesting little book, "Denmark, Past and Present," devotes a chapter to a sketch of Danish history, and recalls how, when Christian VIII. became King in 1839, the Slesvig Holstein question had become very pressing, and how the people also demanded a "more liberal" constitution, whilst the Holsteiners objected to the use of the Danish language to the prejudice of the German. Mrs. Thomas dwells on the demands of the Slesvig Holstein party in 1849. On the accession of Frederick VIII. Holstein was said to be made an independent State, and Slesvig part of the German Confederation. On the other hand the Municipality of Copenhagen desired to keep Slesvig for Denmark, and the King expressed his intention of joining Slesvig to his kingdom and making Holstein independent. On this, there followed an insurrection of the Slesvig Holsteiners, which Denmark sent General Hedemann to quench, whilst Prussia despatched an army to the assistance of Slesvig. The wars of 1848 followed, and in 1864 the campaign which fired my childish imagination. Prince Christian of Glücksburg had then ascended the Throne. On this occasion England tried to take on herself the office of peace-maker, but without success. The Danes lost some 8,000 men at Düppel, or, as they termed it, Dybbel. The orthography of this name puts me, I fear, beyond the pale as an impartial historian, and exhibits my German proclivities. I find, if left to myself, I write invariably Düppel and Schleswig Holstein, both of which are incorrect, of course, from a Danish point of view. Germany was conqueror in this hard-fought war, where both sides showed magnificent courage, and then, as Miss Disbrowe indicated, Lauenburg, Holstein, and Slesvig became the spoils of Austria and Prussia. But all this carries us far beyond the days with which this chapter has to do, and I only allude to it to recall the far-reaching issues included in the questions of the Duchies. Mrs. Thomas mentions the "Oldenburg Deed of Exchange" of 1767, whereby "Frederick V., representing the House of Holstein-Gottorp, agreed in 1767 to forgo his claims on Slesvig Holstein on condition

of receiving in exchange the Duchies of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst." It will be noticed that after Monsieur de Bardenfleth's letter we are able to give the copy of a curious document from Miss Disbrowe's collection, but it is signed by CHRISTIAN VII., at his Royal Residence of Christianborg in 1773, and witnessed by "A. P. von Bernstorff," or to give him his full name, Count Andreas Peter, Prime Minister to Christian VII. and nephew to the more famous Johann Hartwig Ernst Bernstorff, who was first ambassador to England, and then Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Bernstorffs were Hanoverians. We find the name at the present day in Prussia, and they have been statesmen since the days of an ancestor, who was Minister to the Elector of Hanover, George I. of England. The purpose of the document which follows Monsieur de Bardenfleth's letter is the exchange of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst against the Imperial Grand Ducal property in the Duchy of Holstein. The ramifications of this question of the Duchies in regard to Russia were very hard to disentangle. In 1762, Peter III. had threatened to make war on Denmark to recover Slesvig Holstein, which had been guaranteed to Denmark by England and France at the Peace of Stockholm in 1720. Peter was dethroned, and therefore his threats were not followed by results. In 1764, the Empress Catherine had agreed to give up the ducal portion of Slesvig to the Danish Crown. On the acceptance of the terms laid down by Christian VII. in the document, which we produce, the Czar relinquished Oldenbourg and Delmenhorst in favour of the younger members of the Gottorp family. By an arrangement made in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna, it was arranged that the King of Denmark should be elected a member of the Germanic organisation in respect to Holstein and Lauenburg. He was to be allowed to have three votes in the General Assembly, and was to be given the precedence of tenth in rank at the ordinary Diet.

Monsieur de Bardenfleth announces that the Duke of Augustenburg has received permission to marry Mademoiselle de Danneskrold, but that his children will not be eligible to succeed to the crown. Christian August, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, was born in 1798, and had succeeded to

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the dukedom six years before his marriage with Mademoiselle de Danneskrold. He took up arms against Denmark from 1848 to 1851, but as Miss Disbrowe has told us, was not averse to selling his duchies to the Danes in 1852.

From M. DE BARDENFLETH to MR. DISBROWE, then at Lucerne, on his way to take up his appointment to the Helvetican Confederation.

“Copenhagen ce 22 Août, 1820.

MON CHER DISBROWE !

Votre aimable lettre, en me prouvant que Vous pensez à nous, m'a fait un bien grand plaisir. Soyez persuadé que j'apprécie Votre amitié et que je suis très sensible à Vos bontés. Conservez les moi toujours et ne manquez pas de m'envoyer quelque fois de Vos nouvelles.

Les dernières lettres de ma femme sont du 27 Juillet. Tout était bien alors, mais ma fille n'avait pas encore accouchée. Ma femme a fait un voyage fort intéressant au Geysser.

J'espère l'avoir de retour ici vers la fin de Septembre.

Toute ma famille regrette sincèrement que Vous avez quitté le Danemark, quoique nous nous réjouissons à la carrière que cela Vous ouvre. Tous parlent de notre bon et aimable Disbrowe, même jusqu'à ma petite Marie. En fait de nouvelles nous ne sommes heureusement pas très riches. Le Duc d'Augustenburg a eu la permission d'épouser Mlle. de Danneskrold. Les enfans hériteront des titres et des terres, mais il ne paraît pas encore tout-à-fait décidé s'ils hériteront du droit à la couronne. Cela regarde aussi un peu l'Angleterre et la Russie. Louise Danneskrold est un ange de bonté qui mérite tout le bien possible, mais des raisons d'État ont aussi leur droits. Et puis la malheureuse Line Kaas.

On dit le Comte Santi promis à Agnès Rosenbach, Madame de Soubof est arrivée avec sa fille, qui chante bien et peint à la perfection en miniature.

Les Foster sont bien, et me font beaucoup d'amitié. Vous en avez apparemment des nouvelles directes, aussi je ne vous en dis rien.

Si Vous voyez Puerari faites lui bien des amitiés de ma part.

Vous savez que Nicolai est parti pour voir sa mère qui était à la mort. Il l'a vu, mais elle est morte peu de jours après son arrivée.

Poletica part pour la Russie.

Madame Mage m'a chargé de beaucoup d'amitiés pour Vous. Les Oxholm et les Bruns vont bien. Les Ferrallo en France. Pauvre Ferrallo et Oxholm ont beaucoup perdu par la faillite de la maison Meier et Trier. Vous savez peut-être que Kyberg a manqué.

La Maison De Conink a aussi dû suspendre leur payemens, mais d'une manière honorable et si on leur donne un peu de tems, personne ne perdra par eux.

Adieu, mon cher et excellent ami. Racontez moi un peu comment Vous Vous trouvez en Suisse. Soyez toujours heureux et pensez quelque fois à

Votre

Sincère ami,

BARDENFLETH.

On dit qu'Oxholm veut aller aux Indes, mais que Madame restera ici avec les enfants."

The Danish document in reference to the cession of the Duchies runs as follows :—

"Nous Chrétien VII par la grâce de Dieu, Roi de Danemark, de Norvègue, des Vandales et des Goths, Duc de Slesvic et de Holstein, de Stormarn et de Ditmarsen, Comte d'Oldenbourg et de Delmenhorst etc. à tous les habitans de la partie que le grand Duc de Russie a ci-devant possédée dans le Duché de Holstein soit en commun avec nous soit séparément, Salut ; Sçavoir faisons. Il a plu à la Divine providence de bénir d'un heureux Succès les efforts que nous avons fait pour terminer à l'aimable tous les différends qui subsistaient depuis longues années entre les Prédécesseurs et la Sérénissime Maison de Slesvic-Holstein-Gottorp, et pour affermir et assurer la tranquillité générale du Nord, de façon qu'avec

l'aide amicale et sous la médiation de la Sérénissime et très-puissante Princesse notre très-chère et très-aimée Dame-Sœur, notre amie et Voisine, Madame Cathérine II, Impératrice et Autocratice de toutes les Russies, non seulement a été heureusement rétabli une bonne intelligence durable et une étroite amitié entre Nous et le Sérénissime Prince et Seigneur Paul Petrovitz, Prince Impériale, Successeur héréditaire et Grand Duc de toutes les Russies, notre très-cher et très-aimé Cousin et Frère, mais aussi que pour éloigner tout ce qui pourrait à l'avenir causer de nouvelles mésintelligences de la Sérénissime Maison d'Oldenbourg il a été convenu et arrêté de changer nos deux Comtés d'Oldenbourg et de Delmenhorst contre la portion Grand Ducale possédée tant en commun que séparément dans le Duché de Holstein. Vu donc qu'en conséquence de cette union toute la portion que S. A. I. Le Grand Duc de toutes les Russies avait possédée jusqu'ici, tant seul qu'en commun avec nous, au Duché de Holstein et aux pays qui en dépendent, ou qui sont cédés y appartenir, a déjà été formellement cédée de sa part avec le droit de Souveraineté et tous autres droits de propriété et de Seigneurie, prérogatives et privilèges qui avaient appartenus jusqu'ici à S. A. I. et été transportée de sa part tant à nous qu'à nos Descendans mâles et à toute notre Maison Royale en ligne masculine, et comme tous les Prélates, Vassaux et habitans possessionnés de même, que tous les officiers ecclésiastiques et séculiers civiles ou militaires et en général tous les sujets et habitans des villes, bourgs et du plat pays ont reçu ordre par les Lettres Patentes de S. A. I. expédiées espressement à cet effet de nous regarder à l'avenir comme leur unique Seigneur et Souverain, nous nous attendons gracieusement en conséquence, et nous nous assurons que tous en général et chacun en particulier, ils nous reconnoîtront en conformité de leur devoir pour leur légitime Seigneur héréditaire et Souverain et nous témoigneront toute l'obéissance due et fidélité inviolable en nous prêtant à notre réquisition le serment usité de foi et d'hommage, en un mot, qu'ils se conduiront envers nous à tous égards comme il appartient à des sujets loyaux et chrétiens envers le Seigneur et Souverain que Dieu leur a donné.

En revanche nous de notre côté nous leur promettons et les assurons par les présentes Lettres Patentes pour nous et pour nos Successeurs au trône que nous accorderons notre bonté et grâce spéciale à tous les habitants des districts possédés ci-devant en commun ou séparément par le Grand Duc et qui sont entrés à présent sous notre Souveraineté exclusive, à tous les Prélates, à la Noblesse, aux possessions de biens nobles ou de chancellerie ainsi qu'à tous les autres communes et sujets, de quelque rang ou condition qu'ils soient dans les villes, bourgs et au plat-pays, que nous les ferons jouir de notre protection et de nos soins paternels, que nous les maintiendrons tous dans leurs droits bien acquis et les libertés légitimes qui leur ont été accordés par leurs anciens Souverains, que nous confirmerons tous les privilèges, exemptions et grâces dont ils jouissent, enfin que nous aurons constamment pour but d'avancer de toute manière leur bien-être, leurs avantages et leur prospérité. En fin de quoi nous avons signé les présentes de notre main, et y avons fait opposer notre Sceau.

Donné en notre Résidence Royal de Christiansbourg à Copenhague.

le 16 Novbre 1773

Signé : CHRISTIAN

A. P. VON BERNSTORFF."

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOREIGN WITNESSES.

ALTHOUGH he became very familiar with it at a later date, Stuttgart was a *terra incognita* to Mr. Disbrowe in 1822, when Sir Alexander Cockburn¹ was British Minister at the Court of Wurtemberg. Sir Alexander was followed by Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Wynn, another intimate friend of the Disbrowe family, and father of the late Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's wife. After Sir Henry came Lord Erskine, son of the celebrated Chancellor of that name. He, in his turn, was transferred to Munich in 1828, and was succeeded at Stuttgart by Mr. Disbrowe himself, who was made a Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order two years later at the Coronation of William IV., and was from thenceforth known as Sir Edward Cromwell Disbrowe.

What Sir Alexander has to say in reference to the Marquis de Ripas is of greater significance than appears on the surface. De Ripas was the son of a man who had been playing a very prominent part for many years in Neapolitan affairs. To the upheavals agitating the kingdom of Naples in the year 1820, the time at which Sir Alexander Cockburn writes, reference was made in the last chapter. The Marquis de Ripas's father, the Duke of Campochiaro, was a prominent Liberal and had been an adherent of Murat when the latter was King of Naples. By him he was sent to the Congress of Vienna, where his reception was a cold one, from the representatives of legitimism, although Metternich sought to urge on Talleyrand the obligation to recognise Murat as the

¹ Then Mr. Cockburn.

“ally” of Austria by reason of the terms of the Treaty made between France and Austria on May 30th, 1814. This Treaty enacted that France should cultivate amicable relationships with states friendly to the Austrian government. Metternich’s pronouncement and Campochiaro’s request were alike ill timed, for, hardly had they been uttered, when Europe was thunderstruck by the news of Napoleon’s landing in the Golfe de Juan. The glory of the “hundred days” had begun, and it was seen at once that no force would be strong enough to make Murat withstand the glamour of his old chief’s influence. The surmise proved true, and but for the follies of his generals, Pignaletti Strongoli and Livron, his brilliant march into Central Italy might have ended in triumph, for his personal gallantry and energy tended to secure this. As it was it ended in flight, disaster, and a violent death. When the Bourbon dynasty had been restored in Naples, the Duke of Campochiaro reappeared as a conspicuous figure in a Liberal ministry, formed owing to the compulsion put on Ferdinand I. to grant his people a constitution. This he had done, though grudgingly and reluctantly, on the 6th of July, 1820. Campochiaro became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and it is with this occasion that the circumstances adverted to by Sir Alexander have to do. Ferdinand’s position was neither comfortable nor secure, and whilst forced to dissemble and appear to fall in with the aims of the popular party, he was in fear of his life, and secretly pinning his faith to British protection by sea for his personal safety. The Powers did not look graciously on the new developments in Naples. The tide of a reactionary policy had set in too strongly for any measures of a contrary tendency to commend themselves to them. This feeling was strengthened by the fear of the Carbonari—of whom mention has been made more than once—the representatives of one of those secret societies which are bound to spring into existence whenever a craving for greater freedom has been engendered by systems of repression. The Constitution having been agreed to by Ferdinand, it became the duty of Campochiaro to inform the representatives of the Neapolitan government of the events that had taken place in different parts of the world, to call

upon them to take the oath to the new Constitution, and to acquaint the Prime Ministers of the various governments with the new order of things. This he did, as Mr. Johnson has pointed out in his admirable work, by sending Prince Cariati on a special mission to Vienna, but Metternich refused to receive him, and what was perhaps worse, as betraying the dissensions amongst the Neapolitans themselves, Prince Ruffo, the Minister from Ferdinand to Vienna, and Prince Castelluccala, in Paris, refused to take the oath. The experiences of the Duke of Campochiaro's son at Stuttgart show how general the dislike to the new development was at the various European Courts. That the dissatisfaction was not only widespread, but deep, was shown by the fact that the Duke of Serra Capriola, the personal envoy of Ferdinand to the Emperor of Austria, bringing an autograph letter, announcing that the Duke de Gallo would supersede Prince Ruffo, fared no better than¹ Cariati, and was not even admitted to the Emperor's presence. Spain, Switzerland, Sweden and Holland were the only countries which gave a favourable reception to the announcement from the Neapolitan court, and even the Emperor Alexander, once so liberally disposed but latterly under the influence of Metternich, had declined to receive Prince Cimitile as Minister, and gone so far as to administer the severe snub of saying that the affairs of Naples required the intervention of the leaders of European affairs.

The crowning of this episode was when the Duke de Gallo on his way to Vienna was arrested at Klagenfurt by Metternich's order, as the emissary of a revolutionary government with whom intercourse was impossible. Certainly the throne of Naples was no pleasant one to occupy. The government insisted that even a small state had a right to administer its own affairs, but the Powers summoned Ferdinand to the congress at Laybach as cavalierly as a recalcitrant lower boy might be summoned before the majestic Sixth Form. He was told condescendingly that it was to help him to secure the happiness of his subjects. That in his secret heart he was glad to leave Naples behind him cannot be gainsayed.

¹ During Mr. Disbrowe's stay at Copenhagen we find Count d'Ambrossio amongst his colleagues, a name familiar as that of a Neapolitan liberator.

and that the hour of his setting sail was one of infinite relief is manifest, but it must have been also one of keen humiliation. At Laybach the enunciations of the Holy Alliance had full sway, not indeed the lofty principles of Christianity guiding the conduct of kings and governments, as intended by the originators of the famous proclamation, but its terms as interpreted by state-craft for the furtherance of Metternich's intentions. And the final scene in the drama showed Ferdinand writing to the Hereditary Prince of Naples, who was representing him at home, that the Powers were determined to secure submission, whilst almost simultaneously Austrian troops were despatched to the south to enforce obedience to the decrees of the Powers. Meanwhile, the Carbonari had lost favour, a change had set in in popular opinion, the cockade of liberty was discarded in favour of the royal colours, and the Austrian troops were warmly welcomed. So ended the revolution in Naples of 1820.

From SIR ALEXANDER COCKBURN to SIR EDWARD DISBROWE.

“Stuttgart, 26 Nov., 1820.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I have to thank you for your news of the 20th as far as I could understand it, but unfortunately we are not in tune. I suspect you sound the notes in R., whereas I am in S. Let me know as soon as you can how this happens, as it might be of serious inconvenience.

The Marquis de Ripas, son of the Marquis (Duke?) of Campo Chiaro, made his appearance here the other day, apparently on his way to Munich, for which Court he has Credentials as Chargé des Affaires from Naples, but, chemin faisant, he has sounded the disposition of this, and offered his Services as a Channel for Communication between the two Governments, stating that he has other Credentials for the Court of Wurtemberg, should the King be disposed to receive him.

The bait has, however, not been taken. Immediately after the King's return the day before yesterday, the Count Wintzingrode signified to the Marquis that the King did not

think it expedient, under existing circumstances, to receive for the first time a Diplomatic Agent from the Court of Naples, and that the sooner the Marquis proceeded to his other destination the better.

He is still here, notwithstanding, and I rather suspect he will be obliged to *retrousser chemin*, as he will certainly not be received at Munich.

My private letters from England say that the Ministers will not resign, and that the Radical party is much more noisy than strong. Our States are to meet on the 1st, and warm discussions are likely to take place."

As Sir Alexander hinted, there was trouble in Wurtemberg, and this was again a legacy of Napoleonic days. The States were discontent, looking on the King's aims and desires as revolutionary, for the good Wurtembergers were extremely averse to changes. The nobles were not satisfied with the results of Napoleon's policy of mediatising, which took away sovereign rights from those who had ruled with absolute authority, in however small a way, as *reichsunmittelbar*. Such persons are known nowadays as *Standesherrn*. The Duchy of Wurtemberg was made a kingdom by Napoleon on January the first, 1806, and to make so circumscribed a territory worthy even in some degree of its new honours, it was necessary it should receive an accession of land through the mediatising of sundry counts and minor princes.

After Leipzig, King Frederick I. of Wurtemberg deserted Napoleon. His son and successor, William I., was a truly liberal-minded man, and in time his subjects learned to appreciate the sincerity of his interest in promoting ecclesiastical reforms, conceding liberty of worship, and promoting economy, whilst freeing the land from over-taxation. When Sir Alexander Cockburn wrote of difficulties with the nobles, William I. had been for years on the throne, and a new constitution had been granted to the country on the 25th of September, 1819. The King was dependent on the States in regard to legislation and taxation. There were two Chambers, the First being composed of *Standesherrn*, one-

third of whom were appointed by the King in person. The Second Chamber was composed of deputies, thirteen being of the lesser nobility, six Superintendenten and dignitaries of the Evangelical Church, with the addition of the Roman Catholic Bishop, a member of his Chapter, the Chancellor of Tübingen University, and seventy elected members from town and country, serving for six years. For the latter office any burgher of good character was eligible. The King had the privilege of choosing the President of the First Chamber; the Second Chamber elected its own. Certain privileges belonged to the King and First Chamber in regard to denouncing members of either Chamber, and as to proposing new laws. King William I.'s reign was long and also prosperous once his people had learnt to know his worth. He died in 1864.

From SIR ALEXANDER COCKBURN to SIR EDWARD DISBROWE.

“Stuttgart, Dec. 16, 1820.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

It is more than a fortnight since I wrote to you saying that I could not decipher your Dispatch of the 20th Ult., and requested you to let me know by return of post in what cipher you correspond. Not a line have I, however, since received from you, and as I have too much respect for your correspondence to be indifferent about the Contents of your said Dispatch, I am induced to write to you again to beg that you would inform me whether my letter has been duly received, &c., &c.

We have no news of importance.

The Landgravine of Hesse Homburg¹ is with the Queen Dowager at Ludwigsburg, and will probably pass the winter with Her Majesty—the Landgrave being gone to Vienna.

The Marquis de Ripas has long since returned from whence he came.

² Née Princess Elizabeth of England and her elder sister the Princess Royal.

Our States have assembled, but alas! one special branch of Legislature is wanting. The House of Lords cannot be assembled for want of members, the mediatised Nobles keep aloof, having rejected the last proposals made by the King, and under these circumstances there are not Peers enough present to form a House. *Risum teneatis, Amici?*

Ever yours,

ALEX. COCKBURN."

As all the world knows when, to the great grief of the nation, the Princess Charlotte of Wales died, her somewhat elderly uncles made haste to take to themselves wives in the interest of the succession. Till then they had been content to do without legitimate ties, and the majority of them did not evince great reluctance at forsaking their old loves. The Duke of Kent was a very praiseworthy exception in that respect, and expressed a regret and repugnance which did him credit regarding forsaking a woman, who, if she had not loved him wisely, had at least done so devotedly for some seven and twenty years. The Duke of Clarence, if he was less feeling in the way in which he turned his back on the glorious Irish eyes of beautiful Dorothy Jordan, was not unfaithful to the kindly German Princess, whom he married, a Princess of Saxe Weimar, who was afterwards known to English people as the good Queen Adelaide. As they had no children, who survived their birth for any appreciable time, it is sometimes forgotten that they had any children at all, but two daughters were born to them who died in infancy. It was on the birth of the second child, Elizabeth Georgina Adelaide, which took place on December the 10th, 1820, that the burgomaster in charge of the Federal Directory at Zurich, Monsieur de Wyss, and the Chancellor of the Confederation, Monsieur Mousson, sent their formal congratulations to George IV. Had this little Princess lived, she would have sat on the throne, so ably filled by Queen Victoria, but she died on the 4th of March, 1821. The official congratulations of the Confederation were conveyed as follows:—

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“ Monsieur

Edward Disbrowe, Chargé d’Affaires de sa Majesté le Roi
du Royaume-Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d’Irlande.

Près la Confédération Suisse.

Les Bourgmestres et Conseil d’État du Canton de Zürich, Directoire de la Confédération Suisse, ont reçu et se sont empressés de transmettre aux États du Corps Helvétique la lettre de sa Majesté le roi George IV, que Monsieur le Chargé d’Affaires de la Grande Bretagne a bien voulu leur transmettre par son office du 3 de Janvier, et qui contient la nouvelle de l’heureuse naissance de la Princesse Élisabeth, fille de S.A.R. le Duc de Clarence. Ils ont l’honneur de répondre à cette agréable notification, et prient Monsieur Disbrowe de vouloir bien placer leur réponse sous les yeux de sa Majesté. En ouvrant ainsi avec la Légation Britannique une correspondance que le Directoire fédéral soutiendra toujours avec le plus grand plaisir les Bourgmestres et Conseil d’État de Zürich s’empressent d’offrir à Monsieur Disbrowe les assurances de leur considération.

Au nom des Bourgmestres et Conseil d’État du Canton de Zürich, Directoire Fédéral.

Le Bourgmestre en Charge,
de WYSS

Zürich, le 6 Janvier 1821.

Le Chancelier de la Confédération,
B. MOUSSRON.”

Two letters, in a handwriting with which I had grown very familiar, recall to me that faithful chronicler of passing events at St. Petersburg, Lord Walpole. It is restful to come once more across his large legible writing, although not one of the diplomatists of the north has indulged in the hieroglyphics of the children of George III., or still less of the kindly Sir Charles Stuart, who ran Dean Stanley very close in the art of writing in such a way as to conceal thought, and whom we shall meet again very shortly. These last letters from Lord

Walpole hail from Töplitz and Vienna, and he is indulging in thoughts of home, but not unmindful of giving his friend Disbrowe such bits of political news as are likely to be acceptable to a diplomatist located in quiet little Helvetia from a *confrère* writing from gayer centres.

The most important items in these two letters of Lord Walpole are his references to the trial of Queen Caroline, and we are in the position to offer our readers some most interesting testimony in regard to the work of seeking out the witnesses, the difficulties encountered in doing so, and the wounding of Colonel Browne, as described by himself. The task of dealing with various points connected with these matters was entrusted to Mr. Disbrowe, which gave a further proof of the confidence placed in him by his official superiors. The various letters and notes tell their own story. Whether the Landamman of Tessin wished to be unfriendly is to me a doubtful point. Personally I am inclined to think that he wanted merely to magnify his office. Such is what I read between the lines of the punctiliously courteous letter, which he addresses to Mr. Disbrowe. Official offence is very easily given on the Continent. It is not with Queen Caroline's innocence or guilt that we have now to do. It is with some of the witnesses and with those who came in touch with them. Much has been said and written about foreign testimony having been manufactured against her. It is pleasant to see this so thoroughly refuted by the private instructions to those intrusted with the delicate task of gathering evidence, and to note the uncompromising declaration that the Queen was to have fair play in taking such steps as she thought needful for her own defence. We produce all the information which we possess on the matter, excepting a second semi-official letter from Geneva, which is on the same lines as the one from the Landamman of Tessin, but evidently from an official personally known to and friendly to Mr. Disbrowe. It contains nothing of importance. Ere passing to the consideration of this interesting subject, we will follow Lord Walpole to Töplitz and Vienna. His second letter leads the way to the subject of the foreign witnesses in the Queen's Trial.

From LORD WALPOLE to MR. DISBROWE.

“TÖPLITZ,

Sept. 12th, 1820.

DEAR DISBROWE,

Yours of the 22nd July reached me at Dresden, where I arrived on the 3rd, and stayed till the 11th. We got here on that evening. I purpose leaving it for Munich on the 25th, thence through the Tyrol to Venice and Rome, so that a visit to you is out of the question for this season, though not improbable for next Summer.

I will follow your counsel relative to Torvaldsen and write to Foster. The artist had been to Dresden, but was gone to Poland when I got there. I am told from some, lately come from Italy, that I have little chance even of a *replica*, time does not so much signify.

The five Powers are about to fulminate a manifesto against armies in general for what those of Spain and Naples have lately affected. C'est une beurrè de plus. I can only hope the military may not reply, the best policy would be reduction.

There are few persons here. Bonnet¹ from Berlin, Prince Razamoffski and le Prince Biron. We had a chasse to-day, tolerable. Clary² complains much of want of game this year, there seemed to be a good quantity.”

“Sept. 23rd.

I have delayed sending this, as your residence was ambulante till the beginning of Octr. By letters from Ireland one finds, that the Lords have adjourned only to the 3. of Octb, when the Queen enters on her defence, no appearance of riot or disturbance but the public mind in a feverish state. Brougham has conducted himself foolishly and has been beaten and lost ground. Since the beginning of this month, we have another revolution, that of Portugal. I have no news from the India Board, but expect soon to hear of the Chinese claiming their ancient liberties, and Representative Government.

¹ Bonnay.

² Probably a brother of Queen Désirée, wife of Bernadotte.

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Instead of proceeding to Rome we are about to leave this for Vienna, there probably to spend the winter; should I be obliged to return for the H. of Commons, the journey will be so much shorter, that I shall prefer being there, where I can easily hear what is going on, to the distant solitude of the Papal Capital—if I can be of use to you there, give me a line under cover to Stewart, and pray let me hear from you now and then.

Yrs ever

Very sincerely

WALPOLE.”

“*Vienna, Jan. 21st, 1821.*”

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I leave this to-morrow night, and shall drop it as I pass through Francfort on my way to England to attend the H. of Commons, for which I am less inclined since Canning's secession—it is probable that nothing will be done before the beginning of Feb^{ry} in consequence of Castlereagh's vacating his seat, on the event (expected by our last advice) of L^d Londonderry's¹ death. L^d Stewart starts to-night, after signing some deeds relative to his marriage as his wife is just come of age.

I believe nothing has yet been done at Laybach² but old P^r Ruffo is the Minister, the Duc de Gallo not being allowed to approach nearer than Göritz. We talk alternately of war and peace, but I believe it is decided that whether war or peace, Austrian troops are to accompany the King of Naples, and to remain there for a term of years, en attendant, the military which was in a dreadful state of equipment has already cost some millions sterling, and who to pay les faux frais, I cannot discover. You will already have heard of poor Col. Browne

¹ He died in April, 1821, and was succeeded by his celebrated son, Viscount Castlereagh, who died by his own hand, broken down by stress of anxiety, and not as Nesselrode puts it, “yielding to an attack of spleen.”

² The Congress begun at Troppau and continued at Laybach in 1821. Its object, like that of the Carlsbad Congress, was to seek to stay the tide of revolution and reforms, which had set in in southern and central Europe.

having been dreadfully wounded at Milan, there are great hopes that he is doing well, but neither of the assassins has yet been taken, one is suspected to be an ex-courier of her Majesty.

You know how jealous the Austrian Govern^t is of any thing like information reaching the knowledge of their subjects, and will not therefore wonder at my having none to tell you. This place has been dull as yet and not likely to acquire much gaiety. Lords Gower and Wilton with a few English are here.

I am making a collection of engravings of the principal personages at the Congress, and shall be much obliged to you if you could procure me a good likeness and the best print of the Landamman and his representative here at that time. I am not in haste to receive them, and shall be content to wait any *Courier* opportunity you may have of sending them, but should be glad to know if you can obtain them for me. My stay in London will probably not exceed six weeks, if during that time I can be of use to you, let me know, directing through Bandinelle, Foreign Office.

Yrs.

WALPOLE."

Lord Walpole's remarks concerning the Powers' manifesto regarding armies and his allusions to Prince Ruffo and the Duc de Gallo, must be read in the light of what has already been said in reference to the Kingdom of Naples, both in this and the previous chapter.

From the EARL of CLANWILLIAM to MR. DISBROWE.

London, Aug. 10/20.

DEAR DISBROWE,

As I believe you are not personally acquainted with Browne I have introduced you to him in my private Letter.

With regard to the Messenger, the bearer of this Letter, He may afterwards be placed at Col. Browne's disposal.

The fourth enclosure to Lord Castlereagh's Letter is not much. It is indeed not material, as it merely stated that of which you are already apprized, namely that H.M. Gov^t. has taken Every precaution for the future protection of witnesses, and that Col. B. was to hold the highest language on the subject: it will be the easier now to reassure the people, as there are of course numbers of witnesses already in this country, none of whom have in any way been molested.

I remain,

Dear Disbrowe

Very truly yrs

CLANWILLIAM.

E. DISBROWE, Esq., Lucerne."

It will be observed that this first is an informal letter from Lord Clanwilliam to Mr. Disbrowe as a personal friend; a later one signed by his Lordship contains merely formal instructions from the Foreign Office. The result of the introduction to Colonel Browne has been to put us in possession of the fullest details as to the nature of the brutal attack made upon the latter. That there were influences at work damaging to the Queen's cause is proved by this, and also by the case of Louise Dumont, a witness who figured largely at the trial, though it seems to me less clearly proven in regard to Antonio Rossi. Let our readers judge. It is not likely that the Landamman of Tessin would have been directly approached from England in the matter. Where any public event causes party feeling to run so high as did the trial of Queen Caroline, there must necessarily be much unjustifiable behaviour on the part of many partisans who lack the restraining power of good breeding and education. It must also be remembered that the Queen had many friends amongst a race, which is as hot-headed as it is lovable, and an Italian of the lower classes never needs much persuasion to have resort to the knife or stiletto. Even the despicable attack on Colonel Browne may have been little more than an ebullition of passion and a sudden desire for revenge on the part of friends of Queen Caroline's valet, Bergamo, who resented the

British Government's enquiries, and desired to vent their wrath on the person of their agent. There seems no necessity to seek for a deeper reason.

From COLONEL BROWNE to MR. DISBROWE.

“MILAN, 21st August, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

The Messenger Basset brought me your Letter of the 17th Inst. only this morning. It has been thought most advisable, under the circumstance stated in that Letter, that Mr. Larpent should go to Lugano, taking with him the Advocate Vimerali, who was the person that originally persuaded Rossi to go to England. He will deliver the Letter to you. My presence in Lugano would of itself have defeated your recommendation, that the whole of this business should be arranged as quietly and secretly as possible. Mr. Larpent will probably arrive about the same time with yourself, so that the suggestion contained in your Letter will have been attended to as closely as possible.

It is needless to say anything on the amazing importance of the Departure of these persons for England, as Mr. Larpent will explain it to you so much better than my letter could do.

I inclose the sort of passport you probably wished to have, in the event of your judging it expedient to come to Milan. Your name has been purposely misspelt, and the words “Gentilhomme Anglais,” added, which is probably what you would have wished.

To have requested you to take the trouble of coming here in the first instance would have had the double bad effect of coming twice and putting you to unnecessary inconvenience.

I remain

Dr Sir
very faithfully
y^r Serv^t

J. H. BROWNE.”

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The EARL OF CLANWILLIAM *to* MR. DISBROWE.

“Foreign Office

Aug. 23. 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,

In addition to the instructions which Lord Castlereagh has already sent to you, I am directed to inform you, that it is deemed desirable to procure for Lt.-Colonel Browne and Mr. Larpent, employed at Milan to collect evidence for carrying on the Investigation of the Queen's Conduct at present pending before Parliament, the Co-operation of the Swiss Consul in that town for the purpose of inducing the witnesses from Lugano and other parts of Italian Switzerland to come forward in evidence.

It is the wish of His Majesty's government, that you should forthwith make a confidential and private communication to this effect to the Swiss Authorities, requesting them to empower their Consul at Milan to use his good offices and endeavours in rendering Lt.-Colonel Browne and Mr. Larpent the assistance, which they surely require.

As His Majesty's Government are equally desirous that the Queen should enjoy similar facilities in the arrangement of Her Defence, you may make a request to the same effect in favour of Her Majesty, should any person in Her Employ make, on Her part, any such application.

As soon as you shall have executed these instructions, you will lose no time in acquainting Col. B. and M. L. with the result and enable them to act upon it.

I remain my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours

CLANWILLIAM.”

The following fragment is signed by Lord Castlereagh; the context has been destroyed :

“As the Trial commences in a few days and will probably in the prosecution not last many weeks, it is most material that you should avoid and obviate every possible delay.

I am my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours

CASTLEREAGH.”

“ BELLINZONA, ce 24 Août, 1820.

LE LANDAMMAN ET CONSEIL D'ÉTAT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE
ET DU CANTON DU TESSIN.

À son Excellence Mons. De Disbrowe, Chargé d'Affaires de
Sa Majesté Britannique en Suisse.

EXCELLENCE !

En réponse à la Note de S.E. du 24 Courant et d'après les explications confidentielles qui ont eu lieu ce matin, le Conseil d'État se réfère en substance aux principes qu'il a énoncé dans sa première Note d'hier, savoir, qu'il ne mettra aucun entrave aux démarches que S.E. pourrait faire, ou faire faire par Mons. L'Avocat Substitué du Procureur du Roy, à l'objet d'obtenir les renseignements et les dépositions, que le Gouvernement Britannique désire, et que même il prendra toutes les mesures pour les appuyer dans la ligne des lois et dans la sphère de son autorité.

Et pour s'expliquer plus précisément sur l'interpellation soutenue dans la seconde Note de S.E. en date d'hier, qui tend à savoir *jusqu'à quel point on peut étendre ses mesures*, nous avons l'honneur de vous assurer :

1. Que dans le cas où il plut à S.E. de faire citer formellement devant nos tribunaux les individus en question pour les contraindre légalement à exécuter les engagements qu'ils ont pris, le Conseil d'État donnera les ordres nécessaires pour qu'il soit donné sommairement suite à l'instance, et que justice soit rendue avec la plus grande promptitude.

2. Que si cette mesure n'entre pas dans les vues de S.E. sur la demande expresse le Conseil d'État se réserve d'employer dans le manière qu'il trouvera plus conforme à la délicatesse de l'affaire, tout ce qui pourra contribuer sans blesser nos Lois, à faire connaître à S.E. tout le prix que le Gouvernement du Tessin met à appuyer vos instances et en faisant connaître à ceux qui aurt pu prendre engagement envers le Gouvernement Britannique, la convenance de les remplir.

Nous prions Votre Excellence d'agréer les Sentiments de notre haute considération.

Pour le Conseil d'État

Le Landamman en Charge

[Signature absolument illisible].

From COLONEL BROWNE to MR. DISBROWE.

“MILAN, 30th August, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,

I received last night your letter of the 27th Inst., and enclose you herewith the Memorandum of Mr. V.¹ on the subject to which you alluded in your Note by Mr. Larpent. Mr. V. also adds his opinion, that the same thing was repeated by Antonio Rossi, in your presence.

Of the evil effects of the Magistrate's Councils and Interference in this business there can be little doubt.

Having this Day received a private communication that Antonio Rossi was anxious to see me (though *not* at Lugano) I have expressed my willingness to receive him here, I am in expectation of his arrival in a day or two. A Question having been asked me, at the same time, whether in the event of his consenting to return to Paris, I would object to his undertaking the journey alone, leads me to somewhat of a faint hope, that he may yet be persuaded to move, although in real truth, after all the tricks and evasions that have been practised, I cannot say that I am very sanguine.

Nothing, however, will tend more to facilitate operations here than your perseverance with your friend, whose advice has evidently much weight.

Under these Circumstances, therefore, I think you will agree with me, that any near *meeting* with you *for the present* would not have the effect of accelerating our common object, but that the continuance of your kind exertions and private influence at the seat of Government may be more efficacious, in which opinion I am confirmed by the judgment of Mr. Larpent coinciding with my own. I shall write to you again as to the ground we may gain.

I had already done myself the pleasure of taking steps, relative to your Neapolitan Gazettes. I am now happy to find that they are rendered unnecessary by your receipt of those ordered by yourself. I beg you will not hesitate to command me, on any occasion, where I could be useful to you.

¹ Vimerali.

We have sad accounts from Sicily,¹ of the 18th instant, and there is every appearance of the determination of one-half of that Island to exterminate the other. The 1st Battalion of Austrian Reinforcements to this Country passed through this place on their road to Pavia, on the 26th Inst. Another Battalion will arrive here to-morrow, and the Roads in the Tyrol and Carinthia are literally covered with Troops. Every thing here *is* and *has* been uniformly tranquil, nor has there been the *smallest symptom* of the Contrary.

Believe me,

My Dear Sir, very truly and faithfully

yrs.,

J. B. BROWNE."

From SIR CHARLES STUART to MR. DISBROWE.

"Paris, 4th Sept., 1820.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

I am to acknowledge your several Letters up to the day which have been duly forwarded to England.

I think it right you should be apprized that I sent an agent of the French Police after a person named Rossi, who with two other witnesses subpoenaed to appear before the House of Lords turned back from B—— (?) and pretended fear of the Populace at Dover.

The agent followed them all the way to Lugano, where having failed in persuading them to go to England, he transmitted a report of their proceedings to the French Government.

On the enclosed extract of this report you will see, that their refusal to go to England is partly to be attributed to the interference of the Landamman of the Canton Tessin, whose conduct ought to be represented in such a manner to the Swiss Authorities as may prevent such unfriendly behaviour in future.

Ever yrs.,

C. STUART."

¹ It will be seen that Austria was carrying out the threats of Laybach to the bitter end.

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This next is an unsigned declaration in not very free Italian. It appears to come from Colonel Browne, being written on his paper, which was supplied by Messrs. Dobbs & Co., London stationers to the Prince Regent, and made for them in 1816 by Smith and Allnutt, a Kentish firm.

“Rossi Antonio mi ha dichiarato replicatamente che il Landaman Mogi gli ha detto assertamente chè avea fatto malissimo di partire, che se si fosse trovato egli presente non gli avrebbe permesso giammai’ di abbandonare la Patria, e che al presente che si era ripatriato, non doveva partire mai più non essendo cosa convenevole a persone oneste l’arischiarsi si in simile affare.”

From COLONEL BROWNE to MR. DISBROWE.

“Milan, 20th January, 1821.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

You will have heard, I am sure with much pain, of the outrage which was offered me here on the night of the 8th Inst. Thanks to prompt and able surgical assistance, the best medical attendance, & the unremitting kindness of numerous friends, I believe I am in a fair way of recovery. The wounds in my head, of which three were deep, are already nearly healed. That in the left breast, is attended with less pain than heretofore, owing to the constant application of poultices.

The troublesome cough, which annoyed me for the first seven or eight days, has ceased, and I breathe more freely and better. The healing of this latter wound, is however slow, and tedious, owing to an exfoliation in the rib, on which the stiletto struck, and which will probably make its appearance through the wound in the course of a few days. I sat up in my chair for an hour yesterday, for the first time, and mean to repeat the experiment to-day. Should symptoms continue as favourable as they are at present, I hope to manage, so as to be able to be in my carriage and begin my Journey to England, by easy stages, in the course of 15 or 20 days.

The indignation which has been excited here in all ranks

by this atrocious act, can only be equalled by the kindness I have received since its perpetration. No attempt was made to rob me, although I wore my watch and had money in my pockets.

The police are all activity, and 12 or 13 examinations have led to traces, which they confidently hope may hasten discovery. An immense reward has been promised, and I think that were it accompanied also with a promise of pardon, one of the assassins might be tempted to impeach the other.

I have received your letter with its enclosure by the Courier Joseph.

The Editor of the L**** Gazette, has behaved so ill of late, that unless it is your particular wish, I will not send him the Letter you destined for him, and would even recommend you to cut him altogether. I will keep your Letter however by me, until I hear from you on this subject.

With regard to news, I understand that Austria means to cross the Po in three strong columns on the 26th Inst. What further intelligence can you expect from a poor Devil, who has been on his back in bed, for the last 12 days?

Believe me,

My dear Disbrowe,

very sincerely yours,

J. H. BROWNE."

There was certainly as stated, no unfriendliness on the part of the Geneva authorities in regard to Mr. Disbrowe's search for witnesses. What was asked of the Genevese Municipal administration was to supply the British Legation at Berne with a list of the strangers, who had sojourned in their city during the past year. They were quite ready to furnish this list, but owned that so little notice was taken of unsuspecting strangers, that to give details regarding these persons would be practically impossible. A like spirit is manifested in an official letter from Lucerne, introducing Mr. Disbrowe to the Landamman of Tessin, which, not to interrupt the flow of the narrative, we place after the correspondence with Colonel Browne, as also a police report regarding Rossi. This

concludes the correspondence respecting the British Government's efforts to secure witnesses. To these we add a note from the Bavarian Minister to the Swiss Confederation, addressed to Mr. Disbrowe, forwarding a note referring to a suspicious circumstance regarding the opposing faction.

“Tessin,

Landamman et Conseil d'État.

Lucerne, le 19 *Août* 1820.

Très honorés Seigneurs,

Chers et fidèles Confrères,

Monsieur Disbrowe, Chargé d'Affaires de S. M. Britannique en Suisse, se rend dans le Canton du Tessin pour une affaire importante et délicate dont il vous donnera connaissance en vous remettant cette lettre.

Assurer la marche des Autorités judiciaires et seconder leurs actions légales est un principe de la civilisation Européenne et du Droit des Gens. Dans ce point de vue, la demande de Monsieur le Chargé d'Affaires d'Angleterre nous paraît naturelle autant que juste. Elle mérite d'ailleurs tous les regards possibles comme provenant d'un État dont l'amitié est précieuse au Corps Helvétique. En conséquence le Directoire fédéral se fait un devoir de vous engager, très Honorés Seigneurs, à prendre cette demande en grande considération. Persuadés d'avance de vos dispositions favorables et sans entrer ici dans d'ultérieurs développements, nous terminons cette lettre par les assurances de notre très haute considération et de notre affection fédérale.

Suivant les signatures de S. E. Monsieur Vincent de Ruttiman, Avoyé en charge de la Ville et République de Lucerne, Directoire féd. et du Chancelier de la Conféd.

Mousson.”

Extract of a letter from the agent of the Police, sent after Rossi and his companions to Lugano.

“Enfin qu'il avait reçu une forte semonce de Monsieur Le Landamman du Canton de Tessin, auquel il appartient, pour s'être absenté sans sa participation, surtout pour une affaire de ce genre, et en cas de récidive, il n'en serait pas quitte à si bonne marché.”

This fragment may have been enclosed by Sir Charles Stuart, being in harmony with the contents of his own letter, to Mr. Disbrowe. We have no positive proof of it.

We come now to the letter from the Bavarian Minister dealing with what he looks upon evidently as an attempt to tamper with witnesses by Queen Caroline's supporters, yet from the enclosure written by the Chevalier de Moustiers, that is non proven and the affairs of the unfortunate Queen Caroline seem to have lost nothing by gossip.

This letter bears the address.

“ À Monsieur

Monsieur le Chevr. Disbrowe, Chargé d’Affaires de sa Majesté Britannique auprès de la Confédération Suisse.
Berne.”

From LE CHEVALIER D’OLÉVY to MR. DISBROWE.

“ Orny, le 22 Octobre 1820.

Monsieur et très cher Collègue !

Je viens d’apprendre un fait qui concerne l’un des principaux et des plus remarquables témoins, qui ait été entendu contre la Reine. Il s’agit de Mlle. Louise Dumont, née à Colombier sur Morges, Canton de Vaud ; vous savez, Monsieur, que dans le Cours des Interrogatoires et des Débats, le Ministère a produit au Sujet de Mlle. Dumont un Certificat de bonne Vie et mœurs. Ce Certificat lui avait été delivré par le Ministre du St.-Evangile nommé Perey, chez lequel elle avait demeuré, soit pour son instruction soit comme ouvrière. Depuis que les témoins pour la Reine ont été convoqués devant la Chambre haute, un Courier extraordinaire a été expédié par le parti et les avocats de la Reine, à ce même Monsieur Perey, aujourd’hui Pasteur à Romain-moutiers, qui a été chargé d’engager cet ecclésiastique à revoquer, ou du moins confirmer par un nouveau Certificat, celui qu’il avait pu donner dans le premier moment d’après des renseignements antécédents. Monsieur Perey s’est refusé avec constance à cette condescendance, et le Courier est reparti sans avoir pu corrompre ni altérer les dépositions véridiques du Pasteur et

sans pouvoir lui arracher l'acte en quelque sorte contradictoire qu'il espérait en obtenir, pour atténuer l'effet que peuvent avoir produit sur les Juges et les opinions les dépositions de Mlle. Dumont. Ce fait m'a paru tellement important pour vous, par le prix que pourrait y attacher le Ministère, que j'ai fait bien une excursion à Romain-moutiers, mais je n'y ai pas trouvé les connaissances que mon hôte m'avait indiquées, de manière qu'il m'a été impossible de bien vérifier le fait, je viens d'en écrire à quelqu'un et dès que j'aurai demain réponse, j'en transcriverai le Résultat à mon hôte le brave Conseiller d'État de Gingins, qui sera charmé de faire Votre connaissance, veut bien aussi m'assister pour tirer la chose au clair.

Ce 23 Octobre au Soir.

Je viens de recevoir la réponse ci-jointe de la personne respectable que j'ai chargée de la Commission. Vous y verrez, mon cher Collègue, ce qu'elle a découvert. Au reste la circonstance en elle-même est déjà digne d'attention, car ce n'est pas pour faire une visite de politesse que ces divers messagers ont couru chez le Pasteur et la mère de Louise Dumont.

Tout à vous, le Chevalier

D'OLÉVY."

The following is a copy of the enclosure sent with the above. It is addressed

"À son Excellence

Monsieur la chevalier d'Olévy, Ministre de sa Majesté le roy de Bavière, près la confédération Suisse,

À ORNY.

Port payé."

It is in a fairly educated hand. The flap of the sheet of writing paper on which it is written is sealed with a seal, which suggests the use of the top of a thimble, in strong contrast to the imposing coat of arms which sealed the Bavarian Minister's own letter.

To the CHEVALIER D'OLÉVY, Bavarian Minister to the Swiss Confederation, from the CHEVALIER DE MOUSTIERS.

“ MON RESPECTABLE AMI,

La personne qui s'est présenté chez M. le Ministre Perey se nomme Edouard Barry, gentilhomme Anglais ; il était accompagné d'un Monsieur Penèvre de Morges. Il avait une procuration signée de la reine d'Angleterre, recommandée par des familles anglaises respectables ; il n'a point cherché à faire changer le témoignage de bonne vie et mœurs, que Monsieur le Ministre Perey avait délivré antérieurement à Louise Dumont ; on m'a dit aussi qu'il s'était présenté chez la mère Dumont, qui lui a dit d'avoir brûlé tous ses papiers. Voilà mon brave ami donc ce que j'ai pu découvrir, je puis vous certifier que M. le Ministre Perey est incapable de se laisser séduire par aucun moyen.

Recevez tous mes regrets de ne pouvoir aller moi-même vous rendre compte de la commission dont je me suis chargé, mais je n'aurois pu vous en dire d'avantage.

Croyez, je vous prie, que personne ne vous est plus dévouée et ne vous aime plus que moi,

LE CHE. DE MOUSTIERS.

Romain-moutier, ce 23 Octobre 1820.”

CHAPTER VIII

TO CLOSE AN EPOCH

IN the fairy stories the traditional winding up leaves the principal *dramatis personæ* living happily ever afterwards. We do not find this to have been the case with the nations who sought to settle the affairs of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. Napoleon, as the arch offender, had been consigned to St. Helena, there, as Miss Disbrowe emphasises, to be held in durance vile, not as the prisoner exclusively of England, who received all the blame, but of the Allies. And at St. Helena, he, who had lorded it over princes, breathed his last on May the 5th, 1821. Peace might be murmured o'er his ashes, but peace had not come to Europe, being indeed seldom absolutely unbroken in the twenty years which succeeded his death and the bringing of his remains to his beloved France by Louis Philippe's sailor son, the Prince de Joinville.

The gentle little Scottish lady who supplied me with the reminiscences gathered from her father concerning the Peninsular War, has described to me also in this summer of 1905 what she recollects of the funeral procession of Napoleon, witnessed by her at Paris on the 15th of December, 1840. On that historic occasion, on reaching the Invalides, the Prince de Joinville made obeisance to Louis Philippe, saying, "Sir, I have brought back the body of Napoleon to France in compliance with your orders," and the King replied, "I receive it in the name of France." Then General Bertrand, at the King's bidding, took Napoleon's sword from the hands of Marshal Soult, laid it reverently on the coffin, and the last solemn service began.

My little lady recalls the prodigious crowd¹ of mourners of all classes, but notably of poor people from the country. The stream of representatives of different regiments seemed to her never ending, although the cold passed description. In the squares of Paris and at many of the street corners, fires had been lighted to save the soldiers from being frozen to death. "Yes, my dear, some of our party went out to see it all, and I myself watched the procession from a window. The French said they owed much to Napoleon in regard to education and religious freedom," says my faithful chronicler, who has a good memory for traditions of the past, even to those concerning her great-great-grandfather,² Lord Kellie, whose handsome brass-bound despatch-box she points to as having been with him "out in the forty-five."

I look upon the year 1822 as marking an epoch in European affairs; after it, the political atmosphere changed and life became as I said in my preface more distinctly modern. With that year, too, some eminent makers of history passed away, whilst old age creeping on forced others into retirement. As we know, Lord Castlereagh, so closely connected with the events which brought about the fall of Napoleon, took his own life in a moment of deep depression, which was brought on by over-work and anxiety³; Prince Hardenberg, having passed his three score years and ten, was called away; and Baron vom Stein's chief work for the regeneration of Germany was done, though he did not disappear entirely from the scene. Prussian was gradually replacing Austrian influence in German politics, whilst Austria had found herself driven to seek her chief support from her Slavonic possessions. We may not feel in sympathy with Prussian arrogance and brusquerie, we may look at the tone of "*ich lasse mir Nichts gefallen*" as distinctly pagan, but we must allow that the aggrandisement of Prussia has proved a safeguard to the minor German states against the encroachments of both

¹ It has been computed at over 500,000.

² The fifth Earl, a devoted adherent of the House of Stuart, included in the Act of Attainder but eventually set at liberty.

³ He died suddenly at Genoa on his way to the Congress of Vienna, where the affairs of Spain and Greece were to be made the subject of discussion.

France and Russia. Towards those small principalities Prussia has acted like some elder brother, who, even though he may occasionally play the bully himself, will not allow any outsider to assume the part. Germany may not always feel the yoke easy, yet her debt is no small one to the House of Hohenzollern. The miserable little "royal Æsop" as Frederick the Great designated his great-grandfather the insignificant Elector of Brandenburg, got himself recognised as King of Prussia in 1701 by dispensing bribes (notably to the Jesuits) of some six millions of thalers. This was not edifying, but when King William of Prussia was acclaimed Emperor of Germany a hundred and seventy years later, it was because the Prussian Monarchy had lived down the story of the past, and justified its existence. Frederick William IV. declined the Imperial crown in 1849 when offered him by that German Parliament, which was the offspring of the revolution, saying he could only accept it at the hands and by the will of his peers. Twenty-two years later the action of the German princes at Versailles and his brother's acclamation as Kaiser proved the correctness of his conduct. Ere this came to pass, Germany went through a period of storm and stress, interspersed with intervals of calm in which she cultivated the arts of peace, and when rich treasures were added to her literature. Throughout the days of trouble, there were men, amongst her sons, to their credit be it said, who did all in their power to foster the sentiment of national oneness. It was to such a desire, that the delightful Germanic Museum at Nuremberg and other like efforts owed their origin. The principle underlying their foundation was, what Germans achieved of greatness, Germans may achieve again and yet out-do. Stein had not been unmindful of this in his retirement, and had given the impetus in 1819 to the forming of a society at Frankfurt-on-the-Main for investigating and publishing all that was most inspiring in the past history of his country, the after results being the appearance of many volumes of the "*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*." Somewhat later Hans Baron von und zu Aufsess devoted his strength and means to a similar undertaking. In 1824 he began to collect together many precious illuminated

parchments, curious prints and pictures, rare old gold and silver ornaments, carved altar figures, cunningly wrought pieces of armour and mediæval furniture, all of them quaint relics of the past. With these he formed the nucleus of the Germanic Museum. This was from no mere fancy for antiquities, but to make an object-lesson for his contemporaries and to remind them by visible proofs of what their forefathers had accomplished in war and peace. The desire to know and understand these things had been slowly growing in his and other hearts, wrung by the unhappy state of Germany after 1815. Talleyrand's crafty coining of the word "legitimism" had set a ball rolling which gathered much evil for Germany in its course. Under this new guise, he had been carrying out the Napoleonic principles of sowing discord amongst the different Teutonic principalities, having thoroughly agreed with Buonaparte's belief, that the strength of France lay in the disunion of Germany. The hints he had scattered abroad, had not proved unfruitful, and after the so-called war for freedom, German politicians and sovereigns adopted a reactionary policy. The fear of revolution seized them, and they shrank before the thought of the coming democracy. Young ardent souls, who had gone forth to fight for home and Fatherland, found many galling restrictions to their liberty, when peace was restored. At Aix-la-Chapelle the Moldavian Prince Stourdza had called the attention of the Congress to the revolutionary spirit existing at the German universities. For some time a strong tide of Liberalism had set in at Jena and other academic centres, the students, who formed it might be known by a similarity in dress, loose ties and turn-down shirt collars. The movement was essentially patriotic in tone by no means irreligious and of sound morality, though those in authority were inclined to look askance at it. Stourdza's address to the Aix Congress caused widespread indignation, and Kotzebue, the Russian statesman and delightful playwright, added fuel to the flame by publishing cynical articles and denouncing the German students in his secret communications to St. Petersburg. His ill-advised conduct cost his own life and that of Sand, a quiet young fellow and theological student, who,

seized with momentary madness, took upon himself the part of avenger of his comrades' outraged feelings, travelled to Mannheim and stabbed Kotzebue to the heart. The office of executioner is hereditary in the Grand Duchy of Baden. When there as a child, I remember flying in an agony of anxiety to a veterinary surgeon, to seek advice for a puppy in grief. The old man was most kind and helpful, and doctored my pet's eye successfully, but I learnt afterwards with dismay, that he was not only a "vet" but also the executioner! He himself, had never been called upon to act officially, but his father had cut off the head of poor misguided Sand, and I have often passed a summer house, standing on a hill near Heidelberg, which that father had erected out of *the wood of the scaffold on which Sand had perished*. Ghastly coloured prints representing his last hours still command a considerable price in Germany.

Kotzebue's son was a diplomatist and married a charming Bessarabian Princess of Cantacuzéne. My mother took me several times to see her. She gave us the best Russian Caravan tea, brought overland to preserve its flavour. To me it tasted like hay, but drinking it with a slice of lemon floating on the top was a delightful novelty to my inexperienced young mind, and reconciled me to what I deemed the nasty taste. I remember, that after a while the Princess grew very white and said at last, to my mother, "May I light a cigarette? I have felt quite ill for the want of it, but feared to shock your English ideas." *Nous avons changé tout cela*. To old-fashioned folk it is a pity, and no attraction, to find their fellow country-women filling their club rooms with smoke. It is inborn in Russian ladies to roll cigarettes neatly and smoke them gracefully. With women born this side of the Channel, it nearly always looks acquired.

The younger Kotzebue had an only child as hopelessly ill as that of the centurion of old. Doctors proved broken reeds. In despair the father went though unwittingly and chiefly to satisfy his wife, to a clairvoyant at Strasburg, taking with him a little sock, belonging to his boy. The man was in a trance, when the diplomatist arrived, and the sock

was laid on his hand. After a while he said, "This is a most difficult case—a very sick child with the nervousness of his mother and the irritable temper of his father. Write." An assistant began to take down his words, and they proved to be a recipe for a herbal bath into which the child was to be put. Monsieur de Kotzebue returned home not sure that he had not been on a fool's errand; however, the experiment was tried and the child saved. The doctors said the clairvoyant's recipe was an old one, long forgotten, though held in high repute in bygone days.

The man was not always equally successful. On another occasion, he announced that a lady's valuable eyeglass chain had been taken by a gipsy, whom he saw in a vision disappearing across the frontier, but the lady's chain had slipped between her trinket box and its outside cover, where in course of time it was duly found.

And now to return to graver matters, a Congress was held at Carlsbad in 1819 at which the state of the German universities was closely discussed. Associations and the wearing of their colours were proscribed and a Central Commission met at Mayence to investigate what was looked upon as a dangerous and widespread conspiracy. Both Professors and students were haled before it. Many languished for years in prison. Jahn, the gymnast and philologist, and Arndt, the popular hero and pamphlet writer, came under its ban, and, after all, few discoveries were made, beyond that warm-hearted boys had engaged in much eager talk and allowed their feelings to get the better of their reason, whilst some of their professors had encouraged them in their enthusiasm.

What was happening in Germany was akin to what was taking place in other lands, only in Germany there was less lawlessness, for the Germans are naturally sober-minded and have an inbred respect for lawful authority. France was filled with discontent at the rule of the Bourbons, and Spain was in revolt at the tyranny of its former ruler, now restored to the throne and reintroducing the old order of things, even to the horrors of the Inquisition. What occurred at Naples we have already seen, and, like Tuscany, Piedmont sought to shake off the thralldom of Austria. All these events were taking place

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whilst Mr. Disbrowe was fulfilling his duties as British Minister to the Swiss Republic, and busy with affairs connected with the trial of Queen Caroline, which necessitated much circumspection and tact, as his correspondence shows, and which the attack on Colonel Browne proved to be not without an element of personal danger.

A letter from Monsieur de Cabres, in whom we recognise one of Mr. Disbrowe's correspondents from Copenhagen, speaks of his friend's marriage to Anne, eldest daughter of the Honble. Robert Kennedy, brother of the Marquis of Ailsa, which had taken place at the little church, so familiar to present-day travellers, which stands on an eminence commanding the town of Thun. M. de Cabres refers also to the birth of the daughter, to whom we are indebted for an insight into her father's papers.

Monsieur de Cabres, who had left the Danish capital and been sent as Chargé d'Affaires to Cassel, had between times been in Spain, and makes a forcible reference to its sad condition and misgovernment, and to having been in the country when the absolutism of Ferdinand VII. was overthrown by his being compelled to restore the Cortes and open the door to constitutional government. The leaders of the revolt were two Spanish Colonels, Tuiroga and Riego.

From MONSIEUR DE CABRES to MR. DISBROWE.

"13th October, 1822.

CASSEL.

MY DEAR DISBROWE,

The steady old Marquis¹ assures me that you have not quite forgotten me, and I need not say how grateful I feel for your friendly enquiry after me. On my part I have anxiously followed your career and thro' various channels have heard what good and bad has befallen you since we parted. Ward, attaché at Madrid, told me two years ago of your father's death, and knowing as I do, the goodness of your heart, I most sincerely sympathise with you. Foster on his part informed me of your marriage, and I congratulate you a thousand times,

¹ De Bonnay.

more now that I know from the Marquis how fortunate you have been in your selection. You are a father, and of course a much more useful member of society than I and all old bachelors. Be happy, my dear Disbrowe. It is my fervent wish, and I am glad to say and to think that you deserve to be so.

Whilst you were enjoying the quiet of Switzerland and solacing yourself in the society of your wife, I was toiling most laboriously in that horrid Spain, which I do not wish ever to see again. I did dislike it from the first moment of my arrival when, if everything went on most idly, still it went on with something like regularity. My disgust did not abate when the whole country was thrown into the abyss, from which God alone can extricate it, thro' the wickedness of a few and the stupidity of many. As the case now stands, each seems to me to be a little in the right, and much in the wrong, from the King (who cannot like the present state of things and ought not to have governed as he did) down to the Liberals who were not much to blame in overturning the rotten old fabric, and to the army of the faithful, who flatter the worthy peasants of Spain with the hope of making again the King *maestro de vidas y haciendas*. I pity from my heart that noble race of peasants, than whom I do not know one more estimable. They form the true nobility of the Country and assuredly there is more honour, gallantry and of the spirit of independence in a d'abrador than in the whole batch of degenerate grandes and hidalgos. I was left Chargé a very short time before the upset of 1820, so that I attended the funeral of the Spanish Monarchy. I am sorry to say that I observed nothing but violence and jacobinism on one side and cowardice and a blinded attachment to the most contemptible and stupefying despotism on the other. It will require a prodigious beating up of such discordant elements to make them amalgamate and I am afraid neither you nor I shall see the end of it. However, all may be well *with time*, and without foreign interference, or, I am much mistaken, or go from bad to worse, unreclaimable. A Truce to politics.

You know, my dear Disbrowe, that I have at last become a plenipo, I am not proud and do not care for the insignificance

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of my post. We were assomés at Copenhagen to what I have to do here—and that suits me. The country is fine and I ride all round Cassel, when the enemy will let me. You may remember that I was gouty four years ago and I have since made a wonderful progress. Have you suffered in Switzerland—Have you seen Toulon (which might be reckoned sufferance enough)—and will you answer all my enquiries, and give me a proof that I retain a part of that friendship, which I once flattered myself to have obtained?

Yours ever, my dear Disbrowe,
DE CABRES.”

Mr. Disbrowe's work at Berne was ended, and we find in the following letter how it was looked upon by officials at home. The remainder of the letters addressed to him by both English and foreign statesmen and diplomatists will form the subject of a future volume. With the disappearance of Napoleon, Stein, Hardenberg, and others whom we have met in these pages, an epoch seems to close. In addition to this, Mr. Disbrowe's marriage and appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to different Courts brought absolutely fresh interest into his life, and such of his correspondence as has been preserved turns on altogether different events.

The subjoined letter from Lord Castlereagh, who had succeeded his father as second Marquis of Londonderry, appears to carry more weight than most stereotyped official expressions of approval addressed to a Minister on the termination of certain duties, when we consider the exceedingly difficult and confidential task which had been confided to Mr. Disbrowe whilst in Switzerland.

From the MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY to MR. DISBROWE.

“FOREIGN OFFICE,
31 March, 1822.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, upon the termination of your official duties as His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland. I feel satisfaction in informing you, upon this occasion, that your

conduct has received the approbation of the King, and I add, with pleasure, the expression of my own sense of the correctness and diligence with which you have transacted the Publick Business. When, at any future time, I may be enabled so to do, I shall be happy to recommend you to His Majesty for more active employment in the Diplomattick Line.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

LONDONDERRY."

The letter, which ends this volume, is not political, nor does it refer to any diplomatic question. According to its date it outsteps the time limit I have at present set myself by some years. Yet, this seems the most fitting moment at which to introduce it, for soon afterwards its great writer disappeared altogether from the arena of political life. There is also, to my mind, some affinity of character between him and the central figure of these memoirs. Both believed in the straightest way being also the best. Both were high-minded men of deep religious feeling, who held that nations who broke treaties into which they had solemnly entered, would not go unpunished for repudiating such sacred obligations. Both held that the integrity of a nation depended on the integrity of each individual belonging to it. And thus I close this volume of "Records of Stirring Times" with a letter from vom Stein, for whom the authoress of "Old Days in Diplomacy" has the greatest admiration. I do this with the greater pleasure because that illustrious statesman's admirers have regretted that there existed no details of his visit to England in the various published records of his life, nor of the friendships which he formed there. For the possession of this letter Miss Disbrowe is indebted to her sister, Mrs. Wise, it being addressed to Miss Mary Nutcombe, residing at Warwick, who was a relative of Mrs. Wise's husband, the well known and much respected veteran Conservative member for South Warwickshire, Henry Christopher Wise, of Woodcote.

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From BARON VOM STEIN *to* MISS MARY NUTCOMBE.

“WEIMAR, *the 24 October, 1828.*”

MADAM !

I am very happy to hear by your countrymen at Weimar, where I am just now paying a visit to my family, that you are in good health and in a very agreeable situation. I remember very gratefull the very charming days passed at the Abbey of Warrick 1792, and the kindness of Mr. Nutcombe every where I met with him, and what you have friendly continued in giving me notices which I desired from him not knowing his to early death. Most of the persons whoever I knew in England are gone to a better life. The greater is my attachment for the few who are yet alive.

My friend Zeerleder at Berne having gone through a period of hypochondry has now entirely recovered his good spirits, and he is yet what he ever was, one of the most noble characters that I ever knew.

What belongs to me : fortune has given me many Sorrows and many happinesses mixed together. Now a widower, my children (a daughter of 20 and two boys of 19 and 17 years) give the most interest to my life, and I hope to be grand father in the next month. I enjoy a better health as I did, being a young man, and I am content with my situation at Breslau.

If that town was not so far out of the way which your country men take commonly making a tour upon the Continent, I should have occasion to speak english, which wants to me entirely, and I should write to you better in English, as I do. To read some time new production of Sir Walther Scott or a poem of Lord Byron is all the exercise in English what I have.

I desire that you will live a long and happy life and remember some time of

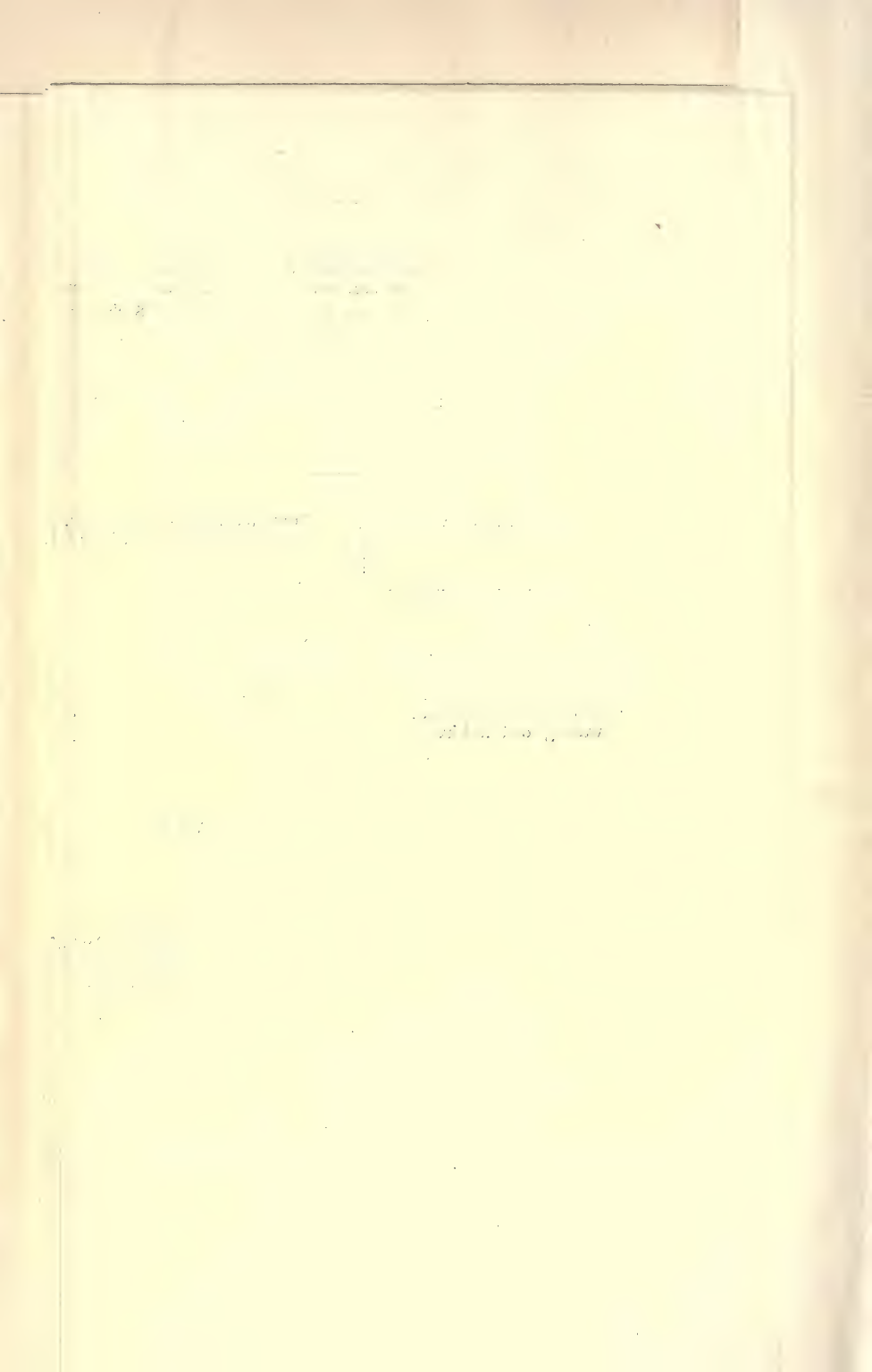
your most respectfull
friend and servant

FREDERIC BARON STEIN.”

It is touching to notice that English poets found a place in the heart and memory of the man, whose life was so full of

the pressing claims of the country he loved, and for the moral and material welfare of which he laboured so earnestly. Edelstein, Grundstein, precious stone, foundation stone, his countrymen loved to call him. How much he had to do with the founding of the political Tugendbund, which Niebuhr condemned as an *imperium in imperio*, has been made matter of controversy. It is, however, certain that he was one in a true Tugendbund with public men of all nations who kept to lofty ideals in days when morality was lax and religious feeling lethargic, and thus most truly in sympathy with the high-minded diplomatist, whose correspondence has been before us. The genuineness of the official recognition received by Mr. Disbrowe was proved further by his being appointed in 1825 as Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg during the absence of an English ambassador to the Russian Court, a post which required both ability and discretion, and which he filled with distinction. During the period of his sojourn at St. Petersburg, a serious revolutionary outbreak took place, owing to the army having been egged on to desire that the Grand Duke Constantine should succeed to the throne on the death of the Emperor Alexander, instead of their next brother Nicholas. This had been previously arranged owing to Constantine having renounced the succession on his marriage with Princess Lovicz. Death and destruction filled the Russian capital, and time has confirmed Sir Edward Disbrowe's words written at St. Petersburg after those troubled days. "We are still in a volcano here, and the question is far from being set at rest." Alas! for Russia. The volcano which manifested itself in the great Eastern Empire eighty years ago, shows little sign of becoming extinct, and her cup of sorrow is filled indeed to overflowing. Yet those who know her noblest sons, with their deep-seated desire for Liberty, their gifts and culture and power of self devotion can but hope on and feel that the dawn may be nearer than it seems.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX B

VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

At a meeting of the Gentlemen, Yeomen and Tenantry, held at the Town Hall, in Burton-on-Trent, on Thursday, the 26th Day of April, 1798, (pursuant to Public Notice) to take into Consideration the most adviseable Method of Protecting the Property of Individuals of the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

EDWARD DISBROWE, Esq., in the Chair.

Resolved

That a Corps of Independent Cavalry, consisting of the above Description of Persons, be immediately raised, and formed into such Troops, or Classes, as shall be deemed expedient by the Commanding Officers; and under such Officers (being approved by the Corps, and having Commissions from His Majesty) shall learn the usual discipline of Cavalry, and act as Occasion may require in the Associated Parishes only unless with the approbation and command of the Commanding Officer and Majority of the Corps.

That no Person shall be permitted to enrol himself in this Corps, unless he possesses Property, or rents a Property of Seventy Pounds per annum, or is a substantial Householder, or the Son, or near Relation of such Person, and not likely to enlist in the Army, Navy, or Militia; except he be approved by the Commanding Officers and a Majority of the Persons composing the Troop in which he is to serve.

That a Majority of any Troop, or Class, into which such Corps may be divided, shall be empowered (at a Meeting to be held for that Purpose, and at which a Majority of the Associates composing such Troop, or Class, shall be present) to expel from the said Corps, any person who shall, by such Majority, be deemed guilty of misconduct, or improper behaviour.

That each Associate shall be provided with necessary Clothing, or Uniform, approved by the Commanding Officer; and that a Subscription be immediately opened for the Purpose of providing Arms and Accoutrements, or for any other incidental Expenses attending the Association; such Arms and Accoutrements to be returned to the Committee on any Associate quitting the said Corps, under the Penalty of Ten Pounds.

That each Associate shall attend, mounted on a serviceable Horse, not less than fourteen Hands and a Half high, (to be approved by the Commanding Officer of each Troop) for the purpose of Exercise, at such Times and Places as shall be fixed by such Commanding Officer,

with the Approbation of the Field Officer commanding the whole Corps. The Times and Places of Exercise to be fixed so as to interfere the least with the other Employments of the Persons composing the respective Troops. To be liable to be called upon by Order of His Majesty, or by the Lord Lieutenant, Sheriff, or one Magistrate in the Commission of the Peace for the County, for the Suppression of Riots, or Tumults, within the Parishes of the Associates.

That each Troop shall consist of not less than 40, nor more than 80, provided such number can be raised ; but otherwise to be left to the consideration of the Commanding Officer.

That Edward Disbrowe, Esq., be this Day unanimously chosen Commanding Officer of this Corps.

That all Elections be determined by Private Ballot.

That Books of Subscription and Enrolment be immediately opened for the Purpose of carrying the above Resolutions into Effect, and left with Mr. J. W. Musgrave, Mr. W. Smith, of Burton ; Mr. Bullivant, Swadlingcote ; Mr. Charles Brown, Stretton-le-Field ; and W. Sampson Rea, Walton.

That a Committee be immediately appointed to carry into Effect the Object of the present Resolutions, consisting of the Officers, Associates, or Subscribers to the Present Fund ; and that the following Gentlemen, or any seven of them, be a Committee for that Purpose.

Edward Disbrowe, Esq.
Mr. Fletcher Bullivant, Swadlingcote.
Mr. Edward Farmer, Caldwell.
Mr. Charles C. Brown, Stretton-le-Field.
Mr. Richard Sale, Dunnithorpe.
Mr. William Daniel, Stanton Hall.
Mr. William Lea, Borroughfields.
Mr. John Brown, Swadlingcote.
Mr. Thomas Hollier, Walton.
Mr. Humphry Trafford Nadin, Bralincoat.
Mr. George Ensor, Stapenhill.
Mr. John Evans, Burton.
Mr. John Smith, Lenton.

Mr. Francis Hamp, Catton.
Mr. Christopher Simmonds, Lullington.
Mr. William Harris, Over-Seal.
Mr. Henry Hollier, Walton.
Mr. Matthew Webb, Catton.
Mr. John Farmer, Caldwell.
Mr. John Lawton, Burton.
Mr. James Edwards, Walton.
Mr. William Smith, Burton.
Mr. J. W. Musgrave, Burton.
M. John Whateley, Burton.
Rev. G. W. Lloyd, Stapenhill.
Mr. C. Burton, Bratby.
Mr. Sampson Rea, Walton.

That Mr. Sampson Rea, of Walton, be appointed Secretary and Treasurer to this Association.

That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Sir N. B. Gresley, Bart., and Edward Disbrowe, Esq., for their Assistance and Attendance this Day.

That the above Resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and immediately printed and dispersed.

Resolved, That this Meeting be adjourned to Thursday next, the 3rd of May, at the Town Hall, Burton-on-Trent, at Two O'clock.

EDWARD DISBROWE, Chairman.

APPENDIX C

ACCORDING to Napier, the blockade of Cadiz was maintained in three grand divisions of entrenched position, namely, Chiclana, Puerto Real, and Santa Maria. The first had its left on the sea-coast near the Torre Bemaja. It extended for eight miles across the Chiclana river, and then along a range of thickly-wooded hills bordering on a marsh from one to three miles broad.

The Santi Petri crossing, a marsh three miles broad, was a natural channel connecting the upper harbour of Cadiz with the open sea. This channel was nine miles long, two or three hundred yards wide, and of depth to float a seventy-four. It received the water of all the creeks crossing the marsh, and was the first Spanish line of defence. In the centre the bridge of Zuaro, by which alone Cadiz was accessible by road, had been broken off, and was defended on either side by opposing batteries. On the right hand was the Caraccas or Royal Arsenal situated on an island just inside the harbour at the mouth of the channel, and, owing to the marshes, was only capable of being attacked by water or bombarded. It was covered by strong batteries, and served as an advance post.

On the left hand was the castle of Santi Petri, also defending the sea mouth of the channel.

Beyond the Santi Petri was the Isla de Leon, of triangular shape; its base rested on the channel, on the right was the harbour, on the left the open sea, whilst the apex pointed towards Cadiz. The whole of the island was a salt marsh with the exception of a high ridge in the centre, upon which the large town of La Isla stood, and which, being within range of the Santi Petri guns, formed the second line of defence.

On the Chiclana side, the opposing forces were only separated by the marsh, and although the Spaniards commanded the Santi Petri, the French, having their chief depôts in the town of Chiclana, could always acquire the mastery in the marsh, and might force the passage of the channel.

The line of Puerto Real was entrenched, but a tongue of land four miles long projected from thence perpendicularly on to the narrow isthmus of Cadiz. This tongue, cloven in its whole length by the creek of the Trocadero canal, separated the town from the outer harbour. At its extreme point stood the village of Trocadero and the fort of Matagorda, opposed to which there was a powerful battery on

the isthmus of Cadiz called the Puntates. From Matagorda to the city was above four thousand yards, but only twelve thousand across the channel to Puntates. Matagorda was, therefore, the nearest point to Cadiz and to the isthmus, and was by far the most important point of defence. From thence the French could search the upper harbour with their fire and throw shells into the Caraccas.

The town of Santa Maria, built at the mouth of the Guadaleti, was about five miles from the castle of Santa Catalina, the extreme point of the line.

APPENDIX D

THE story of Kätchen von Heilbronn would be called nowadays one of spiritual affinity. A vision of her has been vouchsafed to the powerful Count von Strahl as he lies seriously ill at his castle one New Year's Eve. She, too, has seen his image in her dreams. The legend contains allusions to their having been guided into each other's presence by an angel. When the Count, after recovering, passes through Heilbronn, there is no recognition of her on his part; she, however, falls at his feet as dead, and afterwards follows him wherever he goes, like one bewitched, which causes him narrowly to escape being condemned for using illicit arts. When his castle is set on fire by his enemies, Kätchen saves some papers at the peril of her life, and these prove his right to lands, which had long been the cause of strife with a neighbouring family. Of course, there is a malicious lady of high degree, who desires to marry the Count and to poison Kätchen, whose reputed father, a good burgher of Heilbronn, is almost beside himself at her infatuation for Count von Strahl. At first the Count is bored and angry with Kätchen's devotion, but in the end he learns to appreciate her single-heartedness and innocence, and sees through the wicked craftiness of the Fräulein Kunigunde. The circumstances are retailed to the Emperor, when startling revelations take place. The supreme moment in Kätchen's story is when the heralds announce the approaching marriage of Count von Strahl, not with the vicious Fräulein Kunigunde, but with the Princess Katharine of Suabia, whom the Emperor acknowledges as his daughter. Kätchen, clothed in a fair silken robe, sewn with precious stones, and attended by train-bearers and maids of honour, is led to the altar by Count von Strahl, whilst Fräulein Kunigunde sinks away in everlasting disgrace, scornfully dismissed by the Count as a woman "who mixes poisons."

APPENDIX E

MEMORANDUM FROM PRINCE HARDENBERG.

La protection de la Prusse est incontestablement des plus difficiles. Il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur la situation géographique pour se convaincre que, coupée en deux masses séparées par des possessions étrangères sur une étendue de 19 degrés depuis le Niemen jusqu'à la Meuse, ses moyens ne sont pas suffisans pour une défense efficace contre l'attaque d'un adversaire puissant et supérieur en forces. Sa population, loin d'être animée du même esprit, est, et sera longtems encore, un composé d'éléments hétérogènes. Il faudra beaucoup de soins et de tenir, pour les amalgamer. Les mœurs, le caractère, la religion, les besoins et les habitudes des provinces composant la Monarchie Prussienne, diffèrent beaucoup et ne peuvent que difficilement constituer un Ensemble.

Ces vérités ont été mises en évidence lors du Congrès de Vienne, mais malheureusement la Prusse seule n'a pu obtenir cet arrondissement qui a été adjugé à tous les autres États, auquel elle avait tout autant de droit de prétendre qu'elle en avait un besoin pressant, et qui aurait été indispensablement nécessaire tant pour assurer le système Européen qui réunissait alors tous les soins et tous les suffrages, que pour sa propre sûreté. On a laissé même un funeste levain dans la cour de la Monarchie en assignant à la Prusse des parties dismembrées de pays, et en perpétuant par là des germes de jalousies, d'inquiétudes et de mécontentement avec les trames et les haines qui en sont inséparables.

La Prusse a cédé à la force des circonstances, parce qu'il s'agissait avant toute chose de conserver la bonne harmonie entre les hauts Alliés et de se réunir de nouveau contre l'ennemi commun, elle doit se prêter à l'arrangement qui a eu lieu quelque peu avantageux qu'il fût, mais qu'il soit permis d'appuyer sur ce qui rend la position de la Prusse doublement embarrassante dans le moment actuel.

L'état de possession tel qu'il est doit être maintenu, le poids des raisons qui s'opposent à son altération, fut elle des plus avantageuses, ne peut être méconnu, mais on ne peut toute fois se disputer d'appeler l'attention la plus scrupuleuse des hommes d'État que s'occupent des grands intérêts des nations sur les dangers qui menacent non seulement la Prusse, mais l'Europe entière ; on ne peut s'empêcher de les inviter à bien réfléchir sur ces dangers et à ne pas négliger les moyens de les prévenir. Nos Armées vont évacuer la France ; qu'on se flatte autant qu'on voudra de voir l'ordre et le repos se consolider dans le pays, l'on conviendra qu'il y a tout plein de raisons de craindre le contraire.

Des personnes qui connaissent à fond l'intérieur de la France envisagent de nouvelles révolutions comme très possibles, et même comme très vraisemblables. Ils les craignent surtout si Louis XVIII venait à manquer, et si son Ministère continuait à agir comme il a fait jusqu'ici, favorisant les Bonapartistes, les révolutionnaires connus et leurs mesures. La guerre alors serait inévitable, et même sans révolution, le roi pouvait y être entraîné contre son gré.

Examinons la situation dans laquelle se trouveront les différentes puissances alliées.

La Russie n'a rien à craindre de la France : sa grande puissance son éloignement, l'expérience du passé lui garantissent son repos et sa sûreté, ses alliés lui servent de boulevard, et il faut les détruire avant de pouvoir l'attaquer.

L'Autriche est plus exposée, mais sa force intrinsèque et son arrondissement lui donnent également des garanties suffisantes.

L'Angleterre, insulaire, tenant le trident de Neptune, capable d'opposer à la France des moyens immenses, n'a pas besoin de craindre une attaque, elle peut être au dessus des appréhensions.

Mais quel serait le sort de la *Prusse* ? Elle serait seule exposée aux premiers coups. Victime de la France, possédant des provinces que celle-ci convoite, elle est, et restera longtemps, l'objet particulier de la vengeance de sa haine et de ses projets de conquête. Ceux de reprendre les provinces jusqu'au Rhin et la Belgique sont assez hautement énoncés par tous les partis et quels que soient les principes pacifiques du Cabinet des Tuileries on ne peut guères compter sur leur stabilité, un changement de système peut les convertir d'un jour à l'autre en mesures hostiles. À quels efforts, à quelles dépenses la Prusse, n'a-t-elle pas déjà dû s'assujeter pour se préparer à un pareil événement et que reste-t-il à faire pour soutenir le premier choc ? Les amis, les alliés de la Prusse tous éloignés, ayant peut-être désarmé en partie, se trouveront dans l'impossibilité de voler assez promptement à son secours. La Prusse seule est dans la nécessité de rester sous les armes, de se refuser à toute épargne à l'égard de cet objet dispendieux, de renoncer au soulagement de ses peuples qui ont si bien mérité de la cause Européenne et dont le besoin réclame plus de secours que tant d'autres. En attendant le danger croîtra pour l'Europe en générale, comme pour elle en particulier, à mesure que le tems s'écoulera, et que le souvenir des actions héroïques du passé deviendra partout plus faible. On ne penchera peu à peu que trop à s'abandonner à une sécurité trompeuse, la Prusse seule ne l'osera jamais.

Sans doute le royaume des Pays-Bas devrait-il suivre le même système qu'elle. Placé sur son flanc, il devrait être le sien. Ces deux États sont appelés à se soutenir mutuellement. Leur destination est de servir de boulevard à tout le Nord. Mais le mauvais esprit qui règne en Belgique, l'impossibilité de l'amalgamer avec la Hollande, les intrigues des exiles français, les grands défauts de la constitution donnée au royaume, les fautes et la faiblesse de son gouvernement, qui ne lui attacheront pas le peuple Belge, et les principes qu'il suit envers la Prusse, pour conformer à ses vrais intérêts et aux événements auxquels il doit son existence ne donnent guères d'espoir de ce côté là. Il n'est que trop probable qu'à la première invasion de la part de la France, la Belgique ne se jette entre ses bras ; au lieu de

servir de garantie contre le danger, au reste de l'Europe, elle ne fera que l'augmenter d'une manière effrayante. Que serviront toutes ces belles forteresses bâties à grand prix, que l'armée des Pays-Bas ne pourra ni garnir ni défendre ! Elles deviendront tout autant d'armes contre nous, si l'on n'y avise bien sérieusement.

Il saute aux yeux, que toutes les forces de la France, augmentées peut-être par celles de la Belgique, tomberont d'abord sur la Prusse. Malgré tous les efforts possibles elle ne pourra résister longtemps. Il y a peu de fond à faire sur ces Co-États Germaniques, et supposé que ces hauts alliés conservent le souvenir de ses sacrifices et l'intérêt qu'ils lui vouent dans ce moment, supposé qu'ils viennent à son secours, ils n'arriveront vraisemblablement que pour contempler les désastres qu'elle n'aura pu éviter et trouveront peut-être de difficultés à réparer le mal qui aura été fait.

Certes, le danger et les malheurs qui peuvent résulter de cet état de chose par le système heureusement établi au prix de tant de sang sont incalculables.

C'est à la sagesse de hautes Alliés à les prévenir, et à point s'exposer au reproche qu'ils auraient à ce faire sans faute s'ils pouvaient négliger de prendre, des mesures sagement combinées.

1, Pour s'assurer de la Belgique ; 2, pour mettre la Prusse en état de se maintenir, et de remplir le rôle difficile qui lui est assigné, tâche bien au-dessus de ses forces et de ses finances.

APPENDIX F

NAPOLEON'S OWN views in regard to the "Manuscrit de Sainte-Hélène" are distinctly interesting, whether one accepts them fully or not. He declared it to be falsely attributed to himself, and did not believe in it being the work of Madame de Staël, but more likely of a certain former state counsellor who had given much attention to Spanish affairs, but was no soldier, and devoid of cognisance of military matters, as proved by many errors on such points throughout the manuscript. Napoleon showed that there were mistakes both as to his battles, his early career, the time of his first acquaintanceship with Barras, as also regarding the knights of Malta and the Duc d'Enghien. About the latter, I have already remarked that it seems wellnigh impossible to arrive at the exact truth as to Napoleon's share, if any, in his condemnation. Either chroniclers must have been inaccurate or his utterances concerning that tragedy must have been most contradictory. In criticising the "Manuscrit," Napoleon says that d'Enghien was one of the chief conspirators with Georges, Moreau, and Pichegru, and *émigrés* in the pay of England, who were to meet in the Breisgau. The iron crown he had reserved for himself, that he might retain the chief direction of the various peoples of Italy, and he had been doing all that was feasible to help forward the return of the *émigrés* to France. He points out that the author of the manuscript is mistaken as to the date of the origin of the Confederation of the Rhine, which was founded three months before Jena, and that he puts the Treaty of Tilsit before, instead of thirteen months after Jena. To look on this last great victory as marking the zenith of his fame is incorrect in the light of subsequent achievements. His divorce he describes as a political necessity, and denies that there were any difficulties for him in the way of a Russian alliance. He preferred an Austrian marriage, believing it would tend to peace, and also, had he married a Russian Princess she would have required to have a Russian chapel in Paris. He dwells at some length on the attitude of Prussia, which does not come, however within our present scope, and points to a secret Treaty with Austria, signed in Paris on March 14th, 1812, which "cordially espoused the cause of France, promising 30,000 men for a Russian campaign," and to a similar Treaty made between France and Prussia on the 24th of February, 1812.

These remarks of Napoleon's are taken from "Memoirs of the History of France during the Reign of Napoleon," dictated by the Emperor at St. Helena to the generals who shared his captivity, and published from the original MSS. corrected by himself (Henry Colburn & Co., 1823).

APPENDIX 'G

Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen,
Deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht,
Wahre treu was schwer errungen
Bis ein schöner Morgen tagt.
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt,
Weiche nicht, mein Vaterland !

Ob auch wild die Brandung tose
Fluth auf Fluth von Bai zu Bai :
O lass blühn in deinem Schoose
Deutsche Tugend, Deutsche Treu.
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt,
Bleibe treu mein Vaterland !

Doch wenn inn're Stürme wüthen
Drohend sich der Nord erhebt,
Schütze Gott die holden Blüten,
Die ein milder Süd belebt.
Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt,
Stehe fest, mein Vaterland !

There are yet four verses to this patriotic song, but these excel in force and rhythm.

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