

SIR WOODBINE PARISH, K.C.H.  
AND EARLY DAYS IN ARGENTINA



THE HON. NINA L. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH

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A LIFE OF SIR WOODBINE PARISH

K.C.H., F.R.S.







*Sir Woodbine Parish, K.B.H.  
1796-1882  
painted by Thompson, 1818  
at Aix la Chapelle*



A LIFE OF  
SIR WOODBINE PARISH

K.C.H., F.R.S.

(1796-1882)

SOMETIME SECRETARY TO LORD CASTLEREAGH; CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES  
AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE PROVINCES OF THE  
RIVER PLATE, BEING THE FIRST AGENT SENT BY GREAT  
BRITAIN TO RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF  
THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC AND TO ESTABLISH  
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO  
COUNTRIES; MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY  
IN NAPLES, ETC.

BY

THE HON. NINA L. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON  
SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15, WATERLOO PLACE

1910

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## PREFACE

FOR some years past I had hoped to write a short account of my grandfather's life for the benefit of the other grandchildren who had little or no recollection of Sir Woodbine Parish. Thanks to the kindness of my uncle, Mr. Charles Woodbyne Parish, who has put Sir Woodbine's journals and other family papers and pictures at my disposal, the memoir has considerably exceeded my original intention ; I wish to record my gratitude to him for his help and encouragement, without which the book could not have been written. My thanks are also due to Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for giving me access to certain papers at the Foreign Office, formerly belonging to Sir Woodbine Parish ; and for permission to make use of the Foreign Office Correspondence—now in the Public Record Office—relating to Argentina and Naples.

The editors of the *Cornhill Magazine* and the *National Review* have kindly allowed me to reproduce parts of certain articles on the adventures of Captain Henry Williams Parish and Captain Charles Compton Parish which appeared in their periodicals.

## PREFACE

I wish to thank Mrs. Frank Parish for lending me the picture of Mrs. Henry Parish; and my mother, Lady Shuttleworth, for the loan of Sir Woodbine Parish's miniature. Mr. Wilbraham Villiers Cooper very kindly lent me the medals struck at Napoleon's mint: they formed part of the late Canon Cooper's collection.

Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Leonard Huxley for much useful advice.

NINA L. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH.

GAWTHORPE HALL,

November, 1910.

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\* In the possession of C. W. Parish, Esq.

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE,

January 15, 1884.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE,

IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE,

APRIL 18, 1883,

RELATIVE TO THE LANDS BELONGING TO THE STATE.

ALBANY:

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1884.

# SIR WOODBINE PARISH

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY : THE PARISH FAMILY

Rev. Henry Parish—Captain Henry Williams Parish—Charles Compton Parish—Woodbine Parish, Senior.

THE history of the early years of the Argentine Republic is intimately connected with the life of Sir Woodbine Parish. His position as the first diplomatic representative of any European Power in that country enabled him to befriend and assist the infant Republic, and it was his good fortune to earn unusual tokens of her gratitude. Though the main interest of Sir Woodbine's diplomatic career is centred in South America, many records have been preserved of his early life, which was spent in the service of his country when all Europe was in a state of change and turmoil.

Sir Woodbine Parish lived till 1882, but his public services had already begun in 1812 when, at the age of 16, he was put on the staff of the Commissary-in-Chief's Department. Three years later, when Napoleon was still in exile at Elba, Parish was at work in Sicily, and he was present in Naples the following year at the Restoration of the Bourbons. The news of the battle

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

of Waterloo reached him as he was hurrying home, across Europe, to take up his post as secretary to Lord Castlereagh. In the autumn of 1815 he was with his new chief in Paris, which was still in the occupation of the allied troops; after carrying on negotiations with Ali Pasha in Albania, he accompanied Lord Castlereagh to Aix-la-Chapelle, and subsequently, on the occasion of the King's visit, to Hanover.

The men under whom Sir Woodbine served—Castlereagh and Canning—died before Queen Victoria came to the throne, and the honour conferred on him in recognition of his services to the country—the Knighthood of the Cross of Hanover—passed out of the gift of the English sovereigns almost half a century before Sir Woodbine's death. He outlived all his colleagues and most of his contemporaries—even his old friend and colleague Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who died in 1880.

Love of adventure was a strong characteristic of Woodbine Parish as a young man, and this is little to be wondered at if we take into consideration the adventurous lives of his forbears. One has only to glance at the records of his uncles' careers to see how truly they lived the ideal life of Robert Louis Stevenson's "Songs of Travel":—

" My mistress still the open road  
And the bright eyes of danger."

What was true of them was also true, in a greater or less degree, of nearly every member of Sir Woodbine's family. A large number of old family papers and records have been preserved, and the story told in them of the love of enterprise and adventure in the older

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Parishes certainly left its mark on the succeeding generations.

The Parishes—whose name was originally Parys, or Parris,\* lived at Axholm in Lincolnshire, “where they had a respectable landed estate” before the Revolution. But devotion to the Royalist cause lost them their lands during the Civil War. A member of the family was on that account deprived of his Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which fact mention is made in Walker’s “Sufferings of the Clergy.” Another, George Parish, D.D. (S.T.P. *per literas regias* 1663), was made Prebendary of Southwell, Notts., in October, 1663, and on November 10, of the same year Prebendary of Ripon.†

In the early eighteenth century, David, second son of Josiah Parish, married Miss Mary Vanner of York, and had ten children. Their eldest surviving son Henry,‡ born December 19, 1737, was Sir Woodbine Parish’s grandfather. David Parish sent his son Henry to school at Sedbergh, a good Grammar School of ancient foundation, in the Yorkshire Moors, where, even as a child, Henry Parish learnt to know and love the joys of nature. Two letters to his parents written from school are thoroughly characteristic of the formal and courteous relations between children and parents in those days. The first was written when the boy was

\* Parys (1408), Paris and Parice (1460–1465), Parris (1484–1550), of whom there are Monumental brasses in Hildersham Church, Cambridgeshire. Sir Philip Paris of Little Linton, Cambridgeshire, and others, bore the same arms now borne by the Parishes.

† He died in 1688. His arms, ten cross crosslets, were emblazoned on one of the windows of Ripon Minster, with the following superscription: “Georgius Paris, S.T.P. Prebendarius.”

‡ See portrait, p. 10.

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sixteen, and refers to the illness of his only unmarried aunt, Mary Parish, who died in 1753.

Sedbergh, May 20, 1753.

DEAR FATHER,

Yesterday I had the Pleasure of Your's, in which I found an Account of my dear Aunt's \* Indisposition, which has given me the Greatest Affliction, for she has been so kind to my dear Brothers and Sisters, as well as to Myself, that had she only been a friend, and not my own dear Father's Sister few things could have affected me with greater Sorrow than the news of her Indisposition, the fear of her Death has extinguish'd all my joy, and damp'd with the greatest affliction the pleasure I hope to have in seeing my friends at Rippon, I put up my most earnest prayers to the Almighty Sovereign of the world for her health and recovery, for as the news of her Recovery would give me the greatest pleasure ; so would the news of her Death the greatest affliction. Mr. Bateman sent you my Accounts the last week, and I suppose by this time you will have received them. I have taken up nothing without Mr. Bateman's order even in the least Article, 'tis true it is a great Bill but I have endeavour'd to get all things as cheap and to make them serve as long as possible. I am now by your Goodness and generosity well provided with all sorts of Cloaths for a long while, and as this Bill is great you will see that the next will be as small, my Coat and Books have not a little swell'd my accounts, but I am now well provided with both for a long while. I am now in the Head Class and will think that the least I can do, to deserve your Goodness in such a delightful Place (which I can never do, yet it shall be my greatest care to endeavour it) is always to walk in the paths of virtue and learning, than which I am fully persuaded nothing

\* Mary Parish.

## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

can be a greater pleasure to you, my friends, and myself. . . .

My Duty with hearty wishes for the Recovery of my Aunt. I beg also that you would inform Mr. Williams and Mr. Barnard that a grateful sense of their favours and entire submission to their Commands shall always be the constant Care of

Dear Father and Mother

Your dutiful son,

HENRY PARISH.

P.S.—I once more earnestly beg that I may hear as soon as you can concerning my dear Aunt.

Sedbergh, 14 July, 1754.

DEAR MOTHER . . .

I came to Sedbergh back from Rippon on one of Mr. Ascough's horses, which he was so kind as to lend me. I was very often at his House this Whitson-tide. . . . We went 3 or 4 times to Studley Park, it improves every year more and more . . . nature shines as much as Art in Studley Park, and if a place adorn'd by Nature alone without the ornaments of Art can render a man happy, here is eternal happiness. . . .

Mr. Bateman show'd me my father's letter to him and advis'd me more with the kindness and lenity of a parent than with the austerity of a master: I think there are few if any to whom he gives more encouragement, I hope I may say too that there are none who shall more endeavour to deserve it. He advised me to frugality not only as your and his desires and commands but as my own interest, he represented to me your kindness in keeping me at this school instead of putting me directly to gain my own livelihood, as many others of my age do. There is no particular set time for Boys to go to the University, but they commonly go either at Easter or October Term, there is one at school now who was

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entered by proxy last October Term, and will go himself this next October. . . .

And now I beg leave to conclude myself

Your dutiful and loving son

HENRY PARISH.

He went to Cambridge for the first time in June, 1755, and writes to his father on the 29th to announce his safe arrival at the Inn and his visit to a Mr. Randal, who promptly invited him to breakfast and dinner, "as it would be both troublesome and solitary by myself at the Inn." On Sunday morning he went to St. Mary's Church, . . .

. . . . and saw the most beautiful sight that ever I could wish, or had before seen. All the Colleges assembled together, the Doctors, the Vice-Chancellor, and one Nobleman whose title I think is Earl of Stratford, together with another young Nobleman who is a Baron. The Fellows sit in the middle Ayle without Pews, the Undergraduates in the Galleries amongst whom I saw above a dozen that at one time or another had been my school-fellows or Class fellows at Sedbergh, but as they did not see me for I endeavour'd to conceal myself as much as I could at least till I am admitted and perfectly settled, they neither spoke to me nor I to them. I went to S. Mary's again this afternoon, and after that to King's College Chapel, which for beauty and magnificence far exceeds Henry the Seventh's at Westminster. Coming out of the Chancel of the Chapel I met two old school fellows even in the face before I saw them, but as they did not see my face before I held my hat before it, I got from them unknown. The Trinity College Scholars wear purple gowns and purple square caps. The Undergraduates at all other Colleges wear round caps like the Charity boys and black gowns without



## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

sleeves which Trinity Scholars have. It is the most beautiful building that I ever saw, the Lodgings are built round Courts very large with gravel walks and fine grass plots. I have seen the outsides of Trinity College, Trinity Hall, which is exactly like Trinity College except that it is less, Emmanuel College, Clare Hall, and part of S. John's. Cambridge without the Colleges is no very handsome town. Before you get this letter I shall be admitted.

I am and hope I always shall be

Your dutiful son,

HENRY PARISH.

He writes again to his parents on the 30th to announce his admittance, "after fiery trial," and his intention of returning to London the following evening, "as staying here (out of term time) would be attended both with expense and inconvenience."

In May, 1759, he announces his election as Scholar of Trinity and also the success he has had with a poem on the Ascension, which was read aloud at the Table, and for which he had "been publicly thanked by almost every Fellow in College."

In 1760 he took his degree, and was Senior Optime of his year. Two years later he was ordained deacon, and given the curacy of Rainham, in Norfolk. In the same year he married Miss Sarah Woodbine,\* a sister of Mr. William Woodbine of Yarmouth, uniting by his marriage the name and arms of the Parish and Woodbine families.

Their eldest son, Henry Williams,† was born at Rainham in 1763. In 1767 the death of old Lord

\* See portrait, p. 50.

† See pages 25-52.

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Townshend,\* the patron of the Rainham living, materially altered Henry Parish's prospects. Owing to his lax views on moral questions, the late Lord Townshend had not been on the best of terms with the curate, but his son † was a man of completely different temperament. He had served with great distinction in the wars in Germany, Flanders, and Portugal, and especially in the Canadian campaign. At the siege of Quebec he was third in command, and when General Wolfe was mortally wounded, and General Monkton so seriously hurt that he was carried off the field, Lord Townshend was called on suddenly to take the command. According to Lord Chesterfield's account, published in 1771,‡ he "flew to his new post,

\* Charles Townshend, 3rd Viscount, 1700-1764.

† George Townshend, 4th Viscount and 1st Marquis, 1724-1807. After being Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he was made Governor in turn of Hull, Chelsea Hospital, and Jersey, and finally became a Field-Marshal.—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")

‡ "An Essay on the Character and Conduct of his Excellency Viscount Townshend, Lord-Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, etc." This pamphlet was written by Lord Chesterfield to vindicate Lord Townshend's conduct in Ireland, which had been attacked with great virulence in a series of pamphlets. These were collected in 1773, and republished under the title "Baratariana" (so called because Townshend was said to be as ready with a proverb as Sancho Panza). Froude says he let fall in half an hour, and as it were by accident, more good things than could be heard in a Session even of the Irish Parliament. The earlier part of his career had also been subjected to much criticism by the admirers of Wolfe, between whom and Lord Townshend little love was lost. In a letter to his wife from Canada, written on September 6, 1759, Lord Townshend writes: "Gen. Wolfe's health is but very bad. His generalship in my poor opinion—is not a bit better, this only between us,"—and again, after Wolfe's death, writing on October 5, "His orders throughout the campaign show little stability, strategy, or fixed resolution." Wolfe had a considerable belief in Townshend's military capacity, as we see from a letter from him to Townshend written in London, January 6, 1759. "Your name was mentioned to me by the Marechal, and my answer was that such an example in a person of your rank and character could not but have the best effects upon the troops in America, and indeed upon the whole

## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

recovered the troops from a confusion which had already taken place, repressed a new enemy, Bourgainville, and rendered the victory complete." He negotiated a capitulation with as much ability as he had commanded the troops, and under his auspices Canada became a part of the British Empire.

This distinguished soldier now inherited the family estates in Norfolk, greatly to the advantage of the Parish family. Owing to an intervention that Henry Parish had made with the late Lord Townshend on his son's behalf, a good feeling already existed between the patron and the curate, and the kindness of Lady Townshend to Mrs. Parish and her ever-increasing family soon strengthened this friendship. Within the next two or three years Lord Townshend presented the Rev. Henry Parish to the livings of Mondeford, Colkirk, and Stibbard, all in the county of Norfolk.

In 1768 the Parliamentary election took place; Sir Armine Wodehouse and Mr. De Grey, who were supported by Lord Townshend, standing against Sir Edward Astley and Mr. Coke, and Mr. Parish was very busy in the interests of his patron's nominees. "On the day of election," he writes to his father, "they appointed me Inspector of the Poll Books on their side, and the fatigue was so great, as it was necessary to enquire into the circumstances of every freeholder that was polled, that I have scarcely recovered it yet. One circumstance

military part of the nation; and I took the freedom to add that what might be wanting in experience was amply made up, in an extent of capacity and activity of mind, that would find nothing difficult in our business."— ("Military Life of Field-Marshal George, first Marquess Townshend," by Lt.-Col. C. V. F. Townshend, C.B., D.S.O., 1901.)

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

I have to reflect on with pleasure, that in this long contest, in which I have had my full share, and have been of some use to the party I engaged in, I have bribed no man, I have threatened no man, I have not urged him to break his promise to another, nor to go against his own obligation, and as the one side have considered me as a good agent for them, the other have done me the honour of declaring me an honest one against them."

Lord Townshend had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1767, and he now asked Henry Parish to be his domestic chaplain. In the summer of 1769 Parish accordingly left Rainham to take up his new duties at Dublin Castle. He only intended, apparently, to spend a short time in Ireland, so the wife and children were left in Norfolk, and he continued to hold the livings there. He took a most circuitous route from Rainham to Dublin, *via* Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Staffordshire, writing to his wife from Tamworth, and again from Aberconway in North Wales :

Sunday night, at 10 o'clock,  
July 16 or 17, 1769.

MY DEAR SALLY,

With a Welch blind Harper playing Scotch country airs, with Lees singing in chorus, you will hardly suppose that I can give you anything more than a little sketch of our last route, which was from Chester once more through Flintshire, Denbighshire, and thence over a little arm of the sea to Aberconway, Carnarvonshire. The only circumstances worth mentioning are



Rev. Henry Parish  
1737-1771  
Chaplain to Viscount Townshend  
(Lord Lieutenant of Ireland)  
from a pencil drawing

*Henry Meade del.*



## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

that Lees shot one dog, and I another flying in the chaise with the blunderbuss Clarke gave him. We went to Church this morning, service in Welch. They sung a Psalm, or it might be an anthem for anything we knew to the contrary, accompanied with a bassoon and a flute instead of an organ. I could tell you some stories of washing, cooking, and bathing that you would hardly believe, but I assure you that they have afforded us some hearty laughs. As to myself I can truly say I was never better in all my life. When Lees shot the dog, a man came out swearing, in all probability in Welch. Jack says that he will certainly take the law of us. We have had a very merry journey, up very early in the morning, and in bed very early in the evening, and not very long stages except at particular times. Our company is at present a Post Coach, six horses and three Postilions, a Chaise, and four horses and six saddle horses. We shall be at Holyhead very early to-morrow, and there stand our chance of a fair wind. Lees calls out "have done writing and go to bed," the Harper has ceased playing, and I am with love to the children, my own Sally's affectionate husband,

HENRY PARISH.

What do you think of a large town being illuminated, on a Sunday night, harps playing in every corner of the streets, and the People dancing in all the rooms, but this is the common evening's Diversion in this country.

On July 19 he reports his arrival at the Castle, after a rough passage from Holyhead to Dublin. Lady Townshend\* was at Leixlip, but the Lord-Lieutenant was at the Castle, and his new chaplain was much

\* Lady Townshend was the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Northampton. She married Townshend in 1751, being then Baroness Ferrers in her own right. She was a woman of great charm and character, and as much devoted to her husband as he was to her.

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impressed by the grandeur as of "a Sovereign Prince, Horse and Foot-guards, Music, Pages, Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, Aid-de-Camps," etc.

Soon after his arrival Henry Parish accompanied the Lord-Lieutenant as his private secretary on a tour of some 700 miles, which was made to review the fortifications. It was a splendid opportunity for seeing the country, and he writes detailed accounts of his new and varied experiences to his wife. After staying at Kilkenny Castle, and dining with the Bishop of Ossory, they stayed a night at Clonmell in Tipperary, passing on their way "through a town full of white boys, those terrible rioters of which the English papers have been full for some time. They received us very civilly, and made a large Bonfire in Compt. to his Excellency, we passed thro' them on a full trot."\*

A few days later he writes to his brother-in-law, Clarke Woodbine, giving an account of some adventures in Kerry :

Killarney in Kerry,  
August 28, 1769, 10 o'clock at night.

DEAR CLARKE,

We are just now returned to Killarney after such a series of adventures as no one day has ever yet afforded me ; I cannot attempt to describe particulars,

\* *Whiteboys*.—In the spring of 1760, Tipperary was suddenly overrun by bands of midnight marauders. Who they were was a mystery. Rumours reached England of insurgent regiments drilling in the moonlight. . . . The most rigid search discovered no stands of arms, such as soldiers use, or could use. This only was certain, that white figures were seen in vast numbers like moving clouds, flitting silently at night over field and moor leaving behind them levelled fences, moaning cattle, and blazing homesteads with the inmates' bodies blackening in the ashes.—(See Froude "English in Ireland," vol. ii., Book 5, Chap. I.)



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but I will endeavour to give you a general idea. At ten o'clock this morning we went from Lord Kenmaire's to the Lakes near this town ; the company were Lord and Lady Townshend, Lord Kenmaire, Lord Branden, the young gentlemen, and about a dozen of the principal gentlemen of this neighbourhood, together with his Excellency's suite, consisting of Stanton, two Aid-de-Camps, your old friend from Rainham, and as many more, servants, etc., as you can imagine. At the Lake we embarked in boats, and with the Gentlemen and Ladies, who were there to receive us, to the number of near 150, we made up a little fleet of 17 boats ; a band of music from Lord Kenmaire's, and that belonging to a Regiment quartered here, attended us on our little voyage over a Lake three miles broad and nine miles long, full of Islands of different sizes, from one mile and a half round to a few hundred yards, the sides of the Lake surrounded by the highest mountains in Ireland, the mountains covered with large forest trees, Oak, Ash, Elm, Beech, Yew, etc., and the islands as well as the mountains with arbutus's of an immense size, firs of all sorts, Box Pines, Hollies, and almost every kind of shrub. After rowing over the first Lake, we crossed the rocks to ascend where another set of Boats were ready to receive us, and after we had gone about half a mile a cannon was fired from a Rock, as a signal for a Pack of Hounds to be thrown off, a Stag was unharboured, and the chace began over the Mountains. We got out of our Boats, and stood on a large Rock in the middle of a narrow part of the Lake, and there we were entertained with the discharge of Cannon echoing throught a vast range of mountains, which was well seconded by the shouts of the Huntsmen in the forests on the sides of the surrounding hills, the music on the water, and the hounds in full cry in the woods : after they had ran him about an hour, the stag came down the Mountain directly to us, the dogs after him, who pressed him so hard that he took the water,

or, as sportsmen say, the soil, on the side of the lake opposite to us, and not above 100 yards from us; he swam towards us, and was not able to climb the Rock on which we stood. Lady Townshend was by this time in the boat again, rowing after the stag to save him from the hounds, which was accomplished in about ten minutes, during which time there was such a scene as you can scarcely imagine; the rocks in the Lake and the shores covered with people, besides great numbers on the water in boats. The stag was hunted to his lair last night, and there watched by a number of men, who surrounded the tops of the mountains to keep him down towards the Lake, and if he had been led to the spot he could not have shewn us a finer chace, or come better to us: after he had recovered himself he was released and turned off to run wild again on his native mountains. So much for the Stag Chace. We now take to our boats once more under the discharge of Cannon, which resound thro' the mountains like a rolling, rattling peal of thunder. We went up a lake winding thro' a range of Mountains, higher than you ever saw in your life, and higher than I ever saw except the Alps, and after we had gone about four miles, with the music playing in the midst of the fleet, we stopt at a very fine natural Cascade, and there we had a cloth laid on a few planks, and sat down to eat and to drink: we then returned from the upper lake to the lower, and took our first boats again. After rowing round several Islands which formed different bays, skirted with the finest natural shrubberies, and the sides of the hills still covered with forests, we went to one side of the Lake where a number of Lord Kenmaire's men were ready with their nets, which they soon after hawled in, loaden with Salmon and other fish—one Salmon weighed above thirty pounds—again we took our boats and rowed to the Island of Innisfallen, which is above a mile round, then by the ruins of an old Abbey we found a number of gentlemen and fine wild Irish Girls, I may venture to

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call them so, dancing country dances, to our music, which had landed just before us. About 10 or 12 large companies of very genteel people sat down to dinner on the Grass—our own Company went into a Room which Lord Kenmaire has fitted up, where we found a second large and regular cold Collation, to which was added the fish we had caught which was now broiled by a large Wood fire in the open air : here we staid till the day closed, and then in a fine calm evening we set off for the shore, which was about a mile and a half from us. By the way, the men often rested on their oars, and the music in the Centre of our little fleet was re-echoed from all the shores round : such is the little history of this day's diversion which with many is not yet finished, for here is a ball, which bids fair to hold till tomorrow morning, but I have retired to my room to think on my old friends in Norfolk, and to get a good night's rest. I wish you would send this letter to Sally, as it will save me writing the same thing twice. We have already made our Journey 250 miles since we left Dublin, the day after tomorrow Lord Townshend sets out for Corke, and Lady Townshend, the young gentlemen and myself for Lord Tyrone's seat in the County of Waterford, we there wait for his Excellency and then return to Dublin thro' the Counties of Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow to Dublin, where we hope to be in about a fortnight.

I am dear Clarke with love to you and yours,

Your's sincerely,

HENRY PARISH.

Three notorious Whiteboys are taken, they will be tried at Tralee tomorrow, seven miles from hence, and as they will most certainly be hanged (if not rescued), a large party of soldiers march from the Barracks of Ross Castle in this place to support the civil magistrates who are much alarmed and have sent for troops.

We have just now an account of a duel fought at

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Kilkenny, between Mr. Henry Flood,\* member for Callan, one of the greatest orators in the House of Commons, who dined with us at the Bishop of Ossory's, and Mr. Agar, Senior, father of the member for the County of Kilkenny, who was with us at Mr. Butters'—they fought about Election matters, Mr. Agar fired the first Pistol without effect, Mr. Flood held his up in the Air and would not fire till Mr. Agar drew his second Pistol, and abused Mr. Flood in a violent manner. Mr. Flood then fired, and Mr. Agar fell dead on the spot. Mr. Agar was what they call here a friend to Government, and Mr. Flood very strong in the Opposition—Mr. Agar was shot into the heart.

The Lord-Lieutenant was received with great enthusiasm by all the population at Cork, who went quite wild in their endeavours to show him honour. "To let you see," writes Henry Parish, "how truly absurd an Irish man is in his actions as well as his words, they actually fired both Pistols and Masquets into our Coach, and made a large Bonfire in the middle of a Bridge, expecting that the Horses would have gone through. I

\* *Henry Flood*—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")—1732-1791; a statesman and orator, the illegitimate son of the Right Hon. Warden Flood—(chief justice of the King's Bench in Ireland). Elected M.P. for Kilkenny 1759. By his eloquence and position he soon became leader of the popular party, and organized the Opposition in the Irish House of Commons. Flood fought two duels with James Agar of Ringwood, to settle a quarrel arising out of the election contest. It was in the second of these that Agar was mortally wounded and Flood was tried at the Kilkenny Assizes in April, 1770—a verdict of "manslaughter in his own defence" was duly returned. In October, 1775, Flood became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, a sinecure worth £3500 a year. He was a great opponent and rival of Grattan, who described him on one occasion as "standing with a metaphor in his mouth and a bribe in his pocket," and on another compared him to "an ill-omened bird of night with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and a broken beak." Flood was a member of the English House of Commons from 1783-1790.

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need not tell you we were obliged to go round another way."

They returned safely to Dublin, and soon after Henry Parish went over to England to visit his family, returning, however, to Dublin before the end of the year. He was at the Castle for the season in the spring of 1770, and was greatly impressed with the luxury and extravagance of the Court. A performance of "Tamerlane" was one of the first excitements, Lady Townshend and many other "ladies of the first Rank" lending most of their jewels. The turban of the Bajazet was said to be worth over £10,000, and the jewels in the whole performance were valued at £150,000 to £200,000. There were dances and routs every night, and "they carry things so far," the chaplain complains, "as to send out tickets a month beforehand, I take care to burn mine, about 3 weeks before the day of engagement, and then I forget it!" Among all this dissipation he longs for the arrival of his wife and children, well assured, as he says, "that my Sally will sit down contented with a few private friends and the quiet of domestic life, in preference to all the noise and parade of these extravagant people. I do assure you, my love," he adds, "that you will think them more than half-mad, for they really are, if possible, ten times worse than they are in London."

Perhaps this was no exaggeration, for in giving an account of the wonderful fancy dress ball in March, he says that the company did not leave the Castle till twelve o'clock at noon the following day; it appears to have been an amazing display of wealth, beauty, and reckless extravagance.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

In April some livings fell vacant, and the Lord-Lieutenant presented them at once to his chaplain. The new Rector of Valentia, Dromed, Cahir, Killenane, Prior, Glanberg and Dunmore, was assured of an excellent income, and he wrote to his wife without delay to acquaint her of the good news, begging her to meet him at Tamworth or Chester, so that he might convey her and the children to Ireland.

He took a house for them near Dublin, and, having settled his family there, went off alone to Kerry to see after the new livings. In September Lady Townshend was taken seriously ill, and sent for her chaplain to Leixlip, but to his great grief she died soon after. She was buried in Norfolk, and Henry Parish accompanied Lord Townshend to the funeral. He returned by way of Scotland at the end of October, and was met by his wife in Dublin. The winter passed with no excitement, other than political, to disturb their happiness at being once more together. A letter to Henry's brother-in-law, Clarke, throws some light on the political situation in Dublin.

Parliament Street, Dublin.  
March 13, 1771.

DEAR CLARKE,

The last fortnight has been pregnant with politics to the great astonishment, I suppose, of all on your side of the Channel. The first day's debate was about an amendment to the address to the King, thanking His Majesty in very strong terms for continuing the Lord Vist. T—— in the Government, after a debate of about eight hours it was carried by 134 to 109, the next day being Wednesday a very large and desperate

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mob, the dernier resort of patriotism in this country, surrounded both Houses of Parliament, they insulted and assaulted several members of both Houses, the Earl of Tyrone they obliged to swear to some of their nonsense, the Bishop of Ferns was very ill treated but would not swear, however, being very ill he returned home; the Bishop of Corke took one of them at the head of the mob and delivered him to the Sheriff's officers, the Lord Viscount Loftus took another, and carried him into the House of Lords. Mr. Gordon, whom you may remember, was surrounded by a great number armed with swords and cutlasses, and after positively refusing to swear according to their demand, he set his back against the wall and alternately parlied and struggled for about ten minutes, at last finding them press upon him, he drew his sword, and after telling them he would kill the first man that attacked him, he fairly ran one of the leaders of them thro' the shoulder, and soon fought his way thro' them to the House with one whom he had taken armed with a drawn cutlass—this continued for about an hour, and at last the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs being no longer able to stand their ground by the assistance of the civil officers they applied to the Lord-Lieutenant, and in about a quarter of an hour a squadron of Horse rode by our windows on three-quarters speed with their swords drawn, and as soon after as the difference of march between Horse and foot would allow, several battalions of foot followed them with colours flying, drums beating and bayonets fixed—they guarded all the avenues of the Parliament House from three o'clock till past twelve at night—you may be sure the mob was soon dispersed, for such a force was sent down, as was in the words of the address of the house of Commons *effectual*—they were too strong to be attacked by the whole mob of Dublin, and no mischief of any kind was done—had a small party been sent down, I do believe many lives

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

would have been lost—the ringleaders were committed to Newgate, and thus ended this affair—some of the Patriots inveighed in the House against being under the restraint of an armed force, but they were over-ruled, and an address of thanks strongly worded, was voted to the Lord-Lieutenant, returning their humble acknowledgements for the effectual assistance he had afforded the Civil Magistrates—this was carried 102 to 59—everything was quiet ever since, the next day they proceeded to the address to the King, set aside Mr. Ponsonby's friends' address, voted one entirely new, and another very handsome to the Lord Lieutenant—in the house of Lords, there were 17 protesters, but the address to the King with thanks to His Majesty for the continuance of our present excellent Governor was carried against opposition, as well as another very honorable to the Lord-Lieutenant, by a great majority. In the House of Commons opposition declined by slow degrees every day till Saturday, when the several motions were carried against opposition, by a majority of 35, 38, 43, and at last 46, upon which the Speaker in despair gave over dividing, and on Monday he sent a letter to the House, resigning the Chair, which is the greatest point that has ever been carried in this kingdom—several candidates were proposed, and at last Mr. Perry purposed by Sir George Macartney\* (*who had the support of the Castle—silence here—*), was elected,

\* *Sir George Macartney*, 1737–1806.—After some diplomatic experience he was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1769–1772, and then Governor of the Caribbee Islands, where he was captured by the French. In 1780, he became Governor of Madras, and drew up a treaty with Tippoo Sahib, but an alteration in the Treaty led to his resignation and return to England. He was given an Irish peerage in 1776, and an Irish Earldom and Viscounty in 1792. In the same year he was sent to China as Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary (see p. 25), and subsequently undertook several other diplomatic posts. He was made Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in 1769, but resigned owing to ill health in 1798.—(See “Dict. of Natl. Biog.”)



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118 to 114—I could give you good private reasons why the numbers were so equal, it was a second triumph that they were so.

On Friday last, I went to the House of Lords, where I wish you had been to see our old Rainham friend in his Royal Robes with his hat on, on the Throne—the Earl of Drogheda carrying the Cap of maintenance on his right hand, and the Earl of Tyrone the sword of State on his left, standing bareheaded both, the House of Lords all uncovered before him, the Chancellor standing by him waiting his commands, and the House of Commons at the lower end introducing the new Speaker.

I had the pleasure of seeing some of the most violent Patriots at the levée on Sunday last, and everything goes on well, they have nothing to do but the business of the country, Government having nothing to ask on its own account—in one word this last week or two has been the establishment of English government in this country, and has broke a vile aristocratical faction, who has ruled this country with a Rod of Iron. It is expected there will be a recess of Parliament this next week on account of the assizes. I will send you the votes. I am with love to Aunt Clarke and the rest of your family, my dear Clarke,

Yours affectionately,

HENRY PARISH.

The Henry Parishes' youngest son was born in Dublin on May Day, 1771, and was christened Charles Compton, Lady Frances Townshend standing godmother. Henry Parish wrote to his sister about the christening, and mentions in the same letter his intention of taking a journey in the South of France for the benefit of his health. He had been threatened with consumption, and was also suffering from acute internal rheumatism, for which the doctor prescribed a warm climate.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

He proposed to go with a friend named Paul, who had a brother-in-law living at Bordeaux. They were to stay first at Bordeaux, and then, after taking the baths at a Pyrenean watering place, Henry Parish intended to return and fetch his wife and children, and to complete his cure by spending the following winter in France before settling permanently in County Kerry.

Fate decreed otherwise; he little realized when he left Dublin in May that he would never see his "dear Sally" again, never take her out to France, nor live to settle in Kerry. His anxieties on leaving Ireland were confined to the proper addressing of his letters, for since "no Protestant clergyman was permitted to appear in France in his own character," he begged his relations to omit any mention of "the Reverend," and to address him simply and solely as "Monsieur, Monsieur Parish." Indeed no sooner had Henry Parish landed in Bordeaux than he met a clerical friend, Archdeacon Alcock, "in a suit of blue silk with Silver Brandenburgs," a sufficient disguise to conceal even an eighteenth-century ecclesiastic! Henry Parish adds, not unnaturally, "he makes a great figure here."

He was much struck by the orderliness of Bordeaux, by the imposing processions, and the public display of religious feeling at the Fête Dieu celebrations, and not less by the "enormous bags the men wear here," and the elaborate manners of all the "people of quality." He meets "a fine boy and girl in the street (not bigger than Harry and Sally); he had his hair full drest with a long queue, and was attending his sister in full form with his hat under his arm—for nobody wears their hat here but common people."



*Emery Walker Sc.*

*Sarah Woodbine  
1738-1821  
Wife of the Rev. Henry Parish  
from an oil painting*



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After some weeks of travelling in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, etc., he prepared to leave France, and ended his last letter from Toulouse, to his sister, with an account of a model hospital—a Maison Dieu—kept by nuns in that city. “Never did I see a place,” he concluded, “in which a person might meet either sickness or death with so much comfort. I hope to be in Ireland again some day next week.”

He sailed from Bordeaux early in August, having contracted a fever the day he left; his friends begged him to postpone his departure, but without success. He steadily grew worse on the voyage, losing consciousness on the ninth day, and though his kind fellow-passenger, Mr. Bonfield, took him on land at Cork with the greatest possible care, he died on the 22nd of August, before his devoted Sally had even heard of his illness.

Mrs. Henry Parish and her five small children were insufficiently provided for, but Lord Townshend did all he could to assist her, and finally gave the eldest son, Henry, a commission in the Royal Artillery. She returned to Norfolk soon after her husband's death, where her brothers made a home for her, and assisted materially in the education of the children.\*

\* These children were :

1. Henry Williams, born December 2, 1765. (See p. 24.)
- 2 Sarah, born April 1, 1767, who was adopted by her uncle, Mr. Clarke Woodbine. She inherited his estate at Rainham, and left it on her death in 1828 to her brother Woodbine.
3. Woodbine, born August 17, 1768 (the father of Sir Woodbine Parish, K.C.H.). (See p. 75 *et seq.*)
4. Frances, born December 9, 1769; and
5. Charles Compton, born May 1, 1771, who after an adventurous life as captain of a merchant vessel, entered the service of the East India Company. (See p. 52.)

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The Rev. Henry Parish's brother, John, was Superintendent of Ordnance at the Tower of London for many years, and married in 1777 Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Andrew Planta, Chaplain to His Majesty. The friendship thus brought about between the Plantas and the Parishes was to be of great value to the younger generation. Mrs. John Parish's brother, Joseph Planta,\* was Principal Librarian of the British Museum; his son, the Right Hon. Joseph Planta,† an intimate friend of Sir Woodbine Parish, was eventually member for Hastings and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. John Parish was appointed storekeeper at Gibraltar in 1791, but he died there in 1798, leaving no children.

## HENRY WILLIAMS PARISH (1765-1800)

On the death of his chaplain, the Rev. Henry Parish, in 1771, Lord Townshend made himself responsible for the career of the eldest son, Henry Williams Parish. Lord Townshend sent him to Woolwich, and then procured him a commission in the "Royal Regiment of

\* Planta (Joseph, senr.), 1744-1827, succeeded his father as assistant Librarian at the British Museum, 1773, and was chief Librarian from 1799-1827. The family was of Swiss origin.

† Planta (Joseph, junr.), 1787-1847. Born at British Museum: son of Joseph Planta, senr., entered the Foreign Office at 15; he was an intimate friend of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, secretary to Lord Castlereagh, 1827-30; he was one of the joint secretaries to the Treasury, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1834, then four times M.P. for Hastings; resigned his seat in 1844, and died in 1847.

## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

Artillery" from the Duke of Richmond. Henry Parish, junior, served seven years at Gibraltar and in Nova Scotia, and was then thought worthy to accompany the detachment of artillery which was sent with Lord Macartney's \* Embassy to China in 1792. The expedition left Portsmouth on September 26, 1792, and consisted of H.M.S. *Lion* of 64 guns, commanded by Sir Erasmus Gower; the *Hindustan* of 1400 tons, Captain Maxwell, E.I.C. Service; and the brig *Jackal* of about 100 tons, as tender. Of the brig little was seen at first, as she was lost sight of in thick weather in the Channel a few days after the expedition started, and, though the other vessels put into Funchal for a week, nothing was heard of her. During this time Henry Parish busied himself with a thorough investigation of the island, its people, its form of government, vegetation, and military defences. On October 17, nothing further having been heard of the *Jackal*, the two other ships set sail for the Grand Canary. While at anchor here they experienced so bad a storm that the *Hindustan* broke her cable, and after damaging her second anchor severely she was only saved from running on the rocks by lowering her sheet anchor.

Landing at Port Praya in the Island of Santiago (Cape Verde Islands) on November 3, Henry Parish accompanied Lord Macartney on his visit to the Governor. Owing to a three years' drought the Islands were in a piteous state, the crops had utterly failed, famine was raging, and the inhabitants were dying of starvation. The Governor, even, was obliged to make his excuses to Lord Macartney for being unable to offer him any refreshment, and the natives who came on

\* Lord Macartney; see note, p. 20.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

board begged the sailors for leave to wash their linen, asking, in return, for old clothes rather than money for which they had no use.

Leaving Santiago on November 8, the two ships had a swift passage across the Atlantic, and anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro on December 2, just two months from the date of their leaving England. The Portuguese Viceroy of Brazil put a house at the disposal of Lord Macartney, treating him with extreme deference, not unmixed with suspicion. Captain Parish writes that "this was undoubtedly the result of those antiquated suspicions and alarms, with which the visits of foreigners have always been regarded by these colonial authorities; alarms which have no doubt of late years been increased amongst despotic governments by the emancipation of the British North American Colonies, and by the spread of the revolutionary Doctrines recently proclaimed by the French. On this occasion, too, there may have been some lurking anxiety as to the views of the British Government in sending an Embassy to China, where Portuguese interests and influence have so long been established on a better footing than those of any other nation." After refitting the two vessels they took leave of Rio on December 18, and sailed westwards till the end of the year, in spite of unfavourable winds in the earlier part of their voyage, which took the ships so far south that on New Year's Eve they sighted land at Tristan d'Acunha,\* in  $37^{\circ} 9'$  south latitude, and  $11^{\circ} 40'$

\* "Mr. Parish, Mr. Barrows and Mr. Jackson took separate measures of the diameter and circumference of the cone and of the depth of its soundings, and though they differed somewhat in the results of their calculations, their performances had very great merit. Mr. Parish was,



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west longitude. The island was uninhabited, but Lord Mark Kerr and Lieutenant Whitman went on shore and killed an albatross, whose wings measured ten feet across, and also an immense sea lion, sixteen feet long. For the following day a party was planned to go seal-hunting, enormous numbers of these beasts being visible round the island; but a gale arose and the ships were obliged to leave before another opportunity of landing occurred.

It was not till February 1 that the ships reached land again, and some uncertainty exists as to whether the island described by Captain Parish was St. Paul's or Amsterdam. Whichever it may have been, they found to their astonishment a number of white men on the island, who proved to be a party of Frenchmen with one Englishman among them. They had landed in the previous autumn to collect seal skins, and hoped to get 25,000, of which they had already some 8,000, and then to sell them for one-and-a-half to two dollars apiece. The Frenchmen expected to pass ten months more on the island before the ship would come to fetch them home. The island is volcanic, and by digging at the edge of the crater of the volcano hot water is found in which the seal-hunters could do their cooking. Their chief means of subsistence were fish—bream, perch and crayfish—and a small bird, the blue petrel, which they caught in large quantities at night by

however, by no means so engrossed by his mathematical and surveying instruments as to neglect the military ones more particularly belonging to his profession as a soldier, which he handled in such a masterly manner, and levelled with so true an aim, that his piece never missed its object, the consequence of which was a most deadly carnage among all sorts of game within the range of his musketry.”—(See “Life of Lord Macartney,” p. 206.)

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

lighting fires, towards which the petrels ran. By day these birds bury themselves in the sand to escape from a larger and most voracious bird of the same tribe, the Cape hen, which kills them in order to eat their hearts and livers. Captain Parish, in his mapping expeditions, found many hundreds of their dead bodies about, and succeeded in digging one up alive. In addition to these the island was rich in "Albatrosses, Penguins, and Puffins innumerable." Late in the evening of February 2 they left the island, and on the 25th sailed through the Straits of Sunda past the island of Sumatra. During this part of the voyage the two ships were for the first time separated, and when the *Hindustan* rejoined the *Lion* at North Island she brought with her despatches for Lord Macartney which had been given her curiously enough by one of the Company's homeward-bound ships that she had encountered a few days earlier. These despatches from Peking contained the first intelligence of the Emperor's receipt of the news concerning the appointment of Lord Macartney's Embassy. They occasioned considerable relief to the latter, by whom some doubt and anxiety had been felt as to the manner in which the Embassy was likely to be received, and here was an Imperial assurance that every honour should be paid to Lord Macartney, and every facility be given him in his journey to Peking.

In the Batavia Road they first encountered Chinese junks among the shipping which, owing to the shallow coast, is obliged to lie out in the open road. Here Lord Macartney purchased a small French brig, which was renamed the *Clarence* (in honour of his Royal Highness), to take the place of the *Jackal*, of which they had by

## INTRODUCTORY : THE PARISH FAMILY

now despaired, not having seen her since they parted company in the Bay of Biscay.

Of the Dutch Indies they made a pretty thorough investigation, and were much impressed with the unhealthiness of the climate (forming, as Captain Parish said, the best possible protection against a hostile invasion), and the degeneracy of their inhabitants. The latter appeared to live in so indolent and self-indulgent a manner as to form a great contrast to the English colonists in North America, with whom Captain Parish had lately been in such close contact. "In one case," he writes, "all seems inert and depressed without hope of improvement, in the other all is vigour, life and progress. Climate, perhaps, has not a little to do with this, but it seems to me that the old English stock, with their free institutions, are destined by their very nature to thrive beyond all others wherever they may be transplanted."

They left Batavia on March 17, but were delayed by waiting for the Southerly Monsoon, when, to the great delight of all on board, on the 23rd the *Jackal* once more made her appearance, just when she was most needed to guide them through the small islands of the Malay Archipelago. She had been obliged to put in for repairs, and had then made her way from Santiago direct to North Island, and so to her former companions. As there were a great number of sick sailors on board, it was found desirable to anchor the ships in Turon Bay, on the east coast of Cochin China, to the great surprise of the natives, who had never seen such large vessels before, and not a little to their alarm. However, on being assured that the expedition was purely a peaceful

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one, having as its object the Embassy to China, they soon altered their demeanour, and supplied their English visitors with "fruit, vegetables, poultry and every kind of civility." The governor of the district even paid Lord Macartney a visit in his state galley, with the fond hope of obtaining from him some help, in the shape of arms and ammunition, with which to assist the reigning prince in carrying on a warfare with a younger and insurgent brother. Such help was not forthcoming, but nevertheless the governor's hospitality was continued, and previous to their departure culminated in a great dinner which was offered to Lord Macartney and his officers. It appears that he desired to have the rank and station of all his guests explained to him, but took little notice of the individuals until Captain Parish was introduced as "the overseer of the great guns," upon which his attention was suddenly roused, and he seemed the whole day to regard this officer as a most formidable and dangerous man." \*

The invalids being now convalescent the ships left Turon on June 16, and on the 21st reached the gulf of Pecheli,† a country in those days absolutely unknown to any Europeans. On July 14, while steering northward across the Yellow Sea, the *Hindustan* fell in with the brig *Endeavour*, which had been sent from Macao with despatches for the Ambassador, and luckily had also a pilot on board, under whose guidance the ships rounded the headland of Shantung.

\* See Captain Barrow's account of the voyage to Cochin China, 1792-3.

† See "Life of Lord Macartney," p. 244. June 19—"At two o'clock we saw the mainland of China for the first time." June 20—"At six o'clock we came to an anchor off the Grand Ladrone."

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It was not till July 20\* that they anchored off the city of Ten-choo-foo, in the gulf of Pecheli, where a mandarin at once came on board with messages from the Emperor. He had orders to render the English Embassy every possible assistance and to provide for their immediate transport by land to Peking, should they prefer that form of travelling. But, although it appeared to be rather contrary to the Imperial wish, Lord Macartney stuck to his ships as originally intended, and proceeded towards the mouth of the Pei-ho. While they were still at Ten-choo-foo more mandarins came on board with every possible inquiry respecting the number of persons with the Embassy, the presents they had brought for the Emperor, etc.; and on the 31st, the ships being at the mouth of the Pei-ho, two great mandarins arrived specially deputed by the Emperor to attend and provide for the wants of the Embassy. Their names and titles were Van-tagin and Chou-tagin (the addition of Tagin † denoting their rank), and with them they brought an immense supply of provisions for the use of the English. They must have had a great idea of the English appetite, as the first instalment of supplies (which was followed by many others) included 20 bullocks, 120 sheep, and as many pigs, besides poultry of all kinds in similar profusion, and fruit, vegetables and sweetmeats enough to load a ship. The mandarins, whose rank was shown by red and blue buttons affixed to their caps, made themselves most agreeable to the English, who were the first

\* This was ten months after leaving England, a journey that would nowadays take five or six weeks by sea; or a fortnight by the Trans-Siberian railway.

† Now spelt Tajen. It means Big Man, and is an honorific title given to most officials of any important rank.

Europeans with whom they had ever come in contact, and were as much at their ease in two or three hours as if they had spent their lives on English men-of-war.

The transhipment of all the presents for the Emperor (these alone meant 600 large cases), the guns under Captain Parish's charge, the band and military guard, and the personal baggage of the members of the Embassy, took some time, and it was not till August 5 that the expedition was transferred into junks, which were capable of navigating in the Pei-ho river. Lord Macartney and his immediate suite went on board the smaller ships *Jackal* and *Clarence*, and the *Lion* and *Hindustan*, with sick men and others on board, were ordered to remain at the island of Chusan until Lord Macartney's return from Peking. At Taku a further change was necessary, and the Ambassador went on board a vessel specially prepared for him, with a most commodious suite of rooms; and the flotilla of thirty or forty junks then proceeded up the river. Though in some instances 60 or 80 feet long, these junks were of such light construction and so high in the water that they did not draw more than 18 or 20 inches. From the first it was stipulated by the Chinese Government that the expedition, once in Chinese waters, should be maintained entirely at the expense of the Emperor, and its members were daily supplied with everything they could want; in fact so literally were his orders carried out that on finding that the English gentlemen had made some trifling purchases, the sums paid were immediately refunded by the mandarins, who assured them that by the Emperor's peremptory order they were not allowed to spend their own money.

As they sailed slowly up the river they were well able

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to observe the country through which they passed. The long low banks of the river, planted here and there with rice and millet, and in other parts overgrown with rushes, seemed to swarm with vast numbers of persons who came out, some to do the Englishmen honour, and a far greater number to satisfy their curiosity. One old Viceroy of great age came a distance of 100 miles, in obedience to the Emperor's command, to visit Lord Macartney. Not only the banks but the river seemed crowded with astonished natives; they came in their junks, and even rushed on foot up to their knees into the river to get a closer view; and, though the women did not show themselves in such great numbers there was no lack of them; as to the children, boys and girls in a state of nudity, they were seen in myriads. Night brought no break in the curiosity of the people, and when the vessels were anchored they were lit up with lanterns, denoting the rank of the people on board; whilst on shore there was a general illumination, and such a stir and din among the people that, with the addition of mosquitoes, sleep was almost impossible.

On approaching Tien-tsin the Englishmen were struck by vast pyramidal stacks of salt-bags, which were collected as revenue from Southern China, and stored in this manner for the use of the capital; there appeared to be sufficient to supply the whole of China. In front of Tien-tsin, stretching for two or three miles, was such a concourse of shipping as to be compared by Captain Parish to Wapping; a bridge of boats facilitated the crossing of the river and was opened to let the Embassy pass through. The old Viceroy was waiting at a Pavilion, specially prepared for the occasion, to meet

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Lord Macartney, who disembarked in great style, accompanied by his band and bodyguard. Here he was presented to Chin-tagin, a legate specially deputed by the Emperor to conduct the Embassy through his dominions. The city was adorned with triumphal arches ; and about 650 soldiers, ill-armed but gaudily dressed and provided with large fans, formed a guard of honour which was made doubly effective by leaving an interval of about three yards between each man.

At Tien-tsin questions of procedure and etiquette were discussed at great length, and Lord Macartney was informed that instead of seeing the Emperor at Peking, as he had expected, he was to follow him to the country palace at Jehol in Tartary, where the Imperial birthday was to be kept on September 14. The Ambassador, however, stipulated that he should spend some days at Peking *en route*, in order to deposit a certain number of the more fragile presents for the Emperor (which might suffer from the overland journey) at the capital. This point was conceded, but it was made clear that the Emperor regarded the British mission merely as a compliment, and not in the more serious and businesslike manner in which his Majesty's Government had intended it. The only Embassies hitherto received by the Emperor had been those to express the submission of neighbouring tributary princes ; and as the expense of such missions was always borne by the Emperor, and as, in this case, so heavy a charge was being laid on the Treasury for the British Embassy, it was not altogether surprising that the Emperor should intimate that no prolongation of their stay was desired after their interview with him had taken place. After much *fêting*, giving of



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dinners, and a theatrical performance, they parted from the old Viceroy, and again went on their way up the river. It soon became necessary to tow the vessels upstream, and for this purpose about 500 men ran along the bank, singing, about twelve or fifteen being used for each boat. They pushed with their chests against a board, attached by a noose to the towing rope, another 500 men running alongside to relieve them when required.

Buttresses and causeways of granite protected the surrounding country from inundation ; at small square guardhouses about twelve miles apart a military guard turned out and fired a salute of three guns, in the Ambassador's honour. The curiosity of the people seemed to increase even more as they approached Pekin ; and their greatest joy was caused by the sight of a negro, an African boy in the service of Captain Mackintosh, whose shining black skin, woolly hair and grinning countenance convinced the people that he was a real Fan-qui, or devil. The strangest stories had been circulated about the English, and had certainly not failed to arouse native curiosity ; on the flag of the junks an inscription in large characters announced " that they were foreigners carrying tribute to the Emperor."

Beyond Tong-chou the Pei-ho was no longer navigable, so the expedition was landed and the Ambassador lodged with great state in a temple from which the priests and idols were temporarily banished to accommodate him. Here some heated discussions took place between the Ambassador and the Legate Chin-tagin as to the manner of the ceremonies to be observed in the Emperor's presence. The Legate insisted that Lord

Macartney should *kow-tow* to the Emperor (which Captain Parish describes as "prostrating one's self like a beast on all-fours and knocking one's head nine times upon the floor"); this the Ambassador flatly refused to do; and, to avoid further discussion and create a diversion, Captain Parish was asked to get out his guns and put his men through their exercises. The mandarins, thinking it unbecoming to their high rank to show surprise, took little notice of the performance, but the natives generally made no scruple of displaying their enjoyment.

From Tong-chou to Peking the route was made by land, and must have been a strange procession. The Ambassador and Sir George Staunton travelled in state sedans borne on men's shoulders, the soldiers, band and servants were transported in seventy or eighty waggons, while as many more hand-carts and barrows were used for the luggage, military stores, etc. In addition to these, between two and three thousand Chinamen were employed in carrying, by means of bamboo poles, the cases of presents and other things too fragile to be trusted in the springless carts of the country. Captain Parish, with the other English officers, brought up the rear on "sorry" horses. About half-way to Peking they crossed a fine marble bridge of five arches, and then lunched at a small village, where with the thermometer at 90 degrees they were half suffocated by the dust.

"In the unbearable heat" (writes Captain Parish) "our tight-fitting uniforms and powdered hair contrasted very strikingly with the loose flowing robes and well-shaved heads of the Chinese, whose equipment altogether was better suited to the climate than our own. The road to

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the capital" (he continues) "was handsome enough, broad and straight, paved in the middle with large stone slabs and bordered on either side by rows of the largest willow trees I ever saw. As we approached the city it seemed as if the whole of its vast population had come out to gaze at us. The road was literally one mass of countless multitudes, and so dense was the crowd that the Mandarins had to order their soldiers forward to clear the way with whips before we were able to pass on. Carts, covered and uncovered, full of curious spectators, were drawn up on either side, and smart sedans with ladies inside, peeping through the curtains, proved that female curiosity was quite as rife in China as in any other part of the world. It were hard perhaps to determine whether on this occasion of their first meeting the Chinese or the English were most strange in each other's eyes.

After traversing a thickly-peopled suburb we arrived at one of the Eastern Gates of the Tartar city ; outside little else was visible but the gates and towers which covered them ; no minarets, no domes, no churches, or lofty public edifices rose above them as in other cities, to break the line as far as the eye could reach of one long straight wall of dull blue-coloured ramparts. We halted inside the gate to take some refreshment and to re-arrange our order of march through the city, and then proceeded onwards, the Mandarins leading, through a broad unpaved street, entirely of shops, running due west till we reached the yellow wall, as it is called, which bounds the precincts of the Imperial Palace and gardens, and which forms a very considerable enclosure in the centre of the city. It was no doubt purposely, in order to give us some idea of the vast extent of this Imperial abode, that we were taken round the whole length of the Northern and Eastern sides of it, our conductors stopping occasionally to direct our attention through some gate or opening to the glittering buildings

and charming gardens inside; except for this they showed little disposition to indulge our curiosity by halting elsewhere; the only buildings pointed out to us as worth notice were some very extensive public granaries or rice stores on the right as we entered the city, and an observatory as we looked along the line of outer walls to the left. On the north side of the city and nearly in the centre was a singular-looking tower, called the Bell Tower, from an enormous bell within it, the sound of which when struck, we were told, could be heard through every part of the city. A Christian Church was pointed out to us shortly before we reached the North-west gate through which we left the city.

Upon the whole I think the general impression of this, our first view of Peking, was rather one of disappointment than otherwise. The leading features of the city seemed to be the long, broad, unpaved straight streets, crossing each other at right angles—the houses nearly all of one story—the open shops decked out and glittering with bright paint and gilding, and all ornamented with flags and streamers from high painted poles, in which certainly the wares were displayed with great care to attract notice. The strange looking P'ai Lous or lofty wooden arches erected across the streets, in honour as we were told of distinguished personages, and the astonishing number of people all seeming to live and carry on their occupations more in the open air than indoors, strolling mountebanks and quacks, and barbers, hawkers and pedlars, with crowds around them, stopped our way in many places till they were dispersed by the whips of the Chinese soldiers, who seemed to be everywhere at hand to keep order and prevent disturbances; this at least was the case in the principal thoroughfares. The houses facing the palace precincts seemed to be chiefly private dwellings, and some of them had an air of something more than comfort. There were many people on horseback in the streets, and among them some Tartar

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women riding across like men, but for the better classes they seemed to be chiefly carried about in smart sedans of which there were great numbers borne upon men's shoulders. The beasts of burden seemed to be dromedaries and asses; of the former we saw many strings laden with coals from Tartary coming in from the country.

Pekin is divided into distinct cities—like London and Westminster—the older or Tartar city, and the newer Chinese city, each surrounded by its own walls. The first or Tartar city is so called from its having been given up to the Tartars when they conquered the country, and is still principally in their occupation. The Chinese city is where the old Chinese inhabitants established themselves when driven out by the Tartars from their own homes. The vast enclosure comprising the Imperial Palaces with their gardens and courts and offices, forms an immense parallelogram within the walls of the Tartar city, and of which perhaps it constitutes nearly a fifth of the whole; it gave us quite the idea of an Imperial residence, but was peculiarly and altogether Chinese; the pleasure grounds around it seemed to be laid out with extraordinary pains and taste, and were diversified with mounds of rock-work and extensive artificial lakes, in which were islands studded with trees and surmounted by ornamental towers and fanciful summer-houses. It was certainly a most charming and refreshing prospect to look upon in the midst of the heat and dust of the city, and other disagreeables from which we were all more or less suffering."

The house which had been prepared for Lord Macartney was two hours distant from Peking, and on reaching it he found to his annoyance that it was both out of repair and most inadequately furnished. On his complaining the next day to the mandarins, they at once assured him that he should be provided with a better

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house in the city itself. Meanwhile Mr. Barrow and Mr. Dinwiddie were deputed to unpack the more fragile of the gifts for the Emperor and arrange them in his adjoining palace of Yuen-min-yuen.\* The mandarins conducted the members of the Embassy over the palace, which was well worth seeing, and in the great Hall of Audience or Throne Room containing the Chair of State, Lord Macartney ordered the presents to be displayed. They consisted, among innumerable other things, of a planetarium, an orrery, some large globes and various astronomical instruments (which had been sent out in the belief that they would be appreciated in the "Celestial Empire"), some clocks and cut-glass lustres, as well as specimens of British pottery, etc.

It was impossible to take the field-guns any further up-country, so Captain Parish reluctantly left them at Peking with the military stores and powder, on which the mandarins looked with so much suspicion that they took charge of them themselves. Some European missionaries were found at Peking, and immediate use was made of them as interpreters to the Embassy, the only interpreter they had hitherto secured being comparatively useless owing to his ignorance of the Court language. On August 20 they removed to a very fine palace in Peking, formerly the property of a prominent Revenue official, which had been confiscated with the rest of this official's property when he was disgraced; it contained several rectangular courts with handsome pavilions and suites of apartments, and was large enough to hold a regiment.

The members of the Embassy now hoped to have

\* The Summer Palace, since destroyed and rebuilt near the old site.

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an opportunity of seeing all they wished of Peking ; but this was not such an easy matter. The Ambassador himself was informed that it would be strictly contrary to etiquette if he were seen at all in public, before his presentation to the Emperor ; and as to the remainder of the party, the mandarins evidently disliked the responsibility of their wandering in the streets unattended, thinking that they might be insulted by the crowd, in whose eyes they presented so strange and unaccustomed an appearance. No restrictions, however, were imposed on any who wished to visit the Englishmen, and mandarins and people of rank came in throngs to hear the band, which for their amusement, was ordered to play every afternoon. Considerable interest was aroused by portraits of the King and Queen, which, with the Royal Arms, were hung under a canopy, specially brought from England for the purpose, in the most important room of the palace.

Preparations were now made for the journey to Jehol, and twenty of the party were deputed to remain in Peking to look after the arrangement of the presents, the caring for the sick and the guarding of the Ambassador's property, while the rest of the number reduced their luggage as far as possible, and prepared to accompany Lord Macartney to Tartary. Lord Macartney himself was to travel in an English "chariot" which he had brought out specially for his own use, and to which four little Chinese horses were harnessed, with artillerymen as postilions ; Sir George Staunton went in a palanquin, and the packages were carried by runners, who always succeeded in doing the same day's work on foot as the Englishmen did on horseback.

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The expedition left Peking by an excellent road on September 2, and, after passing through a highly-cultivated tract of country to the north of the city, spent the first night in the Imperial Palace at Nan-chut-see. The second day's journey took them through a pass crossing a small range of hills, and then over a bridge of strange construction, of which many similar ones were crossed before reaching Jehol. They were built upon "caissons" of wattles filled with stone, which varied in dimensions according to the breadth of the river, being generally from four to eight feet wide, their length corresponding pretty closely to the breadth of the river. Perpendicular spars united them to each other; or, in the case of very broad rivers, flat-bottomed boats took the place of the caissons in the middle of the stream. The flooring consisted of spars and hurdles covered with clay. The tobacco harvest was being gathered in this part of the country, and tobacco was smoked in long pipes by the men, women, and young girls of the neighbourhood. At frequent intervals along the road the Embassy passed square towers or military posts, intended for the defence of the country, and smaller ones used for police purposes. The former were usually about forty feet square, generally solid in construction and surrounded by a battlemented platform, with a hut for the garrison, and a flag-staff. Sometimes these towers were painted blue, and they were invariably ornamented by a parti-coloured dragon, each one different from the last. Near the tower stood a hut, and in front of it a red platform on which spears and old muskets were displayed, and close by was a P'ai Lou, or triumphal arch, of slight construction, stained black, white, and red; this was



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surmounted by five or six small erections, also covered with painted dragons, containing combustible material, with which in former times signals were given from one post to the next, but which were now merely left as ornaments.

On September 3 they passed the town of Min-yu-chien, which was strongly fortified by walls, and slept at the Imperial Palace, half a mile beyond the town. From here onwards, passing through villages and by endless military posts, the road, which was now very rough, became steeper every day, and as they approached the mountains the heat became intense. In many places passes were cut for considerable distances through the solid rock; as they neared the summit a "stream of dromedaries" passed them bearing charcoal from Tartary. Then came the climax of the journey, when, from the top of the ridge Captain Parish and his companions looked down on what he describes as—

"one of the most interesting prospects I ever beheld, heightened by the effects of a glowing sun, and a beautifully serene and clear blue sky. One all-absorbing object, however, arrested our attention; before us and along the crest of a ridge of lofty mountains, up hill and down dale as far as eye could see, right and left ran that wonder of the world, the Great Wall of China, apparently shutting out with its battlements and towers all the world beyond. I can ill describe the varied feelings to which the first view of this vast work gave rise; what an enormous amount of labour must have been employed in its construction, its extent, said to be about 1500 miles,\* its great antiquity of about 2000 years. The bold conception and wonderful energy of

\* Probably about 3,000 miles.

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the monarch, Ming Ti, who first planned it for the protection of the mighty population over which he ruled—in numbers, indeed, surpassing all others of the nations of the earth, above three hundred millions—and then completed it in the almost incredibly short space of fifteen years! And, after all the reflection that there it stands, at once the mightiest monument perhaps existing of man's power, and like another, Babel, of his impotence against the decrees of Providence. The wall was crossed by a horde of Tartars, who have ever since ruled despotically over the three hundred millions of Chinese who vainly imagined themselves perfectly secure against all external enemies."

The next halt was made at Ku-pe-ku, at which place there is an opening in the great wall, and, being an important military station, a parade of the soldiers was held in honour of the Ambassador, with much music, blowing of trumpets, the mustering of mandarins without number, triumphal arches, and every token of honour known to the Chinese. Once at Ku-pe-ku, Captain Parish was determined to lose no time in making a close inspection of the wall, to the great astonishment apparently of the Chinese, to whom it was of little interest. Captain Parish climbed to the top by a breach which was visible near the town, and made a minute investigation of its construction. He found the wall to be chiefly composed of earth and rubbish, retained by walls on either side varying in thickness from five feet at the bottom to two feet three inches on the terrace. The walls, built of blue bricks, were on stone foundations and surrounded by a terrace,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, paved with square bricks, and protected by a parapet rising about five feet above it. This parapet, which slopes inward at the same angle as the

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wall, was pierced with embrasures at the top and loopholes at the bottom, and sloped downwards from the terrace so as to command the approach of the wall within a few yards of its base. The total height of the wall above the ground was twenty-seven feet, the width at the base twenty-one, and at the top fourteen feet. At intervals of one or two hundred yards were strong towers, about forty feet square at the base, projecting on the external side about eighteen or twenty feet from the main wall, and rising either one or two stories above it ; in front of each were ports or embrasures, with platforms protected by parapets similar to those on the wall itself. Though in one place the wall appeared to have been recently restored, it was more generally neglected, and falling into ruins by disuse. Captain Parish came to the conclusion that the wall was not built with the intention of resisting cannon shot, but certain holes on the parapet, apparently used for mounting the swivels of guns, seemed to him an evidence that gunpowder was in use in China at a very early date.

Once in Tartary the Englishmen found a great change in their surroundings. Instead of the highly cultivated plain in which they had experienced such great heat, they found themselves on a barren and rugged plateau at a considerable elevation, where the piercing cold was hardly less disagreeable than the former heat had been. The next few days they passed through many villages, usually spending the night at an Imperial palace ; on September 8 a halt was made, and a procession formed previous to entering Jehol, their final destination. The inhabitants of the town, a miserable, dirty place, turned out to see them pass, Lord Macartney

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and Sir George Staunton in their carriage, all the soldiers, diplomatic body, mandarins, and band in full dress accompanying them. The building in which the Englishmen were lodged was a very fine one, overlooking the Emperor's park, with a view of the Tartar Hills in the distance. Here mandarins innumerable came to call and make arrangements for the Ambassador's reception, he in turn explaining to them the objects of the Embassy. The question of the *kow-tow* was again raised, but Lord Macartney firmly refused to offer his homage to the Emperor in this manner, unless the latter would consent to a Chinaman of high rank performing a like obeisance before the King's portrait in token of his equality; Lord Macartney, however, suggested that he would be quite willing to go on one knee in the European fashion and kiss the Emperor's hand; this offer was promptly accepted by the Emperor, not a little to the astonishment of the mandarins, though the hand-kissing was eliminated as being foreign to their ideas of good manners. It appeared afterwards that a strong party at Court wished the Ambassador to be unceremoniously dismissed, but the Emperor himself was both inclined to receive him and also to relax the strict ceremonial in use when he received his own tributary princes.

The presents of guns, pistols, saddles, telescopes, etc., having been graciously received by the Emperor, the reception was ordered to take place on September 14, and Lord Macartney intimated to his retinue that he wished them all to accompany him.

The time chosen was an hour after daybreak on a cold, frosty morning, and the place an open tent at the

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foot of the mountains of Tartary. Since it was expected that the Embassy should be at the place appointed an hour before the ceremony was to take place, they had to leave their quarters in the dark at 3 a.m., the Ambassador and Sir George Staunton going in palanquins, the gentlemen of the suite on horseback, the guards and musicians following with all the servants in the State liveries.

At the gates of the palace they all dismounted and walked to an open space where the ceremony was to be held. A large open tent was prepared for the Emperor's use, and one alongside for the English Ambassador, smaller ones being occupied by various Tartar princes, who were also to do homage to the Emperor. Various Court officials came to visit Lord Macartney, and among others the old Viceroy of Pe-che-li, who, in spite of his great age, had not been exempted from the command to be present, three days later, on the important occasion of the Imperial birthday. The Ambassador was delighted to see the old gentleman again who had shown him so much courtesy on his landing in China, and the Viceroy seemed equally glad to renew his acquaintance with Lord Macartney.

The sound of music soon announced the arrival of the Emperor's *cortège*, which is, I am sure, best described in Captain Parish's own words :

“There was something indescribably novel as well as grand and imposing in the whole of this scene, the pomp and circumstances of which seemed so much more like what we had been expected to see got up for stage effect, that it was difficult at first to be satisfied of its reality.

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The primitive simplicity of the Tartar customs retained in their tents, and the assemblage of the people at that early hour of the morning under the great canopy of heaven, would almost in imagination have carried us back to the patriarchal times, had not the appearance of the Emperor himself, 'the son of Heaven' as he is styled, and the humble prostrations of the assembled multitude, forced upon us the conviction that we were actually in the presence of the greatest monarch of the East, the despotic ruler of three hundred millions of people.

The Emperor \* was preceded by some officers, whose business it seemed to be to proclaim on high his titles and virtues, he himself being exalted above the multitude in a chair, carried by sixteen bearers dressed in yellow robes, and followed by guards and standard-bearers carrying yellow flags, and the rich silk umbrella-looking canopies, which seemed to be an appendage of all persons of distinction in China, the difference in this case being that they were all yellow instead of red, the usual colour ; one was held over the Emperor's head as he sat in the chair of State.

There was nothing otherwise in his own personal appearance to denote his Imperial rank, on the contrary, the simplicity and plainness of his own habiliments rather remarkably contrasted with those of the vast assemblage of Mandarins and Officials drawn out to receive him. They were formed in an almost complete circle of about 100 yards in diameter, ten deep, and I calculated that there could not therefore be less than three thousand present, all as we were told Mandarins of the first order, or the second, besides their followers not included in the circle, and who were still more numerous.†

\* Ch'ien Lung.

† *Number of troops at Jehol, September, 1793*: Whilst waiting for the Emperor at the gate of the park, the circle was at least 100 yards in

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Upon the Emperor's entering the ring, the Ambassador, with all the gentlemen of his suite, advanced from his own tent into the open space in front, bowing to him in our own fashion whilst the Mandarins went through their prostrations according to the Chinese ceremony.

He alighted at the entrance to the Imperial tent and mounted some steps to his seat upon the raised throne within, and a few minutes after, on a signal given, the Ambassador, accompanied by Sir George Staunton \* and his son (who acted as page to Lord Macartney), with the Interpreter, were conducted into his presence by one of the Officers of the Court, the rest of the gentlemen of his suite remaining at the entrance of the tent, where they were able to see all that passed.

Ascending by some steps which led to the Throne, Lord Macartney went up to him, and bowing on one knee, delivered into his hands a richly ornamented box which contained the King's Royal Letter, and which the Emperor at once handed over to one of his attendants.

Sir George Staunton was then brought forward and introduced as His Majesty's second plenipotentiary. The Emperor spoke to them both with much apparent benevolence, through the interpreter, and gave to each

diameter, this gives a circumference of 314 yards. The mandarins of rank were five deep; and the inferior mandarins five more, that is:—

	<sup>1</sup> Mandarins of rank.	Inferior Mandarins.	Total Mandarins.	No. of Soldiers.
Present ...	... 1570	1570	} 11,304	
Absent $\frac{1}{5}$ ...	314 absent 5 times	7850		
At an average of six followers to each gives			... ..	67,824
Doing military duties at the palace, etc., perhaps			... ..	10,000
				77,824

If to these are added the troops of the Tartar kings, of whom there are twenty or more, it may be fairly computed that the total at Jehol will amount to 100,000. (Note in Captain Parish's Journal.)

<sup>1</sup> The circle was not quite completed, but the calculation being made from the interior circumference will make up for the little that was wanting.

\* Afterwards Sir George Thomas Staunton, see p. 207.

of them with his own hands a curious bâton of agate, the usual present, we were told, on such occasions, and emblematic of peace and goodwill. Enquiring whether any of the party were able to speak Chinese, young Staunton was pointed out, who had picked up the language with extraordinary facility, on which the Emperor called the youth to him and asked him some questions very kindly, which he answered very readily and modestly, and greatly to the Emperor's apparent satisfaction, for he took his own purse from his girdle and gave it to him ; a mark of favour, we were told, quite without precedent, and which drew upon him, as well it might, the attention of all present.

The Tartar princes already mentioned, and some other persons of distinction, were then formally presented and conducted to their seats on either side of the Throne, opposite to which were small tables, the Ambassador and Sir George having one for their separate use, on which shortly afterwards a very good dinner was served with great formality, the Emperor eating at his own table and sending from time to time portions of his own dishes to Lord Macartney. During the repast there was an exhibition of tumblers and wrestlers within view of the Imperial tent for the entertainment of those outside as well as in ; but for the rest of us it was rather a stiff affair, the Emperor's presence imposing entire silence on the company according to the prescribed etiquette of the Court. The Ceremonies lasted between four and five hours by which time we were all heartily tired and glad enough to return to our own quarters. . . .”

Here the record abruptly ends, and we may conclude that the return journey presented no particular novelty to the young artillery officer, who had been lucky enough to accompany the first European expedition to the interior of China ; that he did well we can conclude from the





*Captain Henry Williams Parish*  
*Royal Artillery*  
*1765 - 1800*  
*from a miniature*

*Henry Williams Parish*



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promotion given him on his return, and the gift of plate from Lord Macartney in recognition of his services as topographer to the expedition.

On his return he was stationed at Woolwich, where he married the daughter of General Duncan Drummond, then in command of the Artillery. In 1798, when Lord Cornwallis was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Commander-in-chief, he took with him Captain Parish as his A.D.C. and gentleman of the bedchamber. Parish served under Lord Cornwallis against a "detachment of the enemy (?) who landed in the north of Ireland," and was, according to a contemporary authority, "in the enjoyment of his Lordship's perfect countenance and perfection," when an unfortunate accident put an abrupt termination to his promising career. On returning to England in 1800, he was washed overboard and drowned at the age of thirty-five. The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* bears testimony to the—

"most unblemished honour and integrity, which eminently distinguished every part of his meritorious life. Those under him and with whom he served have always acknowledged his eminent professional abilities and the superiority of his talents ; instances of which the publick may recollect in Sir George Staunton's account of the Embassy to China, towards which he not only contributed the technical descriptions of the fortified places visited during the expedition, but also adorned the work with some delineations executed with equal taste and accuracy. His mind, however, was not merely satisfied with the knowledge of his profession and a conscientious discharge of his duty, he everywhere sought for instruction, and there are few sciences to which he had not devoted some of his leisure hours, and in the more agreeable

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accomplishments of polished society he was eminently successful. In musick he easily became a proficient, and during his abode at Halifax, at a time when the poor suffered from an unusual scarcity, the officers of the garrison devoted their leisure time to theatrical representations for their relief, Captain Parish took a very active part in this innocent and laudable recreation, and much contributed, by the ability with which he filled the leading characters, to the amusement of the inhabitants and the gratification of his humane feelings. Society has to lament the death of a man who was one of its highest ornaments. His near connections and the circle of his private friends, consisting of many very enlightened men, will ever recollect his genuine moral and domestic virtues, and the peculiar elegance and suavity of his manners, while they deeply regret his loss."

## CHARLES COMPTON PARISH (1771-1841)

Charles Compton Parish, Captain Henry Parish's younger brother, was born in Dublin Castle on May Day, 1771, his father being at that time Chaplain to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Early in life he joined the merchant service, and at the age of twenty-three he was already owner and captain of a vessel, the *Acalus*, trading with the West Indies.

It was September, in the year 1794, and France had but lately sent Robespierre to the guillotine and emancipated herself from the Reign of Terror. The Convention was still sitting, and Napoleon had not yet appeared on the horizon to guide the destinies of France. Trade

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was disorganized and the seas were haunted by pirate ships and hostile men-of-war. Captain Charles Parish had delivered a cargo in London and was returning to the ill-fated port of Messina when his ship was captured off the Spanish coast by six French frigates. He himself was taken on board the *Minerva* as a prisoner of war.

In spite of the surprise of finding himself surrounded by a French squadron (he had thought the ships were Spanish, and consequently friendly), he was able to collect some clothes, books, and other necessaries. He soon learnt the horrible conditions which he would have to share with the other prisoners; illness and disease, resulting from an utter want of cleanliness, were rife among the French sailors, and had not unnaturally spread among their prisoners.

The first lieutenant showed him the lockers of the cockpit, giving him permission to sleep on them in company with Captain John Moody, a fellow-prisoner; and he soon realized his special good fortune on hearing that all the other prisoners were put to sleep on the cables in the hold.

No accommodation of any kind was made for their washing or dressing, and after an indifferent night, Captain Parish drew a bucket of salt water for himself that he might wash his face and hands.

“I now thought” (he writes), “that I had nothing to do but keep myself clean and decent and keep up my spirits, having patience till such time as it should be my lot to change for the better. I was happy to have liberty to go to what part of the ship I liked, that I got plenty to eat, a clean place to sleep in, and some

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of the officers seemed to have a generous pity for us English prisoners. But this did not last, and we found that as the number of the English prisoners increased the jealousy of the French was aroused and their strictness redoubled."

It was fortunate for my ancestor that he had so great a power of raising his spirits under the most depressing circumstances, and this probably carried him through the ordeals of the next few months. On the second day, finding his time lie heavy on his hands, Captain Parish went to the lieutenant's cabin, found his bag (already appreciably thinner than when he had left it there two nights before), and taking out his flute, began to play upon it. A young officer belonging to the ship came down on hearing the music, begged leave to borrow the flute, and put his cabin at the Englishman's disposal, begging him to write there, play the flute, or do what he pleased in it, and for the moment the prospect looked distinctly brighter.

But the following day more prizes were taken, including a Spanish brig carrying troops (these 250 men were luckily not transferred to the *Minerva*), and the *Clarence*, an English yacht going from Barcelona to Malaga with thirty French emigrants on board. The misery of these fresh prisoners and the despair of their servants caused considerable amusement to the crew of the *Minerva*, but the great increase in the number of the prisoners meant an immediate decrease in their comfort. The English prisoners were sent down to the hold and put in irons with a sentry to guard them, and Captain Parish and Captain Moody were told, to their

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intense disgust, to sleep with them. The hold was not only unbearably hot, but so dirty that Captain Parish did not even dare to take his bed with him; there was no light, and everybody had crowded in the hatchway to get the best air, so that it was impossible to find a berth without treading on and creeping over many legs and heads. Could the prisoners have sat upright, even, it would have been bearable, but the coil of the cable being only about a foot and a half above the deck made it about as uncomfortable a bed as could well be imagined. Being unable to sit, stand, or to lie down, their bones ached all over until the joyful moment came when the English captains were allowed again on deck in the morning.

On December 24 two more Spanish vessels were captured, and a strong wind sprang up which materially increased the discomfort of the women, whose quarters on the gun-deck and in the officers' cabins were unpleasantly overcrowded.

On Christmas Day the excitement increased, and this strange day is best described by an extract from Captain Charles Parish's journal—

“It now blew a strong gale, and we found the ship in the morning under close-reefed topsails. She shipped an immense deal of water, and laboured much; when down in the hold we could at times really feel the ship twist, and her long keel bend. At noon, the gale freshening, the mainsail was handed, and in the evening, blowing extremely hard, the topsails were clewed up, remaining in that state beating fit to go to pieces, and no one willing to go up to hand them, the officers being obliged to run about the decks with their cutlasses to

start the sailors up. They were at last in a manner half made fast, and remained so all night. Now, finding the sea come over the quarter-deck, and being extremely cold, I went down with my friend Moody into the cockpit. The French ladies were soon forced down by a sea which entered the great cabin windows. Our business was to quieten the children, who were very much frightened, as best we could.

About six o'clock I was much alarmed to see the Master-at-Arms run down crying out that 'the English prisoners had revolted,' and he immediately went down into the gun-room for pistols, cartouch boxes, etc. Some of the officers who were in the ward-room immediately armed themselves with a brace of pistols and a cutlass (which was always ready). Lanthorns were instantly all over the ship, everybody was immediately armed, and every one was in confusion, the vessel labouring and shipping water, and the repeated cries of 'The traitors! Where are they?' were truly terrible.

There happened to be three of us down below aft, and we thought it best to sit still where we were, as we were sure it was without provocation they had armed. A young lieutenant came running down in a great passion. I spoke to him, but he answered only by pointing his cutlass to my throat in a furious manner, crying out, 'You traitors, away with you!' and drove us into a cabin, where he shut us up. We were scarcely there one minute when he would have us out again, thinking us too near the gun-room where there was by this time a strong guard. The Master of Colours again put us into the cabin, but the young officer now insisted on our going on deck in the midst of numbers of mariners armed with tomahawks and bayonets, each seeming eager to have the first drive. When we had escaped the guard at the gun-room door, going up the ladder we saw the hatchway surrounded by the wild marines, who immediately showed their activity by flourishing their weapons of



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destruction. I was twice knocked down on my passage up the ladder ; my hat was knocked off, but with the quick thought that its strength and false crown would save a blow, I picked it up again. We three now found ourselves to be the only Englishmen out of the hold, and were again driven down into the ward-rooms at the points of their swords. The great noise and uproar prevented the officers a long time from hearing one another, and we were properly bothered by contradictory orders. I now began to think it was a dreadful Christmas night, and really at that time I could not have insured my life at one per cent., for never before was I so near my death, even at the time of falling overboard at sea in a gale of wind !

We were at last sent down into the ward-room with a guard over us till all was quiet again, for which we were very thankful, as we escaped running the gauntlet of the gun-room like the rest of the English captains and passengers and mates, and I thought it impossible but that some of them must have been killed as they were bundled down the hatchway neck and heels, some of them much bruised ; but only one was wounded, in the back, and his life was saved by a heavy but lucky lurch of the ship.

Upon inquiry it was found that the report had originated in some malicious French sailor who had first given the report. A number of them were drunk, and it was very fortunate that all our sailors were down in the hold and in irons, for had they been scattered about the ship they would most likely have armed themselves and made resistance. As everybody shares the same fate in the case of failure of such an attempt, I was now very anxious to hear the whole of the affair, but dared not yet stir out of the ward-room, and found the officers too busy to give me an answer.

We were fortunate enough to sit down to a comfortable supper, but the rest of our friends were not

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suffered to stir out of the hold, having over them a strong guard; neither would some of them have stirred out for the best supper ever provided.

If a little time past I was frightened and thought this would have proved a miserable Christmas Day to me, I was now more cheerful and merry and ate the heartiest supper I ever had on board. I am sure the danger I had escaped helped to heighten my joy and thankfulness. It had been a very disagreeable affair, and might have been attended with disastrous consequences.

I imagined that the officers and men had naturally a fear of so many prisoners knowing the incapacity of their own crew in such bad weather, and had given that alarm to show that they were always ready and to keep them in awe for the future.

After supper I began to dread the going forward to bed, as I thought they might possibly take me for one of those who had escaped out of the hold, the consequences of which would, I knew, be worse than the first. I told my friends of my determination to sleep again in the ward-room, and they begged me not to think of such a thing at that time, but the Captain coming down I stepped up to him, and begged him to give me leave. I told him how hurtful it was to me who was not used to sleep on billets of wood and water casks, and where we were stowed so thick, and that if he should suspect anything in us he might chain us together, which we would willingly suffer to sleep wholesomely. After telling him I was sorry that such a disagreeable report had been raised, I assured him that our people were all certain they were treated as well as prisoners at that time could expect, and that they would not be ungrateful and rise upon the French. He gave us three liberty to sleep there, for which leave we were very thankful, and the others were much pleased with me for asking it.

The next morning we were the first up and it was not till after breakfast that we had the pleasure of seeing

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an English face upon deck, but only the masters and mates were allowed that liberty. It still blew extremely hard from the North-west, and the sea very high and covered with a white surf; it had snowed and hailed much all night, and was prodigiously cold for idle hands.

The Captain having now lost sight of the five other frigates determined to push for Toulon with all possible speed. He carried an amazing press of sail on the ship this day, the lee gunwales seldom appearing out of water; ten knots she went with her sails touching the wind. Towards evening we saw land to the eastward and soon got into smooth water; in the evening we shortened sail and tacked in to the land."

The following day the *Minerva* lay off Toulon in the company of fourteen sail of the line and seven frigates, and was kept there twenty days in quarantine. The whole place was full of fever and disease, and the extreme cold, which exceeded anything experienced in the south of France for twenty years, added to the illnesses on board the *Minerva*. Only about twenty of her own crew, including officers, remained, and the prisoners were kept hard at work scrubbing the decks and putting the ship in readiness for her next voyage with the fleet. Captain Moody was one of the many who fell ill with fever and was moved to the Lazaretto. At first Captain Parish visited his friend in hospital, but soon found that even visits to such a place were most injurious to him, and he was obliged to give them up. It was no uncommon thing at that time for fifty or sixty patients to die in one week at each hospital.

It was about this time that the *Acalus* was brought in with other prizes to Toulon, and Captain Parish was much mortified at the sight, having secretly hoped that

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she might have been recaptured by the English in the meanwhile.

The days of quarantine were very tedious for every one on board, and especially for the prisoners, who had to suffer many things that were said against their country.

Before they were allowed out of quarantine every person on the ship was sent on shore to be "smoked," and the prisoners were somewhat alarmed for fear that an opportunity might be taken to stifle or smother them in the hut where the process of fumigating was gone through, but though it proved decidedly unpleasant at the time, they experienced no ill effects afterwards.

After being called over on January 28, all the prisoners left the *Minerva* in two boats with a lieutenant in charge of them. Some excitement prevailed as to whether the change on shore would better their condition or the reverse, and the first stages of their journey were most unfavourable. They spent several hours, after leaving the row-boats, under the second deck of an old hulk, in pitch darkness and appalling smells, in a space some twenty-two feet square, there being then about eighty prisoners. From the freezing cold outside the change to stifling heat was very trying, and they were soon obliged to take off most of their clothes. Before many hours were over an officer appeared to conduct them all to Tarascon, where they were to remain indefinitely. The procession was headed by a band playing the "Rogue's March," and first visited a hospital which had lately been converted into a prison. Here the prisoners were again counted over, a list was made of their names, and then, the baggage having

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been put into carts, they were marched out of the town four abreast, in the charge of a captain, a lieutenant, and twenty-four soldiers.

Captain Parish was lucky enough to have kept two bags of clothes and a small trunk of books, and was in this respect better off than any of his fellow-prisoners ; the Spanish ones, of whom there were about 160, were far the worst clad, many having scarcely more than two linen shirts to keep out the cold, and being in a wretched state of health. The English marched ahead, following the drum, and the poor Spaniards were soon unable to keep up with them, so the French captain at the first halt changed the order, placing the Spaniards in front. This, however, was so distasteful to the Englishmen that in less than ten minutes the procession was headed once more by the blue-jackets. " There is something very particular," Captain Parish writes in his journal, " in the spirit of an Englishman, when in company with foreigners, they are determined to the last to outdo them, let it cost what it will, and always wish to maintain as well as claim their superiority ; but this spirit has also its inconvenience as they are too apt to look down upon the rest with contempt, as if so much beneath them, instead of objects truly deserving our pity and assistance."

About four miles from Toulon they passed through a village where they devoutly hoped that a halt would be made to enable them to have some refreshment ; but not even a drink of water was to be had, and they passed out of the village by a rougher and more hilly road, arriving in the evening at the little town of Bouchez. The evening was very cold and the melting

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snow had made the day's march additionally tiring to sailors who had not been on land for many weeks. It was twenty-four hours since they had had any food, and yet, even when a lodging had been procured in a small room, with straw spread on the floor to serve for beds, they had to wait till eleven o'clock before a meal was brought to them; and when it came the allowance consisted of only one pound of bread and four ounces of raw beef to each man. It was impossible to make a fire, and Captain Parish, having succeeded in getting something to drink, soon devoured his bread and raw beef, finding the next morning, to his horror, that the allowance was intended to last until the evening, and that he would get neither breakfast nor dinner.

The prisoners usually ate their meal below the tree of Liberty which was planted in the middle of the village, but the English people were subjected to a good deal of insult from the inhabitants, who tried to force them to cry, "Vive la République!"

The unfortunate Spaniards, however, were worse sufferers. They were given little or no rest, as they invariably arrived long after the other prisoners at their destination, and were started off in front of them. Many fell ill by the way, and the carts were laden with the sick until there was no room for many who were really unfit to walk.

Next day the roads became more hilly, and as they approached the mountains the cold increased. Two large country seats, evidently belonging to people of considerable importance, were passed on the way, but they were utterly deserted and more or less destroyed,

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the gardens and grounds having been laid waste. On reaching Aix-en-Provence they were taken to a large building and passed through an iron gate to which a box was attached with the inscription, "Tronc pour les pauvres prisonniers," and they soon found that their lodging was the common jail.

They were first taken through long damp corridors, lined with cells, to the prison yard, where the English, Spaniards, and Catalonians were separated, the first being given some meat, a few chunks of wood, and a copper vessel in which to cook their food; but cooking was not possible, as no axe was provided with which to cut the wood, and they were obliged once more to eat raw meat. At nine o'clock they were taken into a prison cell, about fourteen feet square, with no straw even to sleep on, but with chains in the corners and centre of the floor, which were much worn with frequent use. The prisoners were even unable to lie on the floor owing to their number, and Captain Parish having succeeded in getting some wine for himself, he and his friend Allan treated the rest of the Englishmen to a glass of rum all round, which they thoroughly enjoyed.

The next morning they were early on the march, but two nights later, at Arcon, they slept again in the jail, this time in a garret with a shattered roof, and at such close quarters that several quarrels occurred between the English and Spanish prisoners. As the English invariably arrived first at their destination they got the pick of the lodgings and the food—such as it was—to the extreme disgust of the Spaniards.

The next night, at St. Rémy, was spent in a church which was extremely cold, and they were awakened in

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the middle of the night by the scream of a soldier, who declared he had seen a dead man walk about in the church.

They had now, after experiencing horrible weather in the hills, emerged into a level country, and saw in the distance the town of Tarascon in front of them. By this time the number of Spaniards was greatly diminished, as many as fourteen a day having dropped on the road from illness and fatigue. The food obtainable, for such as could afford to pay for it, varied considerably, and once or twice Captain Parish succeeded in getting a tolerable meal; but all the better houses in the villages were shut up and deserted, and the churches converted into barns or shops; on some of these was written, "The national magazine for forage," on others, "The French people acknowledge the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul." The tree of Liberty, of an amazing height, was placed in every village, and on the butchers' shops, which were not many, was written "Liberté ou la mort." The towns were better peopled than might have been expected, but all inhabitants who were able carried arms, and Captain Parish says that he never met a man on the road who had not the appearance of a soldier; the people he describes as hardy and stout, especially the women, "though I cannot say," he adds, "that these latter were either handsome in their persons or dresses."

On arriving at Tarascon Captain Charles Parish met another Englishman, Captain Edwards, who had been a prisoner at Tarascon about nine months, and he soon learned from him that the prisoners were allowed absolute liberty so long as they passed muster in the evening.



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This was very welcome news to him, and he began to catechize his new friend about the possibility of getting remittances, etc. The prisoners, of whom hitherto only about ten were Englishmen, received an allowance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of bread and ten sols a day, lodging being provided for them in the church belonging to a convent, which had straw spread on the floor for beds. Captain Edwards, however, invited Captain Parish to share his own rooms with him until he should find some that might suit him better—not an easy matter when the whole place was crowded with soldiers and prisoners of war, and the invitation was gratefully accepted. The arrival of the baggage not a little surprised his host, who had fully expected to find that he possessed nothing but the clothes in which he stood.

Towards evening they went together to the “Commissaire de guerre,” to ask for an increase of their allowance, as a rise in the price of provisions made it impossible for them to buy more than a quarter-pound of meat with their ten sols. Meanwhile, Edwards showed the newcomer how to make the most of what he had, advising him to remain in bed and sleep till 11 a.m., thus avoiding the expense of breakfast, and then to sell the bread which was allowed him and with the money to buy potatoes, which were much cheaper. Dinner and supper for five men could be got off a sheep’s head, and the greater part of the day was spent in marketing and cooking.

On Sunday, February 8, Captain Parish wrote for money to his correspondents at Genoa, and then went out into the town, where a *fête* was being celebrated, and men and women, all dressed neat and clean, danced

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in long rows about the town to drums and fifes. The public mirth had a very pleasing effect; in fact music could always be heard in any part of the town.

He had, unfortunately, caught a chill by wearing a damp shirt, and soon began to suffer from a fever. He first tried to cure himself, and then sent for the doctor; but by February 14 he was very seriously ill, and acting on the advice of his friends was removed in a sedan chair to the hospital.

For three weeks he was reduced to a state of unconsciousness by excessive bleeding, combined with starvation, and when he regained his senses he found himself in a corner of the ward known as "the death bed," where patients were put when recovery was despaired of; but a change of weather and the kind attentions of the head nurse or matron of the hospital saved his life, and he slowly recovered his strength. Hearing, about March 10, that there was some talk of an exchange of prisoners, and being much alarmed at the idea that his fellow-countrymen would leave Tarascon before he had strength to travel, he determined to hasten his recovery, but only brought on a relapse by this sudden effort, and it was not till March 31 that he was able to leave the hospital.

"I was much pleased" (he writes) "to observe the perfect cleanliness of this hospital throughout, and the good regulations there used. They seemed to spare no expense, having everything of the best. The sick eat and drink out of pewter, which is scoured bright every day, and they have the best bread and finest beef in the town; there is always hot broth ready for the sick, and those who are better have served them a pint of good

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wine and a pound of white bread. I, being a favourite, had always boiled rice in the morning for breakfast, at ten hot soup was served out and a ration of beef, and at four again a loaf was served out, with rice or soup or beef. Prayers were read in public three times a day by the nurses in the respective wards, and clean linen of all kinds was served out as required ; but I preferred wearing my own, excepting sheets. The room I was in was a spacious one, about 100 feet in length, 25 in breadth, and 24 in height. The bedsteads were all of iron, with green serge curtains bound with red, the uniformity of which, with the neat manner in which they were always kept, had a pleasing effect. There were eighteen beds in my room. The doctor visited at 8 in the morning and at 3 in the afternoon; the surgeon came half an hour before. The hospital was governed by four directors, and everybody seemed very attentive to their duty. The head nurse was so compassionate and obliging in her behaviour that I was always happy to see her."

It is very comforting to think that even in those days all hospitals were not managed like the Lazaretto at Toulon, though how, in what appears to have been a public, if not a Government, building, prayers were allowed to be read in those intolerant times seems hard to understand.

The intolerance must have been already decreasing, for by the beginning of April an entry in the Journal states that "the people had begun to betake themselves to their former religion, and had a house in the fields where they held public Mass, and they also wore their crucifixes in sight, which had been formerly hidden. The genteel people began to venture out, which before we had not seen ; by some *monsieur* was used, but more

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generally *citoyen*," and a few days later Parish writes that they have been keeping holiday for three days in honour of Easter, and that the people "were chiefly genteelly drest."

On leaving hospital Captain Parish had taken some very pleasant rooms in the most healthy part of the town, where he was well cared for by a tailor and his wife, who made him comfortable in every way, and frequently invited him to share their supper. He had learnt some French by this time, and was able to hold conversation with his hosts, and by playing on his flute, going long country walks, and having an occasional game of billiards the time passed pleasantly enough, though he began gradually to lose his companions, who were deserting one by one. Although he was now quite strong again, he was himself unable to desert, as no money arrived from his correspondents, and he would not leave the town before paying his debts to his landlady and washerwoman. His allowance of ten sols a day was quite inadequate, and he made several applications to the District for an increase to ten livres, to which he believed he was entitled. He heard from Captain Moody, who was one of the prisoners at Sisteron, that their pay, which had first fallen to two livres, had now been altogether stopped, and that they were actually starving. So Captain Parish consoles himself by comparing his situation with that of others, and writes that "fortune's favour seems to follow me every day I rise; happy fellow that I am, God has blessed me with a mind contented in any situation!"

And, indeed, he seemed to be in a lucky vein, for on the very day that his washerwoman came to demand her

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arrears of payment, and he made the rash promise that she should be paid by noon, he was sent for by the District authority, who informed him that his allowance had not only been raised to ten livres, but that the Convention had sent down the balance of 674 livres 10 sous which were owing to him; and his debts, amounting to 600 livres, were promptly paid by noon!

The next day, being May Day, was his birthday, and he celebrated it by ordering a sumptuous dinner at the tavern on the strength of his new riches. The coming of the spring had been a great delight to him, but though the days were already sultry the nights were cold and chilly, and he was most anxious to devise a plan of escape attended by the fewest possible risks. On May 10 he heard from Captain Edwards that the latter had safely made his escape to Leghorn, and was already in command of a fine ship, the *Elizabeth*, 300 tons; and receiving a letter from another ex-prisoner, who had also succeeded in escaping, Captain Parish determined to lose no more time in following their example.

His luggage was his first care, and he wrote to M. Viale, his correspondent in Marseilles, to receive it for him and send it straight to Leghorn. His next step was to obtain a forged passport from the District of Cette, which was a risky proceeding, for though the document might be good enough to blind a sailor, its discovery would have meant the loss of his head. The idea of recapture, and the confinement in the tower which would result from it, filled him with horror, and he was determined to take every possible precaution.

He had made friends with a Sardinian fellow-

prisoner, and offered to pay his expenses to Leghorn if he would accompany him on his escape, thinking that the Sardinian's knowledge of French would facilitate his journey. The padrone of a Genoese boat offered, after much bargaining, to take them both, and the Captain's luggage, to Genoa for sixteen and a half guineas (his original offer having been forty), and this was promptly accepted and the trunk sent on board at night.

The chief difficulty was to avoid Arles, about nine miles below Tarascon, where the boats were subjected to a strict search, and were obliged to obtain bills of health and passports for every man on board; so it was arranged that Captain Parish and the Sardinian should start on foot and join the boat below Arles. Captain Parish was forced to entrust his trunk to the Genoese beforehand, knowing that the chances were that he would never see either his luggage or the Genoese captain again; but on the principle of "Nothing venture, nothing have," the risk was taken, and on the morning of May 14 Captain Parish left Tarascon for good.

He wore a blue jacket and white trousers, and had in his pocket a tricolor cockade (the smallest he could find, thinking that a large staring one would attract attention and more quickly arouse suspicion). When they had gone about a mile out of the town he tacked this to his hat with a needle and thread, specially brought for the purpose, and then the fugitives set out for Arles at a brisk pace by the less-frequented road alongside the river.

At Arles the guide, a brother of the Genoese padrone, insisted on walking straight through the town, saying

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there was no other road, and Captain Parish much disliked the necessity of passing by so many people, who seemed to have nothing better to do than stare at him ; but his alarm was greatly increased when in a narrow street they encountered a whole troop of dragoons going leisurely along to water their horses. He begged his guide to talk to him in French, and so give him an excuse for not looking at the soldiers ; but the Genoese only made matters worse by saying, " Non paura " in a loud voice. They had hardly got past the first troop when a second came in sight, and by this time Captain Parish felt that his situation was hopeless, and he was hardly surprised at hearing one trooper remark to his neighbour that the man was either an English prisoner or a Jacobin deserter in disguise : but nothing further occurred, and at last Arles was left behind. At this point the guide went forward to look for his brother's boat, leaving Captain Parish to manage as best he could ; and many were the opportunities given him of saying " Bonjour, citoyen," to passers-by. It was some time before the guide returned with the news that the Genoese boat had gone down the river, and by walking quickly on they caught it up, and got safely on board by half-past four in the afternoon.

Captain Parish at once took an oar and shared in the work of the men, as well as in the " comical food," consisting of calavances and macaroni cooked in oil and salt. The meal was prepared and eaten on the right bank of the river.

At night they made the boat fast to the bank, and covered the deck with a tent, under which they slept. The wind continued to blow from the south-east, and

after pulling for seven or eight miles they were forced to give up, and made no further progress that day. Their breakfast consisted this time of calavances and rice boiled with oil, for a change. But Captain Parish's appetite soon left him when, on the third day, a contrary wind still prevented their leaving their moorings. He was much alarmed lest he should be pursued and recaptured, and hid himself all day in the bottom of the boat among coats and sails, for fear of detection. He was rendered most unnecessarily uncomfortable by having made a foolish vow that he would not wash his face and hands or comb his hair or shave until he had passed the coast of France, and so every delay was doubly disagreeable to him.

The sailors spent their day in picking flowers in all the neighbouring gardens, which they offered to Captain Parish on their return, but, "wishing" as he says, "to lay aside any appearance of finery, and fearing to be seen with anything of the kind, I did not accept any." With his nerves in this condition it is not surprising to find how much he suffered on the next and most dangerous stage of his journey.

On May 17, towards evening, they approached the tower, close to the mouth of the river, where a strict search was made of every boat that passed. Telling him to beware not only of the soldiers in the tower, but also of the bulls in the field surrounding it, the padrone took Captain Parish on shore in order that he might go round on foot and rejoin the boat below, after the search had been made.

They were both armed with sticks, lest the black bulls should attack them; but as the country round the tower



## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

was one great morass they found it necessary to keep very close to the tower, and soon to throw away their sticks, fearing that the whiteness of them would attract attention. They were forced closer and closer to the tower by the bog, which they were only able to cross on all-fours. Captain Parish found that his shoes were almost sucked off his feet, and he put them instead on his hands, to prevent his arms slipping in up to the elbows.

Suddenly a black bull gave the alarm, and a whole stampede of the herd attracted the notice of the sentries, whose figures were clearly visible on the parapet against the sky. This time Captain Parish lay still for half an hour till all was quiet, and then the two men advanced again with redoubled caution. The oozing of the mud as they struggled through the bog was constantly disturbing the cattle, and the stooping position which they had to retain, in order to escape observation from the tower, was most exhausting. Even after passing the tower great caution was necessary for the next mile, until they were clear of the guard-house beyond, and when at last they rejoined the boat, after the anxieties of their walk through the deep mud, both men were in a state of physical and mental exhaustion.

But now the worst was over, and in the evening their boat was abreast of Marseilles. For a short time a new and worse peril threatened. Beyond Toulon news reached them from another boat of an Algerine cruiser which had the very day before, in that locality, captured a Genoese vessel, and, had the padrone's boat not been lucky enough to avoid her, Captain Parish would undoubtedly have shared the fate of the Genoese sailors

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

—slavery for life. Several times they were pursued by privateers and had to make a dash for their liberty, and once or twice Captain Parish narrowly escaped detection while they were cooking and eating their meal on shore.

On Friday, the 22nd, they left the French coast behind them, to the great relief of the ex-prisoner, who was at last able, after a week's discomfort, to shave and wash.

At a place with a small mole, called S. Rheims, now well known as San Remo, he fell in with a Jacobin family, all wearing a tricolor cockade, whom he had met in Tarascon, and they mutually congratulated each other on their escape.

On the 27th they reached Savona, and Captain Parish, who was growing daily more impatient to reach his destination, set off on foot at eight in the morning and arrived at Genoa in ten hours.

Finding the English inn too crowded to take him in, he took a boat (after drinking a glass of rum-and-water, for which he had been longing these last six months) and rowed out to a brig commanded by a friend of his, Captain William Edwards. His friends were much astonished to see him, as they had last heard of him at Tarascon during his illness. The various acquaintances he found on board made him very welcome. Captain Edwards entertained him most hospitably, and his relief to be again among friends was very great. He stayed long enough to lodge a protest with the English Consul and to recover his trunk from the Genoese padrone, who turned up on May 20, and was much disgusted when Captain Parish gave him only twenty shillings more than the amount stipulated.

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It was not till June 10 that he reached Leghorn by sailing-boat from Genoa, and great was his delight at finding his former fellow-prisoner, Captain Edwards, in command of his own brig, the *Elizabeth*. He was warmly received by him, and, as before at Tarascon, Captain Edwards offered him his house to live in, as well as his ship, and their friendship was soon renewed under far pleasanter conditions.

From this time onwards Captain Charles Parish seems to have had a less adventurous life. His career was a fairly prosperous one as captain of the ships *l'Aigle* and *Alfred*. In 1814 he was appointed Superintendent of the West India Docks, an appointment which he held for twenty-four years, when he retired on a pension.

Charles Compton Parish married Miss Cory of Yarmouth, in 1806, and died in 1841, leaving eight children.

## WOODBINE PARISH, SENIOR (1768-1848)

Woodbine Parish the elder was born just before his parents went to Ireland with Lord and Lady Townshend, and he was only five years old when his father died.\* He was then adopted by his uncle, Mr. William Woodbine, of Yarmouth, who sent him in 1777 to be educated at the English College at Liège.†

\* He was the second son.

† The school was kept by the Jesuits, who had formerly had schools for English Roman Catholic boys at St. Omer (in Artois) and in Bruges. In 1794 the College was removed to Stonyhurst in Lancashire.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

A great number of English boys, especially those belonging to the Roman Catholic families living in Norfolk, were educated at Liège, though only one other boy besides Parish was a Protestant. The college had been founded by George Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1616, "for the education of youth in classical learning," and the education seems to have been excellent. The building was originally the palace of the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, and had beautiful gardens, and a very fine chapel, where the boys attended Mass daily. Though he remained a member of the Church of England to the end of his life, Woodbine Parish always lamented the bareness of the services in his own Church, and longed for the music, flowers and pictures to which he had been accustomed in his boyhood at Liège; and he never ceased to regret the damage done to the churches and their services by the English Reformation.

He speaks of the masters at Liège as "persons of piety and exemplary in their conduct, who obtained the respect and affection of their scholars." The reigning Prince of Liège attended their great annual festival at which the scholars gave a display of "Musick, Fencing and Dancing, while the competitors for nobler prizes in Literature sought for greater distinction, the highest scholars publickly disputing in Philosophy with the Professors and Tutors who on such occasions were invited to attend from other Seminaries."

Woodbine Parish remained at Liège till 1783, only once returning to England during that time. This was in 1780, when he was invited to pay a visit to the Tower of London as the guest of his uncle, John Parish, the Superintendent of Ordnance at the Tower, where he



Emery Walker del.

Woodbine Parish Senr.  
1768-1848  
from the painting by Thos. Phillips R.A.



## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

lived in charming apartments with his accomplished wife.\*

Young Parish had an adventurous journey from Liège to London at the moment when the American War was at its height, and England was by no means undisputed mistress of the ocean. He sailed in company with Lord and Lady Spencer † and their daughter the famous Duchess of Devonshire, ‡ in a merchant ship from Helvoetsluys under convoy of a frigate and sloop of his Majesty's navy. A severe engagement with two cutters took place as they left the mouth of the river, and after several renewals of the attack the sloop was forced to flee and the frigate and merchantman narrowly escaped capture. The captain was rewarded for his conduct by promotion in the service, and a gift from the "Dutchess of Devonshire" of a very handsome sword.

The repeal of Roman Catholic Disabilities had just been carried, and when the boy arrived from Liège he found London in an uproar, and the Gordon § riots in full swing.

\* See p. 24, Chap. I.

† John, 1st Earl Spencer, 1734-1783.

‡ The subject of the famous portraits by Gainsborough, etc. She was the daughter of the 1st Earl Spencer, was born 1757, married the 5th Duke of Devonshire in 1774, and died in 1806.

§ Lord George Gordon (1751-1793), son of the 3rd Duke of Gordon, took the Presidency of the Protestant Association in December, 1779, and presented a petition in May, 1780, against the removal of the Catholic disabilities. The petition was supported by an immense concourse of people, who surrounded the House of Commons. Rioting soon began, and increased with appalling rapidity between June 5 and 8; troops finally restored order after great damage had been done. About 300 persons were killed in the riots; 192 rioters were convicted and 25 executed. Gordon was kept in the Tower for eight months, and then tried for high

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

He saw Lord George Gordon himself being brought into the Tower under a strong escort, and was taken by his uncle to the end of Newgate Street to see "the whole area in front of the prison covered with thousands of spectators, windows, roofs, and houses all filled, while the reflection from the flaming prison upon their assembled faces, the shouts of the ferocious multitude, and the crackling of flames heightened the horrors of that awful night."

For several nights the clouds reflected the blazing lights from the city below, where chapels, churches, public buildings, and even the houses of two of his Majesty's ministers were in flames. The Tower itself was full of soldiers, who had been hastily collected to quell the riots, but this they only succeeded in doing after considerable loss of life.

In 1783, after another three years at Liège, Woodbine Parish returned to England to live with his uncle, Mr. Woodbine, who had lately settled in London. It was an eventful moment in the history of England: peace with France and Spain had lately been concluded, and the Independence of the United States had at last been recognized by George III.; Lord North's Ministry had fallen, and William Pitt, at the age of twenty-three, had just become Prime Minister.

Mr. William Woodbine was a merchant trading chiefly with Holland and Italy, and he looked forward to a great improvement in his business by the renewal of peace. He hoped, eventually, to have the assistance of his nephew, and would gladly have kept him to live treason, but was acquitted after two days' trial. He became a Jew, was convicted of libel, and died of fever in Newgate Prison.



## INTRODUCTORY : THE PARISH FAMILY

with him in London ; but Mrs. Woodbine did not by any means share her husband's affection for the boy, so she persuaded him to send young Woodbine to Italy, in 1783, to live at Leghorn with one of his uncle's Italian correspondents.

After a rough passage through the Bay of Biscay, Woodbine landed at Gibraltar, and was shown the defences which had so lately protected the Rock through its long siege. From thence, calling at Marseilles, he went to Genoa, where the treasures of the palaces roused his enthusiasm ; and so to Leghorn.

At that time Leghorn was at the height of its prosperity, the port was full of ships of all nations, and the streets were gay with the varied dresses of Turks, Jews, Armenians, and many others. An English squadron under the command of Sir John Lindsay\* was stationed there, and Parish made friends with many of the naval officers. In fact his year at Leghorn seems to have been spent chiefly in amusing himself. Masquerading and carnivals were the order of the day, and the opera he patronized nightly.

One night at the theatre he had the unusual experience of being in a box with the last three Emperors of Germany. Joseph (who was then on the throne) was visiting his brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Francis, son of Grand Duke Leopold, accompanied his father.†

\* Rear-Admiral Sir John Lindsay, 1737-1788. Commodore and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, 1783-1784.

† Joseph II. succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780. He died 1790. His brother Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, reigned from 1790-1792, and was succeeded by his son Francis II. Francis II. was the last of the German Emperors, and became in 1804 the first Emperor of Austria

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Woodbine Parish relates a curious adventure that befell some friends of his during his stay at Leghorn :

“ A ship called the *Grand Duchess of Tuscany* commanded by Captain Blackett, sailed for London with a very valuable cargo and many passengers ; I accompanied them and Mrs. Blackett on board, and took leave upon the ship getting under weigh. The crew and passengers consisted of thirty-three men, three of whom formed the piratical design to murder all the others and take possession of the ship. The plan, which they successfully put into execution, was, that in the middle of the night they should contrive at three to be on Deck, they then knocked down the Officer of the Watch, stabbed the man at the helm, then rushed down the Cabin stairs, killed the mate, who was sitting upon his bed awakened by the noise, and proceeded to the Cabin. The Captain, hearing some disturbance, left his bed, and met the Pirates in the passage, where they stabbed him in 2 or 3 places, and pursued him upstairs, when he had pushed his way past them. The Captain then went forward, and was persuaded to hoist out a small boat into which he threw himself with four men in order to row ashore to Corsica, near which they were, and obtain assistance to quell the mutiny. Strange Resolution! to quit his valuable ship, his Passengers, and above all his amiable Wife. In the mean time the Pirates got possession of the Arms, and fired from loopholes out of the Cabin upon the Ship's Company, making two passenger lads, (one of whom was my very intimate friend, a son of Sir Edward Astley) load their guns as they fired.

as Franz I. Joseph II. and Leopold II. were brothers of Marie Antoinette of France, and Maria Carolina of Naples (see Chap. II. p. 103 *et seq.*).

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When daylight appeared the remainder of the Crew, being without Officers to head them, hoisted out the Long Boat to row on shore. The Captain, who had obtained some soldiers and a felucca, was proceeding towards the Ship, when they met the Long Boat, but on finding the Ship deserted, he returned to Corsica, abandoning the unlucky Ship and all on board to their Fate !

“ It would be difficult to describe the consternation of our English circle at Leghorn upon the arrival of this intelligence. Ships were armed and sent in all directions in pursuit of the Pirates, amongst others the *Thetis* Frigate, which was refitting at Elba, and was equipped in a very short space of time ; but none of them overtook her. The Captain and crew were brought to Leghorn, the wounded taken care of, and Captain Blackett gradually recovered.

“ Some weeks after, when we were at Church in the Consular House, the Consul, Mr. Udny, came in and addressing himself to Captain Blackett informed him that his ship was retaken in the Island of Zante, and that Mrs. Blackett was safe : he was nearly overpowered by this unexpected good fortune, and I had to support him out of Church. That evening he set out for Otranto with his surgeon and an interpreter, sent for his wife, and joined her in Quarantine. But her fate reserved her for further calamities. Her husband soon became ill and died, as did his companions, and she returned a Widow to Leghorn, where a very interesting Opera was performed representing the whole story of this Melancholy Transaction ; an Instance of want of presence of mind, if not of cowardice, exhibited by thirty men overpowered by three.”

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

On returning to England, Woodbine Parish tried to persuade his uncle to let him enter the Navy, but, failing to obtain this permission, he got leave to go on a merchant vessel to the West Indies. By this time his brother\* already held a commission in the Artillery, and though Woodbine was only seventeen he was determined to try to be independent of help from his relations.

He was devoted to the Odyssey of Homer; Ulysses and Christopher Columbus were his chief heroes, and he knew the story of the discovery of America by heart, so he gladly seized the opportunity of making a voyage to the West Indies in 1785, and great was his joy, on rowing ashore to the first island they visited in the New World, to be met by a number of little negroes, "without any covering Whatever," who came scampering over the white sandy beach to meet the strangers.

Their ship was wrecked by a hurricane in the Gulf Stream near New Providence; though most of those on board were saved, more than half the ship's company died of fever within a very few weeks, and Parish was glad to escape from a similar fate by returning to England in a homeward-bound ship. But ill-luck pursued him, and in a fearful gale in mid-Atlantic the huge ship lost her masts, and for days and nights she tossed helplessly about, only kept afloat by incessant pumping. It was mid-winter, and the scanty crew was soon exhausted; however, as the storm subsided jury masts were rigged, and the horror of the situation was diminishing when, on entering the English Channel, their ship ran ashore at night and foundered. Some were rescued by a rope

\* Henry Williams Parish (see pp. 24-52).

## INTRODUCTORY: THE PARISH FAMILY

from the shore, others were drowned. Parish, after helping to rescue the greater number of the passengers and crew, swam ashore with the mate. They were thrown on to the beach by the violence of the waves, and taken more dead than alive to the village of Chesil, near Portland, where, by the care and kindness of the people, they soon recovered sufficiently to go and see what could be done for the vessel—but she was a complete wreck, and nothing was to be seen but the whole shore covered with wreckage.

These alarming voyages did not deter so enthusiastic a sailor as Woodbine Parish, and on reaching London he at once accepted an appointment as an officer in the East India Company's service. His next voyage was a most successful one round the Cape of Good Hope to China, where he spent six months, and then returned; having narrowly escaped with his life in a dispute with some natives at Canton. A voyage to Italy and many of the ports in the Mediterranean was the last he took, and then, at the age of twenty-one, having visited China, the West Indies, Spain and Italy, and most of the Mediterranean ports, he settled down in London to assist his uncle in his business. With so much practical experience and a thorough knowledge of French and Italian, he proved most useful, and undertook frequent journeys to Paris, Germany,\* and the Netherlands on the business of the firm.

\* In 1801, Woodbine Parish, sen., went to Germany with Mr. Planta and his son Joseph; leaving Hamburg on July 28, in their carriage with three horses, they drove post to Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and Brunswick, returning to Hamburg in twenty-one days, after driving about 610 miles. In his diary he says—"The post-masters are allowed one hour to change horses, the pace is seldom more than three miles an hour. The expense for 3 horses

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

In 1792 Clarke Woodbine died, and Woodbine Parish, sen., was made partner in his stead. William Woodbine's death in the following year left the responsibility of the business almost entirely on his nephew's shoulders, though Woodbine Parish was then only twenty-five years old. The unusual confiscations of private property and the general system of plunder and piracy which affected all commercial enterprise during the French Revolution and the wars following it, greatly increased the risks of trade, but Parish was on the whole successful in his commercial life, which extended from 1792 till 1814.

In 1795 Woodbine Parish, sen., married the only surviving child of the Rev. H. Headley, rector of North Walsham in Norfolk, and a sister of the young poet of that name.\* Parish described his wife, whom he had known for some time previous to their marriage, as "a Person of very superior attainments and excellent understanding."

In 1794 Woodbine Parish, sen., joined the regiment known as the Light Horse Volunteers, which had the unusual privilege of electing its own officers. He was a keen soldier, soon rose to the rank of major, and when in 1810 he was obliged to give up his soldiering, the regiment presented him with a handsome piece of plate in "testimony of their esteem and grateful acknowledgement of his services."

about 10 pence per English mile. The Postilions are inconceivably brutal and disobliging, neither Good nor Ill usage will put them out of their pace."

\* Henry Headley died in 1788 at the age of 23. While at Trinity College, Oxford, he had been a friend of Bowles, the antiquary and divine. He edited an anthology of poems in 1787, and published some of his own in the preceding year.—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")

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In this regiment he made the acquaintance of many of the great people of the day, including Spencer Perceval,\* Colonel Herries, † and Nicholas Vansittart, ‡ afterwards Lord Bexley. At this time Vansittart was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and finding Woodbine Parish's experience and advice very useful in some Treasury matters about which he had been consulted, he offered him the important post of Chairman of the Board of Excise in Scotland.

For some time past Woodbine Parish, sen., had been desirous of obtaining employment in the public service, so he gladly accepted Vansittart's offer, and in 1815 he removed with his whole family to Edinburgh, and took a house in Charlotte Square.

Owing to the recent great increase in illicit distillation in Scotland the revenue had suffered heavily, and the whole country was demoralized by the lawless outrages committed by the smugglers. The prevention of these illegal practices was Woodbine Parish's first concern; by a reduction of the duties on spirits from 8s. 4d. to 5s. 6d. per gallon, he was so successful in encouraging

\* Perceval afterwards became Prime Minister, and was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons in 1812.

† Colonel Herries, who then commanded the L.H.V., had been an intimate friend of William Woodbine, and had known his nephew as a boy. He was the father of the distinguished statesman and financier who befriended Sir Woodbine Parish, and became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Goderich's Administration.

‡ Nicholas Vansittart, 1766-1851, M.P. 1796-1823. He held office under Pitt in 1805, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1812 till 1828. "The remarkable feature in Vansittart's political career is that he held for 12 years the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, though possessing no special qualifications, at perhaps the most difficult financial period in English history. Despite, however, his weak points as a financier, he could justly boast that he left the country in possession of a surplus revenue of £2,000,000."—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

the legal trader that the revenue was increased by upwards of £100,000 per annum, and the illicit trade was soon abandoned, since the profits to be obtained no longer repaid the smugglers for the risks they took.

It was an interesting piece of work, and one that necessitated a good deal of confidential intercourse with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and some months' residence in London in the course of the year. In 1823 an Act of Parliament was passed for the Consolidation of the Revenue Board of Scotland and Ireland with that in London, and Woodbine Parish, sen., accepted a seat on the newly constituted Board.

On the abolition of his office as Chairman of the Scottish Board of Excise the Government made him a grant of £2000, and Vansittart in writing to him alluded to the satisfaction Parish must experience from having, during his service in Scotland, "conciliated the goodwill and esteem of the leading men, without distinction of party, and having at the same time rendered such important service to the Revenue."

In 1823, after 50 years of active employment, Woodbine Parish, sen., resigned his seat on the Board, and retired with a pension for life from the Government of £1000 a year.

He lived to see both his sons well launched in their diplomatic careers, and two of his daughters married. In October, 1833, Mrs. Parish\* died, and was buried

\* *Mrs. Woodbine Parish.*—The obituary notice of her death in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1833, refers to her brother, the "ingenious poet whose premature death at the age of 23 was deeply deplored by many eminent men," and says, "Mrs. Parish, like her highly





*Elizabeth Headley*  
1771-1833  
*Wife of Woodbine Parish Senior*  
*painted by Wilton*



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in the Church of All Saints at Hastings ; in 1848 Woodbine Parish, sen., died, and was buried in Hove Parish Church.\*

gifted brother, was endowed with rare talents and a refined taste, her manners were courteous and unassuming, disinterested and affectionate she combined with the graceful adornments of character the best virtues of the heart, and was universally beloved and admired."

\* See Appendix I.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLY YEARS : PARIS AND SICILY—1814

Birth, education—The Commissary-in-Chief's Department—First foreign mission—Journey to Paris, Geneva, Milan, Genoa, and Sicily—Condition of Sicily in 1814.

WOODBINE, eldest son of Woodbine Parish and Elizabeth his wife, was born in London on September 14, 1796. His early education was given him at a school in Essex, where unfortunately he sustained a severe injury which made him slightly lame throughout his life. Several bigger and older boys, wishing him to get birds' eggs for them, forced him through some narrow railings, thus causing a fractured thigh and other injuries. The doctors despaired of the child's life, even should his leg be amputated: his parents refused to allow the operation, and by dint of careful nursing at the seaside he made a fair recovery. In 1811 he was able to go to Eton, where Dr. Sumner was then Head Master; Woodbine took part in the Montem Celebrations of 1811, and left Eton the following year.

Shortly afterwards young Parish was offered a post in the Department of the Commissary-in-Chief, pending his permanent appointment elsewhere. The office of Commissary-in-Chief was constituted about this time to superintend the contracts for the supply of the

## EARLY YEARS : PARIS AND SICILY

armies at home and abroad ; it also provided the remittances for the enormous subsidies paid by England to her allies on the Continent, and involved the collection of specie from all parts of the world. John Charles Herries,\* son of the elder Woodbine Parish's old friend, Colonel Herries,† was appointed Commissary-in-Chief in 1811, and took young Woodbine into his office.

It was practically settled that he should accompany Joseph Planta—then Lord Castlereagh's secretary—to the Congress of Vienna in 1814, but this plan fell through, and Herries sent him instead to Sicily with Schmidchen—a man of great experience in the Commissary - in - Chief's Department—who was making arrangements for the removal of stores from the island previous to its evacuation by the British troops.

A very intimate friendship, which ceased only with the father's death in 1848, existed between Woodbine Parish, senior, and his eldest son. When the younger Woodbine first left England in 1814 his father wrote him a letter of advice which not only accompanied him on all his travels, but was undoubtedly the plan on which he modelled his life :—

\* John Charles Herries, 1778–1855, private secretary to Vansittart and Perceval ; Commissary-in-Chief, 1811, until the abolition of his office in 1816. He was made Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1823, and became Chancellor of the Exchequer—after many vicissitudes—in Lord Goderich's Administration (1827). Palmerston said when he was appointed, "The King has thrown Herries like a live shell into the Cabinet, to explode and blow us all up." He was shortly after removed and became Master of the Mint. In 1830 he was President of the Board of Trade, and in 1852 President of the Board of Control.—(See "Croker's Correspondence," vol. i. ; "Ashley's Life of Palmerston" ; and the "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")

† See Chap. I., p. 85, note.

SIR WOODBINE PARISH

MY DEAR WOODBINE,

As you are now upon the Point of launching into the great World from the Protection of your Home, and the advice of your Parents, I will bring your attention to a few leading objects which a long and observing intercourse with the World enables me to point out as essentially necessary for your Happiness and respectability.

Your education your good morals your introduction to Society will guard you against glaring evils ; and books, by being referred to, will enter more fully upon the subject than I can in a letter—First therefore

Religion as a Duty to your Creator and a source of comfort in adversity and satisfaction in Prosperity must be ever attended to, your morning and evening Prayers and attendance at church regularly performed, will not only contribute to your own Happiness, But ensure you the Respect of the best part of Mankind.

Industry and occupation will improve your mind and make your Time pass pleasantly, besides heightening the enjoyments of those Periods that you devote to amusement ; read the best Books.

Official Duties come next, never neglect them or defer to a future Day that which should immediately be done, and make a Point of Honour of doing everything well which will infallibly lead to your Promotion in a Department, which holds out considerable emolument and Honours to its distinguished members.

Prudence in your expenditure is perhaps of more consequence than you may be aware, and upon no subject do mankind so much deceive themselves, small imprudences lead to greater and

## EARLY YEARS : PARIS AND SICILY

imperceptibly to all the Miseries of this World —while the Prudent man is always independent of the World and has it in his Power to contribute to the wants of his fellow creatures. Never therefore exceed your Income, for unexpected demands will always occur.

**Society.** Always frequent the best, you have hitherto been used to it, and I am persuaded your own mind is fully sensible to the comfort as well as credit of continuing in that sphere, avoid bad companions as you would shun the Plague and let no agreeable Qualities blind you to want of Principles ; an English Gentleman will ever be courted by the best Part of Society and the Idle and unprincipled ever shunned ; be very careful to whom you give your confidence.

**Wine,  
Women,  
Gambling,** may frequently be before your eyes they all lead to certain ruin and misery. I will not disgust you by dwelling upon these subjects, your own good Sense will point out the danger. But as to Wine, it may be useful to call your attention to your constitution which may be injured by the excess of a few Glasses, and when the imagination is heated by Wine actions are frequently committed which lead to repentance.

**Health.** Above all things attend carefully to, and immediately apply to the first advice in case of your being unwell, as serious Illness is frequently prevented by early attention, never set to work in damp clothes, I lost a most valuable Friend from his imprudence in this respect, never bathe when heated, have your linen well aired and be not afraid of flannel.

**Journal.** Begin one and if you can, every evening write an account of the Places you have seen, the

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

manners of Persons you meet, and any remarkable subjects of conversation, send them occasionally to me. I will keep them for you and they will amuse us. Let me know your enjoyments and your discomforts as I may perhaps give you remedies for the latter which you may not immediately foresee; you will have the satisfaction my dear Boy of having ever contributed to the Happiness of your Parents and Relations. Remember How much we shall ever be interested for your welfare That my House will ever be your Home, to which when you wish for a change of scene always come—and ever confide in the Friendship and the sincere affection of your Father

WOODBINE PARISH.

London, 10 March, 1814.

Have whatever Masters you please: I should recommend modern languages and do not forget your Muse whose smiles may be secured in your leisure moments.

The above is labelled, "On my first leaving home."

This was the beginning of a correspondence which was carried on without interruption on either side until Sir Woodbine returned from Buenos Ayres in 1832.

Young Woodbine set off on September 28 with his companion, Mr. Schmidchen. At Croydon they were joined by General Hamilton and his wife, friends of Mr. Schmidchen, who accompanied them as far as Paris. Notwithstanding ten days' delay at Brighton, waiting for the wind to abate, the sea passage took them thirty-six hours, and they were glad to spend the night at Dieppe before proceeding towards Paris. The General, owing to



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his great size, seems to have caused the French no little amusement, and the street-boys pursued him with shouts of "gros-rosbif," "Mr. Bool," etc., and it was not till they were safely lodged in the Hotel de Paris that they escaped pursuit from the "gamins."

Dieppe, young Parish writes in his journal, "though still showing signs of former prosperity is in a sorry state, fast falling to decay, the houses on every side threaten destruction to foot-passengers, and the inhabitants appear to be at least a century behind the rest of the civilized world; their dress is very remarkable, particularly that of the women, who wear a head-dress nearly a yard high, long waists and full petticoats, coloured; the men wear a very short-waisted coat, generally a loose pair of trousers and a high cocked hat. After being accustomed to English Inns our Hotel appears to me a horrible place, we were at first shown into a room with three beds in it, in which we were intended all to sleep together, this however the Lady very strongly objected to and we were at last lodged in two separate apartments where we were to take our meals and sleep the night."

The three days' drive to Paris was without incident, although the streets of the towns through which their stage had to pass were crowded with disbanded soldiers from the "Grande Armée," and the fashions of the ladies' dresses so amazed young Parish that he promised to send home prints of them, "which you must see to believe."

Their entry into Paris was accomplished in grand style, the postmaster sending four horses and postilions (with cocked hats, powdered hair, and long pigtailed down their backs, very short jackets almost hidden by the

number of buttons upon them, and jack-boots hooped with iron), to conduct the "English milords" through the yet unfinished Arc de l'Étoile, and down the Champs Elysées to the Hotel Louvois, where they had taken rooms. Parish was delighted with the magnificence of the public buildings, but complained about "the narrow, ill-paved streets in which the Englishman who is accustomed to the fine broad footways of London is not only terribly annoyed at being obliged to walk upon the little round stones with which Paris is paved, but finds himself every moment in danger of being run over by the French carters and coachmen, who, he soon discovers to his own dismay, are the worst drivers in the world, and however willing and desirous they may be to avoid accidents, have not sufficient command over their horses to prevent them."

One can hardly imagine a more interesting introduction to European politics than a visit to Paris in the autumn of 1814. A year had almost passed since the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, which had been followed by the invasion of France by the allied armies, and Wellington's victory at Orthez. In February the return of the Bourbons had been heralded by "Monsieur," who, with the Comte d'Escars had arrived in France as the forerunners of Louis XVIII. According to d'Escars, who wrote from Vesoul, enthusiasm ran high among the peasants of Franche Comté; the old men and women said "we shall die contented, since we have had the good fortune of beholding the return of our ancient Masters, who have ever lived in our hearts," while others assured the prince "I give you my heart, for the Monster has only left that." "Had he been an

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angel from heaven," says the Count, "they could not have shown more eagerness to come to see him." Within a fortnight of the entry of the Allies (under Sir William Beresford) into Bordeaux, Louis XVIII. was on the throne of France, Napoleon having signed his abdication at the Palace of Fontainebleau on April 10, renouncing for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, and stating that there was no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he was not willing to make in the interest of France.\*

Napoleon's journey across France on his way to Elba was described, by a man who had met the dethroned Emperor and his escort, as "truly a fearful spectacle." The populace assembled round his carriage threatening him with death, and attempting to seize his person. A foreign general who accompanied him is said to have saved his life, when the mob had overpowered the military escort, by telling the people "that it was better to allow the Tyrant to live, because an instant death would deliver him from all his troubles; whereas he would suffer a thousand deaths in the recollection of his crimes." On May 3, he was landed on the Island of Elba. Meanwhile Louis XVIII. was making a treaty with England, which was signed at Paris on May 30, and practically restored France to her former boundaries; a Constitution—very much on the English lines—was drawn up.† The finances of the country, which, owing to the Napoleonic wars, had produced a deficit of 1,645,469,000 francs in thirteen years, were thoroughly investigated, the export duty being taken off silver and

\* *London Gazette* extraordinary, Foreign Office, April 9.

† See Illustration, p. 140, medals 1, 2, and 3.

gold, coined and uncoined, as, according to the preamble to the Customs declaration, "it was ascertained that the prohibitions are of no avail in preventing the export and have no other effect than that of fettering commerce, and hindering the entrance or transit of the said articles, so that such prohibitions, far from increasing the quantity of gold and silver, tend, on the contrary, to make them disappear, and diminish their quality," etc.

On July 30, the King received a most loyal address from the Chamber of Deputies, and on August 29 was fêted by the City of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville; but enthusiasm for the Royal Family was already abating, and when the export duty on corn was removed, riots broke out at Cherbourg, and the forces sent to suppress them were received with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur."

The reign of the Bourbon King, which had begun so favourably eight months before, was already showing signs of unpopularity by the time that Parish arrived in Paris. He writes in his diary that "matters are in anything but a satisfactory state here, the Bourbon dynasty is not popular, and the transition from the military rule of the Grand Emperor to the feeble government of 'Gros-papa,' as they call Louis XVIII., is too great a change for this restless people to submit to quietly; there seems a general impression that it will not last long, though who is to follow no one can foresee; some think the Duke of Orleans." \*

It was a singularly fortunate moment to visit Paris and to see, still hanging in the Louvre, the wonderful pictures and statues, the greatest treasures of most

\* Afterwards Louis Philippe. He had married the daughter of Ferdinand of Naples and Maria Carolina.

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of the European galleries, which were described as "the fruits of conquest" and "glorious trophies of victory." Even the French themselves expressed surprise that the Allies had not insisted on returning the art treasures to the countries from which Napoleon had taken them, but they feared lest the whole nation should rise up in arms if any attempt were made to remove them, and certainly they would have been worth fighting for.

It must have been a wonderful experience to go, as Parish frequently did during his stay at Paris, to the Musée du Louvre, and there, in nine rooms, to see collected together the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Venus de' Medici, the Dying Gladiator, and other great works of Greek and Roman Sculptors. Among the pictures that delighted him he mentions Raphael's Transfiguration, and also a Holy Family, Saint Cecilia, and the triumph of the Archangel Michael (still in the Louvre) by the same artist; Titian's "Christ crowned with Thorns," and his own portrait; Domenichino's "S. Jerome," and great pictures by Paolo Veronese, Leonardo da Vinci, Luini and Correggio; then, in the Dutch room, portraits by Holbein, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, and other pictures by Rubens, Vanderveldt, Van Ostade, and Gerard Dow; altogether a collection of some twelve hundred European masterpieces.

But a boy of eighteen, however studiously inclined—and his invalid boyhood had, as he often said, made a scholar of him—was not likely to spend all his time in Paris in a picture gallery, and he was thoroughly capable of appreciating the amusements of the theatres, vaudevilles, variétés, and the Palais Royal. At the Théâtre Français he saw Talma act, but was less

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impressed by him than he had expected, and continued to prefer Kean and Kemble.

Parish and Schmidchen left Paris for Switzerland on October 9, taking the route traversed the preceding spring by the allied armies in their advance on Paris, which had led to Napoleon's abdication. The country was still laid desolate by the recent fighting, and everywhere they saw evidences of the struggle; towns and villages which had been taken and retaken were partly burned and destroyed, the roads were cut up and no attempt had as yet been made to repair them. Near Nogent whole villages had been destroyed by the Cossacks, avenues of fine trees cut down and burnt, and "the roadside left naked." "We observed," he writes, "a great many skeletons of dead horses lying near the road, and everywhere signs remaining of the manner in which these Cossacks carry on their warfare. Such is the detestation in which the Frenchmen hold their very name that they have in this part of France universally adopted it as a term of reproach, everything bad is 'cossac.' In leaving the village one of the horses fell, was immediately 'diabléd' for a 'cossac'; the Postmaster came out and seeing his horse upon the ground in his turn 'cossack'd' the Postilion; the expression is almost universally adopted."

Having found Stratford Canning,\* the English

\* Afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 1786-1880, first-cousin of George Canning, who employed him in the Foreign Office and in diplomatic missions. He was put in charge of the Embassy at Constantinople when only twenty-four, 1810-1812; in 1814 Castlereagh made him Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland; he was present at the Congress of Vienna; then Minister to the United States, 1819-1824, when he returned to Turkey till 1829. In 1841 he was again appointed to Constantinople, where he remained till the outbreak of the Crimean War. In the last years of his long life he was

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Minister in Geneva, to whom he had letters, absent, Parish continued his journey to Milan through the upper part of the Rhone Valley, stopping at Martigny (from which point Napoleon had made his famous passage across the Alps fourteen years before, previous to his victory over the Austrians at Marengo), and then reaching Domodossola by way of the recently made road over the Simplon.

The Ticino was crossed at Sesto Calende, and they entered Milan by the magnificent "Arch of the Simplon," commenced by Bonaparte, but left unfinished like that at the Barrière de l'Etoile in Paris. Here a ball was being given in honour of the Princess of Wales,\* who was staying at the same hotel as young Parish, and the following evening a masquerade was given in her honour at "La Scala," when the Princess, refusing to stay in her box, insisted on going down into the pit, "where her style of dress (or rather undress), so totally at variance with that at present worn by the Italian ladies, immediately attracted notice, and exposed her to such bitter remarks on her personal appearance (I cannot say charms) as fairly drove her out of the Theatre."

Parish writing from Genoa to his father says, "The inhabitants of Milan are extremely discontented at the return of the Austrians, from whom all classes keep often at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, where he and Sir Woodbine Parish had frequent talks on the Eastern Question and other diplomatic and political interests, of which they had many in common. Sir W. Parish's brother Henry "was for many years Lord S. de R.'s confidential secretary in many foreign lands,—the United States, and especially Constantinople, where his influence was unbounded."—(Entry in Sir W. P.'s Journal on Aug. 16, 1880.) Lord S. de R. died Aug. 14, 1880.

\* Caroline of Brunswick, the "uncrowned Queen" of George IV. (see p. 213-218.)

aloof, one and all refusing to associate with them either in public or in private. We reached Pavia just in time to be present at a most interesting ceremony; it was the first anniversary of the battle of Leipzig (19th Oct., 1813), which the Austrian regiments of the Garrison were preparing to celebrate by a grand requiem and funeral service for the comrades they had lost in the fight; the Church was hung with black, and in the centre was erected a huge catafalque covered with the arms and accoutrements of the deceased, round which were grouped the brother officers as mourners, all wearing black scarfs over their white uniforms, the men, with piled arms, lining the nave and filling the aisles, the service beautifully performed, and the music of the Military Bands, which burst forth at intervals in mournful dirges, was most affecting; men and officers seemed to feel it deeply, and several of them could not conceal their emotions.

“ We passed through Novia, at the foot of the Apennines, which we were rather surprised to find garrisoned by troops in British uniform, detached from our forces at Genoa; they were part of the Italian levies in our pay, commanded by Colonel Cerevignac, who proved to be an old acquaintance of my companion. After giving us an early dinner with the officers of his regiment, he showed us over the town, and pointed out the battlefield in its vicinity where Suwarrow defeated the French in 1799, killing their General, Joubert, and upwards of 8000 men.

“ I am delighted with Genoa, where I have received



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the greatest kindness. . . . The English were in high favour with the Genoese after Lord William Bentinck \* occupied the city six months ago, in consequence of his having held out to them an expectation of their being restored to their old position, as an independent Republic; but, if report is to be credited, this is not likely to be ratified by the Congress now assembling at Vienna,† and it seems to be more likely that they will be formally annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia, which they will like as little as the Milanese do being given up to Austria. . . .

“ . . . We have determined to go on in a transport which will sail for Palermo in a day or two. . . . ”

He writes again from Palermo on November 12—

“ We started from Genoa with a fair wind and in 24 hours were off Elba, but there we were becalmed and

\* He was transferred to Genoa from Sicily. Lord Castlereagh was no believer in Lord William Bentinck or his policy. In the letter to Lord Liverpool, dated Paris, April 27, 1814, he expresses a hope that “ Italy will wind up well. . . . If Buonaparte had been able to maintain himself in the field in France between Murat’s rascality, and Bellegarde’s timidity, and Lord William Bentinck’s impracticability and Whiggism, which seem to follow him everywhere, we should have been in danger of a serious disappointment in that quarter.”—(Castlereagh Corr., vol. ix. p. 410.)

† In a letter to Lord Wm. Bentinck, dated Paris, May 6, 1814, Lord Castlereagh warns him to be careful in his promises to the Genoese. “ With respect to the arrangement your lordship has made for the Provisional Government of Genoa, it is material that it should not be considered as prejudging the future system which it may be expedient to apply to that part of Europe. Your lordship will adopt such measures as may conciliate the feelings of the people; but you will avoid referring to the ancient form of Government in terms which may excite disappointment, should considerations arising out of the general interests induce the adoption of a different arrangement.”—(Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 15, and again Lord Castlereagh to Lord William Bentinck, May 7, 1814, vol. x. p. 17.)

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kept for no less than 6 days, on and off that iron-bound rock, the only possession now belonging to the man who has so long swayed the destinies of Empires.

“We were very desirous to land and be presented to the ex-Emperor, and it was not a little tantalizing to know we were so near him and not get a sight of him. We had heard that he was very accessible, and rather disposed to receive strangers than otherwise. Our Captain, however, was unwilling to deviate from his orders to make the best of his way to Sicily, and so we were obliged to give it up and be satisfied with moralising from day to day on the instability of human greatness, and discussing what might be the reflections of this extraordinary personage in his altered circumstances.”

Woodbine Parish's destination was Sicily, and his business was to superintend the collecting of the stores and the breaking up of establishments previous to the evacuation of the island by the English troops. The occupation of Sicily by the English was the outcome of the Napoleonic wars, and the object of maintaining British forces there was now apparently at an end. England's connection with the island was, however, an important factor in the history of Italian Unity, though it is not generally recognized how early this connection began.

Amari \* claims that the fellow-feeling between England and Sicily was engendered in the eleventh century, when the Constitutions of both countries were framed by the Normans. They were alike in many ways, but the aristocratic element played a less important

\* “La Sicile et les Bourbons,” 1869.

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part in Sicily than in France, England, or elsewhere, as at this period industry, commerce, letters, and civilization generally were more advanced in Sicily than in the North.

The insurrection of the " Sicilian Vespers " made Sicily an independent nation in the end of the thirteenth century, under a revised and even more liberal constitution. During the subjection of the island to Spain in the eighteenth century, this constitution was always respected, and it remained for the Bourbons from Naples to violate it in 1811, and abolish it in 1815. If a nation is to be subject to another, undoubtedly it profits by being under an important power, like Spain, rather than under a petty kingdom such as Naples. It was decreed, however, that the kingdom of the Two Sicilies should be independent of Spain ; and Ferdinand, the eight-year-old son of the Spanish monarch, was proclaimed King under the regency of Tanucci in 1759.

The troubles of Sicily now began. The initial difficulty caused by the incompatibility of the two nations was soon increased by the mixture of the Bourbon blood with the Austrian. In 1768 Ferdinand married Maria Carolina, daughter of Maria Teresa and sister of Marie Antoinette, so that the Neapolitan dynasty became doubly intoxicated by the despotic traditions of Louis XIV. and Maria Teresa.

By a clause in her marriage settlement Maria Carolina, on the birth of an heir, was to be admitted to the Council of State on an equal footing with the King her husband. The heir was born in 1775, and Maria Carolina immediately claimed her right, with the result that the reins of government were handed over to her completely by the

weak, pleasure-loving husband, who, when consulted on State matters, would go out hunting after repeating the usual formula, "Ma femme sait tout." The Neapolitan Bourbon State in Sicily was, in fact, "a partnership of the Crown, the Church, and the mob for the exploitation of the intellectual and commercial sections of the community; progressive thought and action were suppressed among all classes."\* The revolution in France encouraged the constitutional party in Sicily, but only confirmed Maria Carolina and the Court in their reactionary policy. Sicilian subjects were even condemned to deportation: "Pro lectura Gazzettarum cum delectatione."†

The successes of Napoleon in Italy caused the Court to flee from Naples to Palermo. The flight was facilitated by Lady Hamilton's intervention with Nelson on behalf of her intimate friend Queen Maria Carolina. The British warships crossed the Straits of Messina in a fearful storm, during which the young prince died in Lady Hamilton's arms, and the Sicilians, out of pity and commiseration, gave a hospitable welcome to the exiled Queen. But their kindness was to be repaid by oppression, cruelty, and robbery. The woman whom Napoleon described as the incarnation of wickedness, but "le seul homme de son peuple," not only taxed the country beyond the limit of endurance to pay for the extravagance of her Court at Palermo, but even intrigued with Napoleon, who had lately married her grand-niece and grand-daughter, Marie Louise, in the hopes of recovering Naples. Here, however, she was unsuccessful. Napoleon

\* Whitaker Scalia, "Sicily and England." 1907.

† Amari.

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had no intention of dethroning Joachim Murat, his favourite general and brother-in-law, to whom he had given the Kingdom of Naples, nor would the English, under whose protection the Bourbons were living in Sicily, allow the Queen to remain in power after her intrigues were discovered. For not only had she intrigued with Napoleon, but, to the indignation of the latter, she had carried on secret negotiations with Russia at the same time.

Sicily was of vital importance to England if she was to maintain her supremacy in the Mediterranean, and now that matters had reached a crisis, the only alternative open to the English, if they were not to vacate the island, was to establish a decent Government under their own control.

In 1811 Lord William Bentinck\* went out as Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces. Finding these powers insufficient, he immediately returned to England, and reappeared in the island in December,

\* Lord William Bentinck.—Until the much-needed life of Lord William Bentinck is published, it is impossible to estimate fairly his work either in Sicily or India. The account of him in the "Dict. of Natl. Biog." has proved incorrect in the light of more recent publications. Sir Charles Dilke (*Quarterly Review*, January, 1910) has to some extent corrected the false impression about Bentinck. He says that "Bentinck, who despised the Bourbons, detested Murat, and was prepared to fight to his last breath against the French: he was from the first a defender of the idea of Italian independence. Italian unity he would have preferred—union of an Italy, as he (B.) explained, *owing her national life to England.*" Lord William was the second son of the third Duke of Portland; he was born in 1774, entered the army 1791, gazetted Lieut.-Colonel in 1794. He served in Italy in the campaign of 1799, and the following ones. From 1803-1807 he was Governor of Madras, then served in Portugal, etc. In 1811 he went to Sicily until 1814. He was Governor-General of Bengal from 1828 till he became first Governor-General of India in 1833; he resigned two years later, and died in 1839.—(See also notes, p. 101.)

after forty days' absence, with unlimited authority as Captain-General of the island. His dictatorship, for it was little else, proved invaluable to Sicily, and won the undying gratitude of the Sicilians to England. He marched on Palermo, threats having proved useless, and forced the Queen to leave the town, vesting all authority in her son, Prince Francis, who during his father's feigned illness was made Vicar-General of the island. Soon after, Maria Carolina left the country, and returned to Austria.

Lord William then became Commander-in-Chief of the Sicilian Army, and by supporting the Constitutional party caused them to pass the Constitution of 1812, which insured the independence of Sicily, and contained a provision to prevent the Crown from being again united with that of Naples, or of any other country. In October, 1813, he issued an edict in his own name, defending the Constitution, and threatening any one who might attempt to violate its principles.\*

The new Constitution maintained the liberty of the individual, freedom of speech, and liberty of the press, and was being applied to the country—which, however, was still in a state of chaos—when the defeat of Napoleon in the spring of 1814 altered the whole position of affairs. England, having saved the Bourbon dynasty from extinction by removing them from Naples in 1799; having

\* Sicilian Constitution of 1813. Canning's comment on Lord Wm. Bentinck's measure was: "It was not because we carried in our bosoms the image of our Constitution that we should expect to see it reflected in every other country. But it could not be expected that 16,000 bayoneted philosophers would suddenly produce the effect, which in England had been the result of the Revolutions and the accumulated wisdom of ages."—(Temperley's "Life of Canning," 1905, p. 137.)

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subsidized them to the extent of ten million francs per annum ; having kept a force of from ten to fifteen thousand men in the north-east of the island for fifteen years, and having forced the Constitution of 1812 upon the island, now found the maintenance of her supremacy in the Mediterranean sufficiently assured by the occupation of Malta, and the evacuation of Sicily was ordered to take place without delay.

In order to minimize the difficulties of this sudden change of policy, Lord William Bentinck was transferred to Genoa, and the powers of his successor, Sir William à Court, were limited to the mission of urging Ferdinand to respect the new Constitution.\*

Matters were in this state when Parish reached Palermo. News of Queen Maria Carolina's death had just arrived from Vienna, where she had been living at Herzborg, close to her grand-daughter the ex-Empress Marie Louise. The Austrian Court did not even go into mourning for the Queen, and Parish writes to his father : " King Ferdinand lost no time in supplying her place by a private marriage with the Princess Partanna, † a widow

\* Mr. à Court, writing to Lord Castlereagh, Palermo, August 6, 1814, wishes to have definite powers as to the granting or withholding the English subsidy, as that is the only hold he has on the Sicilian Government. " The King and their Ministers," he writes, " continue to make a great parade of their Constitutional sentiments, but not a day passes without some flagrant violation of the very fundamental articles of the Constitution. In all this they are aided and abetted by the Count Mocenigo, the Russian Minister, an intrigant of the first class, and a decided enemy of Great Britain."—(Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 75.)

† In the same letter in which he announces the marriage of the King and Princess Partanna, Mr. à Court writes to Lord Castlereagh (Palermo, January 5, 1815)—" The foundations of the Constitution—or perhaps I should rather say props, for foundations it never had any—are removed on all sides, and it is ready to sink into a quiet despotism, upon the

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with a numberless progeny, the public announcement of which is only deferred till after the funeral obsequies of his late Queen, for which great preparations are being made." At this service Parish was present, and he describes it as very long and elaborate and chiefly remarkable for the beauty of the music performed by an orchestra of two hundred.

This was the last chapter in the history of that strange woman of ungovernable temper and passion whom Amari describes as "*Esprit éclairé, caractère orgueilleux, passionné, violent, intrigant, cupide et prodigue à la fois, qui espérait toujours arracher Naples aux Français et la Sicile aux Siciliens.*"

After spending a fortnight at Palermo, Parish settled down at Messina to learn the Italian language, taking as his instructor Don Onofrio, the chaplain of the garrison, "a very funny little fellow indeed, who knows everybody from the Governor to his washerwoman, and all their domestic histories; a walking newspaper, whom I generally get to breakfast with me, and who, being ready to make himself of use in any way, is, as you may suppose, a most desirable acquaintance. I have hired some rooms and furnished them with tables and chairs, an iron bedstead, and muslin curtains, and have a Sicilian and his wife who can cook. They sleep, I believe, on the staircase, and give me very little trouble, but insist on calling me *Illustrissimo*, or *Eccellenza*, on every occasion.

Restoration of Naples, or, in the event of a contrary decision, to assume an aristocratical form, and to render the barons, already too powerful, the Masters both of the King and of the people. Either alternative is to be deprecated. . . . The Sicilian Government still entertains a hope of the restoration of Naples. Should the decision of the Congress be unfavourable, your lordship may be prepared to expect some rash attempt to recover the kingdom by force."—(Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 237.)



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“ I generally dine with the officers of de Rolls’ regiment (with whom I have made acquaintance through an introduction of Planta’s), and go to the military balls where one dances with Principessas and Duchesses without number. They are charming little creatures as partners, but utterly without the rudiments of education, and I suppose it is owing to this that so few of them have been married to Englishmen during the many years we have lived among them.

“ My duties here so far have been little more than nominal, the main object of our coming here being to break up the establishments which have grown out of the necessities of our Military Occupation of the Island.

“ I am about to visit some of the outposts, as soon as I can suit myself with a horse, which will carry me up the Hills, and across the mountain passes ; they are for the most part at present impracticable, owing to the heavy rains. My friends say that a horse fit for such travelling should be able to climb like a cat and swim like a rat.”

After visiting Taormina, Parish attended the gala performance in the Opera at Messina, in honour of the King’s birthday. Every box was illuminated and the ladies received their guests, regaling them with ices and coffee, cakes and bonbons. The display of jewels and the general brilliancy of the boxes seem quite to have eclipsed the performance, “ indeed,” he writes, “ for that night it seemed to be understood that the boxes were the stage and the audience the players.”

On the 15th of January he attended a party given by the Prince of Colla Reale in honour of the Prince

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of Hesse-Philipstadt, who was loud in his praise of Wellington, of the English successes against Bonaparte, and of Lord Castlereagh, whom he had seen at the Congress of Vienna. The Prince was one of the few men who had successfully resisted the French in their invasion of Italy, he having bravely defended Gaeta against Régnier and all his forces in 1806. The Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt left Messina the next morning, and one of the boats which had been used to tow out his vessel was caught in the current and went down with the eighteen men on board her.

Subscriptions were being raised to assist their families, and it was said that the Prince would recommend the widows for pensions, as all their husbands were employed by the Government. "To show what these people are," Parish writes, "there are already wagers laid, that if the pensions are granted there will not be a widow left among them in six months; and everybody is rushing to the Lottery Offices to play upon the number of the lost boat. Hardly is the Tragedy over, when the Comedy begins!"

The carnival this year in Messina seems to have been one of unusual gaiety. Balls became so frequent that Parish and Major Duncan Macgregor engaged a little German dancing master to instruct them in the latest dances, and Parish writes home: "As for our English country dances, I have never seen anything resembling them abroad, and depend upon it they will soon go quite out of fashion, and the young ladies at home had better lose no time in learning quadrilles!"

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He wrote again from Messina on March 20, 1815, in great excitement—

“We are astonished by the all-important news which has reached us of the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, and his unopposed landing on the Coast of France, near Cannes, of which long ere this you will have still more ample particulars.\* Our account of it, and it is official, is that the evening of the 26th of February whilst the British Commissioner (Sir Neil Campbell) was absent at Leghorn, Bonaparte embarked with an armed force of about 1000 men consisting of about 600 of the old Guards, who had accompanied him to Elba, and 400 Polish and Corsican soldiers, a few of whom were Cavalry, in an armed brig and some feluccas, with which he steered straight for France, leaving his mother and sister behind, and commending them to the especial protection of his Elbese subjects. We know nothing here as yet beyond the fact of his having landed on the 1st at Cannes, speculation however is of course busy as to the consequences, and the general feeling is that there must be a renewal of war; the soldiers and sailors are of course in ecstasies of delight at the prospect of it, in striking contrast to the anxious faces of the Commercial community, to the greater part of whom it must be ruinous.

All eyes are naturally turned towards Naples, where Murat's proceedings have for some time past been regarded with much suspicion, from the pains he has been taking with his army which is hardly consistent with the General Peace; and unintelligible unless he feels that the Congress of Vienna may yet be disposed to throw him over, and re-establish the old dynasty of the Bourbons.

Since the arrangement he entered into with Lord William Bentinck, previous to the overthrow of Bonaparte, to join the Allied Powers, against him—although

\* See Illustration, p. 140; Medals 9 and 10.

we English have been apparently on friendly terms with him, and Naples has been full of English visitors (Queen Caroline among them), who have been received with more than ordinary attention—it is otherwise with the Sicilian Government, which is in a very different position with regard to him.

King Ferdinand has constantly refused to acknowledge him, and has evidently been hoping that the Congress will support his claims to be eventually restored, as the other Bourbons have been, to their old dominions. Our position is rather an awkward one between the two (Sicily and Naples), although in case of any attack on the part of Murat, we should of course be bound to defend our Sicilian allies. Troops are daily arriving at Messina, the old batteries are remounting, bodies of cavalry patrol the shores every night, and we shall shortly be prepared for whatever may happen.

It is said, when the news reached the Admiral and was made known among the men on board, that the whole crew came on deck, and joined in giving three cheers for Bonaparte. Our Sicilian friends who have heard of it declare we have let him loose on purpose."

"Messina, 25th March, 1815.

"We have news *via* Genoa that Bonaparte has been joined by a considerable part of the French army, and indeed by every soldier sent against him—in fact, there being no opposition to his advances, he was daily expected to enter Paris. Meanwhile the plot thickens here, and it is evident that his emissaries are very busy in our immediate vicinity, and that Murat must be in league with them. Many hundred copies of Bonaparte's proclamations to the French Nation, have lately been thrown on the shore, during the night, and by some means or other circulated amongst the soldiery; the authorities have given strict orders to call them in, but it is too late for any effect.

## EARLY YEARS: PARIS AND SICILY

The attempt, however, to tamper with our people is pretty good evidence of the intentions of Murat; with our glasses we can see his troops continually exercising on the opposite shore, and it is evident that he is brewing some mischief."

"Messina, 28th March, 1815.

"We have the very important manifesto of the 13th inst. by the Allied Powers, dated Vienna, upon the escape of Bonaparte from Elba, in violation of the treaties he had entered into; declaring him out of the pale of civil rights, an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world, and the determination of the Powers to support the King of France, and all others who may be attacked by Bonaparte. The world is again involved in war to satisfy the ambition of one man; will it be possible for him to resist the armies of all Europe which will be brought against him?"

Murat has marched with his whole army, about 50,000 men, towards the North of Italy,\* so that we have nothing to apprehend here at present, although there is the greatest activity in completing our military preparations; in a few days we shall know more of his plans."

On the 2nd of April Parish started on an expedition into the interior of the island to inspect the condition of the crops, which had been practically ruined by the unusually large rainfall in the winter months. With the prospect of war in the near future the provisioning of the island was a most important consideration, and his journey was attended with considerable risk in those days of primitive travelling.

\* See Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 276. Mr. Cooke to Lord Castlereagh from Rome, March 17, 1815, and again p. 308, April 13, *et seq.*

## CHAPTER III

### SICILY AND NAPLES—1815

Travelling experiences; ascent of Etna—Parish sails from Messina to Naples—Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty—Parish summoned to England—News of Waterloo—Journey home—The field of Waterloo on July 18, 1815.

LEAVING Messina on horseback on April 2, accompanied by his servant, Michele, a guide, and a mule for the luggage, Woodbine Parish reached Catania with no more serious adventure than a night spent in a hayloft as the guest of a priest, Padre Antonio by name, who offered him the only accommodation he possessed in a very wild village not far from the slopes of Etna.

Some days later at Syracuse he found the people still talking of Nelson and his fleet, which had put into the harbour in 1798 to take in water and supplies for the last time before they fell in with, and destroyed, the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile.

After leaving Syracuse he met a Sicilian family *en voyage*, of which he gives a curious description. The ladies were obliged to travel in "lettigas" or litters like a double Sedan chair hung on poles and carried by mules, one in front and one behind, a species of conveyance peculiar to the island, and, owing to the absence of roads, the only practicable one.

## SICILY AND NAPLES

The party immediately entered into conversation with Parish, almost entirely by gesticulation, in which art the ladies of the party proved themselves great adepts, asking him for particulars of Murat's movements and Bonaparte's intentions, and the probabilities of immediate war.

At Noto Parish was entertained in a very primitive way by the Prince of Villadorato, who was in the habit of putting up any passing Englishmen, the inn being beneath contempt.

Having arrived at the gate of the palazzo he dismounted, but looked in vain for a servant to usher him in; however, a "ragged urchin" in the street offered to show him the way, and led him upstairs, through an ante-room and then into a large hall, where the Prince was taking his afternoon coffee with his chaplain.

Horrified at this unceremonious entry with so disreputable a guide, Parish hastened to make profuse apologies, but the Prince said "it was nothing more than customary," and that, as he had so few visitors, he "really did not keep a porter." But he had an English servant, to whose tender mercies he committed his guest before going out for a walk. "Don Giacomo" (otherwise Jimmy) then conducted the visitor to an apartment which contained a small camp-bed. Dinner having been served an hour before his arrival no mention was made of food; and Parish, having vainly asked for a meal from Don Giacomo, was reduced to eating hard eggs and dry bread out of his own canteen.

The supper—when it came—was good, and the ladies proved pleasant company, but on rising for an early start the next morning he found his canteen empty, and the excellence of the supper of the night before was

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accounted for by the disappearance of two fowls and the best part of a ham from his own supplies!

It was impossible to continue the journey without provisions, and as soon as the theft was discovered Don Giacomo was sent for and an explanation demanded. Instead of helping his master's guest out of a difficulty, for which both he and the Prince were probably responsible, he declared it to be utterly impossible to procure any food at that hour in the morning, and it was not till he was offered double the value of any fowls he could find that he offered to go to Noto in search of some.

“After a time he returned with four alive, for which I had to pay a rascally price, but I had no alternative. So Michele hung them, alive and kicking, across his saddle and away we rode, with, I must say, anything but a pleasing impression of the household of a Sicilian Prince.

From thence I had a tedious and difficult journey along the mountain range which runs across that part of the Island, by Palazzolo and Vizzini to Caltagirone. At Palazzolo we halted and Michele killed and cooked the fowls, and lucky it was he did; for at Vizzini where I passed the night it would have been impossible to do so; I got in there late at night and completely tired out, and was obliged to put up at a miserable *fondaco*, a house of call for muleteers, where I had to sleep in the stable with the beasts, and got some dry straw to lie down upon, and even that not without difficulty. The people were the wildest and most *banditti* looking villains I had yet seen. They were most importunate for money, and but for my pistols I believe they would have taken all I had; as it was I had quite a battle to get away from them.

I was heartily glad to reach Caltagirone, where I



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was once more amongst civilized beings, and remained there two days. . . . From thence I descended into the plains and reached Catania again after an absence of 10 days.

I was not a little disappointed in my English friend breaking his engagement to ascend Etna with me, on the ground of his considering it impracticable from the snow. I had had my misgivings that such would be the case, from noticing as I passed through the plains, that the summit was as thickly covered as when I had started from Catania. However, I was very loth to give up the expedition, and after much consultation with my host at the 'Elephant,' and some of the Guides, finding they did not refuse to accompany me, and thinking I should never have such a chance again, I determined at any rate to go up as far as I could; if it was impossible to reach the summit I hoped to get at least high enough to see that glorious effect of the sunrise, which, next to the Crater, is the theme of every traveller who has been up Etna. So I made arrangements to ride my own beasts to Nicolosi, whence the Guides were to provide mules accustomed to the work. By their advice I did not leave Catania till the afternoon, so as to reach Nicolosi a little before sunset.

I went to the convent, where the travellers usually rest, and arranged with my guides to have all ready for me an hour after midnight, when we were to start.

Michele had such a horror of the cold that I dispensed with him and settled to proceed alone with three guides, a father and his two sons; one of whom, like myself, was mounted.

We started at the time appointed, with cork soles and thick stockings, a Sicilian cloak with a hood to keep my head warm, besides other wrappers, brandy and water, and a good stock of bread and meat; the guides carried torches, the man on foot keeping close to me, lighting the way."

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The party rested and refreshed themselves in a goatherd's cave, and Parish watched the sun rise from an elevation of 5500 feet, more than half-way from Nicolosi to the summit. Of this he writes a most enthusiastic account, but, having got so far, he was determined to go on and accomplish the six or seven miles between himself and the summit.

So, having further refreshed themselves in the cave, they continued the ascent, which after a time became so slippery that the mules were sent back with one of the guides, to wait for them in the cave. The other son with his father accompanied Parish to the hut built by English officers for the benefit of the climbers, but this was still buried in snow, only one chimney being visible, and near here a serious mishap befell the party.

The younger guide suddenly disappeared, having slipped into a crevice in the snow ten or twelve feet deep, from which he was extricated with great difficulty, but so much exhausted that his father thought it necessary to send him back to his brother and the mules in the cave.

According to Parish's Diary :

“As he was carrying my bag of necessaries at the time, including the brandy bottle, my anxiety for his safety, I must confess, was somewhat considerable ; perhaps more so than had it been otherwise, for he was anything but an interesting youth.

The old man was as eager as I was to reach the top, as he declared he had never before been able to accomplish it till at least six months later in the year. (It was now April.) . . . So on we crawled and up we scrambled till we were at last victorious.

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The old man was just above me when he suddenly shouted out: 'Arrivati! Signore. Arrivati, Eccoci!' . . . a minute more and I was up with him, but I was thoroughly worn out and breathless from exhaustion and from the rarified state of the atmosphere. . . .

It was at least an hour before I was sufficiently recovered to walk to the edge of the Crater—a vast abyss full of the fumes of stinking sulphur which, with the smoke, almost suffocated me.

The prospect was considerably more extensive than that we had seen in the morning from our station lower down. I had been told that Malta might at times be seen, but I could not distinguish it, though I saw the Lipari Islands distinctly, looking northwards. It was about midday when I began to descend, the clouds and sand below were all on the move, and there were other evidences of a coming storm, which alarmed my guide, lest we should be caught in a fresh fall of snow, the consequences of which might have been very serious; we had hardly time to escape it, before reaching the cave, where we mounted our mules and hastened down to Nicolosi, in a much shorter time than I should have thought possible. The men declared that the snow which was then falling in the upper regions rendered the access to the Crater impracticable for many weeks.

My people at Nicolosi were looking for our return with some anxiety in consequence of the change of weather, and would hardly credit that we had been able to get up to the Cone.

After nearly seventeen hours' riding and walking I was heartily tired, and glad after an early supper to get to bed and to sleep, the more so as I had had none the night before.

In the morning I found that Etna had put on a double night-cap and that I really had had a narrow escape from being buried beneath it.

My last day's journey brought me safely to Messina

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on the 22nd; it was just 20 days since I left it, in the course of which—including the ascent of Etna—I had ridden something more than 300 miles.”

“Messina, 1st May, 1815.

“I have just got back in time, and not a day too soon, considering what momentous events are passing, of such intense importance to this, as well as other countries.

From France we hear that Bonaparte entered Paris on the 22nd March, without any opposition, and that the Allies were preparing to attack him from all points, while our news from Italy is hardly less exciting.

It is about a month ago that I wrote to you of Murat's having marched from Naples, with all his army towards the North; since then we have his proclamation from Rimini, calling upon the Italians to rise and unite with him in forming one Kingdom and government for all Italy; and that he has forced a passage through the papal territories in defiance of the Pope, who has fled in consequence to Genoa with all his Cardinals. It appears by still later advices that, on the advance of his troops upon Florence and Bologna, the Austrians moved forward from the Po, and declared war against him, and that already there has been some fighting in which the Neapolitans have been worsted and obliged to fall back. At the same time our own armistice with him is formally declared to be at an end, and an Anglo-Sicilian expedition is now preparing in all haste to co-operate with the Austrians and restore the Bourbon dynasty at Naples.

There is, in consequence of this, a great gathering here of troops of all nations, Germans, Swiss, British and Italians, all, of course, in John Bull's pay. Transports are collecting at Milazzo to receive them, and it is expected that in another week or ten days they may be off to their destination. In the meantime, the ball has begun, and we are exchanging long shots with

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Murat's people across the water. They fire at every ship which comes within their range, and our gunboats have enough to do to protect the Sicilian Coasters as they pass through the Straits. Their camp on the opposite coast is in full view, and a very pretty sight it is, especially with fires burning all about it. The Calabrese are said, however, to be quite disaffected and ready to join us whenever and wherever we land upon their coast, and there is a general opinion that the whole of the Neapolitan army are thoroughly tired of Murat. His best officers were French, and they refused to remain any longer with him when he declared against Bonaparte last year. His vacillating policy indeed has made every one distrust him, and if he loses his Crown in consequence of this last escapade, he will only have himself to blame for it.

Notwithstanding her relationship to Bonaparte, it is said that Madame Murat was more urgent than any one in endeavouring to persuade him to remain quiet and at peace with his neighbours.

And now about myself—you will not wonder I am sure at my wishing to take part in whatever is to be done, and this has just been arranged entirely to my own satisfaction. The command of the army, which will consist of from seven to eight thousand men, is given to General Macfarlane,\* who has appointed — †, my friend here, to be his Commissary General, and no sooner was this determined than he proposed to take me with him to act as his Aide-de-Camp, or in any other way that might be agreeable to me; it was very kind of him, and just what I should have wished most myself. It will fix me at headquarters, and give me the best possible opportunity of seeing all that takes place. Macgregor is to be head of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, and has promised that I should

\* Lieut.-General Robert Macfarlane.

† (?) Schmidchen.

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go with him in the transport, which has been selected for the conveyance of the Staff. It is said that the King will accompany us."

This letter was dated from Messina on May 1st, and the Austrian Declaration of War against the King of Naples, dated at Vienna, April 12th, states that a wise policy would have prescribed to Murat to limit his future views to the preservation of his kingdom, and to renounce every idea of conquest; that, instead of so doing he had formed extensive projects of future conquest and aggression, and in February last had demanded from Austria a passage for an army through Italy into France; that this demand being refused, Murat kept his answer back, and did not reveal his real designs until the 5th of March, when he learned the escape of Bonaparte from Elba. He then made it positively known "that he considered the cause of Napoleon as his own," and required from the Pope a passage for troops through the Roman States, which he forthwith invaded.\* The result of negotiations following this was the outbreak of hostilities on March 30 between Austria and Naples.

The Neapolitans received no support from the population in their advance against Austria, and it soon became obvious that Murat's affairs "were reduced to the last state of desperation."

He fled to Ancona, where he was joined by his wife, who was said to have given her brother much assistance in his escape from Elba. It was rumoured that

\* He acted without waiting for Napoleon's instructions, and probably with the intention of winning all Italy for himself, even if Napoleon should victoriously re-establish his Empire.—(Fyffe's "Modern Europe," vol. xi. p. 41.)

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during the winter she had paid four visits to the island, incognita.

From Ancona Murat attempted to retreat to Naples, but a force under General Bianchi partially defeated him at Foligno. He was obliged to leave Ancona, with a garrison of 3,000 men, to its fate, and even if he had succeeded in reaching Naples, it seems doubtful whether his arrival there could have done more than delay his ultimate fall.\*

Meanwhile Vienna had concluded a treaty with the King of Sicily for the restoration of that sovereign to the throne of Naples, and General Nugent received orders to co-operate with the Anglo-Sicilian Army in attacking the town of Naples itself.

British men-of-war were ordered to capture, burn and destroy all vessels floating under the Neapolitan flag.

On May 1 King Ferdinand issued a proclamation from Palermo, to "his loving subjects at Naples," stating his intention immediately to return, with the help of his Allies, to the bosom of his own family, and urging them to throw themselves into his arms and second an enterprise in which all Europe had engaged to help him. He promised a general amnesty, with utter oblivion of everything that had passed in his absence, and ended by

\* After a defeat near Ravenna by the Austrians, Murat fled by sea and joined the Emperor. After Waterloo he escaped to Corsica and made a final attempt to reconquer his kingdom by landing in Calabria with a small force in the autumn of 1815. But the peasants seized him and gave him up to the military. A court-martial followed, and convicted him of high treason. He was shot on October 13, his splendid personal courage enabling him to meet his death with the same cool heroism that had distinguished his early military career.

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calling the Almighty to witness the sincerity of his promises and engagements.

Everybody received orders to embark at Milazzo on May 10, and thither Parish now departed with his servant and his new Arab horse, bought from an officer in the 20th Dragoons. He writes that "he is a beautiful animal, but his hind quarters are scored all over with his pedigree. He would be worth any money if I could get him to England."

The voyage from Messina to Milazzo proved more exciting than had been anticipated; the transport was drifted by a current close to Scylla, and came within shot of the batteries on the mainland. Had the aim of the Neapolitans not been so bad they could easily have sunk the vessel or captured her, when, owing to the quantity of ammunition on board, she would have proved a valuable prize.

Parish and his fellow-passenger, Dr. White (head of the Medical Department), were untouched, much to the disgust of the junior doctors waiting at Milazzo, who thought they had lost the chance of a vacancy which was not likely to occur again. Parish said it was a very narrow escape, and adds :

"I should not be surprised if we are the only individuals of the whole expedition to boast of having been really under fire, for the Austrians, we understand, are driving the Neapolitans so fast before them, that the chances are all will be over before we can join them. Everything has been ready for some days, and there is an immense deal of grumbling at our detention, caused, it is said, by the King's intention to join us at Palermo.

We shall be six officers of the staff, all friends of mine, besides myself on board the *Polly* !"



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On the 16th the expedition was under way—upwards of 40 transports, with about 7000 men on board, under convoy of a couple of frigates and some smaller vessels of war.

They had hardly left the harbour when the Commodore signalled for the fleet to lie to, a man-of-war being in sight with the Royal Standard at her masthead. This was *The Queen*, with King Ferdinand on board.

“You may imagine the excitement as she bore down upon us, and passed through the midst of the squadron, the Ships of War all saluting, and the men clustering like bees upon the decks and rigging of the transports, cheering and waving their caps as His Majesty passed by and ran into Milazzo, but great was the disappointment that he did not proceed with us, as every one expected when he appeared in sight.”

“Off Capri, 22nd May.

“We are ordered to go straight to Naples, off which Lord Exmouth anchored with the whole of the British Fleet the day before yesterday.”

“23rd.

“Eccomi in Napoli! How we got here I will tell you as soon as I can settle my brains to do so.”

“26th.

“Our entrance to the Bay of Naples was one of the most splendid and interesting sights ever witnessed. Our Captain, Withers (a Norfolk man), who had been on board the Commodore for orders on the evening of the 22nd, brought us the welcome news that the city had been surrendered the day previous and that our little army was anxiously expected to land and take possession for the King immediately.\*

\* Naples had been blockaded by the English Fleet. The *Melpomene* (a French frigate that had attempted to frustrate the blockade) was

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I was up and on deck soon after daybreak the next morning, the 23rd, but for some time could see little or nothing but the ships, in consequence of a thick mist which hung over all the Bay. After some time, passed in the most tantalizing state of expectation, upon a given signal, the fleet, which had been gradually collecting off Capri, began to move into the Bay, led by the men-of-war in company; the wind, though fair, was so light that we advanced but slowly, and it was not till we were almost at our anchorage, that the fog cleared off sufficiently for us to distinguish where we were. As the curtain then drew up and the rising sun burst through the mists, the City became gradually visible, stretching round the beautiful Bay, with Vesuvius full in front of us.

There too lay in battle array, our own noble fleet of 13 ships of war, with the flags of three Admirals flying, and all ready to have laid Naples in ashes, had there been any resistance to our landing; but a very different reception awaited us.

No sooner was the expedition made out from the Shore than hundreds of boats with flags and streamers, and bands of music, came off to greet us, all crowding round the ships, and cheering in the most vociferous manner.

Some crying 'Viva Ferdinando!' but many more 'Viva il Re Giorgio!' it was manifest for the moment the redcoats had it, and that the English were in special favour. . . .

captured by an English ship, the *Rivoli*, early in the month, and on the 11th Lord Exmouth was able to enter the Bay with the *Tremendous*, the *Alcmene*, and the *Partridge*, and threatened to bombard the city. Such was the spirit of the troops and inhabitants that Madame Murat, who had returned to Naples, immediately sent Prince Cariati to treat for the safety of the capital. The conditions agreed on were: the surrender of the two Neapolitan sail of the line in the Bay; of the ship of the line on the stocks, with all her materials and stores; the contents of the arsenals were also to be delivered up, and placed at the disposal of our Government and that of Ferdinand II., the King of the Two Sicilies.

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It was between 10 and 11 when all the ships had taken up their position and anchored ; exactly at noon, the Royal Standard of the Bourbons was once more unfurled on the fortress of S. Elmo, which stands upon a height overlooking and commanding the whole city. As soon as it was hoisted commenced a salute of 100 guns, all the forts firing, and the batteries round the Bay taking it up, followed by the men-of-war, enveloping us in clouds of smoke as thick as the morning mists. The whole shore was one mass of human beings, spectators, but forming part of the scene, all cheering and hurraing, testifying in the most extravagant manner their delight at the restoration of old 'Nasoni,' as the Lazzaroni affectionately call him. The only regret being that he was not present to witness it as we did.

But imagine the feelings of Madame Murat all this time on board the *Tremendous*—a week ago the monarch of all she surveyed, to-day an exile under the protection of the flag she must most detest.

We soon heard of the events which had led to this state of things. After Murat's final defeat at Tolentino it was only a 'sauve qui peut' with the Neapolitans during the remainder of their retreat to Naples. After the surrender of that town, a military Convention was signed by the representatives of Naples, Austria and England as to the restoration of King Ferdinand's kingdom, but the Austrians refused to admit any stipulations regarding Murat personally, who has fled no one knows where.

Madame Murat, at her own request, has been received in one of our ships of war (H.M.S. *Tremendous*), and is to be conveyed to Trieste.

Captain Campbell had entered the Bay the previous day with three English ships of war.

Lord Exmouth\* with the rest of the Fleet arrived

\* Admiral Sir Fleetwood Pellew, first Viscount Exmouth, 1789-1861, K.C.H.

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on the 20th, the day of the Capitulation of Capua, and at the request of Madame Murat immediately landed a body of marines to protect the City from pillage by the Lazzaroni, who were letting loose the prisoners and committing all kinds of disorder; the Marines were reinforced the next day by some Austrian Troops, and the rest of their Army was marching into Naples on the morning of the 23rd, as we entered the Bay.

Our Anglo-Sicilian Army, as it is called, was landed on the 24th, and passed at once in review before Prince Leopold, the King's younger son, who had entered with the Austrians; it is now doing garrison duty in the forts.

I got on shore myself the afternoon of our arrival to look for quarters. As there was not a room to be had without an order from the municipality, I repaired at once to where they were in permanent sitting, and a most curious sight it was to see the Civic Magistrates, the 'patres conscripti' of Naples, in full conclave, with their quaint old costumes and robes of office. The Court was full of Austrian officers waiting for billets for themselves and their men, but thanks to my being an Englishman, I was quickly despatched with an order upon a Palazzo in the Toledo, the principal street, in which I flattered myself I was specially favoured! Vain hope!"

His attempts, however, to get a room in the house were fruitless. The palazzo belonged to a member of Murat's household, who had fled on the entrance of the Austrians, leaving behind him his wife so seriously ill that she refused, after a tearful and hysterical interview in her bedroom with young Parish, to grant him hospitality.

With a second order he had no better luck. The Frenchman to whom he had been assigned had

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determined that no one should live in his very elegant apartment if he could prevent it, with the result that it had been seized by force and a dozen Austrians quartered on him, who, not content with turning the pretty drawing-room into a barrack, made him pay them a dollar a day each, in hard cash, for pipes and tobacco. So much for military billets.

Parish found a lodging on the Chiaja Santa Lucia, in the house of a Prussian gentleman, Mr. Dagan, who infinitely preferred the young English guest to the squad of Austrian soldiers with which he had been threatened.

The people of Naples were in a state of indescribable excitement; they illuminated the city for three successive nights, and made friends with the English and Sicilian soldiers and sailors, but would have nothing to do with the Austrians, especially with the infantry, whom Parish describes as "chiefly Croats, and about the most villainous-looking troops I have ever seen."

On the 25th he heard the "Te Deum" sung at Santo Spirito, as a thanksgiving for the restoration of the Bourbons. The service was attended by all the authorities, civil and military, in full uniform, "a fine sight, and the music super excellent."

"Naples, 8th June, 1815.

"The King is arrived at last from Sicily; he came over in one of his own ships, escorted by a squadron of British and Sicilian ships of war which came to anchor first off Baiæ, and then landed him at Portici, where it is said he will remain incog: until he makes his public entry into the Capital, when all is prepared for him.

The reason for his not appearing sooner amongst his loving Neapolitan subjects seems perfectly understood

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by them, though we should think it did more credit to him as a sportsman, than a Sovereign just restored to his kingdom after a nine years' absence.

The Tunny fishery was just commencing at Milazzo as the Expedition was sailing, and as there was promise of a great haul of fish, His Majesty could not resist waiting for the result; there is nothing in which he takes so great an interest, all business and everything else is laid aside for it, and as he enters into all its details and takes an active part in them with the commonest fisherman, they like him all the better for it, in fact no one could be better qualified for a King of these Lazzaroni, who, indeed, are almost all fishermen."

" 18th June.

"Yesterday His Majesty rode into Naples from Portici on horseback, with his son Prince Leopold by his side, escorted by a numerous *cortège*, composed of the British and Austrian Generals with their Staffs, and a great concourse of Officers, both foreign and native, amongst whom I was well placed in General Macfarlane's escort."

The entry into Naples was a most imposing sight, and their old King was given a tremendous reception by his loyal subjects. Parish writes :

"I shall never forget the scene when we entered the Palace Square, which was one dense mass of people; all uncovered as the King made his appearance, and shouted: 'Viva il nostro re! Viva Nasoni!'

I was within a few yards of him when he dismounted and was greatly amused by an old Lazzaroni woman screaming out in her enthusiasm: 'Figlio di Dio com'è bello!' A more comical looking fellow for a King you can hardly imagine, his big nose (from which his nickname of 'Nasoni') standing out most prominently from his cocked hat, and in a military equipment which

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altogether looked much more like something of the last, than of the present century ; a sort of burlesque copy of Frederick the Great.

He hurried up the Palace stairs, straight to the Royal Chapel, where he knelt down and returned thanks for his Restoration once more to his hereditary dominions in full view of all the people who could get in to look at him.

Thence he went out upon the balcony looking into the Square to show himself again to his people and to see the troops defile before him, and with that ended the programme for this memorable day."\*

In his next letter, dated the 24th of June, Parish describes the grand review and thanksgiving which took place before the departure of the Austrian troops. The allied forces were already on the wing, their object being to effect a junction with the Piedmontese, and either to make a diversion in favour of the Bourbons in the South of France, or to march over the Monte Cenis to Lyons.

On the 27th he wrote to acquaint his father of his immediate return to England with Foreign Office despatches, in consequence of a demand from Downing Street that he should come home at once.

He was to travel with another Aide-de-Camp, Captain Donkin, and the Simplon being impassable "in the present state of France," he was obliged to go through the Tyrol. Captain Donkin was sent to buy a

\* Half a century later the writer of this diary added a note to call attention to the fact that the succeeding day, which likewise restored a Bourbon to his own throne, was even more memorable in the annals of history. This was the day on which the battle of Waterloo was fought.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

suitable carriage, and he hoped to accomplish the journey in twenty days, travelling all day and all night.

On July 1 they left Naples, but had to finish the second day's journey by entering Rome on foot, the carriage having already broken down three miles outside the walls. A day spent in Rome for repairs was most welcome as an opportunity for seeing the sights, but the carriage seemed hardly suitable for the rough work expected from it. On the 4th they overtook the Austrian Army under Bianchi, which had been withdrawn from Naples ; and as they were unable to pass the great mass of soldiers and baggage waggons the despatches suffered further delay. Their movements were also hampered and themselves annoyed by the soldiers, who insisted on climbing on to the carriage in front and before, till they took in an infantry officer, completely knocked up, who was glad of a lift and undertook in return to keep the men off.

Finally, with great difficulty, they worked their way to the front of the division, overtaking General Bianchi himself at the post office where they were to change horses.

Hearing that they were Englishmen the General sent for them at once, and one can imagine their excitement when he announced to them the news, that had just reached him by courier, "of a decisive victory gained by the Duke of Wellington over the French Army, commanded by Bonaparte in person, on the 18th of June, in the neighbourhood of Brussels."

He could give no details, except that the French army had been annihilated ; no one knew what had become of Napoleon, but the English and Prussian armies were said to be marching on Paris.



## SICILY AND NAPLES

On finding that the travellers were going by way of Florence, General Bianchi sent a letter in their charge to Lord Burghersh,\* at that time Ambassador Plenipotentiary in Florence, suggesting that under the circumstances it was unnecessary to embark the troops at Leghorn now that the war was probably at an end. The news of the victory was confirmed by Captain Aubin, Lord Burghersh's secretary, on their arrival at Florence, where they were kept waiting some little time while further despatches were written and entrusted to them by Lord Burghersh, and it was evening before they left the city for Bologna.

Parish says of their journey :

"The Officer of the Gate (of Florence) who examined our passports, told us we had better look out, for there were Banditti on the road, so we laid our drawn swords on the seat before us (they were the only weapons we had, except a brace of pistols in Bowen's trunk), and agreed we would keep watch alternately, for we were both desperately tired and could hardly keep awake.

We had not gone more than five or six miles, and were ascending a steep hill, when I was suddenly roused from a half sleepy state by the jolting of the carriage, and throwing open the curtain, saw a man in the act of raising his hands to stop the driver, who, as if by previous concert, came immediately to a dead halt. Bowen, who woke at the same moment, was out of the britzka on one side, and I on the other, in an instant, both sword in hand. Our first impulse was to rush upon the man who had stopped us, but he made a dodge and joined two

\* Afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmorland and Ambassador in Berlin, etc. He was a distinguished soldier, having been A.D.C. to the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular War, and an equally remarkable musician (1784-1859).

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

others whom we then saw behind the carriage, and who came forward apparently intending to attack us ; upon our showing fight, however, they hesitated, in the meantime the carriage was dragging slowly up the hill and had nearly got to the top ; we were close to it, and prepared to defend ourselves if the fellows came on, but they kept about pistol shot from us till we reached the summit when they ran off, as if alarmed, and we, jumping in, called to the Post-boy to gallop on, which he did, I must say as if it was for his life, and did not pull up till we reached the Post House, where we discovered for the first time that my portmanteau had been cut from the back of the carriage, the fall of which had no doubt woke me. I was quite convinced our driver was in league with the fellows, and I did not hesitate to tell him so, which brought on an altercation, in which I lost my temper and struck him, for which he vowed he would have his revenge.

The Post Master was very civil and wanted us to return to Florence to give an account of the robbery to the police, the rather as he said there had been other cases of late, in consequence of which there were patrols at intervals on the road, to which he attributes the robbers not using firearms, the report of which might have been heard. As I could not think of going back, he suggested we should draw up an account of the circumstances, which, if we waited an hour, there would be an opportunity of forwarding at once to Florence by the courier who would be passing with the mails, and being a Government Officer was, he said, competent to take our declaration officially. By the time he had come it was drawn up in due form, and he promised to deliver it as soon as he arrived, and to state my impressions about the Post-boy's complicity, whom he cross-questioned rather sharply ; the fellow was very sulky and evidently bent on mischief.

It was very late and quite dark when we started again, but we had not proceeded more than three or four

## SICILY AND NAPLES

miles, when down came the carriage with a terrible crash upon the road, both the hind wheels having come off, one immediately after the other; our lamps were extinguished, and there we were entirely floored in the middle of the highway in a night as dark as pitch.

The villain had taken his revenge by drawing out our linch pins! Our driver was afraid of going back alone for help, so we had no alternative but to wait till morning when we were able to get assistance. The wheels had spun a long way off from us, and we had a good hunt for them. Strange to say, nothing was broken, and as we were provided with spare linch pins, when we got the carriage up again, we were able to go on without retracing our steps. I think I shall never forget the shake I had when the carriage came down. I sent another complaint to the police of the rascally Post-boy. (N.B. who, I heard afterwards, was dismissed in consequence.)”

On the 7th of July they reached Bologna, and continued the journey by Modena, Mantua and Verona, and through the Tyrol to Innsbruck, “a most enchanting drive the whole way.”

They crossed the Danube at Ulm, and did not stop till they reached Stuttgart on the 13th, where more despatches were given them by the British Minister; and then reaching Frankfort the following day they found Herries (to whom some of the despatches were addressed), transacting Foreign Office business with regard to the subsidies of the Allies.

Herries insisted that Parish should rest for some hours at Frankfort before proceeding towards Coblenz, as he was by then utterly exhausted, having only twice been in bed since leaving Naples. Reaching Cologne on the 16th, and Liége on the following day, he was

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

able, by passing through Namur, to reach the field of Waterloo on July 18th, exactly one month after the battle. His description of it is worth recording :

We had seen at Mr. Brooke Taylor's at Stuttgart the English papers and Gazettes giving all particulars of the battle, so we were pretty well able to understand the details of it, given by the guide who showed us over the ground.

From a tree, all shattered and torn by balls and bullets, near which the Duke of Wellington had taken his station during the day, we had a view of the position of the British forces, as well as of the opposite heights which had been occupied by the French, and of the intervening plain or hollow, which was so often the scene of those desperate and oft-repeated, though ineffectual attacks, made by the enemy upon our gallant lines.

We walked from thence to La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont, where the scene of ruin and destruction of everything around but too plainly proved how terrible had been the deadly struggles which took place there between the two contending parties ; while mounds of earth heaped over the slain in every direction showed how many brave men lost their lives in defence of those positions during that ever memorable day. The details which we collected from our guide and some of the country people who were loitering about, and had witnessed the Battle, were intensely interesting ; we were offered relics of every kind, from buttons of the Imperial Guard to helmets and cuirasses pierced with balls, and might have loaded our carriage with them.

On the evening of the 19th I reached my last stage on the Continent, Ostend, where I sold my carriage for half its cost to the landlord of the Hotel, and went early to bed, hoping for a good night's rest at the end of my journey ; but I was unfortunately separated, by only a very thin partition, from the chamber of a poor lady who

## SICILY AND NAPLES

had lost her husband in the battle and her own senses in a vain hunt to discover his remains; her piteous moanings kept me awake, and went far to lessen those feelings of unmixed exultation, in which, as an Englishman, I had been indulging ever since I had been over the ground.

I had a tolerable passage, and posted to London at a very different pace to what I had been accustomed on the Continent. By the time, however, that I reached my Father's house, I was completely knocked up. My legs had become so swollen with the continuous driving that I could hardly stand, and after two or three days' rest I was ordered to the seaside to take warm salt-water baths as the best way of restoring my locomotive powers."

## CHAPTER IV

### PARIS DURING THE OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

Attaché to Lord Castlereagh in Paris—Society in Paris—The lady aeronaut—Restitution of the works of art brought by Napoleon to the Louvre—Signing of the Treaties—Parish returns to London.

ON his return from Sicily Parish received the news of his appointment as attaché to Lord Castlereagh in Paris. This was the beginning of his connection with Lord Castlereagh, who, during the remaining years of his life, proved a most kind friend to his young secretary and was of great help to him in the earlier part of his diplomatic career.

Lord Castlereagh had entered political life twenty-five years before, and with the varied experience of being Chief Secretary for Ireland under Pitt, President of the Board of Control under Addington (in addition to the responsibilities of the War Office and the Colonial Office), and Foreign Minister since 1812, no one could be better fitted for the task of Ambassador Plenipotentiary in Paris after the battle of Waterloo.

Early in August Parish went to Paris and entered on his new duties as junior secretary to Lord Castlereagh, the post having fallen vacant by the promotion of Mr. David Morier \* to the office of Consul-General in Paris ;

\* Morier held the office of Consul-General in Paris till its abolition in

## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

Morier had just returned to England to be married before taking up his new appointment.

The party at the Embassy consisted of Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Lady Emma Edgcumbe (a niece of Lady Castlereagh),\* Lord Clive,† Mr. Planta,‡ and Mr. Gunning, a son of Sir Robert Gunning.

The new secretary was cordially welcomed by Lord and Lady Castlereagh, who had known his uncle in Ireland, when, in 1800, Lord Castlereagh was Irish Secretary and Captain Henry Parish § was on Lord Cornwallis's staff. Lady Castlereagh || asked Parish to "hand her in to dinner" on the night of his arrival, and spoke of his uncle as a remarkably handsome man, and a great favourite with everybody at the Lord Lieutenant's court; this link with the stirring times of the Union seems to have made Lady Castlereagh particularly gracious to the nephew of her former friend, and though the other Embassy attachés and under-secretaries were lodged elsewhere, room was found in the hotel in the Champs Elysées for young Parish. This had been the Palace of Princess Pauline Borghese, the favourite sister of Napoleon, and was then being used as the English Embassy; but Sir Charles Stuart, ¶ who was a

1832, when he succeeded Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) as Minister to Switzerland. He died 1877.

\* She was a daughter of Lady Castlereagh's sister, who had married the second Earl of Mount Edgcumbe; Lady Emma married Lord Brownlow in 1828, and died in 1872.

† Eldest son of the great Lord Clive; he afterwards became Governor of Madras and first Earl of Powis (1754-1839).

‡ See p. 83 note.

§ See p. 52.

|| Lady Castlereagh was the youngest daughter and co-heiress of the second Earl of Buckinghamshire. She died in 1829.

¶ English Ambassador in Paris from 1815-30; afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay. He married in the following year, see next chapter, p. 162; he

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

bachelor, had reserved only the ground floor for his own use, and had handed over the rest of the house to the Castlereaghs. It was still full of Princess Borghese's beautiful furniture, just as she had left it, with her initials on everything, even to the door handles.\* Edward Cooke,† the other secretary, claimed acquaintance with Parish on the same ground as had Lady Castlereagh, and also on account of his being an old Etonian, of which school Cooke's father had been Head Master. Parish describes him as a "dear old gentleman and Lord Castlereagh's right-hand adviser ; he has been closely connected with him through all his political life. Next to Lord Castlereagh himself, it is said, no man did more to carry out the Irish Union in 1800, under Lord Cornwallis."

There was no want of employment for the secretaries, and the interesting nature of their work, combined with the intense privilege of living in Paris in such surroundings and at such an eventful period, was fully appreciated by young Parish. He writes glowing accounts of his experiences ; of the theatres and operas where boxes were reserved for the Embassy ; of the receptions of which Lady Castlereagh's own *soirées* were universally admitted to be the most brilliant ; and last of all the joy of meeting so great a number of interesting personages at these festivities.

He enumerates those who attended Lady Castlereagh's receptions—

was Ambassador to Russia from 1841-45, and was most famous as the father of two beautiful and accomplished women, Lady Canning and Louisa, Lady Waterford.

\* See illustration opposite, medals 4 and 5.

† Edward Cooke, Under-Secretary of State ; died in 1820.—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")





MEDALS STRUCK BY ORDER OF LOUIS XVIII.  
AND NAPOLEON I.

AT THE NATIONAL MINT.

- I. *Obverse*—Louis XVIII., King of France and Navarre. (1)  
*Reverse*—Louis XVIII., enters Paris, May 3, 1814. (2)
- II. *Obverse*—The same as (1).  
*Reverse*—He brings universal peace. (3)
- III. *Obverse*—Head of Princess Pauline Borghese (the sister of the Emperor). (4)  
*Reverse*—The Three Graces. (5)
- IV. *Obverse*—Emperor Alexander I. of Russia. (6)  
*Reverse*—Winged figure seated, holding Tablet inscribed "Séjour, Alliés, Paris." Paris, 1814. (7)
- V. *Obverse*—Head of Napoleon I., laureated. (8)  
*Reverse*—(Not shown; represents "February, 1814.")
- VI. *Obverse*—Return of the Emperor; Napoleon welcomed by a peasant and a grenadier of the National Guard, 1815. (9)  
*Reverse*—Eagle with Imperial Crown flying towards France. Elba in the distance. (10)

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MEDALS STRUCK BY ORDER OF LOUIS XVIII.

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...of ...  
...of ...  
...of ...

III. Ovale—Eran W. Prince ... (the sister ...)

...The ...

...of Russia ...

...Paris ...

...of Napoleon I, ...

...Paris ...

...Paris ...

...Paris ...



2



3



1



4



5



6



7



8



10



9



## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

“English Nobles and men of note (who are coming over to Paris in shoals), men of all degrees, from Ministers of State to Poets and Painters, the Duke of Wellington, co-plenipotentiary with Lord Castlereagh (who is here continually with the officers of his Staff), Prince Metternich,\* the Austrian Ambassador (a very fine gentleman indeed, but rather vain, I thought, of his personal appearance). Talleyrand also, that clever old fox, to whose management I believe the King is very mainly indebted for the little opposition made to his return, by his (certainly not) very loving subjects.”

Their neighbour in the Faubourg St. Honoré was the Emperor of Russia,† whose guard of Cossacks, “very wild looking fellows indeed,” were encamped next to the 52nd and 95th regiments, which did double duty, by guarding the Embassy from any possible attack and by providing music during dinner! General Muffling, a Prussian, who was appointed Governor and Commandant of the city during the occupation by the Allies, seems to have had some difficulty in keeping the subdued inhabitants in order; the disbanded soldiers of the Grand Army caused the Governor trouble by discarding their uniforms and picking quarrels at cafés and restaurants.

\* Metternich's diplomatic connection with Paris was long and varied. In 1809 he was Austrian Ambassador at the Court of Napoleon I., and much in favour with the Emperor until the outbreak of war obliged him to leave the country. On returning to Austria he was made Foreign Minister, but came back to Paris to arrange the marriage of Marie Louise with Napoleon. His next visit to Paris, in 1814, was to conclude the negotiations which dispossessed her of her throne, and to reinstate the Bourbons. He had no belief in the Bourbon dynasty, and before he left Paris he told Louis XVIII., “Votre majesté croit fonder la monarchie; elle se trompe: c'est la révolution qu'elle reprend en sous œuvre.”—(“Lettres du Pr. de Metternich à la Comtesse de Liéven.” Jean Hanoteau, 1909. (p. xviii. Introduction.))

† Alexander I., see illustration, p. 140, medal 6.

They forced young and inexperienced officers of the allied armies to fight a number of unnecessary duels, but Muffling took strong measures with the police and duelling was soon suppressed.

It appears that the Prussians were the most disliked by the inhabitants, owing to the ruthlessness with which they destroyed all the towns and villages through which they passed, and had it not been for the intervention of the Duke of Wellington Paris would have shared their fate.

The bridge of Jena (across the Seine) had already been mined by Blücher's orders, but the attempt to blow it up having failed, the Duke was able to save it. Had Napoleon himself fallen into Blücher's hands, the General had determined to put an end to him. Parish was much struck by the old Prussian's appearance, but not a little horrified at the extreme severity with which he treated any Frenchman with whom he came in contact.

He writes to his father in Edinburgh—

“ Paris, September 7, 1815.

“ I am sorry to say Lord Castlereagh met with rather a serious accident the day before yesterday, when walking in the Champs Elysées, where a led horse kicked him just above the knees, and knocking him down, one of his thighs was cut open and the other severely bruised, so that he is under the doctor's care and likely to be confined some days to the house.

It did not, however, prevent Lady Castlereagh giving a grand ball last night, at which the King of Prussia was present, and the young Prince of Orange, and amongst other notables Prince Metternich, the Austrian; and Hardenberg, the Prussian Ambassador; Talleyrand and Fouché, the French ministers were also there, and the Duke of Wellington and all his Staff, of

## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

course, and a great assemblage of English ladies. The Duchess of Rutland and many others of our nobility.

The dancing was confined to waltzes and quadrilles, the military bands providing the music, which was admirable : there was a grand State supper afterwards, and the whole affair went off splendidly.

I did not dance myself, being entirely occupied with looking at the great men who were present, an assemblage such as I suppose had very rarely, if ever, been seen before together. It is no small matter of pride to an Englishman to see the marked respect and attention paid to the Duke of Wellington, by the highest of the high on all occasions ; with one accord all seem to agree that to him, and to the indomitable courage of our brave soldiers at Waterloo, is mainly due the honour of the glorious issue of the late momentous contest : all eyes are upon him whenever he appears ; last night the royal and most distinguished personages present seemed to vie with each other in such marked attention to him as threw every one else into the background. For the moment he is even popular with the Parisians, inasmuch as they believe, and truly, that his interference saved the Bridge of Jena from destruction and Paris from further outrages by the Prussians ; but I am afraid this feeling is not likely to last long, when they know that our Government has determined to support the claims of our Allies, to the restoration of the works of art. Hamilton has come over specially to urge this upon Louis by command of the Prince Regent. I send you a copy of a letter he has addressed to the King upon the subject, and which has just been printed in the form of a pamphlet.

His object, as you will see, is to induce His Majesty to make Restitution voluntarily as the best means of removing a perpetual cause of ill-will against France and Frenchmen, which will be greatly aggravated if the opportunity is now lost of restoring these treasures to

their rightful owners ; the foreign artists have also got up a strong case, especially for those which were removed from Italy, whilst Canova himself is arrived, deputed by the Pope, to beg the help of the Allied Sovereigns, to obtain the restoration of all the statues and pictures formerly in the Vatican.

The poor old King is sadly perplexed between a desire to show his gratitude to the Allied Powers for their late efforts on his behalf, and the fear that if he submits and gives up these treasures without a struggle, it will degrade him for ever and ever in the eyes of the French people.

I suppose therefore that there will be no alternative but to follow the example of the Prussians, and that the rightful owners will help themselves to their own.

Lord Castlereagh's accident will prevent his attending the Review of the whole Prussian Army which is in preparation, and will take place at Châlons-sur-Marne. Everybody is going to see it, but I shall not be able to get away even if I cared to, which I do not, owing to the increase of work in our Chancellerie. I cannot say what an affection I have taken for him (Lord C.)—but in that I am not singular, it is the feeling of everybody who knows him, and is the natural result and consequence of his own kind manner and consideration for every person who has the pleasure of being about him.

The other day a letter was put into his hands threatening his life ; with his usual sangfroid he handed the paper to Planta, who very naturally suggested that it should be sent to the Minister of Police in order that some precautionary step should be taken with regard to it ; but Lord Castlereagh would not hear of it, he said he had received in the course of his life so many such letters that he had come to the conviction, that no man who really intended to kill him, would be fool enough to give him notice of it.

We have just had a sad case in the assassination of



## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

an English gentleman, named Keen, who, whilst walking with a friend on the Boulevards accidentally trod on the foot of a Frenchman, who immediately stabbed him with a sword-stick and got off, favoured by the crowd."

" Paris, 14th September, 1815.

"My birthday! When I look back upon the all-important events of the last year, and on the extent of my own wanderings since I took leave of you just 12 months ago, and think over the many scenes of interest which it has been my lot to witness in the interval, the most momentous twelvemonth in the annals of modern history, the whole seems like a passing dream, the reality of which I can hardly believe. Little did I think when present three months ago at the Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in Naples, that I should so soon after find myself at Paris, living and working with those who have replaced another Bourbon on the throne of his ancestors, and for ever destroyed the power of 'Napoleon.'

Lady Castlereagh is just back from the Prussian Review, which took place on the 10th in the plains of Vertus near Châlons-sur-Marne. Such a military spectacle was, perhaps, never before seen. The Emperor of Austria \* and King of Prussia were present, and most of the foreign Generals who formed the Staff of their respective Sovereigns; the Duke of Wellington was there, of course, with all his people and a large train of English ladies, Lady Castlereagh, Miss Fitzclarence † and her chaperone, the beautiful Mrs. Arbuthnot amongst the rest, the three Miss Cators also, American ladies, who seem to have become permanently attached to his Staff, for they accompany him everywhere.

Everybody agrees that the Russian and Prussian soldiers have a more imposing appearance than either the French or the English men, but this is principally

\* Francis I., see note, p. 79.

† Daughter of the Duke of Clarence (William IV.) and Mrs. Jordan.

owing to their dress, which is very much padded over the chest; this gives them a show of breadth and strength which really does not belong to them, whilst their waists, on the contrary, are so drawn in that they look like wasps at a distance, and must suffer greatly on a march, from a want of the freer use of their limbs; they are moved about like pieces of machinery, and treated as such by their Officers: the Frenchmen say that, but for the little Englishmen, neither Russians or Prussians would ever have entered Paris.

As it is they vent their spleen in caricatures, of which I send you some specimens, and I assure you, the customs of the Foreign Officers as well as of our own men and women, are not at all over-drawn; extravagant as they may appear, many of them are taken from individuals well known and represent them to the life; you can form no idea of the dress of some of our Officers, who have been campaigning throughout the Peninsular War, of which their low cocked hats are perhaps the most remarkable and absurd looking feature, singularly contrasting as they do with the very high ones of the French and other Foreigners.

As to the dress of our women, I am quite ashamed of them, with their short petticoats and long waists, and dowdy little skullcaps. If the French women go into one extreme, our ladies certainly run to the opposite, and however strange the former may appear in our eyes, they certainly are the most decently clad of the two.

The approaching trial of Marshal Ney excites more interest than anything else just now; so much has been allowed to be published in his justification that an impression begins to prevail, that it is intended to let him off; if so, the French Government may save themselves the trouble of trying any others of the traitors; his case is a much worse one than that of Labedoyère.

## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

I must close this now as we are all off to a concert given by the Duke of Wellington, so good night !”

Writing from Paris a week later Parish gives an account of the various amusements which were indulged in during the stay of the Allied Armies in Paris ; he thinks “ John Bull has gone mad ” with the round of perpetual excitement. One day it is a lady aeronaut, Mademoiselle Garnerin, who provides diversion for the King of Prussia and his son and a large concourse of distinguished foreigners. She went up, dressed apparently in a ball-dress, to a great height in her balloon, and the delay before she descended to earth once more in her parachute caused a panic among the audience, which was in no way diminished by the screams and faintings of the ladies.

Tivoli he describes as the Vauxhall of Paris, but more “ resembling the humours of our country fairs,” all classes mixing together with less fastidiousness than in England. These gardens seem to have been very popular with the English. But the greatest attraction of all were the wooden horses on the roundabouts in the Champs Elysées, on which even an aide-de-camp of the Duke of Wellington disported himself by riding at the ring with ladies ! The annual *fête* at St. Cloud reminded young Parish of Easter Monday at Greenwich, but the French people, he says, were better behaved than the English. He was taken over the Château to see its beauties desecrated by the Prussians as the result of Blücher’s stay in it before entering the city. The beautiful works of art had been shockingly ill-treated, and the most exquisite piece of Sèvres china used to

hold the blacking for the General's boots. The latter was carefully preserved in *statu quo* as a "souvenir des Prusses."

At a review of English troops before a distinguished company of Kings and Emperors, Lady Castlereagh was escorted by Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, who attached himself to the English Embassy by his own determination to accompany the Ambassadors on all her expeditions, and to pay marked attention to her Excellency's niece, the only unmarried lady of the party. Old Cooke, of the Embassy, disapproved of these proceedings, and upbraided her gravely, adding, "Put not your trust in Princes, Lady Emma," to which she replied, "No, Mr. Cooke—nor in any child of man."\*

Parish wrote home on September 29, about the troublesome question of the restitution of the works of art which had been collected from all the capitals of Europe by Napoleon, and which he had seen in Paris on his way to Italy the preceding year. The French particularly resented English interference, on the ground that England had nothing to claim;† but the Allies, under General Muffling, Governor of Paris, soon cleared the Louvre of the Frenchmen, and the galleries were

\* Within a few months Prince Leopold married the much-beloved Princess Charlotte of England, and after her death continued to live a great deal in this country, as a naturalized Englishman, until his election as King of the Belgians in June, 1831.

† See Castlereagh Corr., vols. x. and xi., especially Lord Castlereagh to Lord Liverpool, from Paris, September 11, 1815, vol. xi. p. 12; and "Letters to Ivy," p. 290: "The duc de Berri says that the D. of Wellington is only an upstart (parvenu), which you know accounts for his vulgarity in sending back so many valuable articles to their right owners." See also "George Canning and his Friends," Bagot, 1910, vol. ii. p. 12.

## PARIS DURING OCCUPATION OF THE ALLIES

occupied by detachments of British and other forces while the work of removing the pictures and statues took place.

A difficulty arose about the pictures from the Vatican, which had been acquired by purchase, the purchase having been confirmed by the Treaty of Tolentino. However, the obstacle was soon removed; Canova himself superintended the packing of this part of the collection, which comprised by far the most valuable treasures, and young Parish, owing to his knowledge of Italian, was told off by Lord Castlereagh to assist Canova in every way he could. He found his task a pleasant one, giving him frequent opportunities of seeing Canova, whom he describes as "a most amiable simple-minded being, full of gratitude to us as you may suppose."

The most difficult task was the removal of the Venetian Horses from the triumphal arch in front of the entrance to the Tuileries.

"A scene," writes Parish, "which I witnessed and shall not easily forget. Out of delicacy to the King, General Muffling had ordered that they should be taken down in the night, but the Gardes de Corps at the Palace very unwisely interfered to prevent it, and it became necessary therefore to resort to a demonstration of force the next day. So at an early hour the Place Caroussel was taken possession of, and surrounded by masses of Austrian Cavalry. Some pieces of artillery were loaded and under their protection, a party of our Staff Corps, with admirable dexterity, lowered the Horses into the waggons provided for them, and carried them off, amidst the yellings and execrations of an immense mob of the Parisians, who would doubtless

have torn them to pieces, but for the strong force on the ground ready to fire upon them, had they attempted to resort to any violence.

The only part of the scene I could have wished otherwise, was the appearance of some of our countrywomen upon the top of the Arch, who, not satisfied with that, insisted on being placed in the Car itself, amidst the abuse and hooting of the enraged crowd below. It was certainly a very unexpected exhibition, and to say the least of it, a very unwise one at such a moment of intense excitement; it however completed the humiliation of the Parisians.

And so has concluded this first work of retributive justice.

The Car in question was intended to have been filled by a statue of Bonaparte, which however was never completed. Some one remarking on its remaining empty said, 'Le char l'attend,' which a Royalist present immediately turned into 'Le Charlatan.' These Frenchmen are always punning: since the removal of the Works of art by the Allies, they invite one another to go to the Louvre 'to look at the walls.' On the other hand, a Bourbonist exclaims 'il y a des "N" mis (ennemis) partout,' alluding to Napoleon's cypher affixed to every part of every Public Building."

A new difficulty was now added to the task of the Allies by the change of Ministry caused by the resignation of Talleyrand and Fouché. The latter had, so far, successfully weathered the storm, and had succeeded in securing profit for himself out of every change of Government. Even now, when he was forced to resign the all-important position of Minister of Police (which office he had also held under Napoleon), he secured for himself the post of Ambassador to Dresden; and when in the following year he was banished from France, for having

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voted in favour of the death of Louis XVI., he went to live in Austria for the four remaining years of his life. He left an immense fortune, and it was said of him that he never regarded a benefit in any other light than as a means of injuring his benefactor. An example of his statesmanship is recorded in his own saying on the execution of the duc d'Enghien, "C'est bien pis qu'un crime ; c'est une faute."

He had attained a position of immense power and influence as Napoleon's Minister of Police, and when he offered his services to facilitate the King's return to Paris, after the final defeat of Napoleon, the Allies were bound to accept them ; Fouché's aid was invaluable in neutralizing and defeating the parties who were working to bring about a different arrangement. Both Talleyrand and Wellington considered it a necessity to obtain his co-operation.

Talleyrand's resignation was thought at the time to be a great loss to Louis XVIII., as the minister's energies were engaged in modifying the demands of the Allies, whereas his successor, the Duc de Richelieu, largely depended on their support for the maintenance of his position.

The Emperor of Russia owed the Duke a particular debt of gratitude for the very able manner in which for many years he had administered the province of Odessa, where his name was already identified with the progress of civilization in that part of the country.

The change of Government necessarily delayed the work of the Allies, and during the weeks that ensued Parish had the opportunity of making friends with Gentz, head of the Austrian Foreign Office, a historian of some

fame, and the Rédacteur of the Protocols and Memoirs of the Conference. He was familiarly known at the British Embassy as "Old Fearful," owing to his habit of invariably beginning every sentence, "Je crains, monsieur."

On the 9th of October, writing again from Paris, Woodbine Parish describes the opening of the Chambers and the King's Speech from the Throne upon the present state of his country. He was well received, although the occupation of his country by the Allied armies was a sore point and difficult to allude to with dignity.

Meanwhile the work of the Conference progressed, and matters were practically settled with the Duc de Richelieu, but how the French nation would accept the humiliating conditions of the treaty was yet to be seen. Parish and his colleagues in Paris thought France lucky not to be "erased from the list of Nations, and parcelled out among her conquerors."

As the head of the Chancellerie, it fell to Planta to take the treaty back to England, for which service he was to receive the customary reward of £500; but Parish begged for the honour of writing out the famous documents which were to receive the signatures of all the Allies.

Lord Castlereagh was by this time sufficiently recovered from his accident to assist Lady Castlereagh in entertaining at her famous receptions the various persons of distinction then in Paris. Among the latter were Abbot,\* the Speaker of the House of Commons,

\* Charles Abbot, first Lord Colchester, 1757-1829, was Speaker of the House of Commons 1802-1817; "one of the most distinguished men who ever occupied the chair."



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who, owing to his ignorance of the language, required a great deal of attention. Sir Walter Scott, who was collecting materials for an account of the battle of Waterloo, was also a frequent visitor at the Embassy.

“An instance,” writes Parish, “of how little we should judge of men by their exterior, a heavy-looking body, lame in his gait, speaking broad Scotch, and not at all seemingly at ease in such society. I was greatly disappointed in his appearance, which was anything but interesting or what I had figured to myself, as that of the Poet whose works I had read over and over with such delight. His countrymen, however, crowd about him, and seem glad to find him in such company.”\*

Some friends of Woodbine Parish's having arrived from Scotland, he took them to the Louvre to see Canova superintending the packing of the statues for Italy. Here they saw the Venetian horses in the travelling stalls in which they were to cross the Alps and return to their old home.

Excitement at that time was not confined to the political situation; in November, “the affair which made most noise,” as Parish expressed it, was the runaway match between General, afterwards Sir Peregrine,

\* Sir Walter Scott himself thoroughly appreciated his surroundings. Eleven years after, when he was visiting the English Ambassador, Lord Granville, in the same house, he writes in his Diary: “The house, No. 30, Rue du Faubourgh St. Honoré, once belonged to Pauline Borghèse, and if its walls could speak they might tell us mighty curious stories. Without their having any tongue they spoke to my feelings ‘with most miraculous organ.’ . . . In these halls I had often seen and conversed with many of the great and powerful, who won the world by their swords, and divided it by their counsel.”—(Lockhart's “Life of Scott.”)

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Maitland \* and Lady Sarah Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond.

“The Duke, it seems, had refused his consent to their marriage, so they took French leave, but unfortunately had not provided their English licence, which got them into an unexpected difficulty. Maitland (who was commanding the first brigade of Guards in Paris) had calculated on the services of Mr. Stonestreet, the Chaplain of the Guards, for the ceremony, and sent one of his Aides-de-camp with a coach to bring him to his quarters, from a large dinner at which he was presiding; but Stonestreet positively refused to perform the ceremony, and it was not till the following morning that they could find a clergyman to read the service.

On the lady's flight being discovered the Duke of Richmond started on a wrong scent with posthorses in pursuit of them to Calais, believing they had gone to England, a fortunate mistake, for it gave time for the Duke of Wellington and other friends to interpose their good offices, which it is believed will have the effect of reconciling him to what cannot now be helped. The Duchess, Lady Sarah's Mother, is said to have been quite satisfied, as soon as she was assured that her daughter wore a white veil at the ceremony.”

It was towards the end of his stay in Paris that Parish went again to see Talma play “Hamlet,” and still thought him inferior to Kemble and Keen in the same part, but far above all the other French actors. The actresses he found all admirable, “Mademoiselle Mars in Comedy and Mademoiselle George in tragedy are both perfect, and though neither of them are any

\* He subsequently became a Colonial Governor. Lady Maitland survived him, and died in 1873.

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longer young they are both great favourites, and deservedly so."

On the 12th of November Lord Castlereagh gave his state dinner, a farewell to his brother plenipotentiaries, and Parish writes an account of it to his father :

" Among the thirty guests were : Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador ; Barons Hardenberg and Humboldt, the Prussians ; Prince Rasoumoffsky, Count Capo d'Istria, and General Pozzo di Borgo, the Russians. Foremost among the French was old Talleyrand, or Prince of Benevento, as he signs himself. These, with our Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, were the most conspicuous of the party, and certainly an assemblage of more remarkable men could hardly ever have been brought together.

Lord Castlereagh, I think, was by far the most dignified and truly noble-looking of all this princely company. Metternich is a very fine gentleman, most carefully dressed up, and as spruce as if he had just been turned out by his hairdresser. Hardenberg and Humboldt \* are both jovial old fellows and drank no end of wine.

Of the Russians Prince Rasoumoffsky was the most striking in appearance. He is said to be nearly 80 years of age, a fine tall old gentleman, with a most prepossessing manner, he was once in our Navy, though said to be the son of a Cossac fiddler who had found his way from the

\* This was William von Humboldt, a brother of the famous traveller, Alexander v. Humboldt, who was also in Paris at the time in attendance on the King of Prussia. Alexander subsequently paid a visit to England to collect material for his book on the S. American Colonies, and was again in attendance on Frederick William III. at the Congresses of Aix la Chapelle and Verona. In 1824, Parish procured the release of Humboldt's friend Bompland from Paraguay, where the Dictator Francia had kept him in captivity for years. By so doing Parish earned Humboldt's undying gratitude.—(See p. 366.)

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Don to S. Petersburg, and attracted notice by his personal appearance, which got him a situation under the Government, in which he found means, after the Russian fashion, of making a fortune and raising his family. His son has been now, as Prince, for more than 30 years Ambassador from Russia at the Austrian Court, and is very popular with everybody who knows him.

His colleagues, Capo d'Istria and Pozzo di Borgo, are neither of them Russians by birth, the former being a Corfiote Greek, and the other a Corsican and countryman of Bonaparte. Some say they were at the Military School together in their boyhood, and that even then there was a rivalry between them, which in after life broke out into the strongest personal animosity. He is now Ambassador here to Louis XVIII. But of all the individuals present, the one who made the most singular appearance was old Talleyrand, his costume was something different from that of every one else, and approaching what we see sometimes on the stage as the full-dress of a past generation ; his hair, hung very thickly and straight over his ears and neck, and stiffened with pomatum, made his face look like the gable end of one of our thatched cottages, his legs are crooked, and give him a most awkward appearance when standing. He spoke very little but ate a great deal, and very fast ; altogether in full dress he was the strangest specimen I have yet seen of his genus.

Lord Castlereagh sat in the middle of one side of the table, with Sir Charles Stuart, the ambassador, opposite to him, according to the fashion of these parties, the principal guests being ranged on either side of him. I was fortunate enough to be one of the two croupiers, at the end of the table, in consequence of the defection of my immediate senior who ought to have been there, but had no fancy to be present at so stiff a party. Fortunately I had no carving, as at these great dinners the dishes are all handed round and cut up by the

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servants, a great improvement on the endless labour of our English dinner tables, so I had full leisure to study the company, which would have made a most interesting subject for a historical picture. I wish you could have seen it."\*

"Paris, 20th November, 1815.

"Planta is off at midnight with the definitive Treaty, signed this day at the Duc de Richelieu's, and which I was all last night writing out.†

It is a glorious winding up of our work here, as I think all England and all parties must acknowledge.

What Pitt and Nelson have begun Castlereagh and Wellington have completed. Would that the first had lived to see it!

The Treaty will no doubt be forthwith published. In the meantime there is no secret as to its contents. France is reduced with some slight modifications to her territorial frontiers of 1790. Her frontier fortresses will be occupied by 150,000 troops of the Allies, for either three or five years, according to her good behaviour, besides their maintenance, estimated at 50 Millions of francs a year, she has to pay 700 millions of francs (about 28 millions sterling) as an indemnity, for the expenses Europe has been put to, by the ambition of her late ruler.

The Duke of Wellington is to be Commander-in-Chief of the Army of occupation, towards which England and Russia, Prussia and Austria, furnish each 30,000 men and the smaller states the remainder.

As if to divert public attention, at this moment from

\* Was this perhaps the first occasion of serving dinner "à la Russe?" The Emperor of Russia may well have introduced the fashion during his residence in Paris.

† It is hardly surprising that he had to sit up all night. The treaties take up pp. 279-328 in Hertslets' "Treaties and Conventions" (vol. i. 1840). Most of the treaties were signed by Castlereagh, Wellington, and Richelieu.

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these matters, the French Government is at last hurrying on the trial of Ney, who has been for four months in prison. He is to be defended by Berryer and Dupin, two of the ablest advocates in France, but the belief is now general that he has no chance of being let off and that the Royalist party, who have come into power, are resolved on the sacrifice of at least one victim. He made a forcible appeal to the Duke of Wellington to interfere on his behalf, on the ground of an article in the Military Convention for the surrender of Paris, which, he argued, contained an amnesty for Political offences ; but the Duke, after referring it to the Conference, declined to interfere with the course of justice. I have little doubt he will be put to death.

I can write no more to-day, for I am pretty well knocked up, with what I have had to do in the last 24 hours. Lord Castlereagh will set out for England on Thursday or Friday and I shall follow a day or two after with the archives of the Mission."

This was the end of a period of singular historical interest in young Parish's career. He returned to London on the 2nd of December with the precious papers entrusted to him by Lord Castlereagh. The journey turned out more pleasant than he had anticipated, for on arriving at Calais, where a packet was awaiting Parish's orders, he found Miss Fitzclarence, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, with Mr. and Mrs. Arbuthnot,\* staying in the hotel until they should find an opportunity of crossing the Channel. This Parish immediately offered them, and, being no strangers to him after their frequent meetings in Paris, they accepted without delay, and while

\* Charles Arbuthnot was joint secretary to the Treasury 1809-23, and later Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster. He was a great friend of the Duke of Wellington, and he died at Apsley House in 1850.

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Miss Fitzclarence and Mr. Arbuthnot took refuge in the cabin from the heavy snow-storm, Mrs. Arbuthnot insisted on braving the elements on deck, where young Parish wrapped the "Beauty of Beauties" in shawls and greatcoats, and with umbrellas did his best to take care of her; "being," as he said, "bound both in duty and inclination to remain with her, and, as she condescended to make herself agreeable, the thirteen hours we were at sea passed more pleasantly and quickly than I had anticipated."

His adventures were not yet at an end, for on approaching Canterbury one of the wheels of the fourgon containing Lord Castlereagh's possessions came off, and it took some time before it could be mended with the help of some labourers out of an adjoining field. They had never seen a vehicle of the kind before, and were much puzzled by it until some one, recognizing Lord Castlereagh's coat of arms, which was emblazoned on the panel, explained that it contained all the gold that Lord Castlereagh had extracted from the Frenchmen in Paris! The men were the more convinced that such was the fact by the liberal manner in which their services were rewarded, and, the accident having delayed him pretty considerably, Parish thought it advisable under the circumstances—though the fourgon contained no gold—to spend the night at Dartford, arriving at Lord Castlereagh's house in St. James's Square about ten o'clock the following morning.

Lord Castlereagh wished to continue Parish's services for a time in helping Planta sort the papers, and wind up the affairs of the mission. Hoping that this commission would lead to an appointment at the Foreign Office

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Parish accepted it in preference to the offer of Sir Charles Stuart, Ambassador in Paris, to remain there as his private secretary. From what he had seen of Sir Charles Stuart in Paris Parish had made up his mind that he could not serve as Sir Charles' secretary with any satisfaction either to himself or to the Ambassador.



## CHAPTER V

### WITH SIR THOMAS MAITLAND IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS

Naples and Corfu—State of affairs in Albania—Ali Pasha and the cession of Parga—Parish accompanies Cartwright to Yanina—Life at Ali's Court—Turkish occupation of Parga—Parish returns to England.

PARISH'S residence in London as Assistant to Lord Castlereagh's private secretary was not of long duration, although it again enabled him to be behind the scenes at a moment of intense interest and anxiety. The long continuance of the war had led to oppressive taxation; food was dear, and the position of the Ministry was precarious, although the country was ready to vote the necessary supplies to bring the war to an end. But with the advent of peace the country clamoured for reduction in every department, and the Foreign Office were forced to reduce their staff. The immediate result was the discontinuance of Woodbine Parish's allowance. The expected vacancy not having taken place in the Foreign Office,\* Parish again determined to accept a post abroad, and in the month of June, 1816, he left England for Corfu, to work under Sir Thomas Maitland,† who had recently been appointed Lord High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands.

\* It had been expected that "Old Cooke" would retire, and on Planta succeeding him, Parish would have taken Planta's place as secretary to Lord Castlereagh.

† See note, p. 166.

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Lord Castlereagh had sent a special request to Herries, asking him, if possible, to provide Parish with a post in the Commissariat Department, and expressing his "entire approbation of Mr. Parish's conduct during his recent occupations." Hearing, in September, of his appointment to the Ionian Islands, Lord Castlereagh himself strongly recommended Parish to Sir Thomas Maitland.

Parish left London on June 4 with an old school-friend, Montgomerie, who was also bound for Corfu. In Paris he renewed his acquaintance with Sir Charles Stuart, who had lately married (February, 1816) the charming Lady Elizabeth Yorke, third daughter of Lord Hardwicke, and the Ambassador was as "civil to him as he could be to any one." While Parish and Montgomerie were in Paris the Princess Caroline of Naples made her entry into the city the day before her marriage with the Duc de Berri, "a man old enough to be her father, and who, of all the Bourbons, has managed to make himself the most hated by Frenchmen of all classes."

Hearing that the Lord High Commissioner was at that time absent from the Ionian Islands, Parish took his time in reaching his destination, driving all the way to Naples in a roomy carriage with four horses, which were supplemented by a pair of bullocks to cross the Mont Cenis; he himself walked over the mountains with his gun by a more direct route, and succeeded in killing a hare and some ptarmigan. Passing through Turin, Milan and Parma, he reached Bologna, where he was much tempted to spend a year or two at the University, a manner more profitable, so he thought,

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of spending the time, than by engaging in diplomatic negotiations at Corfu. At that time, Marie Louise, ex-Empress of France and Duchess of Parma, was living at the city from which she took her title. She was then engaged in superintending the excavation of the old Roman city of Velleia, and had made herself very popular by providing public works as a means of employment for the people. It was a great disappointment to the travellers when they found her absent, and were only able to collect scandalous gossip to the effect that the lady was not inconsolable for the loss of her husband.

With the aid of despatches to Lord Burghersh, the rest of the journey to Rome was quickly accomplished, and Parish hastened off to see Canova on his arrival. The great sculptor took him over his studio, and showed him all his work, and Parish was particularly delighted with a group of the Graces which Canova had recently completed.

Rome in August proved intolerably hot, and after visiting the pictures and sculptures, which he had first known in Paris and now saw replaced among their proper surroundings, Parish was glad to hurry on to Naples, and arrived there without further adventure, in spite of the large bands of brigands which then infested the country between the two cities. A number of brigands had been recently captured, and eleven of them having been hung, drawn and quartered, their mutilated bodies still hung in conspicuous places along the road.

Parish's stay in Naples proved more interesting than he had anticipated. The fact of his having been attached to Lord Castlereagh's mission in Paris made him for the

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moment quite a lion in Neapolitan society, and he was expected to talk of many matters of which he knew little or nothing, and had to acquit himself as best he could.

A great eruption of Vesuvius took place while he was at Naples. He was out driving at the time on the Chiaja, when he was startled by shouts of "Eruzione! Eruzione!" and saw a wonderful illumination right across the sky. After a hasty supper at the Villa di Roma, he and a party of friends went to see the new crater which had just been formed, and spent the night at the top of the mountain watching the hardening of the lava.

Finding the plague quarantine would seriously delay his reaching Corfu *viâ* Otranto, as he had originally intended, Parish took his passage in an English boat bound for Messina. But the passengers were forbidden to land, as ships from Naples were also in quarantine. The law was, however, very quickly evaded; by putting into Reggio, and spending the afternoon there, the ship got *pratique*, and was admitted the following day at Messina without delay. While lying at anchor off Reggio, Parish was bathing in the Straits, when the current of Charybdis swept him away from the ship, and finding the current too strong to swim against he was in imminent danger of drowning, had he not been seen by some of the crew who put out in a boat and saved him.

He found great changes had taken place at Messina during the sixteen months which had passed since he had left the island. The evacuation by the British forces had brought everything to a standstill. The natives, dissatisfied with the Government, complained bitterly of the removal of the Court to Naples, and the foreign

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merchants grumbled at the empty stores and other consequences of the general peace.

A week at sea in a Greek sailing vessel should have brought Parish to Corfu ; but at the Lazaretto Islands he was again detained in quarantine, and here he found strange company. The plague having broken out on the Island of Corfu, in the province of Lefchino, Sir Thomas Maitland was in great straits to arrest its progress through the rest of the island. Within a few days whole villages were depopulated, and he resolved to put a cordon of troops across the island and so to isolate the infected district. He then sent for a batch of convicts from Malta, offering to commute the sentences of any who might survive, after carrying out the work of expurgating the houses and burying the dead. Of the sixty-four convicts, only fourteen survived, and these were completing their term of quarantine on the Lazaretto with the ship's crew from Messina. They were men who for every sort of crime had been committed to the galleys for life—and they looked it—in addition to which many were maimed and scarred by the plague, and three were blinded from its effects.

On arriving at Corfu Parish was lodged at the Citadel, close to the Governor's house, and amused himself by organizing shooting-parties in the interior of the island until the return of Sir Thomas Maitland. On one of these parties a curious incident occurred. The huntsmen had started in a gunboat, and, landing below Mount Salvatore, they had a good day's sport among the woodcocks. The following day Colonel Travers, one of the party, noticed what he thought to be an unfamiliar rock in the sea. Putting out in the boat

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to investigate, they found the "rock" to be nothing but a crowd of wild-fowl. A certain Lieutenant Tweedie, of the Artillery, was given command of the six-pounder in the bow, which he proceeded to charge with canister and bring into position, while the rest of the party loaded every spare gun and musket on board. They gently approached the enemy, who did not rise until the gun boat was quite close, and then all the guns were let off at once, and a great number of coot massacred with the aid of the six-pounder. After this slaughter they went to a lagoon in the northern part of the island, where they had some excellent duck-shooting, and found the lake swarming with tortoises so thick, that, sitting in the water with only their heads above, they looked like thousands of frogs. The peasants exported two or three ship-loads annually to the coast of Bari, where they were held in great request as food for the lower classes.

Early in December, Sir Thomas Maitland\* arrived in Corfu with full powers for the future government of

\* Sir Thomas Maitland, or "King Tom" as he was called, from his eccentricities and arbitrary conduct, was very unpopular with the services. His career was a remarkable one. Appointed within a few days of his birth, in December, 1757, to a Lieutenancy in the Edinburgh Light Horse, he continued to draw half-pay from his regiment until 1778, although the corps had been already disbanded in 1763. He subsequently distinguished himself as a soldier in India, and as colonel of a West Indian Regiment. Between 1794 and 1806 he was three times elected member of Parliament for the Haddington Burghs, and in 1806 was appointed Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon. In 1813 he became Governor of Malta, and in 1815 Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean (Gibraltar excepted). Sir Charles J. Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, called him a "rough old despot," but testified to the beneficial results of his policy in the Ionian Islands, where he served under him for six years. He said of him that he had talent, but not of a first-rate order, was narrow-minded, seeing many things under false lights, and was always surrounded by sycophants, who thought him a god, because he had more intelligence than they.

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the Ionian Islands, as provided by the Treaty of Paris. The drawing up of their Constitutional Charter was no easy matter, owing to the wording of the Treaty, which constituted the islands "a free and independent State under the exclusive Protectorate of Great Britain." It was soon found to be a difficult task to reconcile the Ionian idea of independence with the English idea of protection, and the share that Capo d'Istria,\* the Russian plenipotentiary, had had in the drafting of the Treaty added materially to the difficulty. He was a Corfiote by birth, and his family were among the most powerful people in the islands, forming practically an independent party, which counted on the support of Russia to oppose the ideas of his Britannic Majesty's Government whenever—as was often the case—they might be at variance with their own.

The situation in the Ionian Islands, and more especially the question of the restoration of Parga to the Turks, cannot be thoroughly understood without some knowledge of the history of the preceding years. For nearly four centuries, with little interruption, Parga had been a dependency of the Venetian Republic, until in 1797 the French, having invaded Venetia, quartered detachments of General Bonaparte's army in the Ionian Islands and other Venetian territories. These former dependencies of Venice were annexed to the Cisalpine

\* Capo d'Istria was born at Corfu in 1776; he became Secretary of State in Russia in 1815, and shared the work of Foreign Minister with Nesselrode. He was one of the Russian plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. After his resignation in 1822 he retired to Geneva, and took an active part in organizing Greek independence. For seven years he was elected President of the Greek National Assembly at Trezena, and was assassinated in 1831.

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Republic, and their annexation was formally recognized by the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. But the French troops remained, and the Republic was little more than a name.

The unprovoked invasion of Egypt stirred up a strong feeling against France throughout the dominions of the Sultan, and the immediate result was the seizure and imprisonment of all French subjects on the Albanian coast. Of all the pashas, Ali of Yanina had the greatest interest in war being declared by the Porte against France. By this time Ali Pasha\* was nearly sixty years old, and his extraordinary career accounts for the attitude taken towards him by Parga and the Parganots. He was born in Albania in 1741, and, his father dying soon after, he was left to the tender mercies of his mother, who ill-treated and starved him. Meanwhile the neighbouring pashas seized his lands, and Ali Pasha was driven into the mountains, after pledging his sword to save himself from dying of hunger. It was not long before he raised an army. It is said to have been the discovery of a chest full of gold that turned his ill luck into good fortune. Entering his former capital, Tepellu, in triumph, he lost no time in murdering his brother and imprisoning his mother (on the charge of having poisoned him) in the harem, where she soon afterwards died. His next step was to propitiate the Porte, and then to regain his father's territory, to which he added several Greek towns. After distinguishing himself while fighting for the Turks in the Austro-Russian War of 1787, he seized Yanina, and by means of terrorizing and bribery caused the inhabitants

\* See "The Life of Ali Pacha of Jannina, late Vizier of Epirus, surnamed 'Aslan, or the Lion,'" published anonymously in 1823.





*Ali Pasha of Yanina*

ALI PASHA OF YANINA.

[From a pencil drawing.]



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to appoint him Pasha. For a very short time he had been an ally of Napoleon's, but he soon found that the French were undermining his influence on the Albanian coast, and that encouragement from France had caused the neighbouring pashas to make war on him. His fears were well grounded, for, on the declaration of war \* between Turkey and France in September, 1798, Albania was found to be virtually in the hands of the latter Power.

Ali Pasha immediately directed his forces against the French garrisons of Butrinto, Vonizza, Previsa, etc., and finding the inhabitants unwilling either to surrender or to betray the French, he took them by assault, and punished their obstinate resistance in a truly Oriental manner. The Parganots at first refused to surrender to Ali, but intimidated by a second threat from him should they persist in their resistance, they begged a French garrison to depart to Corfu, which was agreed to without further persuasion, the Parganots at the same time demanding the protection of the Allied fleets of Russia and Turkey, which were then

\* The *London Gazette* of October 27, 1798, contains the Manifesto of War of the Sublime Porte against France, dated at Constantinople September 11, 1798. Extracts from an Imperial Decree of that moment appeared in the same issue. One is to this effect: "To you Kaimakam Pasha, these are addressed." "It being incumbent upon all true Believers to combat these faithless brutes the French; and it being become a positive duty for our Imperial Person to deliver the blessed Territories from their accursed hands; and to revenge the insult which they have offered to Mussulmen, the most vigorous methods must be pursued to attack them by Sea and Land. Wherefore, by a Deliberation with the Illustrious Lawyers, Ministers and Chieftains, our Subjects, you must (with a full confidence in God and his Prophet) fix upon the effectual means of freeing the province of Egypt from the presence of such wretches. You will acquaint all the true Believers in the respective quarters that we are at war with the French, and turning night into day will apply our utmost efforts to take revenge of them." . . . etc.

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lying off Zante. Ali's energies were required elsewhere ; the protection of the Russian and Turkish flags was given to Parga, and she remained unmolested until 1800, when Russia and Turkey signed the Convention for the settlement of the Ionian Islands. Parga (with other towns on the Albanian coast that had previously formed part of the Venetian territory) was thereby ceded in perpetuity to the Porte. For the moment the new Turkish subjects were well treated, and continued in the enjoyment of their former privileges ; but the inhabitants of Parga harboured resentment against Ali Pasha, and lost no opportunity of showing it by befriending his enemies, and by every other means in their power. The "perpetuity" of their cession was not, however, of long duration, as the Peace of Tilsit, in 1807, restored the Ionian Islands and Parga to France. But in the case of Parga, the French occupation was understood to be merely temporary, and General Berthier received instructions to restore the city to her rightful owners, the Turks. He sent word accordingly to the citizens to submit to Ali Pasha, as Agent of the Porte ; this was more than the Parganots could bear, and they begged Berthier's leave to remain under French protection, a favour which Napoleon's general granted without delay.

So matters remained until 1814, in spite of the fact that the cession of Parga to the Turks had been agreed to by the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

Meanwhile, Ali Pasha had received a " Firman " from the Porte to occupy Parga, and the refusal of the French commandant to give it up to him was one of the many causes of his extreme annoyance with the Parganots.

## WITH MAITLAND IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS

He lost no opportunity of showing his indignation with the French, by cutting off their supplies on every possible occasion, and by offering his assistance equally often to their enemies the English. We have acknowledgments from Lord Nelson and others of the benefits they derived during those years from Ali's friendly attitude towards England. Ali Pasha was at the height of his power; he was practically independent of Turkey, and to a considerable extent had established peace and security within his dominions, though his ideas of justice were still very Oriental. On one occasion he wished to avenge his mother of some wrong committed against her years before, and the original offenders being long since dead, he murdered 739 of their male descendants. Small wonder then that Parga preferred the protection of France or England to the alternative of inclusion in the Pashalik of Yanina.

In 1814 the French were losing ground, and could ill afford to keep so strong a garrison in Parga. This city, deprived of French protection, was indeed between the devil and the deep sea, with Ali waiting on land to snatch his prey as soon as the French should leave it unprotected, and the English fleet lying off the coast ready to back up the friendly pasha, should he need their help. Of the two evils, the Parganots chose the lesser, and offered to open their gates to the British admiral if he would afford them immediate protection. The *London Gazette*, May 10, 1814, contained the news of the evacuation by the French and the occupation of Parga by the British troops. The following letter describes the circumstances attending the event:—

SIR WOODBINE PARISH

H.M.S. *Bacchante*,  
Off Parga, 22nd March, 1814.

To Sir John Gore,  
R<sup>r</sup>. Admiral of the Blue, etc., etc.

SIR,

I arrived off Paxo on the 20th inst., and having communicated with the Commandant of that Place, the Honourable Major Sir Charles Gordon, I was informed that a Deputation from the Town of Parga (situated on the opposite Coast of Albania and garrisoned by French troops) had arrived at Paxo, and had requested British protection, pledging themselves in the event of a sufficient Force appearing before the Place, to take up arms and seize on the Forts and Garrison.

In consequence of this, and knowing at the same time that the dispossessing the enemy at Parga would considerably distress Corfu\* and aware that it coincided with the views of His Excellency, Lt.-General Campbell, whose Aide-de-Camp Captain Angelo was on board, I lost no time in proceeding off the Place, and had the satisfaction this morning of seeing the French flag hauled down, and the British put in its place:—Sir Charles Gordon who accompanied me from Paxo, immediately took possession of the town and works, which were commanded by General Nicholay and a garrison of 170 men. As soon as the necessary troops arrived from Paxo, I embarked the detachment of Marines I had landed, and proceeded to my station off Corfu.

I have, etc., etc.,

(Signed) W. HOSTE,  
Captain.

Seeing Parga thus occupied by British troops, Ali Pasha, while remaining in the neighbourhood, gave up any attempt at taking the town by force, and the British

\* Corfu was then the French headquarters.

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remained in occupation until the Treaty of November, 1815, signed by the Allies in Paris, decreed that the Ionian Islands should become an independent Republic under British protection.

In this Treaty no mention was made of Parga, and it was assumed that as the English occupation had been a merely temporary one during the continuance of the war, Parga would now revert to Turkey.

This was the crux of the whole situation. Parga had taken advantage of the fortunes of war to alienate herself from Turkey, and to fight for the enemies of Turkey; she had opposed the forces of Ali Pasha whenever she had the chance, and a stray shot on one of these occasions had killed a favourite nephew of the Pasha. It was hardly likely under these circumstances that Parga should enjoy the prospect of annexation to Turkey and inclusion in the pashalik of her sworn enemy, Ali.

One of Capo d'Istria's\* objects in omitting any

\* Capo d'Istria, see p. 167.

Lord Castlereagh to Lord Liverpool.

“Vienna, Decr. 24, 1814.”

“Referring to the disposal of the Ionian Islands, Lord Castlereagh writes: ‘In disposing of these islands there are, as it appears to me, two paramount objects to be attended to—the one to provide adequately for the protection of the people who have so long confided themselves to our care; the other, not to suffer Russia to acquire any establishment in those islands to the hazard of the internal tranquillity both of Greece and Hungary, which latter kingdom is full of Greeks.’

“There is a native of these islands, M. Capos d'Istrias now here; he is a man of ability, has for some time acted as Russian Plenipotentiary in Switzerland, and is at present much employed by the Emperor; in speaking of these islands one day to Mr. Cooke, he said that, as a Russian Minister, he must promote whatever objects his court might give him in charge, but that, as a nation, his opinion was that these islands, for their own happiness and prosperity, should remain under the protection of Great Britain, as the greatest maritime power, the best able to secure to them the

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

reference to the Albanian coast in the Treaty of 1815 was his desire to cause hostilities between the English Government in the Ionian Islands and Ali Pasha, Governor of Yanina on the mainland. Capo d'Istria knew his native country well enough to realize that, unless the Albanian question was definitely settled by the Treaty, these hostilities would be bound to break out sooner or later.

Until further orders should arrive from England, Sir Thomas Maitland strengthened the British garrison at Parga to prevent the Pasha from seizing it by a sudden attack, and recommended his new secretary, Parish, to study modern Greek in case his services might be required for the conduct of negotiations on the mainland. Hitherto his employment had consisted in the custody of the military chest, and the deciphering of Foreign Office despatches from Constantinople, and he was not a little delighted at the prospect of being sent to the Court of Ali Pasha.

Some persons in England considered that the restoration of Parga to the Turks was delaying, if not sacrificing for ever, the possibility of Greek independence. In the light of after events, which resulted in the declaration of Greek independence within twelve years of the cession of Parga, these notes made on the subject by Parish in 1817 are of some interest :—

“ The idea of restoring the Modern Greeks to their ancient independence had long been a favourite scheme with Enthusiastick and Speculative Politicians, and had been eagerly fomented and increased by the Missionaries advantages of their flag and the freedom of their commerce.”—(Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 226.)



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of Bonaparte. Held out as it was on every occasion by him to the Greeks as the ultimate reward of their exertions in the cause of 'Liberty':—The People themselves had at last so far encouraged it that many were deluded into the firm conviction that a Christian Power in Possession of the Ionian Islands must sooner or later assist them in the Recovery of their Independence.

However fallacious it has been proved, the Idea has too many charms to be easily relinquished:—And I am persuaded that the Disappointment which has of late been manifested in some parts of Greece upon the transaction before us, may be very principally traced to this source.

Whilst the Revolutionists saw that a foreign Power continued to hold possession of a fortress upon the Continent which did not of right belong to them and from which it was well known they could derive no temporary advantage whatever, they flattered themselves and their Neighbours with the hope that they could foresee in such a circumstance an ultimate Intention, on the part of that Power, to assist them in their favourite views. In proportion as the idea of a Change had been cherished, so the disappointment of those who had encouraged it was loud and excessive on the Restoration of Parga, an Event which at one blow put an end to their Chimerical Speculations."

Little did people then foresee the change that was to come so soon. Within a dozen years the Greek War was fought, and the battle of Navarino changed the "Chimerical Speculations" into the fact of Greek Independence. There was also in Parga a strong opposition to the cession of Parga to the Porte, on the ground of humanity, while others urged, more selfishly, that England was, without sufficient reason, relinquishing a valuable possession. Investigation, however, proved

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that we had no right to retain, and the Turks every right to keep, Parga ; and that, far from being a valuable possession, the bad character of the Parganots and the unhealthiness of the place made it most desirable that we should leave it with as little delay as possible. The unhealthiness not only endangered the lives of the garrison, but necessitated such stringent quarantine regulations that its mere possession damaged our trade in the Ionian Islands.

The only question that remained was, how to transfer it to the Turks and at the same time protect the inhabitants against Ali's vengeance? The Porte was acquainted by Mr. Frere, then British Minister at Constantinople,\* with the decision of the British Government to restore the town, and an arrangement was made by which any of the inhabitants wishing to leave Parga, either to live under British protection in the Septinsular Republic or elsewhere, should not only be permitted to leave the city, but be offered facilities for the sale or disposal of their property. To settle the questions arising from this transfer of property, etc., Hamid Bey † was appointed Commissioner by the Porte, and Mr. Cartwright, ‡ then British Consul at Patras, a man of vast experience in the Levant and thorough knowledge of the language, manners and customs of the people, was sent with him to Yanina to ensure that fair terms were offered to the Parganots.

Sir Thomas Maitland requested Parish to accompany Cartwright on this mission to qualify himself—should

\* Bartholomew Frere was "Minister plenipotentiary ad interim" to the Porte, 1815-17 and 1820-21.

† Hamid Bey subsequently became Reis Effendi.

‡ Afterwards Sir Thomas Cartwright; he was Minister to Sweden later, and died at Stockholm in 1850.

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the Foreign Office approve—to remain at Yanina as British Consul after the settlement of the matter.

Their business was rendered very troublesome, owing to the large number of intending immigrants (amounting to seven or eight hundred families), which far exceeded the number that had been expected to leave the country, and the consequent depreciation in value of the properties put up for sale. Many of these were heavily mortgaged; the Parganots remaining in the city were too poor to buy any additional property, and the difficulties of transfer seemed insurmountable when Ali Pasha himself appeared as the purchaser. Intent on annexing Parga to his dominions at any price, Ali finally paid \$150,000 for the property vacated by the immigrants. The negotiations preceding the final transfer were long and tedious, and were greatly complicated by the jealousy existing between Ali Pasha and Hamid Bey.

Writing from Yanina on April 14, 1817, Parish thus describes his journey with Cartwright to the Pasha's capital:—

“ We left Corfu on the 30th ultimo, and landed at Seyades, a small fishing station on the opposite coast of Albania, where we found a Greek gentleman, Constantino Maria Oglon by name, who had been waiting there some days to escort us to Yanina. He had with him a young Albanian officer, with a guard of some of Ali's soldiers, very picturesque fellows indeed, armed to the teeth in the fashion of the country.

We started next morning, rather an imposing cavalcade, Cartwright and myself and our four servants, the Greek with two or three of his, and the Albanians, and heading the procession, the most useful if not most important personage of all, one of the Pasha's Tartars in

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full costume, with high yellow cap, and no end of pistols and daggers in his girdle. He was director-general of the whole party, galloping backwards and forwards in all directions, whip in hand, which he used most unsparingly upon all stragglers, and as if to show his authority on every unfortunate creature he met on the road.

Our day's ride ran through some very wild and romantic scenery to the town of Philates, where a deputation of the Primates came out to meet us, the Tartar having ridden on before to announce our approach. As we rode through the principal streets, I was struck with the deserted appearance of many of the houses and the poverty of the few people we saw about. We were told afterwards that this was in consequence of the Plague, which had raged there four years before with terrible violence, destroying the greater part of the inhabitants. Ali Pasha, on hearing of its breaking out, had at once cut off all communication with them, and the miserable people perished by hundreds, without aid or any medical assistance; the surrounding country was thereby saved from infection, but Philates remained as a City of the Dead.

We were conducted to the Castle, as it was called, where a tolerable room had been prepared for our reception, and where, as soon as seated, we were presented with pipes and coffee, a necessary preliminary amongst these Turks to all business of whatever description.

When we had been sufficiently examined by the people who came to look at us, the deputation left us to do what justice we could to a whole roast lamb, and a variety of other dishes, which were placed before us on a small round table, not a foot high from the floor. We had luckily in our canteens some knives and forks (otherwise we must have ate like natives with our fingers), and some bottles of wine which were found a great comfort.

The rest of the party were regaled with similar fare

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in another apartment, whole roasted lambs being the principal dishes. Our beds were soon made on the couches round the room, and our Tartar taking post at the door to prevent any further intrusion, I slept soundly enough till awoke in the morning by a tremendous clatter upon the tiled roof over our heads, caused, as I found upon getting up, by a number of storks who had their nests there. My foolish servant George was very near getting into a serious scrape by throwing stones at some of these birds, which led to his being rather roughly handled by the Albanians; indeed but for Signor Constantino's interference I don't know what they would not have done to him, for these birds are held in such veneration that to disturb them in any way is held to be little less than sacrilege.

Our second day's journey was over the mountains to Velchista, where we were lodged at a farm belonging to Ali's son, who is now the Pasha of the Morea.

The next day we rode from thence easily into Yanina, where we alighted at one of the best houses in the city, belonging to a wealthy Albanian, the Chief, we were told, of forty villages, who received us with much ceremony and conducted us to the apartments he had prepared for us, by the Pasha's orders, a suite of rooms very handsomely fitted up with crimson silk hangings, couches and rich carpets, the only furniture necessary in a Turkish house. On the floor were four large candelabra with wax candles, as big as those on the altars of the Roman churches, and a blazing fire on a large raised hearth, which I was glad enough to see after our long and cold ride.

We had not been there an hour before Said Achmet, one of the Pasha's secretaries, was announced, who came in his Master's name to inquire after our health, and to say that he was very desirous to see us as soon as possible, and previously to our having any communication with Hamid Bey, the Turkish Commissioner. He

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proposed to send for us early the next morning, if we were sufficiently recovered from the fatigue of our journey. Cartwright fixed 11 o'clock for our visit to His Highness, and delivered up to Said Achmet the letter he had brought for the Pasha, from Sir Thomas Maitland, accrediting him as the British Commissioner, duly authorized to treat for the cession of Parga.

Long before the hour appointed, the Courtyard of the house was filled with the Pasha's people who were sent to escort us to the Seraglio. Mounted on horses superbly caparisoned, we were led at a foot's pace through the streets and bazaars, by attendants in rich Albanian dresses, preceded by others with long silver sticks to clear the way for us as we passed through the crowd, which thronged to look at us, our English uniforms, cocked hats and dress, altogether so different from their own, creating evidently a considerable sensation amongst the 'oi-polloi.'

On arriving at the Palace we were at once ushered into the presence of the Pasha, who received us in a very gracious and courteous manner, making us sit down upon the same couch with him, whilst one of his dragomen squatted himself on the floor at our feet to interpret. As usual the audience commenced by the bringing in of pipes, with which we were served by some splendidly dressed fellows. These pipes were of the most costly description, long cherry sticks, with amber mouth-pieces studded with gold and precious stones. The Pasha himself smoked through a hookah.

Till this was finished he said very little, except making some common-place inquiries after our health and that of Sir Thomas Maitland. Coffee was then brought and all the attendants except the interpreter and Mahomet Effendi, his principal Minister, being sent out of the room, the Pasha opened the Conference by expressing his satisfaction at the receipt of Sir Thomas' letters, and our arrival, which he said he had been

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expecting some time. The main drift of his conversation was, however, to complain of the manner in which the Porte had treated him in this affair, by sending Hamid Bey from Constantinople as the Sultan's Commissioner, to receive possession of the place, a proceeding, he said, which seemed to lower him in the eyes of his own people, and to show a distrust of his intentions to act fairly, which he said, as Sir Thomas by this time must be fully aware, he did not deserve. It was well known, he said, that it would devolve upon him to pay whatever was to be given for the property of the inhabitants, who wished to leave the place, and which he was ready to do, as he had promised Sir Thomas, and the least he had expected was that the details of the arrangements would have been left to him, without the intervention of such a person as Hamid Bey, who he said we should not find so ready to agree to our terms as he should have been, had the affair been left solely in his hands.

It was evident he was desirous to impress upon us, that it was he, not Hamid Bey, we had really to deal with, of which, in fact, we were already quite aware.

He had nearly all the talk to himself, Cartwright being rather desirous to learn what he had to say than to enter into any discussion with him at this, our first, interview. We were with him nearly a couple of hours, during which I had little else to do than to observe him. I was agreeably surprised, both by his manners and appearance, in which there was nothing indicative of the cruel Despot, who had committed so many atrocities. I should say he was a very striking looking personage, with decidedly handsome features for his age, and rather a benevolent expression of countenance than otherwise, except perhaps when he broke out, as he did occasionally, into a coarse laugh.

He is between 60 and 70 years old, and wears a magnificent beard as white as snow, and reaching to his waist; he was very simply dressed with a bright blue

and gold cap on his head, and had his legs wrapped up in long woollen stockings ; in person he is inconveniently corpulent, looking as if he had the dropsy ; he did not attempt to rise from his seat while we were with him, and I think it would have cost him an effort to do so.

The apartment in which he received us was gaily decorated with gaudy colours and gilding, the work, we were told, of Italian artists ; upon the wall immediately behind him were hung some splendidly mounted arms, guns, pistols, and scimitars.

The next day we went by appointment to see Hamid Bey, the Turkish Commissioner, a very different man from the Pasha, very small in stature, and apparently very nervous in his position between the Pasha and Cartwright.

After a profusion of compliments he expressed his surprise at hearing that we were not prepared to proceed at once with him to Parga, his orders being, he said, to receive the place, and take possession of it in the name of the Sultan, without delay ; ignoring at first altogether the engagement taken by the Porte, that such of the inhabitants as wished to leave should be indemnified for their properties, and the expenses of their removal, but which Cartwright begged to remind him, had been distinctly promised to Mr. Frere, the British Minister at Constantinople, and must be settled before the British Garrison would be withdrawn, indeed the principal object of his having come to meet him at Yanina, was to arrange the manner in which this was to be carried out.

Cartwright then proceeded to suggest that a formal convention should be drawn up between them, to give effect to the arrangement between the British Minister at Constantinople and the Turkish Government, upon the signatures of which, he said, he had no doubt Sir Thomas Maitland would at once allow the Commission to proceed to Parga. As Hamid Bey did not seem prepared at the moment to agree to this proposition,



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Mr. Cartwright proposed that he should take his own time to consider it. And so ended our first meeting with these worthies.

The Pasha and the Bey want to get the place for nothing if they can, and if not, at the smallest possible cost ; which it is our business to take care they shall not.

We shall no doubt have plenty of discussions before the matter is finally settled, as it must be soon. In the meantime we are sending a Messenger to Corfu, to report our arrival, etc., by whom I despatch this letter. You may send it to Planta to read, as they may be glad at the Foreign Office, to know what we are about."

In his next letter from Yanina, written on May 2, Parish has little progress to report with regard to the negotiations. The Pasha and the Bey were trying their utmost to prevent the signing of an agreement to indemnify the emigrating Parganots, whereas the British Commissioners refused to make any concession until this preliminary step should be taken.

Meanwhile the two Englishmen had plenty of leisure to study and enjoy the town of Yanina, which lies on the edge of a lake surrounded by high mountains.

The city itself, full of mosques, minarets, dome-roofed churches, palaces and cypress groves, varied by bright-leaved chestnuts and orange trees, seems to have delighted them both, and when, shortly after their coming, some English travellers arrived, who turned out to be old Etonian friends of Parish's, he was glad of the opportunity of showing them the sights of the town. His friends were painfully in want of clothes, having been recommended to travel with the smallest possible amount of luggage, without indeed a change of clothing.\*

\* K. was in the saddest plight, having hung his only pair of trousers up

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Owing to Cartwright's indisposition the introduction of the Englishmen to the Pasha devolved on Parish, and the Pasha, after the customary pipes and coffee and inquiries after their health, offered, with more than ordinary civility, to show his treasure-room to the "Milordoi," handing the keys to Parish and saying, "He would trust his friend Parish with anything"; but nevertheless taking good care that two of his people accompanied his guests to make sure they did not take advantage of his confidence by filling their pockets.

They found gifts in the treasure-room from all the sovereigns and potentates in Europe with whom Ali had been in correspondence; among the most precious of the treasures being a complete suit of arms, guns, pistols, etc., covered in diamonds, the gift of Napoleon.

After seeing a great number of watches, clocks, and arms of every description, they returned to take leave of the Pasha, who took the opportunity of telling Parish how much he hoped the latter would remain in his capital as English Resident, Said Achmet having heard in Corfu that Parish's name had been suggested to the Foreign Office for that appointment.

The Pasha added that the climate would certainly agree with him, and "make him fat," being rather unhappy about Parish's extreme thinness, which was hardly considered respectable in the eyes of a Turk.

On May 13, the British Commissioners were invited to see the departure in state of Salik Pasha, Ali's youngest son. It was a most magnificent affair,

to dry by a fire after wading through a river. During the night they were burnt, and he was very glad to be given a pair by Parish, as no garments of the sort were obtainable in Albania.

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beginning with a procession of Turks and Albanians, Greeks, Tartars, Egyptians and Ethiopians, magnificently mounted, armed, and equipped. Selim Bey, a grandson of Ali, headed the procession, which consisted of ten or twelve hundred men, who, when they had left the city, began a sort of sham fight in the plain, firing guns and pistols and displaying great dexterity in throwing the "yered" as they galloped about the valley.

Selim Bey himself was one of the most conspicuous figures in the performance, and must have looked very fine in his robe of celestial blue, with a gorgeous turban on his head and riding a beautiful Arab horse ; he was particularly courteous to his grandfather's guests, providing them with horses to ride and an Italian officer to interpret and explain the manœuvres to them. They soon made friends with this officer, who came to spend the evening with them and diverted them with stories of Ali's strange doings. The Pasha had persuaded the Italian to enter his service and assist him in organizing a cavalry corps on European lines by promising him a large salary. The plan proved utterly impracticable, as the Turks abused him as a "dog of a giaour," and were perpetually threatening to take his life. He longed to return to Italy, but the Pasha refused to grant his permission, and was at that moment highly displeased with him about a horse which he (the Pasha) had given him, having failed to find among his own people any one capable of breaking it. The horse was a present from the Pasha of Egypt, and a most valuable beast, and the Italian, fearing that when broken in it might be taken away from him, docked its tail, which effectually prevented

its ever being ridden by a Turk; but the Pasha was very wroth when he heard of it, and never forgave its owner for having tricked him.

The Italian recounted some of Ali's doings, which proved what good reason he had to be afraid of the Pasha's anger. Only two years before he had ordered a girl, who had been accused of an intrigue with an Italian, to be stoned to death, and the heap of stones outside the city still reminded the inhabitants of his methods of administering justice. The lover, although he had offered to turn Turk and become a Mahomedan in order to marry her, was imprisoned for life and had gone mad.

Ali, however, still succeeded in making his people think of him as the father and benefactor of his people. By systematically fleecing the rich Greeks he was able to give alms to the Albanians, and, by monopolizing all the grain in the country, he had at all times a large store, either to sell or give away, as might best suit his purposes.

On one occasion, while the Commissioners were meeting at the Palace, the courtyard filled with peasants holding up large placards announcing that their villages were starving for want of food, and praying his Highness to relieve them. When the conference was over the Pasha ordered the leaders of the party into his presence, and after listening kindly to their complaints he ordered his Minister to supply them with what corn they wanted from his own stores, and sent them away full of gratitude.

On another occasion he ordered a general holiday and provided a feast for any one who cared to partake

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of it. All the shops were closed and innumerable lambs provided, which were roasted whole in the open air. In the middle was the kiosk of the Pasha, where he invited the Englishmen to dine with him. Of the dinner there was no end! The inevitable roast lamb was, of course, the foundation, and then followed innumerable and nameless dishes of which the Pasha himself partook voraciously, picking out the tit-bits with his fingers, in which process he was helped by one of his attendants, while another standing by, with a towel and a dish of water, washed his hands and beard after the operation. The drink he provided was brandy, of which he drank a great deal, and seemed glad to be left alone to sleep at the conclusion of the meal, while Cartwright and Parish watched the people smoking, dancing and enjoying themselves; the whole thing a very gay sight with the picturesque Albanian dress of the peasants.

Ali Pasha's influence at this moment was at its height. He was still nominally under the suzerainty of the Porte, but by skilfully subsidising certain authorities at Constantinople he suffered no interference in his own territory.

His son, Mouctar, was Pasha of the Morea, while the other, Veli, was governor of Athens and all Thessaly; the Ionian Islands were therefore bound to be largely dependent on his territories for supplies, and it was in the interest of England to be on good terms with him.

On May 16 the authorization reached Hamid Bey from the Porte to conclude the treaty that Cartwright had proposed to him, and Parish left Yanina the following day for Corfu, to obtain the General's orders

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admitting the Commissioners to Parga without further hindrance.

The Convention stipulated for the immediate entry of the Commissioners into Parga, and it was therefore necessary to get the authorization from the General at Corfu before the Commissioners could arrive there. Parish was sent to fetch it, and left Yanina on horseback in the cool of the evening, accompanied by Mustapha (the Tartar) and an outrider with two led horses. The Tartar was told by Ali that if any accident befell Parish on the road he should answer for it with his head. They rode all that night and all the following day, reaching Seyades, on the coast, about midnight, after more than thirty hours in the saddle. Parish was very glad to sleep in the boat which took him across to Corfu, and he arrived at the Lazaretto before daybreak.

Colonel Stuart (who was acting for Sir Thomas Maitland during his absence) lost no time in signing the necessary orders, and despatched them with Parish in a Government row-boat with so little delay that he reached Parga within forty-eight hours of leaving Yanina, no slight feat to have accomplished.

His dismay can well be imagined when Colonel de Bosset, a Swiss, the Commandant of Parga, announced his positive refusal to admit the Commissioners till he could first make known to the Governor his own apprehensions of what would be the consequences; with three hundred British soldiers in the place he could not answer that the inhabitants would not rise to a man, if any of the Turks came in, and murder every one of them.

All remonstrance was in vain, and having given the Colonel time to write down his complaint, Parish returned



Parga.  
1871.

PARGA.

[From a water-colour sketch by J. Cartwright.]





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with it to Corfu in all haste, soon bringing back to de Bosset a peremptory repetition of the orders to admit the Commissioners as soon as they appeared. A few hours after Parish's return to Parga Cartwright appeared on the frontier, and, on joining him, his colleague found that he had been able to delay Hamid Bey on the road, and that he was now waiting at Margariti till his quarters at Parga should be ready for him.

Writing from Parga on June 20th Parish reports the progress of the Turkish occupation :

“ Hamid Bey entered the city some days later, there was no disturbance, but the people were, and still are greatly excited, having up to the last moment deluded themselves with the notion that their remonstrances might yet alter the intention of the British Government to give up the place, an idea which de Bosset himself seems also most strangely to have entertained, and rather encouraged than otherwise. His whole proceedings indeed have been such as to make this business one of considerable difficulty, instead of a very simple one, as it would have been, but for his folly and mismanagement. Instead of some fifty or sixty families being obliged to quit the place, as was supposed in the first instance, the entire population now threatens to leave it if the British garrison is withdrawn.

De Bosset has had a valuation made of their properties by the parties themselves, which amounts to more than half a million sterling, a sum which it is manifest we shall never get either from Ali Pasha or the Turkish Government, indeed I see no end of difficulties in the way of any satisfactory settlement ; Hamid Bey says that as such a state of things was never contemplated, he must apply for fresh instructions from Constantinople, and as Sir Thomas Maitland is at

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present absent from Corfu, we are completely at a standstill.

I cannot wonder at the poor Parganots' dismay at the idea of being handed over to the tender mercies of Ali Pasha, with whom they have been fighting for the last twenty years.

The place itself is a lovely spot,\* a complete garden lying within a circuit of ten miles, every inch of which is covered with olives, citrons, and other fruits, which all grow here in the greatest luxuriance, and constitute an article of considerable importance to the population, which may comprise about 3000 souls. The men are very fine fellows indeed, and the women reputed to be the most beautiful in all Greece."

It was no small relief to Cartwright and Parish when H.M.S. *Wasp*, with Sir Thomas Maitland on board, called at Parga in the early days of July. Sir Thomas was quitting Corfu shortly after for Italy, and he took the opportunity of leaving Sir Frederick Adam in charge of the Ionian Islands during his absence, and so liberating Colonel Stuart, whom he sent to Parga to supersede de Bosset. Stuart was also appointed to officiate as British Commissioner in Cartwright's place, the latter having to return to his Consular duties at Patras.

Parish was to remain with Colonel Stuart till the negotiations with Hamid Bey should be concluded, and then to return to the Foreign Office, where Lord Castlereagh had offered him Planta's appointment, the latter having now become Under-Secretary of State.

Sir Thomas Maitland had recommended Parish to Lord Castlereagh for the post of resident at Yanina, but when his letter reached the Foreign Office the post was

\* See illustration, p. 188.

## WITH MAITLAND IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS

no longer vacant, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to Sir Thomas' letter, said that although, at first, the Secretaryship at the Foreign Office was less brilliant than that of Resident at Yanina, it had "a better prospect of future advancement."

For the moment it seemed unlikely that Parish would ever hold another appointment, as he was taken dangerously ill with a severe form of malaria that had broken out at Parga. But by a strange treatment of bottled beer and bark he recovered, and was able to leave Parga at the beginning of November.

A few days later he wrote to his father from Corfu to tell him how nearly the negotiations had terminated by the expulsion of the Turkish Commissioner and all his suite.

"I had gone out quail shooting with a Lieutenant Dalton of the Engineers, and when near the Turkish frontier had hardly separated from him when suddenly I was startled by several shots fired in the direction we had taken. Some olive trees at first prevented my seeing anything beyond, but on emerging from them I found myself on an open space forming the neutral ground between the Turkish and Parganot lines, and caught sight of Dalton, just as he fell, pursued by some soldiers of the Turkish guard; some Parganots, who had witnessed their attack upon him, were running down from our own outpost to his assistance, and by the time I reached him had raised him up drenched with blood from three shots which had taken effect from the fire of the Turkish soldiers, who fell back upon our appearance. We carried him down to Parga, speechless, and to all appearances in a dying state; however, on examination the Doctor pronounced his wounds not to be mortal, and he has since recovered; but the case excited, as you may imagine, no little sensation, the only excuse made for it

by the Turkish Officer in command was, that Dalton had crossed the boundary line, and so had infringed the laws of quarantine. But our Commandant was furious at the brutality of the outrage, and requested me to go at once to Corfu, to give an account of it to Sir Thomas. I arrived there just as he was going to dinner with a large party of ladies and officers in full dress, to meet the Lauderdale family who were staying with him in anticipation of the *fêtes* to be given upon the Promulgation of the new Constitutional Charter. He would not allow me time even to wash my hands, but made me sit beside him and tell him the whole story for the edification of the company. There was to be a grand ball at the Palace the next night, and I was chuckling at the thoughts of having arrived just in time for it, when my hopes were put an end to by the General after dinner taking me aside and ordering me to prepare to accompany him at daybreak next day to Parga, where he said he must go in person to exact satisfaction for this business of Dalton's. I thought at first he was joking, but was soon undeceived on his sending for Colonel Robinson to desire he would have the whole of the Ionian flotilla under weigh at daybreak next morning, to proceed with him to Parga; and at that hour sure enough he embarked, taking me and Captain Farquharson, one of his Aides-de-Camp with him, to our extreme disgust.

The wind was right in our teeth, and the whole of that day and the next, we were beating against it, never out of sight of Corfu, and indulging in vain regrets at the loss of our ball. I had some faint hope the first evening that the General, seeing the impossibility of reaching Parga, would have gone back; but Farquharson, who knew his master better, told me he had no doubt he was only too glad to have a good excuse to get away from the bore of receiving his company.

To make matters worse, he was horribly cross, and swore like a trooper as is his habit, and made us sit up

half the night to play at Chess with him. On the second evening, the wind becoming still more against us, he ordered the Commodore to bear up and run back with us to Corfu.

The demonstration made, however, was not without its due effect upon Ali Pasha, the rather as it was coupled with a threat on the part of Sir Thomas, of turning Hamid Bey and every Turk out of Parga, of which his Highness was no sooner made aware, than he despatched his principal Minister to Corfu, to make every atonement in his power, offering to send over the heads of the whole of the guard, and even that of the Governor of the district of Margariti himself, under whose orders they were acting, if the General desired it.

Sir Thomas declined the bag full of heads, but insisted on the men being sent to him alive, and here they are, poor devils, frightened out of their wits and expecting nothing less than any day to be ordered for execution: the General has no intention of harming them, but is rather perplexed, I believe, what to do with them, for if he sends them back they will in all probability be subjected to some exemplary punishment by the Pasha, if only to prove his love for his dear friends the English.

Had Sir Thomas accepted the offer of their heads, the probability is, that they would have been any but the heads of the real delinquents.

This was a fair specimen of King Tom as he is called, nearly as great a despot in his own way as the Pasha himself; I have been present at all his Conferences with the Pasha's Minister, and have been greatly amused by the way in which he bullied him about this business, and connected it with that of Parga, which makes no progress; indeed I see no end to it."

But on December 12, writing once more from Corfu,

Parish announces his return to England, but adds no further news, being, like the English people throughout the world, plunged into grief and consternation on receiving the news of the death of the Princess Charlotte. The engagement of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg to the Princess had been announced in London in the spring of 1816, and had caused great excitement among the members of Lord Castlereagh's household, who had seen the Prince so frequently in Paris, and had been altogether deceived as to the object of his affections. If the Castlereaghs knew of the engagement in Paris, they had kept the secret very well. The Bishop of Salisbury, who had been preceptor to the Princess, was a great friend of young Parish, and had told him many tales of the tricks played on him by his high-spirited pupil. The engagement had been very popular, crowds of people used to turn out to see the handsome Prince Leopold driving his *fiancée* daily in the park, and taking her to the opera at night, where, as Parish described, "her noble expression was the gratification of all beholders." No wonder then at the universal sorrow with which the news of her death was received.

The cession of Parga, nominally to the Sultan but practically to Ali Pasha, was soon completed, but the latter now determined to become even more independent of the Porte than he had been heretofore. He wished to be beholden to no one, and he gradually caused the commanders of the Greek Armatoles, or Militia, who had by their help largely contributed to his present position, to be assassinated one by one; carrying out his principles with characteristic thoroughness, he then ordered the assassination of the assassins.

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By the year 1820 the Porte determined to tolerate him no more, and sentenced him to be deposed ; for some time he held out, but was finally forced to capitulate and was put to death on February 5, 1822.

The voyage from Corfu took three weeks, thanks to contrary winds and a timid captain, who put into every port on the coast of Italy to avoid the storms ; the passengers were consequently delayed, on their arrival, for a fortnight's quarantine.

The voyage was less unpleasant for Parish than it would otherwise have been, owing to his interesting companion, the only other passenger on board, a Colonel Du Verger, to whom the General had given a passage out of kindness to his wife, a Corfiote lady. He was one of the French officers specially attached to Murat by Napoleon when he made him King of Naples, and was a sort of military tutor to his sons. He had been through the Russian campaign, and by his own account had been engaged in at least a hundred battles ! He greatly amused his fellow traveller by his anecdotes of the Neapolitan Court and Murat, whom, together with other French officers, he had left in 1814 when Murat joined Lord William Bentinck and the Allies against Bonaparte. Murat seemed not to have expected this defection and to have felt it bitterly, as the French officers were his most valued and useful supporters. Madame Murat tried hard to induce them to change their decision, she herself being, however, furious with the line her husband had taken. When Du Verger went to take his last leave of her, and to ask her commands for Napoleon, she said she could not write, but " Dites à mon frère que ce fou là (her husband) va

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se faire pendre!" Du Verger considered her a very clever woman, and a much better politician than her husband.

Parish did not finally reach London till early in March. He took up his abode in the same house in New Burlington Street in which his chief, Joseph Planta, was living, and soon found his post anything but a sinecure. He was armed with despatches from Sir Charles Stuart, which he had brought with him from Paris, as well as letters from Sir Thomas Maitland (who had been most kind to him until his departure) to Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Bathurst.

Sir Thomas also wished Parish to see his brother, Lord Lauderdale, whose daughters, Lady Sarah and Lady Mary Maitland, had been with their uncle at Corfu.

Mr. Fox, aide-de-camp to Sir Frederick Adam, who had struck up a great friendship with Parish, was particularly desirous that he should visit his father, Lord Holland, and tell him about the Parga business, which was causing no little excitement in England at the time. But these two noble lords, Lord Lauderdale and Lord Holland, being on "the wrong side of the House," Parish felt bound, in his official capacity, to "see which way the cat jumped in Downing Street, before taking any particular pains to give them any information, which they may use for their own purposes."



## CHAPTER VI

### AIX-LA-CHAPELLE ; QUEEN CAROLINE AND GEORGE IV

Interview with Rothschild—Departure for the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle—Arrival of the Sovereigns—Parish's first marriage—Arrival of Queen Caroline in London—Death of the Queen—Parish accompanies George IV. and Lord Londonderry to Hanover—Death of Londonderry, 1822—Forthcoming Congress at Verona.

WRITING from London, on the 12th of June, 1818, to his father in Edinburgh, Woodbine Parish says :—

“The gossip of the town just now is all about these Royal marriages, and the rather elderly gentlemen who, in consequence of the sad loss of the Princess Charlotte, are so unexpectedly called upon to unite themselves to certain German Princesses, in hopes of perpetuating the Royal Race. The Dukes of Clarence and Kent are both past fifty and the Duke of Cambridge forty-four.

Including the Princess Elizabeth there are no less than four Royal Establishments to be provided for at once by John Bull, which may well startle him, and make him restive at the cost, as you will have seen by the debates in the House of Commons.

As usual the Clubs are betting upon which of the ladies is most likely to be the Mother of the future sovereign of these Realms. The widow, who is a sister of Prince Leopold, seems to be the favourite, partly perhaps from the interest taken by the Nation in her brother, and partly because the Duke of Kent, her

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husband, is considered the most respectable of the Royal Bridegrooms.

The idea gains ground that the Army of Occupation will be withdrawn from France before the close of the year ; the government of Louis XVIII. is supposed to work well enough to ensure the stability of the Bourbon dynasty without the support of Foreign armies, and such being the case there is no sufficient motive for prolonging their stay in the country. Indeed, it seems now to be the general opinion that the sooner France is left to herself the better for the whole European system, in which it is high time she should now take her proper place.

If our master should be called upon to go over again to the Continent on this matter, I shall put in my claim to accompany him."

" Foreign Office,  
31st July, 1818.

" It is now settled that the Allied Sovereigns are to meet again, some time in September, to determine whether or not their armies shall be at once withdrawn from France, and to settle other matters connected with the arrangements of 1815.

Lord Castlereagh will go over to represent the British Government, and will meet most, I suppose, if not all, the same plenipotentiaries who were parties to the Treaties of Vienna and Paris.

The Congress is to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle. So far as our Foreign Office arrangements are concerned Planta and I, and Tom Ward are to go, and Lord Clanwilliam \* as Private Secretary ; two or three perhaps of those who were with us at Paris, and there are plenty of other applicants to join the party ; Lady Castlereagh goes of course, and she will have her own attachés.

\* Lord Clanwilliam was the third Earl in the Irish Peerage, and the first Baron of the United Kingdom. He held the post of Ambassador in Berlin from 1823-27, and was given the G.C.H. on his return.

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Chad is already off to look for a house, which it is understood it will be no easy matter to find for such a party."

Before leaving London, Parish had rather a curious interview with old Nathan Meyer Rothschild, the famous financier, who was the first of his family to settle in England. His father, a Frankfort merchant and banker, had been appointed Court agent to the Landgrave of Hesse, which post enabled him to take the first step in the career of loan contractor to European Governments, developed by his successors into a fine art. Old Meyer Amschel Rothschild had ten children, of whom four sons started the business in Vienna, London, Naples, and Paris, while the eldest, Amschel, remained with their father in Frankfort until old Rothschild's death in 1812, when he undertook the management of the Frankfort business. Nathan, the third son of Meyer Amschel Rothschild, came to England in 1797, became a naturalized British subject in 1804, and soon succeeded in making himself so well known as a financier that the Secretary of the Treasury employed him to undertake the payment of foreign subsidies. For nearly ten years he carried on this work, constantly investing the money due to foreign princes, at their request, in English Consols; throughout the Peninsular War it was Rothschild who furnished Wellington with the money for his campaigns; and he it was who—having realized how important were rapid communication and an early knowledge of events abroad for successful financial enterprise—obtained the first news of the battle of Waterloo. His message from Ostend reached him in London some hours before the arrival of any other

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courier, and a whole day before Wellington's despatches were received at the War Office.

The King of Prussia, intending to pay his expense at Aix-la-Chapelle out of the pockets of his Royal guests, put a duty on every article passing the gates, and appointed one of Nathan's brothers his banker *pro tem.* to collect his revenue.

Chad, who had been sent on in advance to secure rooms, reported that not only were the people of Aix asking exorbitant prices for every necessary of life, but that even the bankers would not cash his bills except at a ruinous exchange, for which there was no justification.

When Parish heard of this he told his chief that he knew "old Rothschild" very well, having seen him almost daily in 1813 and 1814, while working under Herries. It was at once suggested that Parish should call on him with a view to making an arrangement for obtaining money, through his brother at Aix. This interview was arranged and, after it had taken place, Parish writes to his father :—

"I went to see him (Rothschild) in the City and was very kindly received by him as an old acquaintance, all the more welcome of course as coming from Lord Castlereagh. Upon explaining my errand he at once said there would be no difficulty in his brother giving us whatever money we wanted, and sat down to write to him to that effect, asking, however, for how much he should give us a letter of credit. I said I could not specify any amount, that he had better tell him to let us have whatever money we wanted. No, he said, I must state a sum, £5,000 or £10,000 or what ?

On my repeating that I had no idea myself how much would be required, he said, ' Well, let me see, who

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is going? I know there will be Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Mr. Planta, you, Mr. Chad, Lord Clanwilliam, Lord Francis Conyngham,\* and others who may, or may not, be of the party.'

'Well,' he said, 'there will be so many masters, and so many servants, so many horses and carriages, there will be the house and lodgings for the attachés, travelling expenses, entertainments, etc., you will all be there a month or six weeks, you will want from £5,000 to £10,000, so I will give you a letter of credit for £10,000, and that will be more than you can spend.' He then wrote a few lines to his brother, which he handed to me open to read, and then burst out laughing at my face on finding it was written in Hebrew!

Business over he rang the bell and ordered coffee, which was brought in by a servant in gorgeous livery, upon a splendid silver salver, with all its appurtenances of the same, strikingly contrasting with his own appearance, "en déshabille" in an old dressing-gown, with his black silk breeches loose and unbuttoned at the knee, his ordinary costume in the Counting House, as I was told, but cutting a very different figure to his appearance on Change, as I have seen him with all eyes upon him.

What struck me very much was his correct information as to the details of our party and his knowledge of the persons likely to compose it, some of whose names I believe had not even transpired at the Foreign Office; I could only conjecture that he had perhaps heard from his brother at Aix, of the extent of the lodging room Chad was inquiring for, and took for granted that most of the party who were with Lord Castlereagh in Paris in 1815, would go with him again.

He is certainly a marvellous man in his way, and by the establishment of his family connections in every

\* Son of the famous Lady Conyngham, the friend of George IV. Lord Francis succeeded his father as the second Marquis Conyngham in 1832.

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capital in Europe, has obtained an influence such as no one ever had before, over all the money markets of the world. His transactions seem to be unlimited, and his wealth is said to be untold.

To his credit it should be added that his charities are in proportion unbounded."\*

On September 15 Planta and Parish left London for Aix, visiting old Mr. Cooke at Tunbridge Wells on their way. His fighting days in the diplomatic service were over now, and they found him deep in the study of the Classics, but none the less delighted to give advice to his successors, from his long experience in such matters, on the orthodox manner of conducting negotiations with Foreign Powers.

Stopping at Dover and Lille on the way, they reached Brussels by the end of the week, spending the Sunday in going to church at the Embassy, and visiting the town with Lord Clancarty and some of his people.

The next day they reached Liège, where Parish visited what was left of the old college at which his father had been educated. He wrote to him a few days later to tell him of his visit and of the wretched state of decay in which he found the buildings. The Fathers had gone to Stonyhurst, and only one remained in charge of the buildings, with a certain Frère Gill, who had acted for fifty years as Commissionaire to the "young gentlemen pensioners," as he called them. He immediately informed Parish, on receiving a five-franc piece from him, that he had a perfect recollection of his father, and proceeded to give him an excellent character.

\* In 1822 Nathan Meyer Rothschild was made a Baron of the Austrian Empire.

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The following day the two secretaries arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle and joined Mr. Chad, Lord Francis Conyngham, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Seymour at the hotel kept by Madame Dubick—the house which Lord Castlereagh had taken having barely sufficient accommodation for his own household, in spite of the rent being 500 guineas per month! The dining-room did not admit of Lady Castlereagh's entertaining more than a very limited number, with the result that she was obliged to hold a reception every evening, followed by supper.

On the 28th Parish writes to his father in Edinburgh :

“As yet these receptions have been what may be called family parties, for not many visiting strangers are arrived. We shall, however, soon have enough of them, for the King of Prussia came in last night and the Duke of Wellington and his Staff, and to-day the Emperors of Austria and Russia are both expected. The place is like a city besieged, regiments of guards bivouacking and parading, sentries at the gates of all the principal houses, couriers arriving and departing in every direction, and the local authorities driving about in old-fashioned coaches and full dress, to pay their respects and homage to this concourse of Royalty, quiet folks running away from the bustle, and the more curious and enterprising fighting their way through the crowds in the streets, and laughing at such a scene of confusion.

Our own party is a very merry one ; Gunning, who was with us at Paris, and Disbrowe, who is Secretary of Legation at Copenhagen, have joined us at this Hotel, where we are quartered like soldiers in a barrack ; we are all well known to each other, most of us schoolfellows, and disposed to make the best of everything, whilst I must say both Lord and Lady Castlereagh seem disposed to do all in their power to make us as happy as possible.

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I have hired a clever little horse and get a ride almost daily. The country around is exceedingly pretty and enjoyable, the weather has been remarkably fine, though if anything rather too warm for the season."

Writing again on October 1, Parish says :

"The Allied Sovereigns are now all here; the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia came in privately, and as yet the King of Prussia is the only one who has shown himself. The Duke of Wellington is almost every night at Lady Castlereagh's soiree, as are all the foreign ministers of any consequence, Prince Metternich, Hardenberg, Nesselrode and Capo d'Istria, and last night we had General Orloff, an Aide-de-Camp greatly in favour with his master, the Emperor of Russia. He is said to be one of the men who strangled poor Paul, he was covered with stars, and is as ill-looking an individual as I ever saw. Lady Castlereagh's bulldogs seemed to think the same of him, and showed all their ill-humour so unmistakeably when he came into the room, that it was necessary to get the servant to call them off. He was evidently taken aback by such a reception, and it required some tact on her Ladyship's part to restore his equanimity. It is a weakness of hers always to have these brutes with her whether in the carriage when she drives out, or in the drawing-room when at home; Lord Castlereagh remonstrates in vain against such company.

These parties are as yet entirely of men, no ladies having arrived, which is a great drawback; the only resource is in a round game of cards, which Lady Castlereagh promotes, and which always makes people sociable."

"Aix-la-Chapelle, 8th October, 1818.

"The Municipality gave a great *fête* on Monday to the Sovereigns, it was a full dress ball which began precisely at 7 o'clock, for people in this part of the world



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are very early in their habits, as you may suppose, when it was proposed that even the conferences should begin at nine in the morning, nor was it till after some discussion that the hour was fixed so late as eleven.

The ball was a very stiff affair, everybody of course in buckram, to do all honour to the Royalties. . . . The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia both came early; amongst those present were the Duke and Duchess of Kent, who had arrived in the morning, the Princess of Tour and Taxis, Lord and Lady Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, Princes Metternich and Hardenberg, the young prince of Prussia and the followers of all these notabilities.

Soon after his arrival the Emperor of Russia led out Lady Castlereagh in a Polonaise, and did the same afterward with many other ladies who placed themselves in his way. The King of Prussia followed, continually changing his partners, to the manifest satisfaction of the fair dames who were so honoured. In the course of the evening I had a capital opportunity of observing the Emperor, having been at one time squeezed close to him by the crowd, while he was in animated conversation with his old friend, the duc de Richelieu. I had thought before that his countenance was vague and unmeaning, but it was lighted up on this occasion, and seemed full of intelligence and benignity. The King of Prussia was as stern and severe as usual: their Majesties left at an early hour and the dancing became general, some old fat Burgomasters commencing quadrilles with the few pretty women I have seen at Aix.\* Their court-dresses, some

\* Metternich wrote to his wife on October 18: "Nos dames ici sont: Lady Castlereagh, trois ou quatre Anglaises plus ou moins mûres, c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont entre 50 et 60 ans—âge de jeunesse à Londres:—la princesse de La Tour, Mme. de Nesselrode et trois dames russes. Il en est pour les dames comme pour les marchands; il existe un manque total d'amateurs." Lady Castlereagh was known as her husband's "prétentieuse et énorme épouse," and a rival hostess soon appeared on the scene when Count and Countess Liéven arrived from the Russian Embassy in London. It

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of them very curious and quaint, mixed with the Military and Diplomatic uniforms, gave the meeting a very gay appearance, and the townsfolk were well pleased to have so good an opportunity of seeing so many great people together.

The public amusements, except the licensed gaming-tables, and a wretched little German Opera, where the performances are below mediocrity, are on a very small scale. By way of interlude some of our English Bruisers are coming over, to give lessons in the noble art of Boxing, which seems likely to be patronized by the Natives, as a Novelty.

But Catalani has come, and we are promised some concerts, which will be an improvement on this state of things.

Lawrence is also arrived to take likenesses of all the great people for the Prince Regent, and as Lord Castlereagh considers him as belonging to the Embassy, he is lodged and boarded with the Attachés, in our rooms at this Hotel. He has never been out of England before and wants everything he cannot get. Imagine his having had a temporary building sent out from England, under the belief that he could not find here any room suitable to the purpose for which he came out; at a great expense it has reached Antwerp, where Chad was dispatched to see it forwarded, but that proves to be an impossibility, there not being the least chance of its arriving before the congress breaks up! The principal authorities have however placed a part of the Town Hall at his disposal, which is filling up according to his directions, and where their Imperial Majesties will be much better accommodated, than in his wooden studio, if such it could be called.\*

was at Aix on October 22, at the Nesselrodes', that Metternich first met the charming ambassadress whose friendship, though so largely dependent on correspondence, materially affected his life for many years to come.

\* These pictures painted by Lawrence hang in the Waterloo Gallery at

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Sir George Staunton\* is another arrival, and has claimed acquaintance with me, from his recollection of my uncle when attached to Lord Macartney's Embassy to China. He is very Chinese himself, and abounding in extreme politeness, kotooing continually, as if he were still among the Mandarins, much to the amusement of some of our Diplomatsists.

Lady Castlereagh's soirées† bring all these people together, but the want of ladies is a great drawback. There are no wives here of the Corps Diplomatic, and the natives do not appear to open their houses to strangers.

His Lordship is, I am glad to say, in high force and most desirous to keep everybody in good humour. He is a charming man, as the ladies would say, much beloved by every one who knows him, and as to the Sovereigns and their ministers here, they can never make enough of him. Indeed, the ability, courage and indomitable perseverance, with which he has laboured through so many difficulties to restore Peace to Europe, is well deserving of all Praise."

Writing again from Aix-la-Chapelle on October 19,

Windsor. The collection was begun in Paris in 1815, continued in London and Aix, and concluded at Vienna. In addition to his usual price for portraits, Lawrence was paid £1000 a year for contingent expenses.

\* Sir George Staunton, see Chap I. p. 49.

† "Deux fois par semaine Lady Castlereagh donne une soirée ; tout le corps diplomatique y est fort assidu. Quand les parties sont arrangées les ministres passent dans une pièce voisine du salon, et là l'entretien devient tout politique: il se prolonge fort tard."—"Moniteur Universel," Aix, October 17, 1818.)

Metternich thought his own receptions more successful than Lady Castlereagh's. "Nous nous réunissons d'abord chez Lady C—," he writes to his wife, "mais j'ignore quelle inconcevable atmosphère d'ennui s'est emparée de cette maison. D'un commun accord on a renoncé aux charmes de milady et l'on s'est fixé dans mon salon."—"Lettres du Prince de Metternich.")

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Parish reports progress in the conduct of the negotiations, both with regard to the withdrawing of the Allied Armies from France and to the payment of war indemnities by that country.\*

He describes the grand concert at which Catalani sang to the three sovereigns and for which he had been lucky enough to secure a place.

“Catalani was the principal performer, and did her best; but in the midst of one of her songs, to which Lafond was commencing an exquisite accompaniment, when the amateurs were in the third heaven, and the attention of every one was at its height, a ludicrous incident gave an unexpected turn to the entertainment. A German courier drove up to the Porte Cochère, which was immediately under the room where the party was given, and little aware of what was going on, blew such a blast on his brazen horn as completely disconcerted the concert above; the effect was irresistible, every one burst out laughing, except poor Catalani, who seemed terribly put out, and hardly recovered herself during the rest of the evening. . . .

The Sovereigns remained late and seemed well pleased, the Emperor of Russia thanked the Duke in a very formal manner for his hospitable reception, and in return I never saw any man make so low a bow.

The small size of the room and the length of time

\* Castlereagh Corr., vol. xii. p. 48. Lord C. to Lord Liverpool, Aix-la-Chapelle, October 4, 1818:—“Upon the whole it (the Conference) seems working as we could wish; and we have only to encourage the sentiments of attachment, of which all the sovereigns are so prodigal towards each other, and which, I believe, at this moment, are seriously entertained.

“I am quite convinced that past habits, common glory, and these occasional meetings, displays, and repledges are among the best securities Europe now has for a durable peace.” This of course was Lord Castlereagh’s view, with which Canning did not agree; see letter from Lord Bathurst to Lord Castlereagh, October 20, 1818.—(*Ibid.*, p. 56.)

the Sovereigns stayed gave me the best opportunity I have yet had of studying their countenances, and I must say, I preferred the Emperor of Austria's to either of the others, there is an expression of placid benevolence in it, which is very winning, and from all we hear it does not belie his real character.

In striking contrast to the benign countenance of the Emperor Francis, was that of the Archduke Constantine of Russia, a thorough type of the Tartar Race, in features as well as character; with all this, however, there is an unmistakable likeness to his brother Alexander, though in him it is the Tartar Europeanized and civilized.

Upon the whole this has been the most brilliant entertainment as yet given here."

Writing again on the 26th, Parish says that the negotiations are almost complete and that the Sovereigns intend to leave Aix by the middle of November, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visiting the French King on their way home. Meanwhile the old Emperor of Austria remained at Aix, rising at five or six every morning to transact the business of his Empire. Lawrence was making great progress with his portrait and took Parish to see it in progress, and he found it "marvellously fortunate, and most strikingly like."

Parish was even more delighted with a pencil sketch of the Duc de Richelieu, made by Lawrence at one of Lord Castlereagh's *soirées*, which appeared to be a wonderful likeness, although chiefly drawn from memory. He says of the great painter that at this time his drawing was far superior to his colouring, but that he was going to Italy to take the Pope's likeness and hoped to improve himself at Rome, though, adds Parish, "I

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cannot" imagine how he will get there from here, so utterly helpless as he is, able to speak no language but his own, and encumbered with huge cases of stretched canvas!"

In his next letter Parish sends the complete official list of the members of the various Corps Diplomatiques, then present at Aix. Lord and Lady Castlereagh were to spend a few days in Paris on their way back to England, but Parish and Planta, with others of their colleagues, were returning to Downing Street direct, *viâ* Brussels, "and the rest of the party, whom we call the Amateurs, will go home with something at least to talk about for the rest of their lives."

He concludes his letter with this sentence: "The Lord Valletort you mention was the eldest son of Lord Mount Edgcumbe, brother of Lady Emma, who was with us at Paris, and also a nephew of Lady Castlereagh. I believe there is no doubt his death was accelerated by tight lacing, which is now the fashion among our most exquisite dressers."

The 4th of December he writes from Brussels, and is again distressed by the same thing. On the road between Aix and Liège they encountered a column of the Prussian Army, and the following day 6,000 Russians, returning from the occupation of France. He describes the awful fatigue of the men, leaning against one another for support as they marched along, the outsiders continually falling by the roadside, where they remained helpless, till picked up by carts in the rear:

"The weather was very hot, but how men can

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march for any distance with their waists pinched up, as these men were, like wasps and carrying such a load of accoutrements is hard to imagine. I feel sure, from what I saw, that the loss of men must be greatly aggravated by such a system. The Russians were bound for the frontiers of Persia, a six-months' march! I should be curious to know how many dropped on the road."

Parish was much delighted at being entertained every day during his stay at Brussels by Lord Clancarty,\* who gave the young diplomats "glorious dinners, to which we do ample justice after the filthy German cooking to which we have been used at Aix-la-Chapelle."

He ends his letter with several references to his approaching marriage, which was to take place in the spring of the following year.

Woodbine Parish was married to Miss Amelia Morse, at Norwood, in May, 1819.† Their families had long been acquainted, and the marriage had been expected to take place for some time past. Parish wrote the following description of his wife a short time after their wedding :

"The lady was an only child, who had lost her mother at her birth, and had in consequence been brought up by her grandmother, Mrs. Leonard Morse, an admirable old lady of the ancient family of Lewis, of St. Pierre, Monmouthshire, where they have been settled for upwards of eight centuries, tracing their descent from

\* Lord Clancarty (1767-1837), Ambassador to "the new kingdom of the Netherlands," 1816-1822.

† Miss Morse was a daughter of Leonard Becher Morse, a barrister of the Inner Temple and Principal Deputy Commissary-General of his Majesty's forces.

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the Plantagenets. She was endowed with a most sweet disposition, as well as great personal beauty, possessed many accomplishments and a fair competency of her own; her husband might well be considered a most fortunate and happy man."

Their honeymoon was partly spent in visiting Woodbine Parish, senior, in Edinburgh, and partly in the North of England, at the time when the riots of 1819 were at their height in the manufacturing districts.

Parish visited the scene of the "Battle of Peterloo" within a week of that occurrence, and went over several factories in the disaffected districts. His deductions, from his own observations and the opinions of his manufacturing friends in the district, are decidedly curious. After stating that the bulk of the rioters are not the starving unemployed but the well-to-do operatives, at that time earning 30s. to two guineas a week, he asserts that the worst-paid men make the best subjects, having no surplus money to squander at the ale-house or time to waste at the clubs, where they talk politics and "listen to itinerant orators, who goad them on until they get half-mad about matters which they do not understand, Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, No Corn Laws, Vote by Ballot, Rights of Man, and such-like exciting topics!"

After this tour they returned to St. James's Place to settle in London, until they should be ordered abroad.

In January, 1820, Parish writes to his father announcing the King's death. "Our good old King ended his mortal career yesterday without a struggle, less than a week after his favourite son, the Duke of



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Kent ; his mental remains had for many years been buried in a happy state of unconsciousness of all around him, and so ends one of the longest, the most eventful and glorious reigns in English History. George the IVth is to be proclaimed to-morrow."

The Cato Street plot, which was discovered in February, 1820, seems to have put all London in a state of thrill, and Parish, who was there at the time, sends detailed accounts of the conspiracy, and its discovery, to his father in Edinburgh.

The plot to assassinate the greater number of the King's Ministers, while dining with Lord Harrowby, found its prime mover in one Thistlewood, who had been previously involved in the Spa Field riots, and arrested for high treason ; but owing to insufficient proof of his guilt he had not been kept long in confinement. His anger, however, against the Home Secretary in particular, knew no bounds, and partly to revenge himself on Lord Sidmouth he organized the Cato Street plot. But a timely warning having been given to Lord Harrowby, the conspirators were arrested and taken in chains to the Home Office for examination. Here it was that Parish went to see them, and describes them as a "most villainous-looking set of low ruffians."

Thistlewood and four of his accomplices were eventually executed, on a charge of high treason, for their share in the Plot.

Hardly had the Cato Street excitement died down before Queen Caroline appeared on the scene of action to claim her rights as Queen Consort of England. Just after his accession King George IV. had been seized with an attack of inflammation of the lungs, the same

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illness of which his brother, the Duke of Kent, had recently died. From this, according to a contemporary historian, the King "fortunately" recovered. A more modern historian laments his recovery, which led to what he terms the most distressing chapter in the recent history of England.\*

Into the details of the Queen's life, and the singular accident which deprived her of her two most competent advocates, Spencer Perceval and Whitbread, by violent deaths, we need not enter.† But when the old King was gathered to his forefathers, and Caroline, Princess of Wales, learnt the news on entering Rome, she immediately demanded, from Cardinal Gonsalvi, a guard of honour at the door of her palace due to her dignity as Queen of England.

The Papal Government replied that they had received no intimation from the King, or from any of his Ministers, that the Queen of England was then in Rome. The guard of honour was therefore refused.

On finding that her name was even omitted in the Liturgy,‡ in the prayers for the Royal Family, she determined to go to England and claim her rights in person. Her chief supporters were Lord Brougham,§

\* Walpole's "History of England," vol. i. p. 547.

† Perceval was assassinated on May 11, 1812, and Whitbread, in a moment of temporary insanity, cut his throat on July 6, 1815.

‡ "If she is to be prayed for, it will be in fact a final settlement of all questions in her favour. If she is fit to be introduced to the Almighty, she is fit to be received by men, and if we are to pray for her in Church, we may surely bow to her at Court."—(Entry in Mr. Croker's Diary, February 10, 1820.)

February 12, ditto.—"It is finally settled not to pray for the Queen by name."

§ Brougham—afterwards Lord Brougham and Vaux; he had long been

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Denman,\* who pleaded her cause in the House of Lords, and Alderman Wood,† who offered her hospitality in his London house.

Parish was particularly interested in the Queen's case, having seen her in Milan,‡ and says: "After the scene I witnessed in Milan theatre in 1814, when she was obliged to leave the house from the observations made upon her indecent appearance, I can never have anything but a feeling of extreme disgust for her, and that her conduct has been such as to be in every way most unbecoming her station, to say the least of it."

However, the English people were thrilled by her pluck in pressing her claims in spite of the violent feeling against her both at Court and in the Ministry, and though Brougham and Hutchinson § went to St. Omer to stop her, with overtures of peace and offers of money on condition she should always live abroad, Queen Caroline persevered in her intentions, and was welcomed by the people on landing in England.

Her pilgrimage to London was a veritable triumph; circumstances favoured her, the King's unpopularity and the recent coercive measures were quite sufficient to

an intimate friend of Queen Caroline, and she now appointed him her Attorney-General; he became Lord Chancellor in 1830 in Lord Grey's Ministry.

\* Denman was a great friend of Brougham's, who got him the appointment of Solicitor-General to the Queen: George IV. never forgave him, but William IV. made him Attorney-General in 1830, and in 1832 he became Lord Chief Justice.

† Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, a consistent Radical, and a friend of the Duke and Duchess of Kent. Queen Victoria made him a baronet in 1837, the first title she ever bestowed.

‡ See p. 99.

§ Lord Hutchinson was counsel for the King in Queen Caroline's trial.

give her the undivided support of the extreme Radicals, and also in fact of the majority of the working classes.

On the 6th of June she entered London, and Parish was a witness of—

“the triumphant entry of the Queen, escorted by the whole rabble of London, such a scene as I could hardly have believed possible in this Country.

The Procession, if so it could be called, came along Pall Mall, where the mob indulged themselves to their hearts' content in groans and hisses as they passed Carlton House, thence they went up St. James's Street at a foot's pace, which gave me a good view of them from the corner of our street. The Queen was in an open barouche with Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, followed by others containing her suite, and a vast number of vehicles of all kinds and men on horseback, who had joined her at Blackheath, with a dense mob on foot who completely filled the street shouting and cheering, and calling upon the spectators to join them. Every window was full of eager faces, the balconies of the Clubs were crowded and vehement cheers arose from those of the Whig party, the first demonstration in her favour from any of the upper classes, and of course it was heartily responded to by the mob. She drove to South Audley Street, where for the present she has taken up her residence at Wood's House.

She has thus thrown down the gauntlet, and having rejected the King's offers of a settlement, must abide the consequences. Though Brougham is her legal adviser, it is said he by no means wishes her to push matters to extremities, and would still avert such a scandal if possible, but how can she retreat after this popular outburst in her favour? And will not the King be more than ever confirmed in his determination to get rid of her?”

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Alderman Wood, in whose house the Queen was residing, was Ex-Mayor of London, and had suddenly espoused the Queen's cause early in the year 1820. In the preceding year he had played so curious a part in the investigations held after the discovery of the Cato Street plot, that he had earned for himself the descriptions of "that vain foolish busybody, Mr. Alderman Wood, citizen and fishmonger," and "Wood, the ass and Alderman whom they call Thistle Wood."

George IV. always called him "that beast Wood," but Denman, who had a good opportunity of knowing him, said that he had "uncommon perseverance and activity, no small share of natural sagacity, and much acquaintance with the character of the English people."

Of the Queen's other companion, Lady Anne Hamilton, we know that the Queen did not like her when she first entered her service, and, owing to her tyrannical disposition, nicknamed her "Joan of Arc." But Lady Anne proved herself fully worthy of her name by the tenacity with which she remained in her Royal mistress's service when she was forsaken by all her other friends. For the Queen's popularity in England was not destined to last. It survived as long as her actual "persecution," as the people were pleased to call it, but after the "Bill of Pains and Penalties" was dropped public sympathy gradually waned.

Parish was in the House of Lords when Denman summed up for the defence, at the moment when excitement ran high and public feeling was strongest for the Queen. But this feeling was not shared by Parish, who, though he admitted the grand display of forensic acting and eloquence to which Denman's commanding

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figure and voice gave additional effect, could not admit the lawyer's right to vilify the King, and to compare his treatment of his wife to that of Nero, "thereby outrageously abusing his privilege, as the Queen's advocate."

Soon after this the people began to tire of the endless friction caused by the Queen's residence in England, and their feeling was expressed in the epigram:

"Most 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."

But the incident was not yet closed, and when the day, July 19, 1821, arrived which was fixed for the Coronation of George IV., his Consort made every possible effort, first to be crowned with him, and then to attend the Coronation; when both her claims were refused she set out to Westminster to force her way into the Abbey. But the tide had turned, King George had suddenly become, for no apparent reason, the most popular man in his dominions, and the Queen's efforts to enter the Abbey were completely frustrated. "Indeed," writes Parish, the following day, "had she not beat a hasty retreat, she would, I believe, have been as heartily hooted as she had been cheered last year."

The attack on Westminster Abbey was the last effort of Queen Caroline. Worn out with the exertion of struggling for her rights, she died a fortnight later, and was buried at Brunswick. Her death even did not end the struggle. In the rioting that accompanied the removal of her body to Harwich two men were fired at by the troops and killed at Cumberland Gate, and

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popular feeling was turned once more against the King.

By his visit to Ireland George IV. ingratiated himself with the Irish people, and on his return determined to visit his Hanoverian Dominions.

This visit took place in September, and the King was accompanied by Lord Londonderry,\* as his Minister in attendance, the latter taking Parish with him as his secretary. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Clancarrow were also of the party, but they crossed in a separate packet and spent the night at Brussels, where they were as usual welcomed by Lord Clancarrow.

The King having broken his journey at Lille, Lord Londonderry, the Duke, and Parish occupied Lord Clancarrow's box at the Opera in Brussels, Parish starting early the following morning with his chief's despatches for Hanover.

“Hanover, October 3rd, 1821.

“We arrived here last night after the very worst journey I have ever made in any country. I had no idea that in any civilized part of Europe such execrably bad roads (if roads they can be called) could possibly have existed, as those we have had to pass over; it was a dreary day when we left Brussels for Liège, where we slept the first night at the Pavillon Anglais, in which we had been a merry party about the same time three years ago on our return from the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The next day, starting early, we got to Aix about noon, where Madame Dubick, at whose Hotel we were lodged in 1818, insisted upon our taking some refreshment for old acquaintance sake, and upon showing

\* Lord Castlereagh had lately succeeded his father as Marquis of Londonderry.

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us a magnificent state bed, which she had put up for the King, and was quite worthy of the occasion.

Directly on our arrival we were beset by crowds of people anxious to get precise intelligence about the King's movements, and when he might be expected to arrive here. One young English dandy amused us very much; he was, he said, hesitating whether it would be worth his while at such a season to go on to such a place as Hanover; if he did, was he likely to get any wild boar shooting with the King? That would be monstrous fine! What did we think of it? Should he go, or should he not? Our horses were ready, so we were obliged to say good-bye to my gentleman, hoping, as Ward said, that he was not going to add himself to the other bores we were likely to find on our arrival.

The weather was very bad, against which our only remedy was smoking, and keeping our throats as full as possible of the fumes of tobacco. We had hoped to have reached Düsseldorf, but darkness and bad roads obliged us to stop at a vile place called Neuss, where for the first time I slept in the German fashion, with a feather bed instead of blankets over me, at the risk, as I thought, of suffocation; however, I got through the night well enough, being heartily fatigued with the day's journey.

We were up early, and finding nothing in the house to eat but rancid butter and pumper-nickel (*alias* black bread with which horses are fed in Germany), we pushed on to breakfast at Düsseldorf, and in a violent storm of wind and rain, crossed the Rhine in a huge ferry-boat, without the least danger and with the greatest facility in less than ten minutes from our being driven into it. The river was here, I should say, twice as wide as the Thames at London, but the banks are flat and uninteresting.

From Düsseldorf we passed through a very pretty



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country, thickly populated and full of manufactures of silk and cotton, by Elberfeldt to Unna, where we halted for the night, and hoped to reach Paderborn next day. We were woefully disappointed, never did I see such roads as those we passed over after leaving Juliers, the rain pouring down in torrents and the country entirely flat, lying low in the vicinity of three rivers; the greater part of the day our carriage was up to the axles in mud or water, and not making more than a mile and a half an hour with four horses; about 6 o'clock in the evening we reached a place called Geseke, where the postmaster insisted on our stopping, as he said the road to Paderborn was even worse than that we had traversed, besides which there was a *grande bruyère* and an extensive forest, and he could not answer for the postillions finding their way through it, so we consented to remain, and glad enough was I next day that we had done so; for shortly after we had started we found the roads impracticable, and had to get into the fields, traversing the country at a foot's pace across bogs and ditches, in which it was a miracle we were not swamped.

The reason of this state of things is sufficiently clear. The system of road-making here is totally different from ours, instead of raising the road in a country liable to inundations, they excavate it, three or four feet below the general level, the consequence of which is that as soon as the heavy rains set in, the high-roads become rivers and drains for all the country round, and so we found it all through Westphalia.

The people seemed as primitive as their roads, living in the most quaint old houses, or rather, what we should call barns, with their cattle and pigs all round them, and under the same roofs; of the latter animal we saw numbers enough to supply the whole civilized world with bacon, and the hams for which Westphalia is famous.

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On Monday night we slept at Pymont, and early next morning reached Hamelin, where we found ourselves in the dominions of our own Sovereign, of which we were immediately made sensible by a marked improvement in the roads, horses and drivers, who brought us at a very fair pace through a very pretty hilly and well-wooded country to this place, the end of our wearisome journey.

It was late last night when we reached Hanover, the 10th day from our leaving London; every one is in amazement at our having come by a road, which we are now told, too late, is about the very worst in all Germany, but which was recommended to us at Brussels, as the shortest and the best.

Expresses have been sent off to prevent the King's coming the same way. The weather continues very bad and there is no immediate prospect of a change."

"Hanover, October 5th, 1821.

"We have been this morning to pay our devoirs to Count Münster, the Prime Minister, and, I may say, the actual Governor of His Majesty's Hanoverian Dominions. He was very civil to us, and had us conducted to the residence allotted to Lord Londonderry during his stay here, a very pretty country place, called the Walmoden Gardens, belonging to the Government, about a mile out of the town, and close to Herrenhausen, which has been prepared for the King, a much more striking building than any of the Royal Residences in England, Windsor of course excepted.

This town looks very English; all the people dress *à l'anglaise*, and the soldiers wear the red uniform, so from the view out of our windows we might fancy ourselves at home, among our own countrymen.

Strangers are flocking here in great numbers, and at the Hotel where we were staying a Louis d'or is charged a night for a bed. The Dukes of Cumberland

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and Cambridge are here, the former arrived yesterday unexpectedly with a suite requiring thirty-two beds.

To-day we hear that the King is coming by Münster and Osnabrück, a much better route than that we took, and is expected to arrive here on Sunday or Monday; he had intended to be here sooner, but stopped at Brussels to go over the field of battle with the Duke of Wellington.

Our master is in advance, and we expect him here to-morrow."

On October 7 Parish wrote again, describing the King's "private" entry into Hanover in a green carriage, quite closed, at full gallop, the people cheering as he passed along the road. He had intended to remain "incog." until his public entry into the city, but he was forced to give in to the wishes of the populace, and, appearing on a balcony with the Duchesses of Cumberland and Cambridge, spoke to the people in German.

The public entry on October 10 passed off with great popular enthusiasm, the King riding into the city from Herrenhausen amid the acclamations of his people.

The illuminations in the evening were remarkable for the extraordinary biblical devices which the people of Hanover thought appropriate to the King's visit, one even representing God Almighty carrying the King from London to Hanover.

A fit of the gout which seized the King shortly after his arrival upset the plans of the loyal Hanoverians. Only one *levée* had as yet been held, and at the elaborately prearranged sham fight and, review of the troops, the Duke of Cambridge had to represent the King as best he could. It was not till October 29

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

that the King was well enough to be moved to Göttingen, where great preparations had been made for his reception. Meanwhile Parish had been very fully occupied; the arrival of Prince Metternich and Count Liéven greatly increased the amount of official work, and Lord Clanwilliam having fallen ill, the whole of it fell to Parish and Ward.

Parish tells his Father of one day's work beginning at 6 a.m. and lasting him until 2 o'clock on the following morning, with barely the necessary intervals for meals, preparing despatches and papers for my Lord Londonderry's signature and approval before he left Hanover.

The limited number of Lord Londonderry's staff brought Parish into very close relations with him. During his stay at Hanover Lord Londonderry was taken ill, and for several days his secretary sat by his bedside, writing from his dictation. He says of him, about this time, "a more kind-hearted and considerate master never breathed; it has been an immense gratification to me to have been so much with him, and has quite compensated for the loss of other society or amusement which I might have looked for on such an occasion as the present one."

Work was too heavy at Hanover to allow of Parish's partaking in many of the festivities, and as a slight compensation Lord Londonderry sent his two secretaries home through Paris.

A week's journey brought them to that city, and by the 20th of November, Parish returned to his wife and baby\* in London, having experienced only one or two breakdowns on the homeward journey.

\* Afterwards General Henry Woodbine Parish, C.B.

## DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY

In the summer of 1822 Lord Londonderry's health began to cause some anxiety to his family and physician, who thought he was on the verge of a mental breakdown. The physician, dreading a possible accident, ordered the razors, etc., to be removed from the Foreign Minister's bedroom. A penknife was unfortunately overlooked, and, on the 12th of August, Lord Londonderry severed an artery in his throat, and died almost immediately.

His death was destined to change the whole course of politics in this country. Canning was on the point of sailing for India, of which country he had been appointed Governor-General, and Londonderry's death thus laid open the most important position in the Cabinet to a man whose life might otherwise have lain in a very different sphere.

To his "devoted servant," as Parish always styled himself, Lord Londonderry's death came as a most serious blow. Writing to his father from Reigate within a week of the occurrence of the tragedy, Parish says :

"You may imagine my grief at the loss of my much loved and honoured master, a loss heavy enough for me, but for the nation quite irreparable. The inquest tells the whole sad story, and there is no doubt that his mind had completely given way under the enormous weight of work which had been put upon him of late, not only relating to his own department, which in the present state of Europe was more than enough for any one Minister to attend to, but also having all Vansittart's Finance measures to fight through the House, and in fact the whole defence of the Government, attacked as it has been of late—resting on his shoulders.

I saw him a few days before his death, when I

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went to town with some papers I had to prepare for him to take to Verona. He was in the Under-Secretary's Office, and showed (at what I don't know) an impatience and irritation so unusual in him, that I was greatly struck by it, and when Carmichael Smyth rode over to my cottage at Reigate, to tell me that a report of his death had been mentioned by the driver of a coach which had stopped at his gate, I exclaimed at once, that, if it was true, he had either been assassinated or had made away with himself. The next morning my conjecture was but too painfully verified, and Smyth again came over to question me, as to what could possibly have induced me to say what I did, to which I could only reply that a few days before I had observed such a strange difference from his usual manner, that it had left upon me an undefinable impression that something had gone very wrong with him; it was perhaps the beginning of the malady, which showed itself so unmistakeably afterwards, in his interview with the King, the Duke of Wellington, and others.

The feeling is very general that Bankhead (his doctor) ought not to have lost sight of him, from the moment he was sent for by the Duke to attend him, and that had he bled him more, he might have been saved.

There is an end now of my going to Verona; under any circumstances I had no particular wish to be of the party, and now of course other arrangements must be made, but for this Lord Londonderry's successor must be named, it will probably be either the Duke of Wellington or Canning, if he will give up the Governor-Generalship.

I was in Downing Street yesterday, the whole office is in a state of dismay and grief, which I cannot describe; never had they a kinder chief, or one of whom they had more cause to be proud."

## DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY

The death of Lord Londonderry caused a far greater change in England's foreign and home policies than any contemporary could have suspected.

Greville says that "Lord Londonderry's head was turned by Emperors, Kings and Congresses, and he resolved that the country which he represented should play as conspicuous a part as any other in the political dramas which were acted on the Continent."

Sir Spencer Walpole points out that the extraordinary circumstances which enabled him to correspond on terms of comparative intimacy with Kings and Emperors were a bad training for a Constitutional Minister. Writing half a century after Lord Londonderry's death, Walpole condemns his foreign policy as unfortunate and his home policy as disastrous.

Sir Walter Scott's \* account of him is interesting: he had seen much of him in Paris in 1815, and writes of him as "a man of sense, presence of mind, courage and fortitude, which carried him through many an affair of critical moment, when finer talents might have stuck in the mire. He had been, I think, indifferently educated, and his mode of speaking being far from logical or correct he was sometimes in danger of becoming almost ridiculous in spite of his lofty presence, which had all the grace of the Seymours, and his determined courage. But then he was always up to the occasion, and upon important matters was an orator to convince, if not to delight his hearers."

Lockhart, in illustration of this passage, quotes the mixed metaphor from one of Lord Londonderry's speeches, that "Ministers should not look on like

\* *Vide ante*, p. 153, and Sir Walter Scott's Journal, November 1, 1829.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Crocodiles, with their hands in their trouser pockets, doing nothing.”

Lord Londonderry's successor had to be appointed, although the King's visit to Scotland, coupled with his great unwillingness to assent to the appointment of Canning, caused some delay ; but in September Parish writes to his father from the Foreign Office, with the news that the Duke of Wellington “goes to Verona in the place of Lord Londonderry, and Mr. Canning comes to the Foreign Office ; he wishes Planta to continue as Under-Secretary. Lord Clanwilliam will go with the Duke to Verona, and will I suppose get some Mission abroad.”

Canning seems not to have enjoyed the prospect of succeeding Lord Londonderry as Foreign Minister ; he writes, however, to Bagot \* from Walmer Castle on November 5, 1822 :

“ The die being cast, I must make the best of that lot which has fallen to me and place publick duty against private liking and convenience. . . For fame it is ‘ a squeezed orange,’ but for publick good there is something to do, and I will try, but it must be cautiously to do it. You know my politics well enough to know what I mean when I say that for ‘ Europe ’ I shall be desirous now and then to read ‘ England.’ ”

Captain Bagot takes this last sentence as the text of his book on “ Canning and his friends,” and it is particularly applicable to Canning's South American policy, where

\* Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B. (1781-1843), was then Ambassador in Russia (he had already been Minister in the United States). Subsequently he went to the Hague, and was Governor-General in Canada from '42 till his death in the following year.—(See p. 252, note, and Stapleton's “ Life of Canning,” p. 363.)



## DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY

he always put the interest of England first, in contradistinction to the former policy of Lord Londonderry, which was never free from the fetters of international Conferences, and was always looked at through the spectacles of European expediency. As Captain Bagot says,\* "Canning refused to allow England to be associated with a sort of General Committee on European affairs, and determined that she should only act when her honour or interests were directly concerned. With the principles of the Holy Alliance and with European Congresses he was determined to have nothing whatever to do. . . 'No more Congresses, thank God!' he had exclaimed shortly before taking office." Therefore when the Duke of Wellington went to the Congress of Verona he attended it as a representative of Canning's new policy of non-intervention.

The Foreign Office was very busy at this time preparing materials for the use of the Duke of Verona; changes consequent on Lord Londonderry's death were still being made, and during the absence of two of the Under-Secretaries Parish did some of their work, and often came in close contact with Canning. Finding him desirous of obtaining a post abroad, Canning offered him the Secretaryship at Madrid under Sir William À'Court, but this for private reasons Parish declined.

In January, 1823, Lord Francis Conyngham succeeded Planta as Under-Secretary, and asked Parish to be his Assistant Under-Secretary. Nothing could have given the latter greater pleasure, as constant association with Lord Francis in Paris, at Aix, and in London, had led to great friendship between them. Planta, writing to

\* Vol. ii. p. 150.

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Bagot about Lord Francis's appointment, says he is an old friend and he loves him dearly, but Canning was accused at the time of appointing Conyngham to please the King.\* He was undoubtedly in great favour at Court, where he was at that time Master of the Robes. The King had given him apartments in the Red House, adjoining Carlton House, and it was doubtful whether, with the King's constant requirements for his personal attendance upon him, Lord Francis would find time and inclination to attend to his Foreign Office duties. † Planta announced his intention of making him work hard and stick to the desk, as Canning intended he should. Lord Francis meanwhile informed his Secretary that he should rely mainly on his assistance in getting through his work, and this assistance was most readily given, though it was not of long duration, as Parish was soon promoted to a new sphere of activity.

\* Temperley says Canning gave office to Lord Francis Conyngham in order to seal his lips and put a stop to Court intrigues with Foreign Powers.—(Note p. 186, "Temperley's Life of Canning.")

† Lord Francis was the second son of Lord Conyngham (whom he succeeded in 1832), and of the famous Lady Conyngham, who succeeded Mrs. Fitzherbert in the affections of George IV.

## CHAPTER VII

### BUENOS AYRES

Canning appoints Parish Consul-General in Buenos Ayres—Account of the United Provinces and their struggle for Independence—Canning and his South American policy—Opposition of the King—Canning finally victorious.

THE next and most important post held by Parish was the Consul-Generalship in Buenos Ayres. The South American Colonies were gradually freeing themselves from the tyranny of Spain, and establishing their right to be independent nations. Already in 1802 Vansittart,\* had assured General Miranda (the founder of an association in London called the Gran Reunion Americana †) of British support in his projects for obtaining the independence of the South American Colonies.‡

Recognition of this independence by the European Powers was essential before the South American States could take their proper place among the nations of the world. The events that led to South American emancipation were very little known in England, or

\* Vansittart was at that time Secretary to the Treasury.

† For particulars about this transaction and the correspondence between Vansittart and Castlereagh, see Bagot's "Canning and His Friends," vol. i. p. 264. Miranda had also served under Lafayette and Washington, and was thus a connecting link in the revolutions of North and South America.—(See "Cambridge Modern History," vol. x. p. 280.)

‡ "Simon Bolivar," by F. L. Petre, 1910, p. 296.

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indeed in Europe—with the exception of Spain—in the early part of the nineteenth century, and previous to the Congress of Verona Lord Londonderry wished for such information as was then available to be collected for his use.

This was done by Parish, who was at that time in the Foreign Office, and his account, compiled from Admiralty papers and other sources, gives a clear idea of the early history of the South American States, which is still unfamiliar to many persons in this country. Much of the material thus collected was later incorporated into his book, "Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata."\*

It is hardly necessary, in order to explain the causes of the Revolution in South America, to trace the history of the country from the discovery of the Rio de la Plata † by Juan Diaz de Solis in 1515, but it is impossible to omit a reference to Sebastian Cabot, who was the first man to explore the country. The Emperor Charles V. had sent Cabot out to trade with the Spice Islands in the Indian Ocean, and the newly discovered route was adopted by the four vessels under Cabot's command, which sailed from Spain in April, 1526. One ship was lost off the Brazilian coast, and a mutiny reduced the numbers of the expedition, the mutineers being summarily put ashore, so that it was no longer possible to carry out the original plan. Cabot therefore sailed up the River Plate, and finding the natives friendly and the country inviting, began to build a fort at San

\* Published by John Murray in 1839; second edition, enlarged, 1852.

† Called by the natives Parana, and renamed, probably by Cabot, Rio de la Plata—the Silver River.

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Espiritu—the first Spanish settlement ever made in those parts.

He succeeded in penetrating 900 miles up the river, and though the Indians at times opposed him with some success, he finally impressed them with the superiority of the white man, and obtained in exchange for beads and other European trifles large quantities of gold and silver. These the natives claimed to have acquired in a successful war with the fabulously rich Peruvians, whom, from their descriptions, Cabot supposed to live 500 leagues up the river. It was for this reason that he called it the Rio de la Plata—or Silver River.

The brilliant conquest of Peru was effected by Pizarro a few years later, and the stories of the wealth of that country were abundantly confirmed. Spaniards of every class were ready to flock out to the new El Dorado, and a large contingent under Hernando Pizarro set sail from Spain in 1534, direct for Peru.

A second and more brilliant armament was prepared in the same year by Mendoza, who was determined to reach Peru by Cabot's route, sailing up the Rio de la Plata. He took with him "fifty individuals of distinction," 2500 Spaniards, and 150 Germans, besides the crews of the fourteen ships. It was an ill-fated expedition; misfortunes of different kinds befel them already at the Canaries and at Rio de Janeiro, and the only pleasant part of the voyage was the arrival in the River Plate, when the ships anchored off the Island of San Gabriel, and Mendoza planned his first settlement, naming it the port of "Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres," in honour of the day—it being the 2nd of February—and of the delightful climate.

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Attacks by Indians, starvation and famine, soon reduced Mendoza's expedition to a few hundred men, and, in 1557, broken-hearted at the failure of his plans, he set sail, and died on the voyage home.

The Spaniards remaining in the country penetrated inland, and established themselves at Assumpcion, in Paraguay; supplemented by reinforcements from Spain they concentrated in this settlement; Buenos Ayres was abandoned, Assumpcion became the seat of Government, and Don Domingo Martinez de Yrala was duly elected by the settlers as Captain-General of the Rio de la Plata.\* Paraguay proved a far more suitable country for the colonists than Buenos Ayres, and the Spaniards soon settled down in Assumpcion, and married in many cases the native Guarani women. Yrala, after several efforts, succeeded in making his way through to Peru, bringing back from that country the first sheep and goats that had ever been seen in Paraguay. They had been taken to Peru by the Spaniards, and were still so rare that they were sold for forty to fifty dollars apiece. Three years later, in 1553, the first horned cattle were brought into Paraguay from Brazil—the origin of the stock which now forms the wealth of that part of South America.—

The Emperor was bound to acknowledge Yrala's services, and in 1555 Father Pedro de la Torre, first titular Bishop of Paraguay, brought Yrala his Commission from Charles V. as "Governor and Captain-General over all the countries of which he had taken possession for the Crown." Early in the seventeenth century the Jesuits began to arrive in great numbers, and converted

\* August, 1538.

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the natives to Christianity with extraordinary facility. The early colonists of Paraguay had many difficulties to contend with, not the least of them being the constant interference, since communication had become more frequent between Paraguay and Peru, of the Spanish Viceroy in Lima. The Lieutenant-Governor of the River Plate would acknowledge no right of interference on the part of the Viceroy, and constant trouble ensued. Of the different governors who succeeded Yrala, De Garay was one of the most successful, and to him is due the honour of founding the town of Buenos Ayres, and thus completing the conquest of the River Plate. De Garay laid out his city about a league higher up the river than Mendoza's original settlement; this was the place where he had landed, and here he once more unfurled the Spanish flag on the Festival of the Holy Trinity, 1580. His new city was at first called "Ciudad de la Santissima Trinidad," though the name of "Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres" was retained for the port. Three years later a vessel was sent to Spain, carrying for the first time the produce of the country, consisting chiefly of hides and sugar from Paraguay. Those who had introduced the original stock of horned cattle from Europe thirty years before were already reaping their reward. De Garay was murdered by Indians soon after he founded the new city, but the importance of his work is shown by the fact that, in 1620, all the settlements south of the confluence of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay were formed into a separate Government, independent of that of Paraguay, called the Government of the Rio de la Plata; Buenos Ayres, with its original name, being the capital and the seat of the new bishopric.

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The jealousy of Spain was destined to have a disastrous effect on the trade of the River Plate Colonies. The merchants of Seville had obtained a monopoly for the supply both of Mexico and Peru by means of periodical fairs held at Portobello, on the Isthmus of Panama ; there was no competition of any kind, and the Spanish merchants, by buying American produce and selling European goods at their own prices, were able to regulate the trade entirely to their own advantage. Any trade between the River Plate Provinces and Peru would have abolished their monopoly at once, and the stringent regulations put on the trade of the Provinces were the first signs of the incapacity of Spain to deal with her Colonies in a disinterested spirit. It seems incredible that the mother country should have limited the yearly exports of Buenos Ayres to 2000 fanegas of wheat, 500 quintals of jerked beef, and 500 more of tallow, which exports might only be sent to Brazil or to the coast of Guinea. In 1618 a concession was granted to send two ships annually to Spain, the cargo of which might not exceed 100 tons per ship. To prevent any goods thus imported finding their way into Peru, a custom-house was established at Cordoba to levy a 50 per cent. duty on all goods carried that way, and to stop absolutely the export of gold or silver from Peru to the Provinces. After the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1715, the English acquired the right of "asiento," *i.e.* supplying the Spanish American Colonies with African slaves ; and for a while, though any exports other than slaves were considered contraband, the English were able to smuggle considerable quantities of clothing and other European commodities into the country ; but this soon involved



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them in hostilities with the Spanish "guarda-costas," and the asiento was abolished.

When the English captured Portobello the primary object for restricting trade was removed; but though Peru was then able to trade with the "Registerships" that went round the Horn, the Provinces were still disqualified, and a regular system of illicit trading consequently developed. Smuggling was greatly facilitated by the Portuguese occupation of Colonia del Sacramento, the port opposite Buenos Ayres on the Rio de la Plata; and though the Treaty of Utrecht, by which Colonia was handed over to Portugal, expressly condemned smuggling, a great trade was carried on in European goods, not only with the Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Tucuman and Paraguay, but through them with Peru, where goods from the Overland Route were sold at lower prices than those exported by the Seville merchants to Lima by way of Panama. The natural result of the ever-increasing smuggling trade across the Andes was the decline in the legitimate Spanish trade with Brazil, which at the end of the seventeenth century had amounted to 15,000 tons, and now, not half a century later, had fallen to 2000, the returns being little more than the Royal fifths from the silver mines. The Viceroy of Lima wrote indignant letters to Zavala, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, but the latter was powerless to prevent the Transandine trade, and could only reply that so long as such enormous gains resulted to the persons engaged in that trade, and such facilities existed for carrying it on, it was bound to continue. He suggested, however, two possible remedies: either to throw open the trade to the legal trader—whereby the

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Government would secure the duties upon all imports, or to drive the Portuguese out of the Banda Oriental.

The latter course appealed particularly to the Spanish Government, who were daily growing more jealous of Portugal, and the founding of a new Portuguese settlement in the neighbourhood of Monte Video was made an excuse by Zavala to invade their territory, oust them from their new settlement, and make Spanish settlements both there and at Maldonado. In 1726 Zavala founded the present city of Monte Video, then known as San Felipa, Puerto de Monte Video. For the next fifty years hostilities between the Spanish and Portuguese Colonists continued almost without interruption, the cession of Colonia to one side or the other invariably causing a fresh outburst of feeling. The action of the Indians frustrated the treaty of 1750, and the Jesuits were held responsible. The Viceroy Saavedra was the first to attempt the conversion of the Indians by the help of the Jesuits. The latter established missions among them ; it is difficult now to determine whether the Indians rose at their instigation or not, but the Jesuits were already in disfavour. Seven years later they were expelled from Portugal, and in 1767 Charles III., in spite of the threats and remonstrance of Pope Clement XIII., banished them from all his dominions in America, as well as in Europe.\*

\* "En 1767, au moment de leur expulsion les Jésuites avaient groupés ainsi, en communautés socialistes (' Missions') cent mille Indiens, qui étaient devenus doux et étaient heureux. L'Espagne confia l'œuvre à une administration laïque sous laquelle les Indiens travaillaient une semaine pour la communauté et une semaine pour eux-mêmes. Mais, au bout de 25 ans il ne restait plus que 40,000 Indiens réduits."—(See H. D. Sisson, "La République Argentine," Paris, 1910.)

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Meanwhile Spain had realized the futility of placing the Provinces of the River Plate under the Viceroy of Lima ; if the authority of Spain was to be maintained with dignity in the Provinces, it was necessary that the representative at Buenos Ayres should be directly responsible to the Home Government. In 1776 Rio de la Plata was therefore separated from the Government of Peru, and made into a new Viceroyalty, having its capital at Buenos Ayres. The former Governor, Cevallos, was appointed Viceroy, and, being provided by the Spanish Government with 10,000 men, embarked in 116 ships and 12 men-of-war, with which to attack the Portuguese. Their resistance was merely nominal ; S. Catherine's, on the coast of Brazil, and Colonia at once capitulated. The fortifications were entirely destroyed, and all the surrounding Portuguese possessions captured by the Spaniards. At this juncture, news was received in America of the death of the King of Portugal ; and his daughter, Princess Maria, made terms without delay. By the treaty signed at S. Ildefonso in October, 1777, Portugal abandoned all rights to the Banda Oriental, ceding Colonia to the Spaniards, and getting back S. Catherine's in exchange.

This was the beginning of a new era for the trade of the country ; the former regulations which had made trade almost impossible were removed ; and though the new ones were largely based on a protective system, and were framed in such a way as to give undue preference to trade with the Mother Country, the conditions were so much better than those which they superseded that, whereas before the new regulations of 1778 about 150,000 hides were exported annually, the number

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rose at once to 700,000 or 800,000, and in 1783 to 1,400,000. The population, which in 1778 numbered 37,679, had increased in 1800 to 72,000.

In spite of improved conditions as regarded their commerce, the colonists had many grounds of complaint. Lest they might interfere with the trade of Spain, the export of such articles as cottons, stuffs, hats, oil, wines, and brandies was entirely prohibited. Domestic manufactures were discouraged, and sometimes forbidden; the South Americans were not allowed to make their own cloth or to use the wool of the vicuna, which was collected, by special edict, for the King, and sent to Spain to be woven in the Royal factory at Guadalaxara.

All civil and military offices were exclusively reserved for "old Spaniards," and a contemporary writer complained that to be an American born was enough to shut a man out from all chance even of a doorkeeper's appointment. The time was not yet ripe for revolt, and the English attacks on Buenos Ayres in 1806 and 1807, which were, to every one's surprise, repulsed by the Buenos Ayreans themselves, only served to draw the colony together, and to increase her loyalty to the mother country. The amazing defeat of the English troops under Popham and Beresford was entirely due to the clever leadership of Jacques de Liniers, a man of French origin who had devoted himself to the cause of Buenos Ayres. After his first defeat of the English in 1806, Liniers was appointed commander-in-chief by the will of the people, who forced their nomination on the assembled notables, lately convoked by the "Cabildo" (or municipality). Liniers very properly refused to accept this post without a confirmation of his appointment by the Viceroy,

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Sobremonte. The latter had fled to Cordoba, but, the danger being over, he returned at the head of a large force towards Buenos Ayres. The whole population went out to meet him, clamouring for the post of military commander for Liniers ; and Sobremonte, much against his will, was obliged to obey. It was a momentous decision : for the first time the will of the people, as opposed to the intention of the Spanish Viceroy, had prevailed.

Liniers lost no time in organizing the forces under his command, such as they were ; and, by dint of careful discipline and a thorough scheme for the defence of the city, he was ready for the second English attack, made the following year by a larger expedition, under the command of General John Whitelocke.

Sobremonte had undertaken to defend Monte Video and the Banda Oriental ; he proved, as usual, incapable ; and Monte Video and Colonia were captured without difficulty by the English. An attempt made under Colonel Xavier Elio to recover Colonia was repulsed with heavy loss, and it seemed that nothing could save Buenos Ayres from falling into Whitelocke's hands. Twenty men-of-war, and ninety transports under the English flag, lay in the River Plate ; Whitelocke had 12,000 skilled soldiers under his command, and Liniers only 8600 all told, of whom 840 at most were experienced soldiers.

After difficulties surmounted by extraordinary courage and ingenuity, Liniers, with his untried militia-bands, succeeded in inflicting an overpowering defeat on Whitelocke ; \* the Cabildo reported Liniers' conduct to Charles

\* Whitelocke was subsequently tried by court-martial in England, and

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IV. in glowing terms, and in spite of his French birth the Spanish Government rewarded Liniers' services by making him *chef d'escadre* and Viceroy.

The country over which Liniers ruled corresponds to-day to the four republics of Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, and Liniers was destined to have a far harder task than his predecessors. Communication with the mother country was constantly interrupted by the vigilance of the English fleet ; affairs in Spain were going from bad to worse ; and a feeling of antagonism and dissatisfaction with her status as a Spanish Colony was steadily gaining ground in La Plata.

Ferdinand VII. succeeded Charles IV. on the abdication of the latter in 1808, and for the moment the Provinces displayed some loyalty to their new Sovereign. In fact, the misfortunes of the Royal family evoked much sympathy, and when Napoleon sent his emissary, the Vicomte de Sassenay, to demand the submission of the Spanish Colonies to Joseph Buonaparte, whom he had lately made King of Spain, the Provinces at once arrested de Sassenay, burnt the proclamations from Joseph, of which he was the bearer, and proclaimed their loyalty to Ferdinand VII. The recent publication of de Sassenay's papers has revealed the details of this strange mission. The narrative of his forced journey to Bayonne to see the Emperor, and of his voyage and imprisonment, are irrelevant here,\* but suspicion had fallen on Liniers, since he was by birth a Frenchman and a former friend

found guilty, after a trial lasting seven weeks, of the charges brought against him. He was dismissed the service and died in 1833.—(See "Dict. of Nat. Biog.")

\* See "Napoleon Ier., et la fondation de la République Argentine," par le Marquis de Sassenay, 1892.

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of Sassenay's, and the Central Junta of Seville appointed an old naval officer, Cisneros \* by name, to supersede him.

This was early in 1809, and when Cisneros reached Buenos Ayres he found the people most unwilling to accept the decisions of Spain with regard to their Government. The recent course of events in Spain had rendered her more and more incapable of defending her Colonies in South America, and in order to maintain their own internal security the provinces had elected certain representative Assemblies or Juntas. They were at first merely intended as a defence against foreign usurpation ; their loyalty to the Spanish royal family was unquestioned, and their sympathy with the misfortunes of the Royal House was frequently expressed. As time went on, however, and the progress of Napoleon's armies in Spain became known in America, the Juntas, abandoned to their own discretion, could no longer remain blind to the abundant resources of their country, or to the conviction that they were fully able to undertake their own government. The idea of independence was of gradual development, and had the Spanish Government redressed certain long-standing grievances the revolution might have been averted or delayed ; but until the end Spain had stuck to her policy of increasing rather than diminishing the number of oppressive and repressive measures which her present situation rendered her incapable of enforcing. What little affection the colony retained for the mother country was now quenched, and the Spanish possessions in South America were forced to separate from a country

\* Admiral Cisneros was a Trafalgar veteran.—(See "Cambridge Modern History," vol. x. p. 285.)

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which could neither provide them with a decent administration of their internal affairs, nor an adequate protection against the foreigner.

This was the work that devolved on the new Junta. Hearing of the disastrous news from Spain, and of the dissolution of the Junta at Seville, a deputation of the people demanded their right to discuss the situation. Cisneros was thoroughly alarmed, and gave his consent to a public meeting of the inhabitants. This meeting decided on the 22nd of May to remove the Viceroy, and refusing to listen to the advice of the Cabildo—who were in favour of delay—they demanded a Junta composed of certain men in whose hands they were prepared to place the destiny of their country. This popularly elected Junta met on the 25th of May, and carried certain regulations determining the distribution of power, the responsibility of Ministers, the publication of accounts, the safety of individuals, the voting of taxes, and the immediate convocation of a General Congress to settle the exact form of a scheme of popular Government. This was the embryo of a new Constitution, and May 25, 1810, is regarded as the birthday of the Argentine Republic.

The loyalist party under Liniers attempted to counteract the revolutionary movement, but public feeling was all in favour of the new Government, the loyalist leaders were executed, and the Junta passed a resolution excluding all “old Spaniards” from the new Junta. Nothing could have shown more emphatically the determination of the Americans to sever their connection with Europe.

The first Junta was of short duration, and a triumvirate was soon elected to take its place ; one of the



three members of this body was to hold the legislative power, and to be re-elected every six months. This experiment failed, and the deputies from the Provincial municipalities, who had been formed into an electoral College, met on April 5, 1812, and elected Puirredon as First Supreme Director. In their attempts to establish a Constitution the new Government came to grief, and for the next four years party struggles amongst the principal leaders and families reduced the Provinces to a condition of disturbance and disorganization which amounted to chaos.

The people now began to clamour for a more definite Declaration of Independence, and at length, in 1816, popular feeling provoked a crisis, and a formal decision of the General Congress of the Provinces, held at Tucuman, passed the following resolution on July 9 :—

“ We, the Representatives of the United Provinces of South America in General Congress assembled, invoking that Supreme Being who presides over the universe, and in the name of and by the authority of the people we represent, asserting before heaven and all the nations of the earth the justice of this our resolution, do hereby solemnly declare it to be the unanimous and indisputable determination of the people of these Provinces to break the bonds which have hitherto bound them to the Kings of Spain—to recover those natural rights of which they had been deprived, and to take upon themselves the character of a Free Nation, independent of King Ferdinand the Seventh, of his successors, and of Spain, with full and ample power in consequence *de facto* and *de jure* to establish for themselves such form of Government as existing circumstances may render necessary.

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“On behalf of all and every one of them we do publish and declare the same, and pledge them to carry into effect this their fixed resolve with their lives, their fortunes, and their fame.

“Wherefore, Be this duly published for the information of all whom it may concern.

“Further, considering what is due to other nations, a separate manifesto shall be addressed to them, setting forth in detail the grave and weighty reasons which have led to this our Solemn Declaration.

“Given in the Hall of our Meetings, signed by our hands, and sealed with the seal of the Congress, and duly countersigned by the Secretaries thereof, in the City of San Miguel de Tucuman, this the 9th day of July, 1816.”

A Constitution was drawn up and adopted, but the constant struggles for the post of Supreme Director continued, and for several years the Provinces were in a perpetual state of discord, if not of open Revolution.

At the time of the declaration of Tucuman the Portuguese availed themselves of the internal dissensions in the United Provinces to seize Monte Video, and to occupy the province on the left Bank of the Rio de la Plata, then known as the Banda Oriental.\* The state of affairs on the western frontier was equally unfortunate; the forces sent by Buenos Ayres to the assistance of the Revolutionists in Peru had been entirely defeated and dispersed by the Spanish Viceroy of that country. Furthermore, Spain was said to be fitting out an expedition at Cadiz destined for the subjection of the insurgent Provinces in South America.

\* This now forms the Republic of Uruguay.

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It was not even possible for the revolted colonies to make common cause against the foe, as Artigas, the revolutionary leader in the Banda Oriental, refused to acknowledge the authority of the Supreme Director, or to accept the city of Buenos Ayres as the capital and seat of the Central Government. Artigas advocated a system of Federal Government in which all the Provinces should have equal rights and privileges; he condemned the "tyrannical usurpations" of the city of Buenos Ayres, and did not hesitate to accuse the Director and Congress of a conspiracy to hand over their country to Brazil.

Puirredon naturally retaliated, and accused Artigas of intriguing with the Spanish Government to the detriment of the general interests of independence.

The declaration of Tucuman was unable to terminate these differences. Artigas, with the chiefs of the Banda Oriental, defended that province against the inroads of the Portuguese, and succeeded in exciting the hostility of the country people against them to such a degree that, up to the end of 1819, the Portuguese had only succeeded in occupying Monte Video, Colonia, and a small portion of country between the confluence of the Uruguay and Negro rivers.

Meanwhile the Government of Buenos Ayres, which had openly declared war with Artigas, realizing its weakness and the difficulties of the situation, opened negotiations with Brazil, intending, without a doubt, to involve Portugal in a conflict with Spain. It is impossible to say how far the Buenos Ayres Government wished permanently to increase the power of Portugal in the Banda Oriental, but for the moment it

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was a double advantage to Buenos Ayres, as the presence of the Portuguese in the neighbouring Province not only diverted the attention of Artigas, but minimized the possibility of the reconquest of Monte Video by Spain.

Puirredon and his friends had also another scheme for placing the young Prince of Lucca on the throne, and marrying him to a Princess of Brazil. How far this project was entertained it is difficult to determine, but Sir Henry Wellesley, writing to Lord Castlereagh from Madrid on July 24, 1820, expressed his conviction that such a plan did not and could not receive any encouragement in Madrid. The idea was supposed to have originated in France, but in any case the scheme had little chance of success, as internal crises in the River Plate Provinces brought Puirredon and his Government to grief. The feeling in favour of federal union, as opposed to a more centralized form of government, was gaining ground, and the Provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé had joined Artigas in opposing the Supreme Director. The Provinces of Cordoba, Santiago del Estero, Salta and Jujuy also sided with Artigas, and finally the Santa Ferian army, with Artigas in command, utterly defeated the Buenos Ayreans under General Rondeau. The city of Buenos Ayres was in a state of consternation at the defeat of her troops, and, defence being impossible, she was forced most reluctantly to submit to the terms proposed by the Federal Chiefs. The followers of Puirredon were banished, and the leading members of Congress thrown into prison; Sarratea was appointed Governor-General, and a treaty, signed by all the Provinces on February 23, 1820, provided for the immediate assembly of a General

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Congress of Deputies from all the Provinces to draw up a Federal Constitution.

The first act of Sarratea's party was to expose and publish the correspondence with the French Court, carried on by Puirredon; the next to exhort the Provinces to declare immediate war against the Portuguese invaders of the Banda Oriental. The Buenos Ayreans had little reason to rejoice at this change in their Government, and for several months their city was the constant theatre of Party contentions amongst the Federal leaders for the chief command. Sarratea's Governor-Generalship was of short duration, and in the course of the summer Balcarce, Mexia, Soler, and Rodriguez alternately possessed themselves of the supreme power. They all, however, were agreed on two points:—

I. The rejection of the offers made them by the mother country and brought by Spanish Commissioners who arrived off Buenos Ayres in November. These envoys, being unprepared to acknowledge the Independence of the Provinces as a preliminary to any further negotiations whatever, were obliged to depart without ever being suffered to land.

II. The necessity of attacking the Portuguese in the Banda Oriental, and of making a vigorous effort to recover Monte Video.

The anti-Portuguese feeling in the Provinces had always been instigated by Artigas; he now experienced several unexpected defeats at the hands of the enemy in the Banda Oriental, and lost most of his leading officers. He was obliged to flee for his life, and escaped to Paraguay, where Don Francia, the Independent Governor,

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seized and imprisoned him without delay. Of the extraordinary character and policy of Don Francia more will be said later. His country was the only Province to take no share in the party contests which had involved her neighbours in constant warfare. Surrounded as Paraguay was by strong natural defences, and possessing every necessary resource within her borders, the inhabitants had placed themselves under the direction of Francia—a lawyer, brought up in the Jesuit College at Cordoba—and shortly after their independence was assured had determined to take no part in the neighbouring struggles, which could only lead to the disturbance of their own happiness and tranquillity.

Francia now thought that the detention of one of the most active and turbulent leaders might, in some measure, tend to abate the strife and increase the chances of a peaceful settlement of the provincial differences, and in this he was not much mistaken. The Banda Oriental began to tire of the incessant warfare, and the friends of Artigas, enfeebled and dispirited, soon left the Portuguese in quiet and undisputed possession of the country.

In Buenos Ayres also the outlook was peaceful and promising since the appointment of Rodriguez, a man of firm conduct and high character, as Governor of the Provinces.

The French did not abandon their plan of setting the Prince of Lucca on the throne without one further effort. In October, 1822, a French squadron appeared in the River Plate, but finding what extensive changes had taken place both in the Government and in the general condition of affairs, the squadron moved on to the western coast of the continent on the chance of discovering a

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party in that quarter more friendly to the proposal than Buenos Ayres appeared to be.

In the same year the followers of Artigas made another attempt to recover their ascendancy in Buenos Ayres, but the firm action of Rodriguez crushed the insurrection without delay, and for a time the United Provinces were able to enjoy the benefits of a peaceful and efficient administration.

Meanwhile a Public Act announced the annexation, with the consent of the inhabitants, of the Banda Oriental and Monte Video, or, in other words, the whole country north of the River Plate as far as the frontier of Brazil, to the crown of Portugal as the Cisplatine Province.

Having then made a careful study of the state of affairs in South America, Parish obtained the support of Planta and the approval of Lord Francis Conyngham to apply for the post of Consul-General at Buenos Ayres.

He received the following letter from Planta in reply to his application :

New Burlington Street,  
9 o'clock a.m. 22 Sept. 1823.

MY DEAR PARISH

I am happy to tell you by Mr. Canning's desire, that he will meet your wishes, and appoint you to be His Majesty's Consul-General at Buenos Ayres. He said it in the kindest possible manner, and desires you will come to town immediately to see him.

The Admiralty will prepare a Ship of War to take you out, and a person who is not to be called so, but will be in fact a Political Agent, will go with you. You will be joined with him in a Commission to report upon the state of things in the provinces of La Plata, and he will return to England with the result of the information so

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collected, and should that be satisfactory enough to justify the recognition of the New State, he will probably eventually be named Minister.

Your functions and commission as Consul-General are, however, of course independent of his Agency, though not of his eventual Mission.

You will have two Vice-Consuls with you, to be placed where you find it desirable upon your arrival at Buenos Ayres, and as you know Charles Griffiths, Mr. Canning will be very willing to appoint him as one of them.

Ever yours faithfully,  
JOSEPH PLANTA.

The envoys to the newly recognized States were all appointed about the same time, and Parish was most anxious as to who should be chosen as his "Political Agent" and colleague. The appointment was offered to Sir Bartle Frere, who, much to Parish's disappointment, refused to accept it, and subsequently to Sir Philip Roche, who held at that time a diplomatic appointment at Madrid.

But Sir Philip seemed undesirous to return home, and, His Majesty's ship *Cambridge* having been put in commission to take the new Agents to South America, the Foreign Office were unwilling to delay her departure longer than was absolutely necessary.

Accordingly, on December 18, Canning, then in bed with the gout, sent for Parish to see him, and after receiving him with great kindness asked him various questions as to his previous employments under Lord Londonderry. Having satisfied himself that Parish was not so young as he looked, Canning wound up by asking him what he thought of having the entire responsibility



of the Commission thrown upon him, now that Roche could not arrive in time to sail in the *Cambridge*. The answer was prompt. Parish assured the Foreign Minister that he would infinitely rather have to execute Mr. Canning's orders alone than in conjunction with any other individual, especially one whom he did not know, and whose views might hamper him, if not entirely agreeing with his own; that he felt confidence in himself, from his Foreign Office schooling, and had no fear but that he should be able to carry out his instructions alone quite as well as in conjunction with any one else.

After this assurance, Canning promised to put no one over him, and expressed his hope that he would do well, as he thought he would; he then gave him many instructions and injunctions, and ended his interview by "an almost paternal" farewell. Parish describes him to his father as having been ill and suffering, and much worried by the opposition of many of his colleagues in the Cabinet to his action with regard to the South American States. And indeed Canning had had a hard time with his colleagues, both as to the "non-intervention" policy in Europe and the new line of action with regard to South America. As early as the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the question of the recognition of the South American Republics had begun to harass European diplomatists. Charles Bagot \* was at that time British

\* The Hon. Sir Charles Bagot was the second son of Sir William, afterwards Lord Bagot; in 1809, Canning, then Foreign Secretary, who was an intimate personal friend, made him Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Having resigned office after Castlereagh's duel with Canning, he entered the diplomatic service. In 1806, he married Mary Wellesley Pole, daughter of Lord Mornington, and niece of the Duke of Wellington.—(See *ante*, p. 228, note, and Bagot's "Canning and his Friends," vol. i. p. 256.)

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Minister in Washington, and in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, dated Washington, October 31, 1818, he describes an interview he had recently had with Mr. Adams.\*

“If all the efforts of the European Powers,” Bagot writes, “then assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle should fail, and *he* (the President) thought they would, to reconcile Spain and her Colonies in South America, Adams thought an entirely new state of things must be considered to have arisen, and that the established Governments of the world would, in that case, owe it to the very principle of their present neutrality—to the peace of mankind—and, he conscientiously believed, to the welfare and prosperity of Old Spain, to acknowledge the complete independence of such of the American Provinces as had proved themselves competent to self-government.” Adams went on to explain that though to all intents and purposes they were independent, the fact that their independence had not yet received European acknowledgment left them without that sense of responsibility to other nations for their conduct which was essential to the general peace and security of the world. He pointed out that this undefined and anomalous state of things inevitably led to plunder, piracy, and other atrocities, for which no one could be held directly responsible.†

Lord Liverpool,‡ writing to Lord Castlereagh a few days later, said :

“Mediation between Spain and her Colonies is the most embarrassing question. The last proposition of the

\* John Quincy Adams became President of the United States in 1825.

† Castlereagh Corr., vol. xii. p. 68.

‡ Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister from 1812 till 1827.

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new Spanish Minister in London suggested that the commerce of England and other friendly Powers with the Colonies should only be carried on through Spanish ports. This is obviously impossible, at any rate as far as those Colonies are concerned which have already formally declared their independence. The only possible compromise might be the acknowledging of their independence under some younger branch of the Spanish family."\*

Lord Castlereagh, writing from Brussels on November 26, 1818, in reply to Lord Liverpool's letter, suggested the advisability of sending the Duke of Wellington to Madrid to consider the question with the Spanish Government.

In January Bagot wrote again to Castlereagh, pressing the British Government to take action, since the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle had declined to mediate between Spain and her Colonies, and begging England to acknowledge the independence of the South American States for the sake of peace and commercial prosperity. †

Spain was profoundly jealous of the growing importance of her late Colonies. News reached England that ships of war flying the Spanish flag had orders to cruise against the merchant ships of every country presuming to trade with her insurgent Colonies. ‡ If mere trading with her quondam Colonies excited the wrath of Spain, their recognition by other Powers for purposes of diplomacy was an even greater blow to her pride. Parish, some years later, in writing an account of the history of

\* Castlereagh Corr., vol. x. p. 77. Lord Liverpool to Lord Castlereagh, November 9, 1818.

† Castlereagh Corr., vol. xii.

‡ *Vide* Walpole's "History of England," vol. ii. chap. ix.

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Argentina,\* says that "Spain, knowing as she did the consequences of her own colonial system, and the incapacity for self-government in which it had left the South Americans, might well urge that as an argument against the recognition of their independence by other countries ; but it was to little purpose that she did so when it was manifest to all the world that her own power to reduce them again to subjection was gone for ever, and that the people of South America had not only achieved their complete independence, but were resolved and able to maintain it."

This fact was well known in Europe, and left no alternative to foreign Governments, whose subjects were engaged in trade with the new Republics, but to establish recognized relations for the protection of the interests of their subjects with the authorities set up in place of those of the mother country.

In 1820 Lord Londonderry had laid a paper before Parliament calling attention to the state of affairs in the South American Republics. Since Spain "could no longer enforce their obedience and thus make herself responsible for maintaining their relations with other Powers, she must," he wrote, "sooner or later be prepared to see those relations established by the overruling necessity of the case in some other form."

Two years later, Lord Londonderry's death made it necessary for the Duke of Wellington to take his place at the Congress of Verona, and Canning, the new Foreign Minister, gave his instructions to the Duke as to the South American policy. He told him that under no circumstances was he to pledge his Government against

\* "Buenos Ayres and La Plata," by Sir W. Parish, 1852.

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recognition, and hinted that this recognition would probably take place before the meeting of Parliament in the following year. Two months later (November 8, 1822) he again wrote to the Duke, "In the present state of the world, of the peninsula, of the country, the American questions are out of all proportion more important than the European, and if we do not seize and turn them to our advantage, in time we shall rue the loss of an opportunity never, never to be recovered." \*

Soon after this, Canning resolved to enter into negotiations with the Governments of Buenos Ayres, Mexico, and Colombia for commercial treaties with Great Britain. Although the United States had already taken this step, difficulties were not yet at an end for European nations who wished to follow their example, and least of all was it easy for England. Canning, writing from the Foreign Office, January 3, 1823, to Sir Charles Bagot about the decisions and difficulties of the Congress of Verona,† said :

"We (in England) are . . . in a course of amicable and furious correspondence with Spain ; amicable so far as relates to Europe, in which quarter of the globe we defend her against invasion ; furious in relation to America, where we have a squadron now employed in seeking forcible redress for grievances. To keep these two strains simultaneously operating upon the nerves and feelings of the Spaniards ; to hold a shield before them with one hand, and punish them with the other, has been, and is still, a matter of no small delicacy and difficulty. But I hope we may manage it."

And again, in a letter to Sir William a'Court (then

\* Temperley's "Life of Canning," p. 176.

† Stapleton's "Life of Canning," 1859, chap. xxiii. p. 369.

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Minister in Madrid), from the Foreign Office, December 3, 1822 :

“ Our difficulty arises from the double character in which Spain presents herself in Europe and America ; fighting for her independence in the former, and in the latter exercising a tyranny and assuming a tone of arrogance not to be endured ; proposing new ties of friendship here, and there prohibiting our accustomed intercourse ; holding out her European hand for charity, and with her American one picking our pockets.” \*

To add to these difficulties, rumours were current all through 1823 that France intended to extend her intervention in Spain to the Spanish Colonies in America. Canning was determined that France should not interfere either with the Colonies direct or with the English trade with South America, and he wrote privately to the Duke of Wellington : “ I confess I long to tell Villèle † (if it were worth while and if this were the moment) that we *will* trade with the *late* Spanish American Colonies, whether France likes it or not, that we will not respect the Spanish guarda-costas, which attempt to interdict that trade to us, and that if France sends a large fleet to help the guarda-costas, we will send a larger to watch at least their operations.” ‡

On December 31, 1823, Canning wrote to Sir William a'Court : “ The Spanish American question is, essentially, settled, . . . things will take their own course on that Continent which cannot be otherwise than favourable to us.” The same letter contains Canning's opinion

\* Stapleton's "Life of Canning," chap. xxiv. p. 386.

† The French Premier.

‡ Temperley's "Life of Canning," p. 176.

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of the newly formulated "Monroe Doctrine."\* He also told Sir William that he favoured the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico and Brazil, as it would "cure the evils of universal democracy and prevent the line of demarcation which I most dread, America *versus* Europe."

Canning sounded Mr. Rush † on the possible co-operation of the United States with England to prevent a hostile enterprise of the European Powers against Spanish America. Canning maintained that Foreign Powers had no right either directly or indirectly to interfere forcibly between Spain and her American Colonies, and that they had no right to aid Spain in her attempts to reconquer them, though he also affirmed that the United States had no right "to take umbrage at the establishment of new Colonies from Europe in any unoccupied parts of the American continent."

In October, France and the United States received the official intimation that England intended to recognize the new Republics, and all the Powers were informed on January 1 that the independence of those countries in America which had established their separation from Spain was acknowledged by England. The official communication, after further delays, was in these terms : ‡

\* President Monroe's famous message in 1823 was in these words: "We could not view an interposition for oppressing the South American States or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

† Richard Rush, United States Minister in London, 1817 to 1825.

‡ "Canning and His Friends," vol. ii. p. 276.

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Official copy.

(Canning to Bagot.)

Foreign Office, December 31, 1824.

Sir, . . . The time being now arrived at which . . . His Majesty's confidential servants feel themselves called upon to advise His Majesty to take a new step towards certain of the Spanish American Provinces which have separated themselves from Spain . . . as to the time at which any such new step should be taken, His Majesty's Government would be guided :

1stly. By the reports . . . of the situation of affairs in the several American Provinces.

2ndly. By considerations regarding the essential interests of His Majesty's subjects and the relations of the Old World and the New. . . .

GEORGE CANNING.

This decision was communicated to Parliament in February in the Speech from the Throne, and Temperley relates how, the King having lost his false teeth, Eldon, who was entirely opposed to the new policy, was obliged to deliver it "with a very bad grace and no enthusiasm." The enthusiasm, however, was not wanting either among British merchants, who foresaw the immense commercial advantages which were now open to them, or among the newly recognized States themselves. Canning had sent for Parish almost a year before, and given him his instructions for Buenos Ayres. Though Canning had made up his mind to confirm the independence of the Colonies at once, he still met with considerable opposition in England, and was glad of any excuse which was likely to advance his policy. Before turning to Parish's departure for South America, it will lead to the better understanding of his action in that country if we first



consider the difficulties in England which impeded the carrying out of Canning's foreign policy for the following year or two, and the manner in which he surmounted them.

The first incident of which Canning took advantage to urge his views on the Cabinet and on the King was the indirect outcome of the invasion of Spain by French troops. The occupation of certain important fortresses in Spain by the French army, after Ferdinand's restoration to the throne, was considered as a disparagement to England, and her disapproval of the state of affairs in Spain facilitated and accelerated the recognition of the independence of the Spanish Colonies by England.

This is clearly shown in Canning's letter of July 23, 1824, to the King, in which he specially urges the claims of Buenos Ayres to recognition. He mentions, amongst other reasons, the danger which might accrue to Europe and to civilized society if so large a portion of the world should continue much longer without any recognized political relations with the Old World, and exclusively connected with the one State to which they were already indebted for recognition. Buenos Ayres, he points out, had been virtually independent for many years, during which no Spanish soldier had been in the country, nor was there any political party in the State in favour of the mother country. In addition to this, Canning reminded the King of the settled condition of the Buenos Ayres Government, of the extent of the commercial relations between Great Britain and Buenos Ayres, of the great number of British subjects settled in that country, and of the importance of fixing the character of this extensive intercourse by some formal

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diplomatic arrangements. In conclusion, he advised the King that full power should be sent to Parish to negotiate a commercial Treaty with the State of Buenos Ayres. "Such a treaty," he writes, "*when ratified by Your Majesty*, would amount to a diplomatic recognition of the State with which it had been concluded; and Mr. Parish might, in that case, remain at Buenos Ayres with the character of Your Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary." \*

The recognition of South American independence was the cause of considerable friction between the Duke of Wellington and Canning. The Duke, with his old-fashioned Tory prejudices, was naturally opposed to the recognition; but that he should take advantage of his intimacy with the King to urge him to adopt his own point of view—or rather to confirm the King's own prejudices on the subject, for he was well known to oppose the democratic tendency of South America—was more than Canning could bear. He wrote a strong letter to Lord Liverpool on the subject on October 17, and his relations with the Duke were never so cordial again.

George IV., who was thoroughly alarmed by Canning's policy, and by the support which he undoubtedly had in the Cabinet, wrote to Lord Liverpool on January 27, 1825: "The King would ask Lord Liverpool whether he supposes the great abettors of this Spanish question, connected with the Opposition, give their support to a recognition of the Spanish Provinces, in relation to the great mercantile advantages which this measure may afford to this country; or, from their

\* See Stapleton's "Life of Canning," chap. xxiv. pp. 399-400.

love of democracy, in opposition to a monarchical aristocracy?" He goes on to fear that the same principle "may shortly be applied by these gentlemen to our own Colonial possessions, or to any other of the remote settlements at present under the Dominion of the British Crown."

The reply from Lord Liverpool after the meeting of the Cabinet was intended to reassure the King, and while "deeply regretting that the feelings and sentiments of the great majority among them were adverse to those of His Majesty," he pressed their decision on him in obedience to "an over-ruling sense of duty," and further assured the King that the policy with regard to South America was in no way inconsistent with any engagement between His Majesty and his Allies.

This at last pacified the King, who wrote to Lord Liverpool the following day, admitting that the recognition "*at this time*" of the South American provinces was in opposition to his own judgment, but hoping, "as the step has been taken, that it will prove a measure full of the beneficial results which are anticipated, by adding to the prosperity of this country without interfering with the general peace and tranquillity of Europe."

Relations between the King and Canning were anything but friendly after the episode of the South American recognition, and it was not till Canning's illness in April, 1825, that they were reconciled. The story of the reconciliation, brought about by a visit of the King's confidential friend, Sir William Knighton, to Canning is a curious one,\* but is too lengthy to relate here; the ultimate consequence, however, was a note from

\* See Stapleton's "Life of Canning," chap. xxvi. p. 437.

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the King, dated October 11, expressing his intention to receive the Ministers of the New States early in November. This was even more than Canning had hoped for, and he writes to Lord Granville,\* October 11, 1825:

“Recollecting that this time twelvemonth it was a question whether there should be any *New States* at all, and that in the discussions of that day one of the main arguments employed to deter me from my purpose was, that the King would never be brought to receive their Ministers,” the King’s note . . . is “as satisfactory . . . as could be desired. . . . Immediately after the presentation I shall appoint Ministers (with the double character to both States), and to this also I have obtained His Majesty’s complete acquiescence. . . . I delighted in raising these people into States, but I shall not let them fancy themselves too fine fellows, as they would be apt to do if not snubbed when they deserve it.” †

On November 21, 1825, the presentation of the New Colombian Ministers took place, and the King’s reception was all that Canning could have desired. He writes to Lord Granville full of glee immediately after the interview, and ends his letter: “And so behold! the New World established, and, if we do not throw it away, ours!”

Canning’s dealings with the new representatives of the Crown in South America will be more easily understood if we follow his fight against the King,

\* Lord Granville had succeeded Sir Charles Stewart as Ambassador in Paris in 1824. With two short intervals he remained there till 1841. He died in 1846.

† See Stapleton’s “Life of Canning,” chap. xxvi. p. 445.

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the Duke, and the Cabinet, to its victorious climax in the speech delivered in the House of Commons on December 8, 1825.

This was the final vindication of Canning's whole policy, and was perhaps the finest speech he ever made.

"Is the Spain of the present day," he said, "indeed the nation whose puissance was expected to shake England from her sphere? No, sir, it was Spain 'with the Indies' that excited the jealousies and alarmed the imagination of our ancestors. But then, sir, the balance of power! The entry of the French army into Spain disturbed that balance, and we ought to have gone to war to restore it. To look to the policy of Europe in the times of William and Anne, for the purpose of regulating the balance of power in Europe at the present day, is to disregard the progress of events, and to confuse dates and facts which throw a reciprocal light upon each other. . . . Was there no other mode of resistance than by a direct attack on France? Might not compensations for disparagement be obtained and the policy of our ancestors vindicated by means better adapted to the present time? If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No! I looked another way. I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain 'with the Indies.' I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old!"\*

\* See Temperley's "Canning," p. 190.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ARRIVAL IN SOUTH AMERICA—1824

Parish goes to South America—Rio de Janeiro—Arrival at Buenos Ayres, March, 1824—Parish and Rivadavia—The Commercial Treaty proposed—Prosperity of the United Provinces, Francia and Paraguay—St. Andrew's Day banquet at Buenos Ayres.

CANNING'S instructions to the new Consul-General were lengthy and explicit,\* and under their twenty-three headings we find every contingency dealt with, from trade, justice, customs, seals of office, smuggling, quarantine, shipping regulations, shipwrecked British seamen, and provisioning of His Majesty's Navy, to the slave-trade. In addition to these general instructions the Consul-General was informed that if, on his arrival, he should find the Government inclined towards a union with Spain, he must bear in mind that England had no wish to interpose obstacles to the restoration of a *bonâ fide* understanding between the Colonies and the mother country, provided always that the mother country remained really independent, and was not in any manner subjected or subservient to any Foreign Power, nor employing the intervention of foreign arms to re-establish her supremacy in the Colonies. In fact, so far from interposing obstacles between Buenos Ayres and Old Spain, the Consul-General was authorized, "on the principle of conciliation and mutual advantage, to receive

\* See Appendix II.

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and transmit for the consideration of the Home Government any proposal to that effect which the ruling party in Buenos Ayres might be desirous of having communicated to Spain." Should the new Government have established its independence—whether as single or a Federal State—"unconnected with Spain by subordination, or with any other country by incorporation or Federal Union"—he was desired to collect accurate information on the following points:

"1st. Has the Government so constituted already notified by a public act its determination to remain independent of Spain and to admit no terms of accommodation with the mother country?

"2nd. Is it in military possession of the country; and also in a respectable condition of military defence against any probable attacks from Europe?

"3rd. Does it appear to have acquired a reasonable degree of consistency, and to enjoy the confidence and goodwill of the several orders of the people?

"4th. Has it abjured and abolished the slave trade?"

Parish was told that if he found the answers to these questions satisfactory, that is to say, in the affirmative—and if he found a reasonable probability that affairs would continue much in the same way, he was to arrange with the Government of the United Provinces to send a competent person to England, who should discuss the possibility of adopting diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The Consul-General was to make it quite clear to the Buenos Ayres Government that no consideration would induce His Majesty to enter into an engagement which

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might be considered as bringing the Provinces under his dominion ; neither, on the other hand, could he consent to see them (in the event of their final separation from Spain) brought under the dominion of any other Power.

Finally, Parish was given the three traditional snuff-boxes—"with His Majesty's Portrait in Medallion"—for presentation to the "persons of the highest consideration and influence in the administration of the State of Buenos Ayres."\*

Before the Consul-General's departure Canning explained to him that, in the event of relations of a political, as opposed to a purely commercial nature, being established with Buenos Ayres, other persons would be appointed with a political character, after which Parish's functions would be confined to those of a purely consular nature.

The latest South American news to reach England before Parish sailed was in a letter from Mr. William Parish Robertson to Mr. Parish of Bath, written from Buenos Ayres on July 25, 1823, now preserved at the Record Office with the Foreign Office correspondence relating to Argentina. Mr. Parish Robertson reported that, as a preparation for a final settlement with the mother country, a convention had lately been signed whereby for eighteen months hostilities should cease between Spain and her late Colonies ; furthermore, a law had lately been passed by the local Junta enabling the Independent States to co-operate in furnishing Spain with twenty million dollars ; this subsidy was to be placed at her disposal, and used for resisting the aggressions of

\* Two were given subsequently to Rivadavia and General Las Heras respectively. There is reason to think that the third was given to Garcia.



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France, provided that Spain, in return, acknowledged the independence of her Colonies. "The present Government," he wrote, "continued, most deservedly, to enjoy the entire confidence of the people, and Rivadavia was said to have done as much good to the country as his predecessors had done harm—higher praise was impossible."

On December 21, 1823, H.M.S. *Cambridge* left Portsmouth harbour, with the agents and consuls recently appointed to the New States of South America on board. The voyage, although in those days a very lengthy one, was accomplished without much difficulty. The ship anchored in the harbour of Santa Cruz, that the travellers might take in a store of Canary wine for consumption in their new homes; having passed through swarms of flying-fish and many Portuguese men-of-war off the Cape Verde Islands, they set sail across the Atlantic, and entered the harbour of Rio de Janeiro on February 22.

Among the residents in Rio who came to visit the *Cambridge* and her passengers was Mr. Frederick Warre, an old schoolfellow and acquaintance of Parish, who insisted that the latter, with his family, and Mr. and Mrs. Nugent, his fellow-passengers, should take possession of Mr. Warre's country house on shore.

"The offer was the more welcome," writes Parish, "as we found that there was no tolerable hotel in the place where we could be accommodated, and, bag and baggage, we were very soon housed at our friend's residence, a neat little 'quinta' on the sea-shore, about a couple of miles from the city. A clever Portuguese cook undertook to keep house for us, with two or three black assistants, and to provide us daily with everything to be had at Rio; certainly we were abundantly supplied during the whole

of our stay there with every kind of fish, flesh, and fowl, and such a variety of fruits as I had never before seen, at a very moderate expense. . . .

The hospitality of our friend, the abundance of good things before us, and our vivid impressions of splendid scenery around us, could not but produce on our first landing, the most agreeable sensation ; but we had yet to experience the reverse of the fair picture :—inconvenienced only by the heat, we incautiously threw open our windows, and burning night-lamps drew in myriads of Mosquitoes, enough alone to have devoured us,—but there came also a host of other auxiliaries who feasted on our fresh English blood, till we were driven wild ; our children and English women-servants on the floor below us began fairly to scream aloud with pain and fright, and hurried us downstairs to see what greater calamity could have befallen them. The cause of their sufferings was but too evident, and for the night unfortunately irremediable. Our host being a bachelor, and our own party numerous, we had brought on shore our ship mattresses and bedding just as they were, totally unprovided with mosquito netting or anything of the sort ; which, together with our imprudence in throwing open the windows, had left us entirely at the mercy of an enemy with whom there was no capitulating. Long ere daylight we all, I believe, sincerely wished ourselves back on board the *Cambridge*.

Such were the impressions of our first four and twenty hours on shore in the New World. The *Cambridge* required a thorough refitting before she could proceed on her voyage round Cape Horn. She was a new ship, and it was found necessary not only to renew much of her rigging, and many of her spars, which were defective, but to caulk the whole of her upper works ; all this indicated a delay at Rio which to me was excessively annoying, as, for many reasons, I was most anxious to reach my destination as speedily

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as possible. There was, however, no other ship of war which the Admiral could place at my disposal, and the only private ship which could have accommodated us was already hired by other passengers.

Fortunately for us it was so, and that I took Captain Maling's advice not even to forward my servants by her. She was totally lost on entering the river Plate—thank God we escaped that calamity!

We had no alternative therefore but to endeavour to make the best of our necessary stay at Rio. We bought netting for our beds, and discovered that with a little common care and precaution we might almost set at defiance our bloodthirsty enemies; but the heat was dreadful, and I found it impossible to join in many of the parties of pleasure which were kindly made for us by our countrymen resident on shore.

I went to see the Slave market, and came away with the impression that I felt infinitely more for the miserable condition of those poor wretches than they did themselves; they were for the most part young, and had no appearance of unhappiness. I was not so much surprised to find this the case amongst the idle boys and girls in the Slave market who had yet to learn the nature of their entire dependency on the will of whoever might purchase them, but I confess I could not understand the reckless gaiety, apparently beyond content of the thousands of strong sturdy men at work in the streets, much more like beasts of burden than human beings; either there must be a great insensibility on the part of these negroes to their real condition, or they must possess a buoyancy of spirits incomprehensible to a European—or, is it that we Englishmen have such a horror of the idea and name of slavery that we exaggerate its effects upon a race accustomed perhaps to a worse and even more precarious condition in their native land?"

One evening Mr. and Mrs. Parish were invited to

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meet the king and queen of the Sandwich Islands at Mr. Chamberlain's house. They were on their way to England to visit the "great King," with many officers of State, a great deal of money, and a general desire to gain information which might be profitable to their subjects on their return. Writing to his father, Parish gave a description of this strange entertainment: "They (the king and queen) are Patagonians in stature, the queen measuring six foot and a half high; the men are tall in proportion, and well-made personable fellows. They had been presented to the Emperor in the morning, on which occasion they had dressed his Majesty in a sort of naval uniform, and the queen, to her infinite distress, was committed to a French milliner, who had rigged her out in a pair of stays and a fine satin slip. By the time she arrived at Chamberlain's she was so incommoded by the stays that she was obliged to strip, and it was not without difficulty that she was persuaded to keep on the satin slip, in which, to our great amusement, she afterwards gave us a *pas seul* after the fashion of her own country. She played at whist; and Nugent, who played with her, said she appeared to have a very good knowledge of the game. The king played at chess, but indifferently; their manners, though rough, were plain, unaffected and inoffensive, and in the whole exhibition there was nothing that could offend even the most delicate of our ladies, though I confess, when the dance began, I had my apprehensions! The queen's name is Owyhee, and her first lady of honour Madame Poki-Poki.

We had at the same party a Viscountess Rio Secco, *ci-devant* an Irish washerwoman, who had about £30,000

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worth of diamonds upon her, and who is specially distinguished by her extreme vulgarity, and for having had, by the same husband, thirty-five children."

Before leaving Rio Parish wrote to Mr. Planta, complaining bitterly of the state in which the Admiralty had allowed H.M.S. *Cambridge* to sail for South America :

Rio de Janeiro, March 6, 1824.

MY DEAR PLANTA,

Here we still are, to my extreme disappointment and inconvenience. The *Cambridge*, than which I believe never was a worse-found ship, has been sent out in such a state that we shall, I now expect, be here nearer three weeks than a fortnight in putting her into such order as will enable her to continue her voyage. The *foretop mast* was carried away before she sailed from Portsmouth; the *Mizen* topmast came down in a squall on the voyage, and here the *Main* topmast is found to be sprung and unfit to go on . . . nor is the *Cambridge* the only instance of the present manner in which our Dockyard duty is done. The *Spartiate* which came out just before us now finds her foremast utterly rotten with very little chance of being able to replace it. I *hope* you have heard of the safety of the *Isis*, and that the reports which we had in England and which are repeated here, as to her being lost, are not founded on fact, and that she will not prove to be a lamentable example of economical folly. We, who pride ourselves on our Navy above all Nations, ought not to let such things be :—even the officers of the contemptible Navy of this miserable Government (Brazil) are laughing, not in their sleeves, but openly, at such mismanagement, and the runaways from your own Squadron on board the Brazilian ships dare say that Pedro the First's ships of war are as well rigged and fitted as the King of England's. When I write all this to you *privately* and

confidentially, as I do, don't imagine for a moment that I wish to make a *personal* complaint, but anxious as I am to get to my Post as soon as possible, I cannot but feel annoyed at a delay which arises from circumstances beyond my control. Had I thought our delay would have been so long here, I should have gone down at once to Buenos Ayres in a hired vessel; but when I was assured it would not exceed ten days I was unwilling to give up the advantages, which I could not but feel my presenting myself in the River Plate on board one of H.M.'s ships would give me, from a political point of view. I shall now reach Buenos Ayres about the end of March—on the 1st of April the change of Government takes place, and a trial of strength is expected between the principal families, for the supreme direction:—not a very convenient moment for my first arrival. Had we sailed on the 20th of December when the Admiralty promised to be ready, in a ship properly found, and direct for the River Plate, I should have been there six or seven weeks sooner, and been received by those persons who have had the credit of doing so much for the Government of Buenos Ayres, and who would have furnished me with all that information which I much doubt whether any new people will be able to do half so well . . . I shall report our detention officially to Mr. Canning that he may not be surprised at not hearing of my arrival at Buenos Ayres in reasonable time.

Lord Cochrane\* assured Nugent, the day before

\* Lord Cochrane (afterwards tenth Earl of Dundonald) was made "first Admiral of the National and Imperial Navy" of Brazil in March, 1823, and held that post for about two years. After a brilliant career in the British Navy, he had been dismissed the service, and degraded in a most unjust manner in 1816: the following year he accepted the invitation of the Chilian Government to organize and command their navy; his exploits in Chili and Peru were followed by his command of the Brazilian, and then the Greek navies. In 1831 he succeeded his father as tenth Earl of Dundonald, and obtained in 1832 his reinstatement in the British navy. From 1848 to 1851 he was Commander-in-Chief on the West Indian and

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yesterday, that he had information of two French line of battle-ships being seen in this latitude, since our arrival, steering for the River Plate or Cape Horn; I confess I should not be surprized to find a French Consul still out before me;—and this agrees in some measure as to the Reports which I sent you from Teneriffe,—the day before we sailed from Santa Cruz . . . The French are certainly very busy in this part of the world, and I think will try to do by intrigue what they dare not do by force. Peru will probably be their scene of action, and from what I can learn here the Royalist cause in that part of America is by no means lost; if Spain can get out any Naval Force she may recover that part of her old possessions:—Lord Cochrane, a great friend of course of the patriot cause, told me himself, he would lay his head that, with four launches with 30 picked men in each, he would take every place between Cape Horn and California.

Ever yours affectionately,  
WOODBINE PARISH, jun.

Parish and his party left Rio on March 12, and after experiencing a terrific storm in Monte Video harbour they changed into an English packet, and arrived at Buenos Ayres on March 31. Unfortunately Parish's arrival just coincided with the triennial election of the new Governor; he therefore thought it advisable to postpone, for a day or two, the personal interview at which he would present his credentials to the Government.

On April 3 General Las Heras was elected Governor, in succession to General Rodriguez, who had done much for the good of the State during his tenure of office. Las Heras was of the same political party as his predecessors, North American Station. His death in 1860 ended one of the most varied and brilliant careers in the records of our navy.—(“ Dict. of Natl. Biog.”)

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and it was not expected that he would make many changes in the executive; moreover, he was absent from the capital at the time, and Rivadavia—who had not only been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but also Secretary of the Government in the late administration—held, *ex officio*, the supreme direction of affairs until the new Governor should arrive at Buenos Ayres. Accordingly, it was with Rivadavia that Parish requested an interview, and Rivadavia received him “with every possible expression of thankfulness to H.M.’s Government for the appointment, and every protestation of personal civility” towards Parish himself.

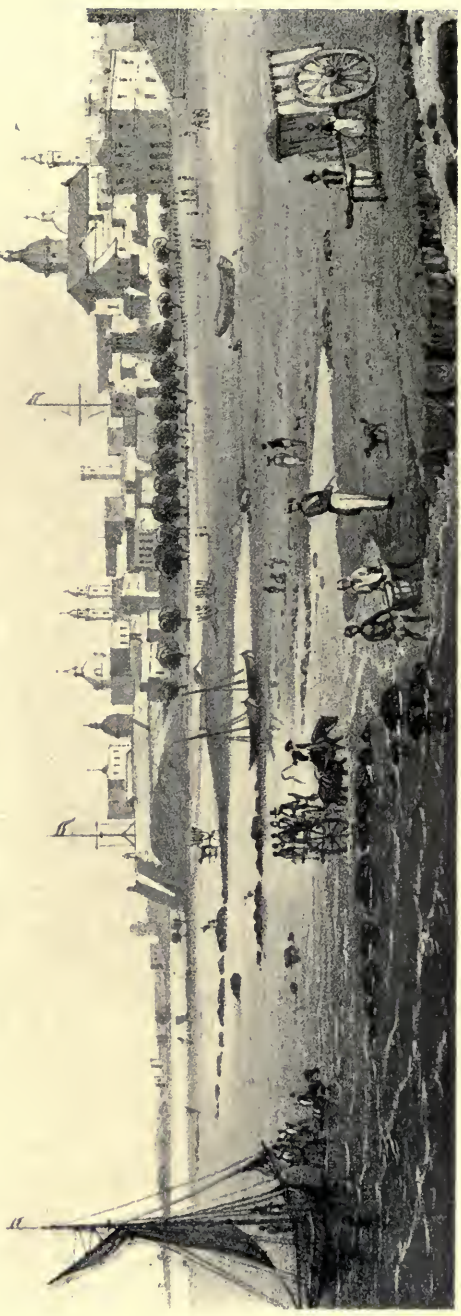
The following account of the interview appeared in the *Buenos Ayres Gazette* on April 7, 1824:

[*Translation.*]

“*Consulate of Great Britain.*—Monday at two o’clock in the afternoon, Mr. Parish, the Consul-General, and Mr. Griffiths, the Vice-Consul, were received for the first time at the House of the Government by Señor Don Bernardino Rivadavia, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, when they presented their credentials, which, it seems, consisted of a Diploma made out in full form with the signature of the Rt. Honble. George Canning, and of a letter of introduction from the latter, of which we have obtained a copy, which we insert with so much the greater pleasure as it is the first official Document from Europe, in which the Government of the Country is addressed in a direct manner suited to the character which this Country has been endeavouring to deserve these 15 years.



BUENOS AYRES



LANDING AT BUENOS AYRES IN 1824.



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“It appears that the same day the formal recognition of these Gentlemen took place, and that yesterday, Tuesday, Mr. Parish presented to Mr. Rivadavia at the House of the Government, Mr. Thomas Rowcroft,\* the Consul-General for Peru, who proceeds by land to the place of his destination.”

On April 12 Parish had a long interview with Rivadavia respecting the relations of Buenos Ayres with Spain, and her future relations with Great Britain. He reported the substance of this conversation to Canning in a despatch which summarizes the situation :

“ . . . † With respect to Spain, he (Rivadavia) at once said, there was one positive determination come to by all People of whatever Party in the State, viz. to decline to enter into any negotiations whatever with the Government of that Country unless founded upon a previous Recognition of their Independence: That the most unqualified Declarations to this effect had been repeatedly made by the Governments of Buenos Ayres, and would be found especially laid down in a law passed about two years past, on the Basis of which a preliminary Convention had actually been since agreed to, and signed by Commissioners sent out last year by the Cortes. But, judging from the Instructions given to the Commissioners and the ignorance, he might add, the infatuation, with respect to the actual State and Feelings of this country therein displayed, even by the liberal Party in Spain, and the extravagant Pretensions to exclusive Privileges

\* Mr. Thomas Rowcroft was assassinated in Lima about a year later by the “Independents”—members of a revolutionary party in the city.

† Parish to Canning. Foreign Office Correspondence, vol. i. Letter 3, Buenos Ayres, April 12, 1824.

and advantages therein put forward by the Minister of the Cortes, M. Rivadavia declared he was far from sanguine in his expectations, now that the Government of that Country had returned to the old system, of any reasonable Disposition on the Part of the King or His Advisers to enter into negotiations with this State upon those terms on which alone any such negotiations could now be founded, or expected to succeed.

I reminded M. Rivadavia how easily the General Recognition of the Independence of his Country would be obtained, indeed how certainly it would follow, if that Recognition were declared in the first instance by Spain,—that it was by no means improbable to suppose than in the actual State of Her own Affairs, and upon a due Consideration and fair Review of those of South America, Spain might be brought to that Resolution by Concessions and advantages yielded by these Countries, which indeed she had a right to expect from them in preference to other nations, and which, so far as she was concerned, Great Britain for Herself declared she was not only prepared to see given, but even willing to recommend for the future Peace and Happiness of the New World: that I was even authorized to convey to my Government any overtures the Government of Buenos Ayres might wish to submit to Spain for bringing about an amicable arrangement to this Effect.

Upon this, M. Rivadavia stated to me that he would frankly declare with respect to any Commercial advantages which Spain might expect, that this Government would be willing to place Her on the footing upon which all other Nations here stood:—viz. upon an Equality with the Inhabitants of the Country. Both Natives and Foreigners were here upon the same footing, and Spain could hardly except exclusive Privileges from the enjoyment of which the Natives themselves were debarred:—indeed no Minister in this Country could propose, much less grant any such Concession.

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Returning to the overtures made by the Spanish Commissioners last year, He said the substance of them was at first simply this, that for ten years an exclusive Right to trade in all the Commodities of Her own Production was to be granted to Spain, other Nations being prohibited from bringing into Buenos Ayres any articles produced by that Country,—a Proposition, said Mr. Rivadavia, very little short of a return to that ancient Colonial System which had so long been the Curse of South America; and these, he repeated, were the ideas of the Liberal Party in Spain. Bitterly did he lament, he said, the Continuance of a State of War so destructive of all Order and Happiness in these Countries, and so totally useless to the Cause of Spain Herself, and anxious indeed was he to see its Termination. Buenos Ayres had nothing to fear from any hostile attacks which Spain could make upon it, but its Inhabitants were not the less anxious for Peace: they required at length to be freed from that constant state of alarm and agitation in which they had been kept for the last 15 years;—No People in South America perhaps were more prepared for the Blessings of Peace, for none perhaps in the New World have made such Progress towards general improvement in all those Social Institutions which only require Peace, and a Continuance of Good Government to be brought to Maturity

Having so far explained himself as to the feelings of this Government with respect to Spain, Mr. Rivadavia stated that He would endeavour to furnish me with all the information in his power as to the present State of this Government and its Affairs, and in submitting that information to the Consideration and Wisdom of H. M. Councils, He was prepared to await the moment when they should declare this Country to be in a fit state to receive a formal Recognition of its Independence.

I have, etc.

WOODBINE PARISH."

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About a week later Parish called a meeting of the British residents in Buenos Ayres, and made them a long statement with regard to his appointment as Consul-General, explaining the recognition of the new State by the British Government, and announcing at the same time certain alterations and improvements in the communications and postage between their country and Great Britain. The English residents subsequently sent a letter\* to Canning to assure him of their gratitude, and great satisfaction at Parish's appointment was expressed in the local newspapers. On May 26 a great banquet was given to celebrate the anniversary of the revolution, and to entertain Mr. Cæsar A. Rodney and Mr. Parish, the diplomatic and consular representatives respectively of the United States and Great Britain.

The American Minister, in wonderful phraseology, proposed the toast of "the State of Buenos Ayres," and the British Consul-General returned thanks for the toast drunk to King George IV. Parish, in a letter written very shortly afterwards, says that never in London or Paris had he seen a more brilliant entertainment or a better-got-up dinner. Rodney spoke in English, but Parish won the hearts of all the audience by making his speech in Spanish, in spite of his having so lately acquired the language.†

Thanks to the Consul-General's efforts a regular packet was now established between Great Britain and Buenos Ayres, and though formidable difficulties were

\* This letter was signed on behalf of the British residents by R. Montgomery, Wm. Parish Robertson, W. McCracken, Thos. Duguid, Peter Sheridan, Jas. Brittain, and John Watson.

† Rodney died suddenly within a few days of the dinner.

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experienced in landing,\* owing to the absence of a proper harbour in the River Plate, Parish was full of hope that no time would be lost in remedying this serious drawback to the trade of the country with other nations.

About this time Spain proposed a "projet" for a Commercial Treaty containing provisions for the preferential treatment of the mother country. Under the circumstances, and especially since the advent of Rodney and Parish, it was impossible for the Buenos Ayres Government to accept these conditions. Rivadavia accordingly wrote on August 7 to acquaint the Spanish Government that it was, on this occasion, out of his power to gratify his wish of proving to H.C.M.'s Commissioners the spirit of harmony and brotherhood towards the Spanish nation which pervaded the Government and nation of the State of Buenos Ayres, inasmuch as all the articles composing the "projet" were diametrically opposed to the laws which had fixed at Buenos Ayres the system of finance, and had commenced her prosperity. These laws—as he went on to explain—tended, firstly, to uphold liberty and equality in all commercial transactions between the inhabitants and the foreign merchants—without distinction of origin, and to the exclusion of prohibition and privilege—and, secondly, to diminish the customs duties in the hope eventually of abolishing them, and establishing perfect liberty of commerce and industry. Rivadavia therefore considered that the interests of both nations would be best served by abandoning the "projet" then laid before them, in the hopes, before long, of concluding a definitive Treaty which should be of equal benefit to both countries.

\* See Illustration, p. 276.

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An appeal was made to Parish about this time to obtain the good offices of England as mediator between Spain and her ex-Colonies. Canning was anxious to do all he could to assist them, even so far as to counsel the Provinces to give Spain "a reasonable degree of commercial advantage over other nations," as the price of an understanding. But he was very sceptical as to the results of mediation, fearing that Spain was still too optimistic about the possibility of reconquering her former dominions. However, he lost no opportunity of impressing on Spain the desirability of acknowledging the Independence of the South American Colonies, and warned her, by England's example in 1773, "to learn the inexpediency of delaying recognition till all the grace of granting it, and all the advantages by which that concession may be compensated, are lost."\*

In April, 1824, General Alveas † was appointed Ambassador to the United States by the Government of Buenos Ayres. He was to reach his post by way of England, and Parish advised Canning to see him and consult with him as to the proper person to be Consul-General for Buenos Ayres in London.

Parish was anxious that his Government should be guided by Alveas' advice, and not by that of General San Martin, who was at that time in England, and was

\* See Temperley's "Canning," p. 158.

† Alveas had previously been in communication with the English Government over some family business. At the beginning of the late war his father's ship, the *Mercédès*, had been seized by the English off Cadiz, and blown up with all on board, including the mother of General Alveas and her eight other children. The future General and his father were on board another frigate at the time, and the incident had led to what were apparently quite friendly communications between them and the English Government.



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suspected of intrigue against the Government of Buenos Ayres. Rivadavia came himself to see Parish on the subject of San Martin's visit to England. Knowing how great a reputation the General had acquired by his exertions in the cause of South American Independence, Parish was the more anxious that the English Government should not be guided by his advice. Rivadavia very naturally feared that this reputation would obtain for him a degree of attention which might seriously embarrass the Buenos Ayres Government. Rivadavia readily admitted the invaluable military assistance San Martin had given while in command of the army which had crossed the Andes in 1818. He it was who had expelled the Royalists from Chili, and had marched, three years later, into Peru, hoisting the patriot colours in Lima. Although until his arrival there General San Martin had uniformly professed the greatest personal disinterestedness, and had upon all occasions declared his intention, whenever he should have completed the great service upon which he was engaged, to return to private life ; still, when his forces had obtained possession of Lima,\* he did not hesitate to place himself at once at the head of the newly constituted Government with the title of Protector of Peru. Here he had hoped to remain for life, but his arbitrary conduct raised so strong a feeling against him—not only among the Peruvians, but among his own officers—that he had to resign the Protectorship and quit the country without delay. He stayed for a while in Buenos Ayres, where he had frankly admitted to his old friend Rivadavia his disgust and disappointment at the course of events in Peru and Chili, and his

\* With the help, however, of Lord Cochrane.

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conviction that a monarchical form of Government was the most suitable in those States. Ostensibly for his only daughter's education, but in reality to search for a sovereign, and preferably a prince of the Spanish Royal Family, San Martin was now going to England. Before his departure, however, Rivadavia extracted from him a promise that he would take no steps without consulting the British Government, in whose alliance and good faith Rivadavia then placed entire confidence. Ten years before, Rivadavia himself had favoured the establishment of a monarchy, when he and Belgrano, in 1815, had signed an application to the ex-King Charles to send out his son Don Francisco de Paula as sovereign over the United Provinces of the River Plate. It is remarkable to see how completely Rivadavia's views had changed in these ten years. Soon after Parish's interview with Rivadavia concerning General San Martin, he became possessed of the original pamphlet written to the ex-King Charles IV., which is still among Sir Woodbine Parish's papers at the Public Record Office. It was in the form of a letter :

"Reverente Suplica  
al  
ex-rey Carlos Cuarto Pidiendole a su hijo adoptivo el  
infante don Francisco de Paula,  
Para coronarle  
en las provincias del Rio de la Plate  
Por los vasallos de mismo d. Manuel Velgrano  
Y  
Don Bernardino Rivadavia,"

and was written from London, May 16, 1815. In this pamphlet Rivadavia had stated that the principles laid

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down by the Americans in promoting the establishment of a provisional Government were—

1st. That the people were fit only for a monarchical form of Government.

2nd. That a Spanish prince would be preferred to any other.

3rd. If that were impracticable, they would endeavour to preserve the integrity of the monarchy with an independent administration of the internal affairs of the Provinces of the River Plate. He assured the ex-King that every Government up to that time (1815) had acted upon these principles, although "at times apparently yielding to popular clamour." Finally, he declared that the Provinces were ready to acknowledge Charles IV. in all his rights (but not Ferdinand), and invited him to repair to South America with the Queen, or, if that were impossible, to cede his rights to his son Francisco de Paula, and constitute him independent sovereign of the Provinces of La Plata.

The change in Rivadavia's own views may have contributed to his desire that San Martin should not be listened to by the British Government.

On June 25, 1824, the British Consul-General sent to the Foreign Office his report on the present condition of the United Provinces. The earlier part of this report, dealing with the history of the country, is almost identical with the account which Parish drew up for the use of Lord Londonderry at Verona.\* He went on to describe the hostility of the Buenos Ayreans to any form of monarchical government: witness the failure of the successive schemes to put Princess Carlotta, the

\* See p. 232.

Prince of Lucca, the Duke of Orleans, and the Infant Francisco de Paula—all curiously enough members of the Bourbon family—on the throne. Opinions were hopelessly divided as to the best methods of governing the country; and in 1820 the Provinces were practically reduced to a state of anarchy.

In 1821, however, the new Government, realizing the gravity of the situation, set to work to restore order, beginning with the Province of Buenos Ayres itself. Their efforts were completely successful, and in three years' time this province reached a condition of order and prosperity which a short while before would have been thought impossible. A system of representative government was established with an Assembly elected by general suffrage, and the executive power was placed in the hands of a triennially elected Governor and three Ministers; one for the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, one for War, and one for Finance. These Ministers, though appointed by the Governor, were to be the responsible servants of the country, and were subject to impeachment by members of the Assembly.

The new Government soon obtained for itself the respect and confidence of the people. Laws were passed providing security of property, a General Amnesty was granted to all political exiles, enabling them to return to their country, an Official Gazette was instituted to acquaint the public with the acts of the Government, measures were taken to ensure religious freedom, and great exertions were made to organize a proper system of education throughout the country. In addition to this, a public library was opened, and several scientific societies were already in process of formation. The liberty of the

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Press was assured, and the whole judicial system was reformed.

The Province of Buenos Ayres, having set her own house in order, was now in a far better position than before to claim her right to be the capital city of the Federal Provinces—a right which the other Provinces no longer hesitated to recognize. They were willing to follow her lead, and by the time Parish reported the state of affairs to Canning, the only exceptions were the Province of Upper Peru, in which the Spaniards still maintained an ascendancy, and the Banda Oriental which was occupied by Brazil.

The population was said to have doubled since 1810, when Independence was declared, and there seemed to be only one regret among the people who had so great a cause for rejoicing over the sudden and almost phenomenal improvement in their condition. The cherished grievance was the loss of the Banda Oriental. This province was considered the richest in the whole viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; it not only provided the best pasture and arable land, but the port of Monte Video was the most promising harbour on that part of the coast. Since the Brazilian occupation the country had been laid waste until it “presented a melancholy Picture of Misery and Discontent,” and such was the apathy of the people that they had lost all hope of independence and all spirit of enterprise. Their neighbours in Buenos Ayres were the more determined to rescue them from the tyranny of Brazil, with the result that relations between that Court and the Government of Buenos Ayres were anything but friendly.

With regard to the financial condition of the country,

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Parish assured his Government that the revenue was increasing steadily, and with it the stability of national finance. "Every day," he concluded, "adds to the moral and physical strength of the Government; as education advances so will the State; as foreign commerce increases, so will the prosperity and resources of the country. Nature has done her utmost in climate and situation, and it only remains for civilized man in these regions to make the most of those inestimable blessings which Providence, on the one hand, has bestowed on him, and a paternal Government, on the other, is anxious by all possible means to improve."

In his next letter the Consul-General gave an account of the extraordinary condition of affairs then existing in Paraguay. That State, having declared its independence, had for a time traded with Buenos Ayres; but before long the country was closed to all foreigners, those who happened to be in Paraguay at the time being forbidden to leave it. The Government passed entirely into the hands of Francia, who was made Dictator for life. Nothing whatever was known about the internal condition of the country, but a rumour reached Parish that negotiations and intrigues were on foot between Francia and France. In order to press the claims of England Parish wrote to Francia in the summer of 1824, asking for communications with the neighbouring State to be re-opened, and suggesting that friendly relations should be entered into between Paraguay and England. Before the end of the summer the Consul-General was able to report progress with regard to amicable relations between Buenos Ayres and England. He had already obtained permission for holding the services of the Anglican

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Church in the city for the benefit of British residents ; he now obtained for them immunity from military service, and a more convenient system of customs and quarantine examinations. It was estimated that about three thousand British subjects were then resident in the United Provinces. British interests exceeded those of any other foreign nation ; half the Public Debt and the best part of the valuable property in the place were said to be in their hands.

Temperley points out that the primary reason which was persuading England to grant recognition to Buenos Ayres was a commercial one. Our exports to South America, even in 1823 (the year of Parish's departure for Buenos Ayres), amounted already to £5,600,000—far larger than our trade with the United States at that time, and representing one-eighth of the total exports of Great Britain.\*

The Consul-General, by special request, attended the meeting of the new Parliament on May 3, when the President's message was read. It contained, amongst other statements, the good news of the reception of their first Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, and of their first Consul-General from England.

The meeting of the new Parliament was followed by the reconstruction of the Ministry. Rivadavia—to Parish's great regret—insisted on resigning his office, and Garcia succeeded him as Secretary for the

\* "Even now," writes Temperley, in 1905, "nearly a tenth of our exports (some £25,000,000) go to South America, and as we were the first to give them political independence, so they now give economic recognition to such trade of ours as is repelled by the higher tariffs of the nations of Europe. If Canning, then, was not ultimately a political, he was partially, and to some extent, an economic Columbus."—(Temperley's "Canning," p. 189.)

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Government and Foreign Affairs, and combined both these posts with the duties of Finance Minister. It was difficult to supply Rivadavia's place; but Garcia was held in high esteem by all his colleagues. He induced Rivadavia to stay for a while in the country—postponing his intended visit to Europe—in order that the new Government might have the benefit of his advice.

In June the Buenos Ayres *Argos* published *in extenso* the correspondence between Great Britain and the Prince de Polignac, which Canning had recently laid before Parliament. These papers were of great interest to South America, containing, as they did, the reasons given by England for not taking part in the Paris conference respecting the relations of Spain with her former Colonies.

The correspondence had taken place almost a year before; but Canning's final letter to Sir William a'Court put his policy of non-intervention clearly before the Spanish Government, and left no doubt in the minds of Buenos Ayreans that they could safely count on the friendship of England.\*

About this time Parish reported the intention of Rivadavia to visit England, and suggested that the British Government could have no better informant as to the condition of affairs in the new State. Though his visit was ostensibly of a private nature, the Buenos Ayres Government empowered him to treat with England as to the establishment of more permanent relations between the two countries; for which business, Parish added, no one could be better fitted.

In October the Consul-General had a lengthy

\* Foreign Office Correspondence, Argentine, vol. iii.



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conversation with Garcia respecting the occupation by Brazil of the Banda Oriental, including the port of Monte Video. The question was assuming a very serious aspect, and though the new State was most unwilling to embark on a war with Brazil, some settlement of the difficulty was essential. Garcia expressed his hopes that England might be persuaded to act as mediator in the business, and requested Parish to ascertain the views of the British Government on the subject.

Meanwhile Canning, satisfied with Parish's assurances of the general well-being of the country and stability of the Government, wrote, on August 23, 1824, authorising him to treat with the Buenos Ayres Government for the negotiation of a treaty "placing on a permanent footing the commercial intercourse which has so long existed between His Majesty's subjects and those States."

On the receipt of this letter with the "projet" of the Treaty, Parish communicated its contents to Garcia, with whom he had a most satisfactory interview. The news was made public at the dinner given by the Scottish residents in Buenos Ayres on St. Andrew's Day (November 30). The announcement provoked the wildest enthusiasm, especially among the Spaniards who were present, and the British Consul-General became the hero of the evening. Parish thought that Canning might be surprised at his having announced at the St. Andrew's dinner the prospect of the establishment on a permanent footing of the British Government's relations with the Provinces. He therefore wrote to Planta explaining his action. The fact of the matter was that the Buenos Ayres Government, with their usual inability to keep a secret, had allowed the news

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of Parish's instructions to negotiate with the Government for a commercial treaty, to appear in the newspapers. The reports, some of which were most incorrect, had gained credit, and all the Spaniards were discussing them. When therefore the toasts and speeches of the Buenos Ayreans at the dinner showed that they were fully aware of the situation, Parish thought it a good opportunity for acquainting both them and his countrymen who were present with the real facts of the case.

"My declaration," he writes to Planta,<sup>†</sup> "was of course in very general terms, and I cannot but since think that it has been of use not only to our own interests here, but in facilitating the movements of the Buenos Ayreans themselves. . . . We were a very numerous party, I believe upwards of 70, and I must say I never saw such a scene in my life as took place after what I told them (of my full powers to treat with the Government)—they appeared all mad, and I expected that the tables and chairs would have followed all the Bottles and the Glasses out of the windows, in true Spanish style. Some of the Buenos Ayreans who were desirous to drink Mr. Canning's health threw away their glasses and insisted upon having bottles of wine instead of glasses to drink it in, and yet they were sober!—I daresay you will think I was not so myself.

Ever yours,  
W. PARISH."

"On the occasions of Public Dinners and Entertainments," wrote Parish to Planta in 1825, "the people are perfectly mad. There is an entertainment preparing in celebration of our Treaty towards which the first subscriber has put down £400, and 10 more have

\* Woodbine Parish to J. Planta, junr., December 22, 1825.

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subscribed £200 each, or 1000 dollars. A shopkeeper thinks nothing of laying out 200 or 300 dollars in fireworks. The value of money here is a matter quite unknown. There is not a beggar to be found in the Province of Buenos Ayres, and the people appear daily to increase in private as well as Public Prosperity and Happiness."

There was to be a further delay before the Treaty was signed. Buenos Ayres, as we have seen, had been acting independently of the other States for the last few years, in order to obtain a satisfactory settlement of her internal affairs. In matters of international importance—as for instance the Treaty with Spain for the temporary cessation of hostilities—the other Provinces specially empowered Buenos Ayres to represent them, and to undertake the transactions in the name of all the Provinces. The moment had now come when formal federation was necessary, and Parish thought it advisable to keep back his Treaty until the Congress, assembled for the purpose, should have determined the principles on which National Union must be based.

## CHAPTER IX

### WAR BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

Danger of war with Brazil—Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed by the United Provinces and Great Britain—The Banda Oriental question—Parish obtains the release of Francia's prisoners—Declaration of war—Brazilian fleet blockades the River Plate—Lord Ponsonby appointed British Minister at Buenos Ayres—He goes to Rio—Complications in Brazil—Lord Ponsonby arrives at Buenos Ayres, 1826.

THE year 1825 opened with great rejoicings in Buenos Ayres. News had arrived of a decisive battle at Guamanquilla, in Peru, where the Spanish army was finally routed, and, as Parish wrote home, "the army which had threatened the re-conquest of America no longer exists."

The victory over the Spaniards was the all-absorbing topic for some time to come, and Parish sent the Foreign Office an account of the battle written by General Millar. The Spanish army of 8500 men was infinitely better clothed and fed than the army of the Independents, but the victory of these last was complete, and the General says "it was without doubt the most important and most military action ever fought in South America; had the Spaniards gained it, the struggle for Independence in Peru would have been protracted for years to come, and even Chili and Colombia would have trembled for their safety."

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After the capitulation of the troops all the Spanish ships left the Pacific.

The victory in Peru seemed to stir up popular feeling with regard to the Banda Oriental, and during the rejoicings the windows of the Brazilian Minister in Buenos Ayres were broken by the populace. Though the Government tendered their apologies, there was no concealing the anti-Brazilian feeling in the town. The Government realized the urgent necessity of a settlement, and the importance of securing the ports of Monte Video and Maldonado, situated in the Banda Oriental, and thus obtaining complete control of the river. To Brazil the possession of the province could be of little importance, considering the vast extent of territory in the Empire ; whereas it appeared at that time that its possession was indispensable to the welfare of the United Provinces.

Garcia talked to Parish more than once about the possibility of British mediation, and in his despatch of February 10, 1825, the latter draws Canning's attention to the question, saying that "the result of British mediation, if successful, would be productive of the happiest results, and perhaps avert the calamities of a future rupture." Should war break out, he assured Canning that the Buenos Ayreans could easily take possession of the Banda Oriental, and were sufficiently possessed of military strength to maintain their hold of the Province ; the naval supremacy of Brazil, however, offered a serious problem not only to Buenos Ayrean but to British interests. Parish pointed out that a blockade of the River Plate by Brazilian ships could be effected with great ease, and would prove a very serious hindrance to

British trade ; moreover, the Brazilian ships were largely manned by British sailors, an element which would undoubtedly make the blockade more dangerous and more successful.

In spite of the difficulties caused by intrigues on the part of the United States to obtain "most favoured nation" terms with Buenos Ayres, and to prove that a treaty of commerce was no recognition, and that consequently the United States were, and remained, the only true friends of the United Provinces, Parish was finally victorious, and on February 2 the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed.\* The Governor received the British Consul-General at a public audience, and after the ratifications had been exchanged Parish made a speech, in which he said "that this event placed the new State amongst the recognised nations of the civilised world," and complimented the Governor by ascribing this recognition to his exertions and to his adoption of a Liberal policy. Parish went on to say that before Great Britain could enter into relations of this nature with any of the new States of America, it was necessary to ascertain that the existing condition of such country was stable enough not only to ensure a prospect of its own tranquillity for the moment, but firm and sufficient guarantees for the future. It was because Parish had advised Canning that the future tranquillity of the country was assured, that His Majesty's Government had adopted the measure and were prepared to establish the Treaty between the two nations. When the Treaty was signed, Parish wrote to Planta to tell him of all the difficulties he had experienced in getting it through.

\* See Appendix III.

## WAR BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

Buenos Ayres,  
February 18, 1825.

My DEAR PLANTA,

I now sit down to write you a few lines after closing my public despatches which will show you the result of my work since the departure of the last packet. Of the details of that work it is quite impossible for me to explain to you the trouble and difficulties I have had to get through them. Garcia behaved very well, and though rather obstinate on some points and very ignorant on others, we settled and signed our Treaty without very much difficulty. It was immediately sent down to Congress for their approval of the Ratification, and although I had anticipated some inconvenience from this unusual mode of proceeding, I had little idea of the extent of it. It being the first Treaty made with any foreign Power, everybody's attention and curiosity were upon it. At first it was proposed to discuss it in open Congress that the *People* might have an opportunity of hearing all about it, and the Deputies a fine field for the display of their knowledge of the Law of Nations, etc. The principle however of any such Public Discussions previous to ratification I considered so very objectionable and so at variance with the general practice even in the U. States, that I prevailed upon Garcia to exert himself to persuade his friends in Congress to adopt a more decent and proper course : accordingly the principle has been established that Treaties are to be discussed *privately*, and in Committee, when under consideration for ratification.

Then many of the Deputies were under the impression that they were at liberty to *alter* the Treaty, when once submitted to them, in any way they pleased, and two or three had actually drawn up their own ideas of various very proper articles to be substituted. With these gentlemen I was obliged to enter into all sorts of explanations in order to point out to them the difference

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between the matter before them and the usual business of passing Laws or local Regulations in Congress.

Others again hunted out in their Public Library our ancient Navigation Laws, d'Alembert and Diderot, and bothered their own brain and mine with the most absurd and antiquated notions of which they understood nothing at all. In fact it required the greatest temper, patience and perseverance to get them into a right course and then to keep them there. Garcia fought the battle every day in Congress, and I was obliged to cram him with Acts of Parliament, etc., every night. At length the matter ended just as we knew it would, with the ratification in proper form being generally agreed to, the Deputies having disburthened themselves of all their learning, and had, what they so anxiously desired, an opportunity not likely to occur very soon again of discussing a very important question, with a degree of deliberation and minute investigation that they confidently believe will gain them infinite credit, and enhance their character for Wisdom and Prudence throughout the World. And yet in spite of all this, I have no fault but ignorance alone to blame them for, an ignorance in forms and matters to which, as yet, they have been quite unaccustomed.

Ever y<sup>rs</sup>

W. P.

Later in the year he wrote again to Planta lamenting the cost of living in Buenos Ayres :

“I would willingly,” he says,\* “exchange £3,000 a year in Buenos Ayres for £1,500 in England. The rent of the only vacant house suitable for us is over £500 a year, and it will be necessary to spend another £500 on it before it becomes habitable for an Englishman. The most ordinary servant, who will not do half

\* W.P. to J. Planta, junr., November 1, 1825.



## WAR BETWEEN BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

the work of an Englishman, is paid £36 a year. My seven servants (including two stablemen) cost me £340 in wages alone. The keep of horses is 25 per cent. more than in England, though their original cost is very low—from £5 to £10 each will buy very good ones.

Beef and mutton are the only cheap articles. Bread is very dear, and so is water, by the time it is brought from the river, owing to the price of labour. A common labourer is paid a dollar a day; mechanics two, and often much more. In fact here it is proverbial that a dollar in Buenos Ayres is equal to a shilling in England. Parties are given on a most extravagant scale. Rank among these people is not understood, for they have never seen it amongst them; but the means of giving balls and dinners are duly appreciated, and a man's weight here, I assure you, very much depends upon his capabilities on such points."

A party of 200 emigrants arrived in June, 1825, and two more shiploads were to follow. No arrangements whatever appear to have been made by Mr. Barber Beaumont, who sent them out; but an excellent Government Commission, which existed for the purpose of dealing with immigration, undertook to look after them. Parish did all he could for the immigrants, in conformity with his instructions from Canning, and reported to the Foreign Office that "they were well received, and were visited by upwards of 1000 Persons the day of their arrival from curiosity and kindness for the poor Scotchmen whom the natives are quite shocked to see so barely clothed; they seem very happy and quite contented—of all countries this perhaps is the best they could come to."

The Treaty safely concluded and sent to England by Griffiths, the Vice-Consul, Parish turned his attention to the extraordinary state of affairs in Paraguay. He was

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

determined to obtain the liberty of the English subjects detained by Francia in that country, though he was constantly told that his efforts had no hope of success. The Buenos Ayres Government had attempted to open communication with Francia, and had sent a Commissioner to Paraguay in 1824 with this object. He was stopped at the frontier, and was informed that the Governor refused to see him or to reply to any letters that might be sent to him ; and when, a few months later, a Government messenger was sent to Paraguay, Francia caused him to be seized and put to death.

But Parish not only induced Francia to answer letters, but extracted from him a promise that the British subjects, who had been forcibly detained by him for periods varying from four to fourteen years, should be released ; further pressure made the Dictator hold out hopes of opening the Parana river and the port of Assumpcion to foreign nations for trading purposes.

By the beginning of April, 1825, Parish was able to report to Canning that the last boatload of British subjects was daily expected to arrive from Paraguay, thus completing the liberation of these unlucky people. An English doctor, named Parlett, who had long been kept there, unfortunately died just before the vessel sailed which was to have brought him home from captivity. The account given by the liberated prisoners was most singular. The whole population of Paraguay, they said, " is under such terror of Francia as to be reduced to the lowest state of servile subjection ; his power is arbitrary ; he executes in the most summary way those who offend him, deprives them of their property and in fact holds the whole country at his orders under a sort of

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infatuation, which it is impossible to describe." The secretary, Señor Villemayor, who signed the note to Parish from the Government of Paraguay, threw himself into the river and was drowned the day after it was despatched.\*

Under the heading of "Nouvelles étrangères" in the *Journal du Commerce* (published in Paris), vendredi, 24 juin, 1825, appeared this paragraph :

"Nous apprenons par des lettres de Buenos Ayres qu'on est uniquement redevable de la délivrance des sujets anglais au Paraguay à l'habileté et à la persévérance de M. Parish, consul anglais à Buenos Ayres ; on dit que c'est la seule personne qui ait été en état d'acquérir de l'influence sur l'esprit de don Gaspard de Francia, dictateur du Paraguay ; il y a même de bonnes raisons à présumer, d'après diverses circonstances qui ont transpiré, qu'il a posé la base de relations de commerce avantageuses avec cet important pays, à présent si peu connu, en raison du système d'après lequel il est gouverné. Il paraît que D. Francia est engagé dans quelques discussions avec le gouvernement de Buenos Ayres au sujet d'un droit de libre passage à l'Océan sur lequel il insiste, quoi que de son côté il tient ses ports fermés et prohibe, d'après son système, tout commerce avec Buenos Ayres . . . Rien n'a autant excité l'étonnement à Buenos Ayres que le succès obtenu par M. Parish dans sa négociation avec D. Francia. Cette circonstance a beaucoup augmenté l'influence dont jouissent les Anglais en général dans ce pays."

By dint of further inquiry Parish found that Bompand, the distinguished naturalist and friend of Humboldt, was one of the victims of Francia's tyranny. For years past the Dictator had kept him in Paraguay, and in the

\* F.O. Corr., W. P. to Canning ; Buenos Ayres, April 8, 1825 (vol. viii.).

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interests both of science and humanity Parish determined, in the absence of any French agent in those parts, to obtain the freedom of this unfortunate man.

Before the news reporting the safe arrival of the Treaty reached Parish from England, the condition of affairs in South America had seriously changed for the worse. The unity of the Rio de la Plata Provinces had appeared to be almost an accomplished fact, with the exception of the Province of Cordoba, which still held back from formal federation, and of the Provinces of Upper Peru, whose geographical situation rendered it advisable that they should be omitted from the Union. At this point a final effort was made to recover the Banda Oriental by a force composed of former subjects of that Province now resident in Buenos Ayres, who crossed the frontier in the hopes of rescuing the Province from the Brazilians. On June 10 Parish reports to the Foreign Office what news he has of the progress of this expedition.

To Rt. Hon. George Canning.

Buenos Ayres,  
June 10, 1825.

SIR,

The Individuals who went over to the Banda Oriental from this place as detailed in my despatch No. 31 of the 1st ult. have been joined by a numerous party in that Province, a considerable district of which may be said now to be in a state of Insurrection against the Brazilian Authorities. Lavalleja their leader has been joined by the Commander of a Regiment in the Emperor's service, Col. Frutos Ribero, a native of the Banda Oriental, with the greater part of the troops under his orders :—With these, and such additions to his

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numbers as he has been able to collect together since his landing (as I hear 5 or 600 men) he has over-run the whole country lying between the River Negro and the Coast, occupying the small towns and villages, and has actually hoisted the Independent Flag in sight of the walls of Mte. Video.

All this has been done without bloodshed. The Brazilian troops secure in Mte. Video, as yet have only been spectators of what is passing: this is supposed to be owing partly to their want of cavalry, and partly perhaps to the policy of the Brazilian Commanders who may hope that so ill-organized an expedition will fail and break up of itself for want of adequate resources and support; and if the reports which reach us of the dissensions which have already broken out between Lavelleja and his brother officers be true, such an expectation would not be without some foundation.

I must say, however, that we are very imperfectly acquainted here with what is really going on, and I trust Mr. Hood will be able to give you correct information, for the accounts circulated by the friends of Lavelleja in Buenos Ayres are very exaggerated, and, I am well assured, by no means to be depended upon.

Yours, etc.

W. P.

The same day, June 10, 1825, he wrote to Planta, urging the British Government to intervene in the Banda Oriental question.

“An intervention on our part would, I am persuaded, save a world of calamity, which must be the consequence of a war, not only to this country but to Brazil. Of the two nations Brazil would in my opinion *ultimately* suffer most, for I should expect it would become very shortly a war of principles, and in the contest between liberal and arbitrary notions, in the present state of America,

Dom Pedro's authority would go to the wall:—already the greater part of his subjects are prepared to throw off the yoke and I verily believe a war in the south would at once set free the Northern Provinces. *Here*, the effects of the war would most be felt by Neutral Traders, that is supposing us to allow the River to be blockaded by Lord Cochrane or such persons in the Brazilian service!

After seeing this letter, Canning added a note to say “All this is very true,—but there is a judicial blindness on the part of Brazil which, I fear, will hurry that monarchy to destruction.”

War between Buenos Ayres and Brazil now seemed inevitable, and though Buenos Ayres was most desirous, for commercial and other reasons, to keep the peace, the Emperor seemed equally anxious to provoke war. This was likely to prove as disastrous to the new State as it would to England. Meanwhile English immigration was largely on the increase—no news of the critical state of affairs having yet reached England—and miners, agriculturists, builders, and speculators were arriving by every packet, “more,” as Parish wrote to his Father, “to the benefit of this country than to themselves.”

All through the summer matters remained in a critical condition, but still war was averted. The Emperor of Brazil demanded an explanation of the help given by Buenos Ayres to the revolt of his subjects in the Banda Oriental. Buenos Ayres repudiated the accusation, but the Banda Oriental asserted their independence and their wish to be incorporated in the United Provinces. In October, having gained a substantial victory over the Brazilians, the Banda Oriental repeated their request,

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which was received with enthusiasm by the people of Buenos Ayres, who determined to include them in the Union, and to receive their Deputies in the National Congress. The Government were in a most embarrassing situation; while they were making a final effort to preserve peace the country clamoured for war, and the citizens finally brought matters to a crisis by publicly insulting the Brazilian consul, who immediately asked for his passports and returned to Monte Video.

In November the Foreign Minister at Buenos Ayres wrote the following letter to the Foreign Minister at Rio, and the triumph of the war party seemed complete :

[*Translation.*]

“ DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

“ Buenos Ayres, November 4, 1825.

“ The Undersigned Minister, Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the United Provinces of the River Plate, especially authorized for that purpose by his Government, has the honour to address His Excellency the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Empire of Brazils, and to acquaint him that, the inhabitants of the Oriental Province having regained through their own exertions the Liberty of their Territory, formerly occupied by H.I.M.'s Forces, and a regular Government being established for the interior Administration of this Province, the said Inhabitants have solemnly declared as null and void all the Acts, whereby it was pretended to unite that Country to the Empire of Brazils, proclaiming at the same time that, “ The constant, decided and general Suffrage of its Inhabitants was to be united to the other Provinces of the River Plate, to which the said Oriental Province had

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ever belonged, by the most sacred ties known in the world." The General Congress of the United Provinces, to which this Declaration was addressed, could not refuse without a breach of Justice, to use their own right, which never was brought in question, nor could it without dishonour and imprudence leave an armed, brave and irritated Population, capable of the most daring attempts in defence of their rights, abandoned to its destinies. It is in consequence of these premises that the Congress at the Sitting on the 25th of October ulto. decreed as follows:—"That, in conformity with the unanimous Suffrage of the Provinces of this State, as well as with the wish which had been again decidedly expressed by the Oriental Provinces through the lawful organ of its Representative, in the Law of the 25th of August of the present year, the Congress, in the name of its Constituents, declares the said Province to be *de facto* re-united to the Republic of the United Provinces of the River Plate, to which it belongs by right, and by the suffrage of its Inhabitants.

In consequence of this Declaration the General Government is bound to provide for the defence and safety of the Oriental Province, and the Government will discharge its duties by every means in its Power. These means will be employed to hasten the evacuation of the only two points which are still garrisoned by the troops of H.I.M.

The Undersigned is *also authorised* to declare at the same time, that, in the new position in which the Government of the United Provinces is placed, it still preserves that sense of justice and moderation which regulated its policy, and which gave rise to their hitherto unsuccessful attempts towards settling by amicable negotiation the restoration of the Oriental Provinces, and of which this Government will give fresh proofs, as far as its own dignity will allow. That, in every case it will only attack, in its own defence, and in order to



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obtain the restoration of the places still occupied, confirming its pretensions to the preservation of the integrity of the Territory of the United Provinces, and to guarantee in a solemn manner, for the future, the inviolability of its limits against either force or seduction.

Under these circumstances, and after having acquainted H.E. the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Empire of Brazil, with the wishes and views of the Government of the United Provinces of the River Plate, it remains to be stated that it will only depend on the will of H.I.M. to establish that Peace so much to be desired for the interests of neighbouring States, and even of the whole of this Continent.

“The Undersigned salutes H.E. the Minister of Estate for Foreign Affairs of H.M. the Emperor of Brazils, with the assurances of his highest consideration

(Signed) MANUEL JOSÉ GARCIA.

To H.E. Luis José Carvalho e Melo, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Empire of Brazils.”

While all these threatenings of war were causing great anxiety to the Buenos Ayres Government, they were the more delighted to receive the good news from England of the satisfaction given by the Treaty, and of the appointment of Parish as Chargé d’Affaires pending the arrival of a Minister. Parish had been most anxious for news from England as to the reception of his Treaty by the Foreign Office, and when, on July 23, Griffiths returned to Buenos Ayres announcing the King’s entire approbation, the thorough approval of Canning, and the appointment of Parish as Chargé d’Affaires, he was much relieved to find that his efforts to bring about friendly

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relations between the two countries had been so far successful.\*

His satisfaction was shared by the Buenos Ayres Government, who lost no time in appointing Don Manuel Sarratea as Chargé d'Affaires in London, and in showing appreciation of Parish's services by a very handsome gift of plate to commemorate the successful termination of the negotiations.†

This was the first of a series of occasions on which

\* Canning's note on the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty with Buenos Ayres was—

“Parish has done his work exceedingly well and deserves richly the appointment of Chargé d'Affaires which he shall have.”

On August 6 he was presented to the Governor by Garcia as Chargé d'Affaires.

† [*Translation.*]

“Buenos Ayres, August 6, 1825.

“The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has the honour to acquaint Mr. Woodbine Parish that his Government, having received from his Britannic Majesty His Majesty's Ratification of the Treaty concluded and signed in this city on the 2nd of February last, has experienced the highest satisfaction at seeing the commercial and friendly relations between the two countries established and defined upon the liberal basis of the Reciprocal Interests; and that, in consequence, they shall always esteem as of the highest value the services which Mr. Parish has rendered to this country, in the promotion and conclusion of the said Treaty. They have in consequence resolved that a present shall be made to Mr. Parish, thro' the undersigned, of a piece of plate of the value of six thousand dollars, with the most cordial expression to him of the sincerity of their friendly sentiments towards him.

The undersigned, in complying with the orders of his Government, is anxious that the present in question should be selected by Mr. Parish himself; and in order that he may best fulfil his own duty and the wishes of his Government, he begs to acquaint Mr. Parish that he has sent to England a particular order for its execution and being sent out with the least possible delay.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to offer to Mr. Parish the Protestations of his sincere friendship and attachment.

MAN. JOSÉ GARCIA.”

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the Government of the United Provinces testified to Parish their warm gratitude for the way in which he devoted himself to promote the welfare of their country.

Their relations with the United States were not yet so firmly established. Colonel Forbes had been appointed as Rodney's successor, and without a "most-favoured-nation" clause his Government did not see their way to signing a Commercial Treaty with the United Provinces.

On November 7 Parish reported the state of affairs to Canning :

Buenos Ayres, November 7, 1825.

To the Rt. Hon. George Canning.

SIR,

The triumph obtained by the War Party against the Government, and the very embarrassing situation in which they are placed by the Congress advocating the popular cause, has determined the Government of B.A. once more to endeavour to free themselves from the Responsibility of the National Executive. The arrival of M. de Riva<sup>a</sup> will probably tend much to accelerate their views, which are at present directed to the immediate formation of the permanent national government at the head of which I have little doubt it has been long contemplated by all parties to place that Individual.

M. Garcia has frankly told me that nothing but the very critical situation of the Country would have induced the Government to continue in their present charge a day after having been deprived of the support of the Congress. That consideration, however, has determined them to remain as they are for a short time longer, and until an arrangement can be made compatible with the Interests and present situation of the

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Country, and towards this the Congress will be ready to co-operate.

I think it probable that by the next packet this question will be finally settled.

In the meantime it has been determined to raise a National Loan of nine or ten Million of Dollars for the general expenses of the country. The National Army will be shortly completed, and I am told that the Government have at last made up their minds as to the necessity of a permanent Naval force, for the protection of the Commercial Intercourse with the River, proportionate to the wants and means of the Country.

I have, etc.,

W. P.

And again, on December 15, he writes :

. . . . There seems to be a general idea that the National Government may be named by the month of February next, and that M. de Rivadavia will certainly be placed at the head of it.

Senor Alveas will probably be made either the War Minister or Commander-in-Chief of the Army assembling under General Rodriguez, if hostilities should be inevitable with Brazil.

I have, etc.,

W. P.

On October 16 the Provinces of Upper Peru were declared an Independent nation under the name of the Republic of Bolivia. Paraguay still continued to close its door, and an offer—made by General Bolivar—to open it up by military force was refused by the Government of Buenos Ayres. Though he had obtained the release of all the English subjects detained by Francia, Parish's efforts for the release of Bompland had so far

\* F. O. Corr., W. P. to Geo. Canning, No. 72, 1825.

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proved unavailing. His letters to the Paraguay Government, after being opened and re-sealed, were always returned without note or comment. Hopes were entertained that fear of Brazil—and especially the fact that the Brazilians had recently taken possession of the neighbouring Province of Chiquitos—might lead Francia to seek for friendly relations with the United Provinces. But for the present Parish had to concentrate his attention on Buenos Ayres.

Previous to the appointment of Sarratea as Chargé d’Affaires, Rivadavia had spent some time in England as the agent of the United Provinces. Unfortunately the British Foreign Office had made some difficulties about the informality of his credentials, and not only had considerable delay occurred in the conduct of the negotiations, but Rivadavia had been much annoyed with what he considered the want of respect with which he had been treated in England. Parish was much distressed at this development of affairs, as he had specially emphasized, in his despatches, the importance of treating Rivadavia with the respect due to his influential position in the United Provinces ; furthermore, Parish had relied on Canning to make the timely mediation between Buenos Ayres and Brazil, which, in his opinion, would have averted the outbreak of hostilities. Much to Parish’s annoyance, his warning of approaching danger and his plea for British intervention were alike disregarded, and when Rivadavia returned, angered by his cool reception, he set to work without delay to frustrate the Consul-General’s efforts to maintain peace.

This was all that was needed to ignite the torch.

On December 18 the Buenos Ayres army received

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orders to cross the river Uruguay, and on January 1, 1826, war was declared between Brazil and the River Plate Provinces, and shortly after the Brazilian fleet appeared in the river in order to blockade the port of Buenos Ayres.\*

Parish begged the Brazilian Admiral, Lobo, who was still at Monte Video, for an extension of time previous to the commencement of the blockade, considering that insufficient notice had been given to enable neutral vessels to leave the harbour. A large contingent of British agricultural colonists was daily expected to arrive, and Parish was most anxious that they should be safely landed before the blockade should begin. Moreover, he himself was expecting some china and carriages from England, and with it his presentation plate, all of which he feared might now be captured by the Brazilian privateers.\*

The Buenos Ayres naval force consisted only of three brigs of war and twelve gunboats. On the morning of January 14, having delayed his arrival in accordance with the requests received not only from Parish but also from the American Chargé d'Affaires and the Prussian Consul, Admiral Lobo appeared in the River Plate with a squadron of three corvettes, three brigs, a schooner, and several gunboats. The little Buenos Ayres flotilla immediately set forth to attack them, and though on that day the withdrawal of the Brazilian ships prevented an engagement from taking

\* On the previous day His Majesty's packet *Hope* had arrived from England in the record time of forty-two days.

† He heard soon after, to his great relief, that his carriage had safely reached Monte Video, and that his plate had never left Garrad's shop in the Haymarket.

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place, the Buenos Ayreans commenced operations a few days later by the successful capture of a large Brazilian gunboat.

This was a great encouragement, and the little naval force was at once increased by the purchase of a large ship, two fine brigs, and two schooners. The command was given to Admiral Brown,\* an Englishman, well known for his former exploits under the Buenos Ayrean flag. His character for courage and activity induced many English, Americans, and other foreigners to join him as volunteers, "all blackguards of the most cut-throat description, and most proper fellows for the present purpose." † They were not sufficient, however, to man the ships, and the Government "pressed" men in all directions, but at once gave up any Englishmen if the Consul-General applied for them at their own request.

On land the Brazilian army, under General Lavalleja, captured a fortress of some consequence on the coast—Santa Teresa by name. Rumours reached Buenos Ayres from their own army that General Rodriguez was anxious to be relieved of the supreme command, and it was hoped that General Las Heras himself,

\* William Brown was born in Ireland in 1777, went to America at the age of 11, and began his naval career as a cabin-boy in a merchant ship. He was pressed into the English navy and served in it for some years. In 1812 he went to live, with his family, at Buenos Ayres, and accepted a naval command in the service of the Republic. It was after this that he commanded a privateer in the Pacific, where he cruised against the Spániards. His ship was visited by an English man-of-war and condemned, but he appealed to the English Government, who restored it to him, and he returned to Buenos Ayres where he lived in retirement until the outbreak of war with Brazil.—(See "Dict. of Natl. Biog.")

† W. P. to his father.

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whose military reputation and personal activity would go far with the army, might be induced to succeed him.

The first naval encounter took place on February 9, and resulted in about equal losses on both sides, a large proportion of the killed and wounded being Englishmen. Admiral Brown was not well backed up by his own people, and, after fighting all day, was forced to retire without either side having gained any advantage.

Political affairs as well as military and naval ones were absorbing the minds of the Government during February. The time had come for defining the principles of the Federal Government, and on February 12 Parish reported the decision of Congress to Canning :

Buenos Ayres,  
February 12, 1826.

To the Rt. Hon. George Canning.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 28 ult. a motion was brought forward in Congress for the Establishment of the permanent Executive Power of this Country.

The matter having been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs to report upon, they brought up a *Projet* of law, which, after public discussion in three Sittings, was adopted in the terms of the accompanying paper.

It sets forth, that the time is arrived for the election of the Presidents : that the appointment shall be made forthwith, and that a majority of one Vote in the Congress shall determine the Election ; that the continuance of the President in office shall be settled by the Constitution about to be promulgated, and that his Salary shall be \$20,000 annually, and further, that he shall be assisted by 5 Ministers to be named for the



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Departments of Government, of Foreign Affairs, of War, of Marine, and of Finance, any two of which Departments, however, may be temporarily united.

In consequence of this Law the Congress assembled on the 9th inst., and declared M. de Rivadavia to be elected President of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, by a Majority of 35 out of 39 votes.

On the following day the new President, after taking the oath prescribed before the Congress, was publicly received at the Fort by General Las Heras, who delivered over to him the charge of the National Government.

By an Invitation from M. de Garcia I was afterward presented to him by H.E.

The extreme formality with which M. de Rivadavia received me was so strikingly different from the frank and cordial manner which had given me so much satisfaction on all former public occasions in this country, that I should have been inclined to consider it as having been purposely intended had I not afterwards learnt that the North American Chargé d'Affaires met with a like stiff reception, and was equally surprised at it. . . .

Yours, etc.,  
W. P.\*

This was the first indication of the change in Rivadavia's conduct. Success and the admiration of his countrymen had been too much for him, and his character suffered in consequence. He was also deprived of Garcia's valuable advice, as the latter had taken so much to heart the attacks made by Congress on his conduct that he had refused to accept office in the new Ministry.

The December packet arrived at the end of February, bringing the news of Lord Ponsonby's† appointment

\* F. O. Corrs., W.P. to Geo. Canning, 1826, No. 11.

Lord Ponsonby's grandfather was the famous Speaker of the House of

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as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the River Plate Provinces. Parish, having been told to impress the Government with the great honour conferred on them by the appointment of a peer of the realm as their first Minister, immediately asked for an interview with the new President, Rivadavia, and communicated to him the important news. The latter expressed himself fully aware of the honour done to his country by "the nomination of an individual of so distinguished a rank," and the interview went off most successfully.

Planta had also sent a private letter to Parish in the December packet about Lord Ponsonby's appointment :

Foreign Office, December 26, '25.

MY DEAR WOODBINE,

You will see that nothing is said to you by this mail as to the closing of your Chargé d'Affaireship, or as to the sincere and real approbation which we feel of your conduct of the King's Affairs while they have been in your hands.

All this will be done either by the next mail or by the vessel which conveys Lord Ponsonby, and which will probably sail from hence the end of January.

While I was pointing this out to Canning he desired me to write to you by this mail—"I hope you write to Parish," he said, "to tell him that Lord Ponsonby's appointment is anything but disapprobation of his conduct. Had it been the policy of this country to have a Minister of inferior rank at Buenos Ayres, Parish

Commons in Ireland, whose intrigues had worked such havoc during Lord Townshend's Administration, and his father was made first Baron Ponsonby. John, second Baron Ponsonby, was made a Viscount in 1839; he had no children, and the peerage became extinct.

Bagot tells a story of the French Revolution, that Ponsonby was being hanged "à la lanterne," but was cut down by the women as he was "un trop joli garçon pour être pendu."—(See "Canning and his Friends.")

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would have remained as that Minister ; but when it was determined to compliment these new States and to raise them in the scale of Nations—by sending them Ministers of the highest rank—it, of course, became necessary to send somebody from hence ; for the rank of Envoy Extra<sup>y</sup> and Minister Plen<sup>y</sup>, the highest step but one in the Diplomattick line—could not be given to Parish.’

This was the *effect* of what Mr. Canning said and he was all kindness. He moreover said that he would assist you as much as he could in money matters, but pray, pray, let this not make you extravagant ! . . .

Yours v. faithfully,

J. PLANTA, JR.

Throughout the early part of the year 1826 Rivadavia’s Government grew daily more unpopular. Though the measure for making the city of Buenos Ayres the official capital had been passed, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, their indignation was widespread when they learnt of the summary dismissal of General Las Heras from the Military Command. The war dragged on slowly and unsatisfactorily to both parties, inasmuch as neither gained any advantage. Though the Buenos Ayres army had passed the Uruguay it remained inactive, and, as Parish wrote to his father, “ Affairs in Banda Oriental, the disputed Province, were in so pretty a mess that it was questionable whether a continuance of the war would not be a lesser evil to Buenos Ayres than the disorder and disaffection that would follow should peace grant sovereign rights over the province to Buenos Ayres ! ”

As the blockade continued the war became more unpopular and confidence in the Government diminished.

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The Province of Cordoba refused to accept the law appointing Rivadavia President, the whole question of Federalism was once more disputed, and Rivadavia's overbearing manner did not conduce to a peaceful settlement. After much debate, the advocates of Unity, as opposed to Federalism, finally won the day, as Parish relates in his despatch of July 20, 1826 :

I have before had occasion to remark that differences upon this subject exist in some of the Provinces where the Advocates for a Federal System have raised a clamour against the Notion of a consolidated Government. It is between these two forms, viz. that of Federation, and that of Unity, that the Congress have found it necessary to come to a declared Resolution before proceeding further with any discussions on the question of a Constitution. The Committee have recommended the form of Consolidation and Unity, rejecting entirely that of Federation, which their luminous Report upon the subject abundantly proves to be altogether inapplicable to these Provinces, under their present circumstances, the paucity of their Population, and the inadequacy of their local Resources both in Men sufficiently enlightened and in Means absolutely necessary to their separate Government and Support.

The public Attention has lately been entirely occupied with the discussions which have taken place in the Congress upon this 'Projet,' which has been finally carried as proposed by the Committee without alteration by a Majority of 44 out of 54 Votes.

The Debates have been interesting, inasmuch as they have tended to throw much light upon the real feelings of the Provinces, the State of miserable subjection in which some of them are held by their local Governors, and the absolute necessity of a vigorous, supreme Direction with sufficient power to give and

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to secure to them the ordinary rights of men in any State of Civilization.

As a proof of the wretched situation in some parts of the interior a Deputy declared—and he was confirmed in it by others—that in the whole of the four provinces of Santa Fé, Corrientes, Misiones and Entre Rios, with a population of upwards of 80,000 Souls, there is but one legal Advocate, and that the Administration of Justice has been long in the hands of two ordinary Alcaldes, who pronounce Sentence even in Criminal Cases without hearing justification or appeal unless to a Priest who has been known to sign condemnations to death. In many others, the State of things is not much better, and in most of them there is little law beyond the arbitrary Will of a petty Military Governor who exercises it without at present as it would appear, any defined liability to a Superior Authority.

It was sufficiently demonstrated that, wherever the generality of the people were at all capable of forming any judgment upon the Subject, they were anxious for the benefits of a better Administration, and for their own release from the Despotisms of their Provincial Governments; whilst on the other hand, the principal advocates for a continuance of the present state of things, which they call a Federation, appear to be the Governors themselves, who in most cases have their own private interests in the preservation of a System under which, often without even the check of a Provincial Junta, they have been permitted to levy taxes upon the inhabitants, and to spend the proceeds upon their own families and dependents *ad libitum*.

The great evil is that many of these Governors have a sort of marauding Military Force at their disposal with which they may attempt under present circumstances to resist a General Government, and thus keep the Country for a longer time in Anarchy and Ignorance—a state of things which will, I fear, render it extremely

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difficult to carry into effect at once any Constitution, however unanimous the Congress may be as to the necessity of its enactment.

I understand that the Basis of a Consolidated Form of Government being now determined upon, the Committee intend to submit to Congress the Old Constitution of 1819, remodelled and adapted to the present circumstances of the Country with such alterations as experience may have shown to be absolutely necessary. I had the honor to enclose a copy of it in my Despatch No. 39 of the 26th August, 1824.

I have, etc.,

W. P.

In the hopes of obtaining a peaceful settlement of the Banda Oriental question, Canning sent Lord Ponsonby to Rio de Janeiro with two distinct propositions :

1. That the cession of Monte Video by Brazil should be negotiated on the basis of the arrangement which was in progress between Spain and Portugal when the military revolution at Cadiz broke out : viz. that of a pecuniary compensation to be paid by Buenos Ayres to Brazil for the expenses incurred by that power in the occupation of Monte Video.

or

2. That the Town and Territory of Monte Video should become and remain independent of either country in a position somewhat similar to that of the Hanseatic Towns in Europe.\*

Lord Ponsonby was, however, entirely unsuccessful in his negotiations, though he made his first proposals

\* F.O. Corr., vol. xii., February 28, 1826.

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to the Foreign Minister at Rio on May 26, and continued his attempts at negotiations until he left for Buenos Ayres three months later. The Emperor absolutely declined either to relinquish his possession of the Province to Buenos Ayres—in return for an indemnity—or to establish it as an independent country.

It seemed hopeless for England to suggest the former of these alternatives, since the Brazilians not only refused to give up the Province, but the Buenos Ayreans declined to discuss any possibility of compensation. As to the second alternative—the formation of a separate State in the Banda Oriental, which should be alike independent of Buenos Ayres and Brazil—Parish undertook to consult one of the Ministers at Buenos Ayres. After consultation with the President a definite and final answer was made “that the Government would never hear of the alienation, however qualified, of the disputed territory from the Sovereignty of the United Provinces. Distressed as they were, and wanting almost all the necessary resources and means, they were fully resolved to carry on the war, and to make every possible exertion for the maintenance of what they considered to be their just rights; if the Emperor should decline Peace on the basis they had proposed, they must now do what nothing but necessity would drive them to—formally call upon the other States of South America, in alliance with them, for their assistance, which would in all probability lead to a war of principles against Brazil, the end and fatal consequence of which it was impossible to foresee.” In these circumstances there seemed little chance that Ponsonby’s mediation could prove successful.

Before Ponsonby had left England Canning wrote to Parish : \*

“ I cannot allow Lord Ponsonby to depart for his post without expressing to you the satisfaction which I feel in having to signify to you H.M.’s gracious approbation of your whole conduct, during the time you have been in charge of H.M.’s affairs at Buenos Ayres.”

This was accompanied by an official intimation of Parish’s appointment as Secretary of Legation (in addition to the post of Consul-General which he already held), until a permanent appointment should be made.

Lord Ponsonby made no progress at Rio with the peace negotiations, and only succeeded in endangering the friendly relations between Brazil and England by his action on the question of the Portuguese succession. The death of the King of Portugal, which had occurred just before Ponsonby left England, placed Dom Pedro, then Emperor of Brazil, on the throne, and though it was conceivable that his personality could keep the two crowns united, it was neither possible nor advisable for the two countries to remain under one sovereign for long. It was supposed that Dom Pedro would resign the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, and, if possible, bring about her marriage in due time with Don Miguel, the next heir.

Instructions had been given to Ponsonby to encourage this solution of the question—a solution which was equally approved both in Lisbon and in Vienna.†

\* F. O. Corr., vol. xi., March 27, 1826.

† Metternich’s opinion was of importance, as the Empress of Brazil was a daughter of the Emperor of Austria.



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Unfortunately he exceeded his instructions, chiefly by carrying them out too literally when the time had gone by for interference, and a Constitution had been granted to Portugal; his action in trying to delay the granting of the Constitution only provoked annoyance in Brazil, and dissatisfaction at the Foreign Office.

Ponsonby's attempts at peacemaking over the Banda Oriental question were met by statements that the honour of the Emperor was at stake, that England wished to annex the Province to her own dominions, and that Brazil hoped to raise a loan in Europe for the continuance of the war. Ponsonby then tried to alarm the Brazilians by the prospect of a war against all the South American Republics, should Buenos Ayres obtain the help of Bolivia. In this case Bolivar, the "Liberator," would command the united forces, and Brazil would be powerless against the man who was known as "the soul of the Republics of South America."

Though the Council was undoubtedly anxious for peace, the Emperor was obdurate, and his Foreign Minister, Viscount Inhambupé, still declared "that the Banda Orientalists were *rebels* who must be subdued by force to prevent their bad example influencing the other Provinces of the Empire;" that "the Buenos Ayreans were *villains* who must be taught to respect the Emperor, since they had begun the war by exciting a rebellion in the Cisplatine Province and assisting the rebels;" and lastly, "that the River Plate is the natural boundary of Brazil, on one side, just as the River Amazon is on the other."

With so little spirit of compromise at headquarters it is not surprising that Lord Ponsonby should have been

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unsuccessful. Having taken leave of the Emperor he left Rio early in September.

On September 15 Lord Ponsonby, with his family and suite, arrived at Buenos Ayres on H.M.S. *Ranger*; four days later he presented his credentials to the President, and Parish's duties as Chargé d'Affaires were for the moment at an end. The war had put a stop to such social intercourse as had previously existed in the town, and the two representatives of Great Britain were consequently more dependent on each other's society than they might otherwise have been. Though Parish describes his chief as "nearly 60, and having the remains of a very handsome man," his diplomatic career was only beginning, and did not end until he retired in 1850, after being Ambassador in Vienna. Parish wondered at his taking so comparatively unimportant a post as Buenos Ayres when he was closely related to Lord Grey (who had married Lord Ponsonby's sister), and could consequently command much influence at Court. But though Lord Ponsonby told his colleague that an insufficient income was the reason for his accepting the post, it is now known that George IV. had his own reasons for sending him to so remote a country. The King was undoubtedly jealous of the attention Lady Conyngham gave Lord Ponsonby, who in spite of his age was still a very good-looking man, and was possessed of a warm affection for the lovely lady, who, since the accession of George IV., was all-powerful at Court. In a letter to Sir Charles Bagot,\* Canning begged him to explain to Ponsonby, who was then abroad, the necessity for his departure to

\* See "Canning and his Friends," vol. ii., p. 305. Temperley says the suggestion was made by Lord Liverpool.

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Brazil without setting foot in England except to kiss hands with the King. It appears that the King had been ill, but Canning's suggestion that "Ponsonby would do excellently for Buenos Ayres" had sufficed to restore H.M. to health!

Lord Ponsonby was accompanied by his wife, a daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey, who, but for the drawback of being deaf, seems to have been an agreeable and clever woman.

They arrived in the country at a singularly unfortunate moment;—the internal affairs of the Republic were in as bad a plight as their foreign relations, civil strife was universal, and Rivadavia's Government had proved the worst that Buenos Ayres had yet experienced. Ponsonby's impressions were anything but favourable. Soon after his arrival he wrote to Sir Charles Bagot:

"Poor Fanny [his wife] has lost her case containing all her fine gowns, satins, laces, silks, etc. etc. And what is much worse than all her misfortunes, I have lost in the said d—d case my black neck-cloths! Alas the day! so pray buy me five pounds' worth. . . .

No eye ever saw so odious a country as Buenos Ayres is. I will not trust myself to speak of it. I do not recollect having ever before disliked any place so much, but I really sigh when I think I may spend my days here. I have Italy always before my eyes to increase my disgust at this land of mud and putrid carcasses—no horses, no roads, no houses . . . no books, no theatre that can be endured. . . . Nothing good but beef. It is April here, and I have seen ice. . . . Rio I was delighted with. . . .

Yours ever and ever,

P."

## CHAPTER X

### WAR AND PEACE—1826—1828

Rejection by the Provinces of the new Constitution—Anti-English feeling in Buenos Ayres—The Oughan incident—Failure of peace negotiations—Rosas appointed to command the militia—Death of Canning—Ponsonby promoted to Rio—Parish Chargé d’Affaires again—Peace between Brazil and the Argentine—Compensation claims—Admiral Brown retires.

THE President received Lord Ponsonby with “every sign of civility ;” he sent his own horses and carriages to fetch the new British Minister to the Fort—then the official residence of the Governor—and ordered a guard of honour and a salute of cannon to celebrate his visit. A few days later Lord Ponsonby had a long conversation with Rivadavia on the subject of peace, and found him anything but conciliatory. The President hoped England might guarantee the free navigation of the River Plate in case of a settlement, but Ponsonby assured him that England, not being in a position to enforce it, would give no such guarantee. Owing to the continuance of the war, the state of British traders in the Provinces was becoming calamitous ; the blockade had put a stop to trade, and the British capital invested in the country had diminished by considerably more than half. It was perfectly clear that the Orientalists disliked the

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idea of being subject to Buenos Ayres only less than they disliked their dependence on Brazil, and that independence was their sole wish. "If only," wrote Ponsonby in his despatches, "Buenos Ayres would adopt the Independency of the Banda Oriental, *all* the Orientalists would fight for them instead of constantly betraying them, as they do at present." Garcia was the only statesman in favour of this course of action, and his countrymen would not listen to his advice, in spite of the increasing difficulties in the financial situation. The income of the United Provinces amounted to 1,200,000 dollars a year, the expenditure averaged about 600,000 dollars a month, and the excess of expenditure over income was provided for by loans from the bank paper. This paper, in 1826, even in Buenos Ayres itself, was exchanged against bullion at 120 per cent. loss; the Government were constantly having difficulties with the Bank; and the army and navy—to whom arrears of pay were owing—were in a thoroughly unsatisfactory condition. The possibility of calling in the help of Bolivar and his troops to settle the Brazilian question was distasteful to the Government, who fully realized the danger of asking the help of the Liberator "as a friend" lest he might remain as a master. In fact the Northern Provinces had already revolted against the Central Government, and Bolivar was suspected of intriguing with the Province of Cordoba in order to establish his own authority throughout the district. Cordoba's next move was to withdraw formally from the Union, to recall her representatives from Buenos Ayres, and, though still willing to fight for the common cause against Brazil and to maintain Free Trade with the

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other provinces, she made overtures to Bolivar with a view to her inclusion in the republic of Bolivia.

In January, 1827, Upper and Lower Peru signed a Treaty of Federation placing them under Bolivar; Columbia was invited to join them, and Tareja—formerly in the United Provinces of the River Plate—was annexed to Bolivia.

In spite of victories by land and sea, the dissatisfaction with Rivadavia's Government and the jealousy of Buenos Ayres increased daily throughout the year 1826. On December 24 Congress passed and signed the new Constitution, and Commissioners were sent with the drafts to every Province in the hopes of obtaining their consent. Cordoba, as might have been expected, returned the Commissioners to headquarters, saying, with scant courtesy, that the scheme for a National Constitution was no business of theirs.

The next news to reach Buenos Ayres was the rejection of the new Constitution by twelve out of the fourteen Provinces; and rumours followed to the effect that a military force from the Northern Provinces was preparing to march on the capital.

Ponsonby was in despair as to the state of the country and the difficulty of his own position. He was incapable at the best of times of understanding the South American temperament, and of adopting a friendly and helpful attitude towards the Government, as Parish had done in earlier days, and was to do again later with such excellent results. Admiral Brown's two great victories over the Brazilian fleet—on January 5 (when he captured fourteen of their ships) and on February 9, in the engagement off the Island of Martin

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Garcia—and the military victory at Ituzaingo, had led Buenos Ayres to hope for better terms of peace from Brazil.

On March 9, 1827, Ponsonby wrote to Canning\* announcing the decision of the Provinces against the Constitution, and all measures connected with it, including the acknowledgment of Buenos Ayres as the capital; several Provinces had recalled their deputies and renounced all communication with Congress. The Buenos Ayres Government thereupon denounced the provincial chiefs as rebels and anarchists, and accused them of having rejected the Constitution on their own responsibility, without an appeal to the "local Juntas," whose verdict might have differed from that of the chiefs.

The real cause of all the unrest was clearly visible to every man of intelligence. Rivadavia had attempted to claim far more authority for the Central Government than he was capable of enforcing, and his pride and masterful disposition were steadily alienating his former supporters. The vast distances from the seat of Government to the remoter Provinces in which Rivadavia wished to make his power felt; the scarcity of persons to whom delegated authority could be entrusted without a practical certainty that that authority would be exercised against the person who gave it; the faithlessness and venality of all classes employed in the departments of revenue and justice, the total want of any idea of the value of law, and the rooted habits of insubordination amongst the people—these would, as Lord Ponsonby justly observed, have baffled any but a well-established Government possessing an ample reserve of arms, money and

\* F. O. Corr., vol. xvi. No. 16.

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political science. These three requisites were not likely to be available for many years to come.

A crisis was imminent, but each party wished to postpone it; the Government struggled on from day to day. At one moment rumours reached Buenos Ayres that Bolivar was intriguing in the northern and most in-subordinate Provinces against the Central Government, and the downfall of Rivadavia seemed imminent; news, however, of Admiral Brown's brilliant naval victory on April 10 off Patagones—when he captured four ships of war, and took seven hundred prisoners\*—temporarily restored confidence in the Government. Rivadavia, elated by Brown's success, immediately despatched Garcia to treat for peace at Rio, but the terms offered by Brazil were so unfavourable that the mission proved as unsuccessful as Lord Ponsonby's had been. The blame for his failure was laid not only on Garcia and his followers, but on the English who were accused of supporting the claims of Brazil. In the Chamber, in the streets, and even in the pulpit the English Government, and more especially their representatives in South America, were constantly denounced. Abuse was hurled at them from every quarter, and both Ponsonby and Parish were dismayed at their position in Buenos Ayres. To add to the complications, a lunatic named Dr. Michael Oughan—an Irish doctor whose affairs had given the Consul-General a great deal of trouble soon after his arrival in South America—reappeared at Buenos Ayres. He accused Parish of having taken possession of his house and effects, of having shut him

\* Two hundred of these, who were foreigners, at once offered their services to the Republic.



up as a dangerous person, and of having finally removed him to England without any justification. There was no shadow of doubt as to the man's insanity, either on his first or second visit to South America, and his constant threats to murder Parish and one of the vice-consuls might have led to no serious result had the Oughgan case not become a party question. The editor of a newspaper called the *Cincinnati* took it up, and denounced the English in general and the Consul-General in particular, as the persecutors of Oughgan. At this point Lord Ponsonby was forced to interfere, and he appealed to the Government to proceed against the newspaper and to offer police protection to those persons whose lives were threatened by Oughgan. The President took action without delay, and the editor of the *Cincinnati* was condemned to six years' banishment from the country, though, on appeal, the sentence was reduced to six months' imprisonment.

The situation was most unpleasant for the English Legation, and Parish, writing to Planta in the summer of 1827, said, "I think H.M. Government will, from the late events here, be fully convinced that this is no place for a Minister of Lord Ponsonby's rank, and that it is impossible to secure for him that consideration and respect that the King's Minister ought everywhere to command. How H.M. will like to hear the little courtesy with which his Minister's exertions in fulfilment of H.M.'s gracious mediation have been met by these brutish, uncivilized democrats we have yet to see. I doubt whether any King's Minister was ever placed in a more awkward position."

Lord Ponsonby himself did not mince matters in

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describing his "awkward position" to his correspondents in England. Writing to Canning about La Valleja—then Commander-in-chief in the Banda Oriental—he describes him as "one of the least rascally amongst this profligate race of demi-savages;" and having described the riches and wealth of the Oriental Province, he stigmatizes the inhabitants as "wild and savage, but not more so than here (Buenos Ayres), and, I believe, everywhere else on this continent!" A few months earlier,\* in a letter to Lord Howard de Walden, he had said: "Let nothing induce you to visit this depraved country, it is the vilest place I ever saw, and I certainly should hang myself if I could find a tree tall enough to swing on. The climate is detestable, the thermometer varies sometimes 20 degrees in a day, but there *always* is either mud or dust enough to smother or choke one. Then we have republican conceit in all its vigour. It is a beastly place!"

When Garcia returned from Rio with overtures of peace, and Rivadavia summarily rejected them, the country could bear his selfish tyranny no longer. On June 27, 1827, he was forced to resign; three days later Congress accepted his resignation by a majority of 48 to 2, and on July 3 a law was passed establishing a new Provincial Government with Lopez as Provisional President.

Parish, whose correspondence with Planta throws some light on the situation, wrote to him from Buenos Ayres on July 21, 1827, announcing the failure of Garcia's mission:

\* December 4, 1826.

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MY DEAR PLANTA,

You will see that Garcia's negotiation for peace at Rio has utterly failed : He went there to negotiate on the Independence of the Banda Oriental. He gave up the Province to Brazil. I believe he could do nothing else : He knew the necessity of peace to his country at all costs :—and after gaining some other points of advantage to his country he signed preliminaries, hoping I believe to obtain better terms in the Definitive arrangement, and knowing that if he did not, that by the immediate raising of the blockade his country would at least be recruited and placed in a more advantageous position for renewing the war if necessary. It suited Rivadavia's purpose, however, to raise a hue and cry against the measure, and to blind the people by a false feeling of National Honour ; in the midst of this he resigned the Presidency, from which, in another week or two, he would probably have been turned out *vi et armis* by the Provinces, which were well known to be arming to march upon Buenos Ayres with that object.

Thus by a vile Intrigue has our peace been lost, and the country left in utter blindness as to its real situation, to get out of the struggle and difficulties in which that man's foolish vain policy has involved it, as it can. The country will, if war continues, fall into a state of barbarism in which a desultory marauding system will be carried on by the Gauchos in Hordes who will make plundering inroads into Brazil. The National Government, if it continues even nominally to exist, which I doubt, will have no control over them, and it will become almost impossible to make peace, for there will be no Power to make or to guarantee it. It is lamentable to contrast such a prospect with the state and promise of this country before the War. It was certainly in a much more advanced state than any of the new Governments of South America, and its national position and advantages

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all held out the best-founded hopes of its rapid increase in Prosperity and Civilization.

Yours, W.P.

Parish's letters to his father at this time are full of indignation with Rivadavia, who, he says, by destroying the peace negotiations has signed his country's ruin. "The commotion and civil war," he writes to his father, on August 25, 1827, "which has been going on in the interior during Rivadavia's administration, have been perhaps even more destructive than the war with the common enemy. The Cities and Provinces are desolated by it, and the state of them is represented by passing travellers to be beyond belief deplorable. All this has been produced by Rivadavia, who, it turns out, has been lavishing large sums from the Public Treasury to keep up the contest in the hope of his carrying by such means into effect his idea of a consolidated Government, against the views of what are called the Federal party."

Fearing that Rivadavia's resignation might have proved the signal for a popular rising, Lord Ponsonby requested the English Admiral, Sir Robert Otway,\* to keep a man-of-war in the river; but there was no necessity for alarm: Rivadavia's resignation at once relieved the tension, and his successor—to whom Lord Ponsonby paid his official visit on July 8—proved to be a man unaffected in manner, mild and entirely unacquainted with public affairs;—a greater contrast to his predecessor could not have been found.

The Provincial troops were disbanded, Lavallega

\* Sir Robert Otway, K.C.B., was Commander-in-Chief on the South American station from 1826-29. He died in 1846.

succeeded Alveas in the command of the army, and the militia was handed over to Rosas, the bitterest enemy of Rivadavia.\* Lord Ponsonby, in announcing this appointment, had a momentary flash of prophetic inspiration. "I have spoken of him," he writes in his despatch, "because he certainly will play a part of some importance." General Don Manuel De Rosas, † the enemy of Rivadavia, the popular hero of every Gaucho, ‡ the man of colossal activity who now appears for the first time on the scene, was eventually to rule the fortunes of Buenos Ayres by gradually acquiring sole charge of the Executive Government and retaining it in his own hands until his defeat and exile in 1852.

The elections to the Junta took place on July 20 and resulted in the absolute defeat of Rivadavia's party : in

\* "Rosas avait alors 35 ans ; sa jeunesse s'était passée sur les domaines de sa famille, au milieu des pâtres à demi sauvages. C'était un homme aux traits accentués, aux yeux bleus, vifs et pénétrants, ayant le teint clair et pénétrant de l'européen et la haute stature du gaucho."—"Hist. de l'amérique du sud." Deberle. Paris, 1897, p. 192.)

† Dorrego had made him a general.

‡ "This name is given to the shepherds who, in the depths of the Pampas, keep the immense flocks and herds belonging to the planters who are settled in the Republic, or to the aborigines. The Gaucho is suspicious and crafty, as if the distant horizon and the vegetation which lie before his eyes gave a profound sensitiveness to his nature. Ignorant of family affection, and far from civilization, patriotism and friendship are virtues unknown to him. Sitting on his heels, with his knife stuck in the ground ready to kill the man who cheats at play, and with the bridle of his horse tied to its legs, he sets everything he possesses on the hazard of a card. Accustomed to slaughter animals, he sheds the blood of his fellows with the utmost indifference. He will never steal money, but he thinks he has the right to appropriate the best horse that suits him. The Gaucho is hospitable and discreet ; he will never ask his guest whence he comes nor where he is going, although he may remain for many months in his hut."—"Hist. of S. America," translated from the Spanish by A. D. Jones. 1890, p. 201.)

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August Dorrego was elected Governor and Captain-General of Buenos Ayres, the provisional, the President (Lopez) resigned. Since for the moment even the semblance of a National Authority was abolished, Congress recommended the Provincial Government of Buenos Ayres to carry on all foreign relations in the name of the whole Republic. This recommendation was, however, not legally adopted until some months later, and Ponsonby found himself for the moment in the awkward position of having no recognized authority with whom he could legally hold official communication. He appealed to the Foreign Office for instructions, but, pending their arrival, he still considered himself accredited to the Republic.

News of the changes in the home Government reached Buenos Ayres in the summer of 1827. Lord Liverpool's resignation had led to Canning's appointment as Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Dudley had succeeded him at the Foreign Office. But the news of the Ministerial appointments had hardly reached South America when Canning himself, worn out by the exertions of office, died on August 8, 1827.

Writing to his father in November, on receipt of the news, Parish said that he feared Canning's death would produce the greatest embarrassment; since his own "singular talents and activity were necessary to carry into effect the plans which he had but just developed to the world. I know not who can now follow up his daring (in my humble opinion his *dangerous*) policy." Parish still kept his hero-worship for his first chief Lord Castlereagh, and he wished that the credit for the South American policy had been given rather to Castlereagh

for originating it, than to Canning for carrying it into execution. Parish guessed rightly that his old friend Herries would become Chancellor of the Exchequer, for which office he was in many respects so well qualified. Planta had lately (in July, 1827) been moved to the Treasury, as Under-Secretary, after his long service at the Foreign Office, and Canning's death was a great blow to him. Writing to Parish in November, 1827, he says, "I am as well as I can be under the circumstances. I struggle on and have struggled on through the most difficult times that can almost be imagined. Think of my losing *another* such kind friend as Canning was to me, after the loss you saw me before experience.\* Goderich † is all kindness to me and affection for me; but the whole thing is now very different indeed from what it was."

The condition of internal affairs in the so-called United Provinces went from bad to worse in the summer and autumn of 1827. Dorrego, the new Governor, quarrelled with Moreno, the Secretary of Government, and the latter retaliated by accusing Dorrego of wishing to prolong the war for personal motives in order to make pecuniary profit out of the situation in Brazil. Moreno, having brought this and other similar accusations against the Governor, resigned his office, and took an active part in a plot to make Rosas, the idol of the country people, Governor of Buenos Ayres, and Bustos, the revolutionary chief in Cordoba, President of the United Provinces.

\* The death of Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh) in 1822.

† Goderich was Prime Minister from August, 1827, till January, 1828. He was made Earl of Ripon in 1833.

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Early in the following year Lord Ponsonby sent the Foreign Office an account of a plot to overthrow the Brazilian Empire and to establish five republics in its place. Dorrego was supposed to be the originator of the scheme, and to be actively engaged in launching it; how much foundation there was for this rumour it is impossible to say: Ponsonby convinced himself of its truth, but neither Mr. Gordon\* (the British Minister at Rio) nor the Emperor himself would believe in it, and, judging by the light of subsequent events, it seems probable that the whole story was invented by Dorrego's enemies, who lost no opportunity of damaging his reputation among the Ministers of Foreign Powers in Buenos Ayres.

Gordon was allowed to leave Rio de Janeiro in 1828, and Lord Ponsonby was appointed to succeed him; but the latter did not leave Buenos Ayres to take up his new appointment until July, and the war still dragged on between Brazil and Buenos Ayres. Parish begged his chief to let him try his hand at mediation, but Ponsonby did not encourage the idea. In January Parish wrote to his father on receiving the news of the battle of Navarino, and concluded with a deplorable account of South America. "Matters here," he writes, "look fully as ill and unsatisfactory as they do in Europe: the New States are torn by the most lamentable dissensions, and all in their discontent seem ready to cut each other's throats. I trace the source of the greatest part of these evils to the breaking out of the war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil, which our Government would not take the

\* Afterwards Sir Robert Gordon, brother of Lord Aberdeen, the new Secretary for Foreign Affairs.



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proper means to prevent. It is almost impossible now, I fear, to preserve the National Executive of Buenos Ayres. Nothing but a speedy peace can keep the Union even nominally together, and all must go to anarchy and confusion." Parish could not help thinking that, had he been given a free hand, he might have been able to help by facilitating peace negotiations at an earlier stage; whereas, he writes, "whatever may be his (Ponsonby's) talents, a *High Aristocrat* is little qualified to treat with the lowest of the low democrats we have to deal with here. His business is to uphold Monarchy and Aristocracy, theirs is to bring them into contempt and disrespect. When individuals acting upon such opposite principles upon every occasion meet, how *can* they agree and how can the individual be successful." And yet as far as he himself was concerned, Parish says, "I would much rather be where there is such continued active service than at any of the Minor courts of Europe, where there is nothing to do. I have now been just four years at Buenos Ayres during which, such has been the state of things, that, I have never been able to absent myself from the Capital for a single day; I have never been 15 miles from the city or allowed myself a day's relaxation from business."

Sir Robert Gordon's return home was delayed for want of a ship of war to take him; and, until he left, Lord Ponsonby could not arrive in Rio; so we still hear of him at Buenos Ayres in June, and in no hurry to depart, as he felt that the Emperor's reception of him was most unlikely to be a pleasant one. Meanwhile the preliminary peace negotiations were beginning at Monte Video; and, though this seemed hopeful, new complications were

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arising, owing to the great increase of the Buenos Ayres privateers, which had seized and destroyed many British ships off the coast of Brazil.

At the end of July Lord Ponsonby left Buenos Ayres to take up his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary at Rio, and Parish became once more Chargé d'Affaires pending the arrival of Mr. Fox,\* who had been appointed to succeed Lord Ponsonby at Buenos Ayres. On September 20 Parish wrote home with the news of peace and the opening of the river after two years' blockade. The treaty he considered most honourable to the Republic: "it must contribute to the Respectability of Buenos Ayres as a nation; to have come out with such success from a contest with so powerful an opponent as the Emperor of the vast wealth and power of Brazil, must I think firmly establish their credit and strength."

In August the National Convention had met at Santa Fé, and it was necessary to obtain their approval of the treaty before it could be ratified. Dorrego had intended to send the Brazilian envoy, Señor Caira, who had brought the draft of the treaty from Buenos Ayres to Santa Fé, with General Rondeau. There is little doubt that the treaty would never have been ratified had Dorrego carried out his intention, as Rondeau was not of a conciliatory disposition, and was then intriguing in the Banda Oriental with a view to succeeding Lavalleja as Commander-in-Chief. The Chargé d'Affaires well knew the character of the men with whom he was dealing, and

\* Henry S. Fox was Lord Holland's cousin. He was appointed Minister at Buenos Ayres in 1830, Rio de Janeiro, 1832, and Washington in 1835. He died at Washington in 1846.

† Rondeau was duly elected Commander-in-Chief in December, 1828, and his excellent conduct led Parish to respect him in later years.

by a tactful appeal to the President he persuaded him to appoint Moreno, a man of wider knowledge and sympathies, whose personal feelings were in no way involved, to accompany Caira to Santa Fé. The result was most satisfactory. Moreno returned to Buenos Ayres on September 29, having been completely successful in his mission. The British Chargé d'Affaires accompanied the envoys to Monte Video; on October 4 the ratifications were exchanged, and the former "Cisplatine Province," including the towns of Monte Video and Colonia del Sacramento, was declared to be a free and independent State.\*

Parish returned to Buenos Ayres in H.M.S. *Sapphire*, and was present at the "Missa de Gracias," or thanksgiving service, which began a series of rejoicings in honour of the peace. At the banquet which followed, Parish, as doyen of the diplomatic body, had to respond to the toast. On the last evening of the public rejoicings a fearful hurricane, or "pampero," sprang up suddenly. "The Public Square," he wrote, "having been ornamented with temporary colonnades hung about with lamps, a large concourse of well-dressed ladies had assembled according to their custom 'para pasear,' whom the pampero dispersed *in an instant*, sweeping the colonnades, illuminations, and everything else that was temporary, at one blast into the River Plate. There was a pretty piece of work the next day, for all the lanterns and candlesticks had been borrowed from the churches, and were thus carried to the devil—as the people said."

\* For the text of the Treaty, see Sir W. Parish's "Buenos Ayres and La Plata," 2nd edn., 1852, Appendix 5. Mention was made of it in the King's Speech on the opening of Parliament, 1829.

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Moreno, who was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in London, in reward for his services in the peace negotiations, was specially requested by the Republic to convey their thanks to the Foreign Office for Parish's help in bringing about the treaty with Brazil. Moreno left Buenos Ayres in October, and General Guido was then appointed Minister for the Departments of Government and Foreign Affairs.

A great deal of trouble had been caused owing to the seizure of British trading vessels by Buenos Ayrean privateers, and a large part of the correspondence with the Foreign Office for the next two or three years was occupied with an account of these seizures, the claims made by the *Chargé d'Affaires* for compensation, and, finally, after much procrastination, the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the claims. After further delay Parish succeeded in obtaining full compensation, for which he received the thanks of his Government. Privateering was apparently a favourite pursuit in Buenos Ayres, and, if Parish had not protested in time to stop them, the Government had intended to send out privateers with the special intention of harassing any Spanish vessels that might be cruising in those waters. Having accepted his advice on this subject, they consulted him further on the possibility of a commercial treaty between Spain and all the South American Republics. The old question of the formal recognition of their independence by the mother country was again discussed, but the British *Chargé d'Affaires* begged them to drop it—since at that late hour a formal recognition would be both useless and superfluous—and he advised them: (i.) To concentrate their efforts on

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establishing an amicable understanding with the Spanish Government ; and (ii.) To limit the treaty to the United Provinces, without reference to the other ex-Spanish dominions. This, he assured them, would be a far wiser scheme than that of harassing their trading vessels by privateers, and one in every way more honourable to the Republic.

In November Admiral Brown resigned the command of the naval squadron, having done immense service to the cause of the Republic. In his account of the English in South America, published in 1878, Mulhall gives the history of Admiral Brown's career, and especially of his brilliant conduct of naval affairs during the war with Brazil. For three years he had kept the large Brazilian navy in check, frequently inflicting severe defeats ; the Brazilians had at one time fifty war vessels in the River Plate, whereas the Republican fleet consisted of a few small craft, ill-paid, ill-supplied, ill-armed. Brown often complained that his powder was so weak it would hardly carry to the enemy's ships ; his crews were a mixture of milkmen, butchers, broken-down colonists, beachrangers, boatmen, Paraguayans, etc. ; yet with these men he won his victories, and never complained of the quality of his sailors, except when the Government manned some of his vessels with criminals and convicts, who mutinied and murdered their commanding officer. He is said on one occasion to have captured a Brazilian war vessel, which had run aground, by a successful cavalry charge—the enemy's guns being pointed too high to touch their assailants ; on another occasion, at Monte Video, his supply of shot ran out, and he resumed the fire with hard Dutch cheeses, of which he happened to have a large

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number on board. His enemies respected him as much as his friends believed in him, and a Brazilian commander refused to sanction his assassination when a man offered in April, 1827, to "remove the enemy's commander-in-chief," the war being then at its height. In later years Brown declined to sign the petition conferring extraordinary powers on Rosas : to the end he kept up his independent spirit, and when, in 1857, at the age of eighty, he died at Buenos Ayres, he was universally mourned by the citizens of his adopted country.

## CHAPTER XI

### UNITARIANISM *v.* FEDERALISM

Internal dissensions—Civil war—Defeat and assassination of Dorrego—Anti-English feeling in the city—Viamont appointed provisional Governor—Rosas succeeds him as Governor—The question of the Falkland Islands—General unrest in South America—Parish's successor appointed—Parish returns to England, 1832—Death of Mrs. Parish, 1835—Parish is given the K.C.H., 1837—Gratitude of the Argentine Government—Exit Rosas.

THE burning question of Unitarianism *v.* Federalism \* was brought to the front more prominently than ever now that the war with Brazil no longer engaged the attention of both parties. Though Rivadavia's power had been broken, his party still survived, and their ambitious designs for the absolute supremacy of Buenos Ayres roused afresh the opposition of the Federalists.

\* Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick says :—

“The conflicting centripetal and centrifugal tendencies which divided every State were commonly styled Unitarianism and Federalism, the latter word being strangely used in a sense almost opposite to its usual meaning, and implying an effort not at union but at separation. Municipal leaders and military chiefs having some indistinct notion of the United States Constitution, believed that in detachment and subdivision they were imitating its peculiar merits. Thus Bolivar and others who aimed at uniting separate bodies, and might fairly be called Federalists, were styled Unitarists, while the separatist efforts and independent activities of contending Provinces and towns were described as Federalism. In the River Plate region these tendencies were at first described by the more expressive names of Capitalism and Provincialism.”—(“Cambridge Modern History,” vol. x. p. 298.)

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“There is some talk,” wrote Parish in November, “of Rivadavia’s return to power; this could not be done without bloodshed, if it were to be attempted, as the Governor, General Dorrego, a resolute and determined man, is prepared to maintain himself ‘coûte que coûte.’”

Dorrego—fully convinced of the necessity of propitiating the Province—was himself the leader of the Federalist party: the army was on the point of returning to Buenos Ayres after evacuating the Banda Oriental, and Dorrego, anxious to prevent an outburst of party feeling, sent for Lavalle, the Commander-in-Chief, to protect him, and the official residence, in case of a popular rising. The revolution which followed this proposal is best described in the letter which Parish wrote to Lord Aberdeen \* the following day:

To the Right Hon. Earl of Aberdeen.

Buenos Ayres, Tuesday, December 2, 1828.

MY LORD,

I avail myself of a Merchant Vessel which sails this evening, and which may reach England before the Packet, to acquaint your lordship briefly with the circumstances of the Revolutionary movement which took place yesterday in this City, and which has put an end to the Government of General Dorrego.

Your lordship possesses ample information as to the violent animosity existing in Buenos Ayres between the adherents of Señor Rivadavia (or the Unitarians as they are called) and the Federalist party who elected Dorrego as their Chief, and succeeded in placing him in power upon the Resignation by Rivadavia of the Presidency in the month of July, 1827.

\* Lord Aberdeen was Foreign Secretary from 1828 to 1830; and again from 1841 to 1846. He did not become Prime Minister till 1852, and then only held the office for three years.



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It appears that the Officers of the Army in the Banda Oriental, have been for some time determined to make an attempt to re-establish the old Government on their return to Buenos Ayres. The greater part of the Troops disembarked last week, and no time has been lost in carrying the plan into execution.

The Governor was aware of it, and told me so, but his Excellency at the same time said that he confided in the persuasion that Rivadavia's party, who have always prided themselves on being "*the friends of good order*" would never countenance any *Military Movement* or Act of Violence against the Government, constituted as it was, legally, and according to the established Institutions of the Country. His Ministers were still more strongly impressed with the same belief and they neglected to take the vigorous measures, which might have stopped the evil which has happened. They *might* have arrested the whole of the principal conspirators during the three successive nights, when they knew that they were plotting together the overthrow of the Government.

On Sunday evening, however, the Governor received information which induced him to send his A.D.C. to General Lavalle, the Commander of the troops lately landed, to desire his immediate presence at the Fort (the seat of the Government). General Lavalle, supposing the plot to be discovered, sent for answer *that he should lose no time in attending upon His Excellency, but it should be at the head of his Troops.*

The Governor received this message as a declaration of hostilities and immediately gathered about him a force of about 600 men, upon whom he thought he could depend to resist any attack made upon his authority.

The night was passed in preparations on both sides, General Dorrego apparently prepared to defend the fort to the last. At daybreak, however, General

Lavalle had occupied the Squares and Avenues leading to it with about 2,500 of the regular troops, and the Governor, finding his position untenable against a superior force, and being without provisions for his men, escaped by a sally-port, to seek, as he said, assistance in the country.

Generals Guido and Balcarce, the Ministers, remained in the Fort; but shortly after the Governor's departure, they offered to General Lavalle to surrender it into the hands of any authority appointed by the Provincial Junta to receive possession of it. The General refused to recognise that body, but he agreed to convoke immediately the respectable inhabitants of the City to name a *provisional* government, under the circumstances; and the Ministers, after some discussion, consented to open the gates to any authority so appointed.

A Proclamation was immediately issued in this sense, and at 1 o'clock, a meeting of the populace (in which Rivadavia's partisans were the leading actors) took place in one of the Churches,\* which elected General Lavalle Governor *provisionally*, until a new Junta should be chosen, and should appoint a permanent Government according to the established forms.

General Lavalle in consequence of these events assumed yesterday evening the Chief Authority of this Province.

It is said that the Elections for the new Junta will take place on or before Sunday next, and a new Governor will, I presume, be then chosen immediately.

So far this revolution has been effected without bloodshed, but General Dorrego's friends are confident that he will make an attempt to regain his power, and that he can raise a party in the country sufficiently strong to assist him in it. . . .

The manner in which the change has been effected is lamented exceedingly by all well-disposed and considerate persons. The troops, however, I must add,

\* San Roque.

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conducted themselves with admirable order throughout the day, and I have not heard of a single individual having been insulted by them, though much confusion might have been expected; they continue under arms and remain so till something is heard of General Dorrego.

He left the city in disguise and alone, it is supposed to join the Gaucho Militia under Don Manuel Rosas, the most formidable leader of those people and who has more than once had possession of this city with his adherents on similar occasions.

If he determines to support Dorrego against the army, he may unite force enough to attempt it, we shall, I fear, see a very sanguinary struggle.

I have the honour to be, etc.

WOODBINE PARISH.\*

On December 3, General Lavalle announced to the British Chargé d'Affaires, and the other Foreign Ministers, his appointment as Provincial Governor. Parish, however, delayed his acknowledgment of the communication until the excitement of the moment should have abated. Meanwhile, it was clear that a reaction in favour of Dorrego had already begun. The lower classes and many of the soldiers openly declared their allegiance to him.

A week later Señor Diaz Velez was appointed sole Minister of the new Government, and the Ministers of England, France,† and the United States were placed in a very difficult position. Acknowledgment of Velez by any one of them would have confirmed the legal

\* F. O. Corr., No. 37, vol. xxiii.

† M. de Mendeville had been appointed Consul-General for France. He arrived at Buenos Ayres on September 27, 1828.

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position of Lavalle, and after some consultation they all agreed to delay taking any definite action. By force of arms the new Provisional Government was master of the city; but the Provinces appeared to be still faithful to Dorrego, whose appointment as Governor had been made according to the laws and institutions of the country.

A few years earlier Parish had foreseen a brilliant future for the United Provinces, provided they were blessed with peace and good government; he was now dismayed at Lavalle's unconstitutional proceedings, which not only brought discredit on the country, but undoubtedly provided a bad precedent for the future.

The immediate scene of action was on the road between Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé. Dorrego had collected some 2000 men, and was marching towards the latter city when Lavalle—having handed over the Fort to Admiral Brown—pursued and defeated the Federalist force at Navarro, about forty miles from the city of Buenos Ayres. Though the losses on both sides were heavy, Dorrego himself escaped, and, crossing the country on horseback alone with his brother, he hoped to join forces with a friendly contingent in the neighbourhood. His friends, however, having heard of his defeat, turned traitors, and handed him over as a prisoner to Lavalle.

Meanwhile the city of Buenos Ayres had been left in charge of Admiral Brown, the only man whom Lavalle could trust to keep the fort in his absence. Brown had brought his "motley crews" on shore as a garrison, and no sooner were they let loose in the city than the most awful scenes of drunkenness and rowdism ensued;

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the Admiral then strictly forbade his men to leave the Fort, and the sailors, fearing the order meant imprisonment, lost no time in making ropes of their jackets and escaping from the windows. In a short time no garrison was left, and Brown appealed to the citizens, with the result that the shopkeepers took turns with the regular troops to mount guard and patrol the streets.

On December 13 Dorrego's friends heard that Lavalle intended to put his prisoner to death. They appealed to the Ministers of the Foreign Powers to intervene, and Parish, with de Mendeville and the American Minister, visited Diaz Velez without delay. In the city of Buenos Ayres Velez was assuring the Ministers that there was no cause for alarm, and that Dorrego—in accordance with Admiral Brown's advice—would be given his liberty and proceed to the United States. At the same moment General Lavalle sent for the ex-Governor, warned him that he had but an hour to live, and ordered him to be shot without even the form of a trial. The news of Dorrego's execution filled the city with horror and dismay, and when the details of his heroic behaviour were known, a tremendous reaction set in in his favour. During the hour preceding his execution Dorrego had written pathetic letters to his wife and children; it transpired that, far from enriching himself, as had been reported, out of the public treasury, he had left his family practically destitute. By his brother, Don Luis Dorrego, he sent a message to the British Consul-General, assuring him that he had done his best to maintain friendly relations with England and to uphold the honour of his country. The lower classes and all the women in Buenos Ayres swore to avenge Dorrego's

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death, Rivadavia's life was threatened, and the Provinces rose *en masse* to oppose Lavalle. Rosas took command of the avenging forces ; he united with Lopez of Santa Fé, and with Bustos of Cordoba ; Molina, backed up by innumerable hordes of Indians from the Southern Provinces, advanced to help him. Harvesting on the Pampas was abandoned in order that all the men should be free to join Rosas and the Federalist army.

Lavalle, having returned to the city on December 25, was confronted by a very hostile element. In the hope of ending the struggle he liberated two murderers and despatched them to assassinate Rosas, but civil war was now inevitable ; communication with the Provinces was stopped, the liberty of the press was suspended, and the Indians had invaded the Pampas. Though Rivadavia was really responsible for the revolution, he tried to lay all the blame of Dorrego's death on Lavalle. The latter made a bold attack on Molina in the south ; but, though Lavalle was at first successful, he could not attempt with the small force at his disposal to check the steady advance of Rosas with his 3000 Montoneros on the city. Lopez, with 2000 more, was advancing from Santa Fé, in order, as he said, "to restore a proper Government." The city was in a state of consternation ; Rivadavia refused to listen to overtures of peace or suggestions of compromise ; "in their desperation," wrote Parish to the Foreign Office, "Rivadavia's party set all decency at defiance and have not hesitated to violate every private and public right ; for the last month indeed Buenos Ayres has been ruled solely by terror and the most unbridled and unprincipled despotism."

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Early in April Lopez and Rosas joined forces, and a decisive battle seemed imminent. The city was in a critical condition, and Lavalle was not unnaturally obliged to take extreme measures for its defence. Already, on March 12 (1829), he had issued a decree in the name of Admiral Brown—who still held the office of Provisional Governor—ordering foreign residents to assist in the protection of the city:—

BUENOS AYRES.

“March 12, 1828.

“The defence of the city under actual circumstances being the duty of every inhabitant who is interested in the public tranquillity, and it having been represented to the Government that various foreigners are animated with this sentiment, who are attached to the fortunes of the country, both personally, and by their interests, it has decreed:

*Article 1.* A battalion of volunteers to be formed under the denomination of the ‘*Batallon del Comercio Extranjero.*’

2. The citizen Don Ramon Larrea to be named Commandant of the said battalion.

3. The Commandant above-named is authorized to proceed to the enrolment and organization of the Corps.

“(Signed) BROWN.  
JOSÉ MARIA PAZ.”

On the 18th a further proclamation was issued, calling the new battalion the “Battalion of the Friends of Order,” and stating that “every foreigner who is not exempted from service, and who has not a paper of enlistment in this battalion is to be immediately enlisted in the corps of militia as the law directs.”

This "Battalion of the Friends of Order" was largely joined by the French and Italians, but complaints were soon made that the English residents refused to take part in the "preservation of order." Parish at once pointed out that the English, by the terms of their Treaty (Article IX.) were "exempt from all compulsory military service whatsoever," and, since the new battalion was under the military commander, service in it undoubtedly amounted to "military service." Velez was on the point of enforcing the decree by a further command, when Parish, hearing of his intention, requested Admiral Sir Thomas Thompson of H.M.S. *Cadmus*, then in the River Plate, to call on Admiral Brown, and demand an explanation. Meanwhile Parish pointed out to Velez that the Government action was not only a violation of the Treaty with England, but was contrary to their own law exempting foreigners from service. The offensive decree, though already set up in proof for the newspapers, was cancelled. Parish's action resulted in the immediate withdrawal of all the French volunteers from the battalion, and consequently produced a fresh outburst of anti-English feeling in Buenos Ayres which Rivadavia did his best to encourage.

In the early part of April the Unitarian army, under Lavalle, suffered severe defeat at the hands of the Montoneros; the alarm in the city increased, and the Government again attempted to force the French residents to serve in defending the Fort. De Menville expressed his indignation, and demanded his passports. He obtained them, and left the country on the first of May with his family, having previously agreed with Parish to await further developments in Monte



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Video before proceeding to Europe. About the same time Rivadavia and Agnero—the ostensible chiefs of the Unitarian party—left Buenos Ayres for France, hoping to raise sympathy for their cause, preferably in the shape of a loan, in that country. Their departure infuriated Lavalle, who was thus left in the lurch by his leaders ; but his attempt to stop them in the river was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, on June 1, some French men-of-war under the command of the Vicomte de Venancourt entered the River Plate and seized four Buenos Ayrean gun-boats, three schooners, and two brigs of war, destroying a third, as a protest against the treatment of their countrymen in Buenos Ayres. Great was the indignation in the country ; Unitarians and Federalists joined in denouncing the French, and though the latter, having made their protest, restored the ships that they had captured, a government agent was ordered to proceed to France without delay to complain of de Venancourt's action.

Before long it became known that the French Admiral was prepared to defend de Venancourt, and the Buenos Ayreans were much mortified when their agent returned from France in the following January with the news that the French Government thoroughly approved the seizure of the ships.

In June, 1829, Parish had written to his father hoping the “end of the war was in sight,” as “affairs here are approaching their long-expected results as quickly as Spanish indolence and apathy will permit ; in any other country we should long ago have been at peace again, but here 80,000 inhabitants of a city will submit quietly to starvation and the grossest tyranny

ever heard of, rather than take the trouble of showing the smallest symptoms of impatience."

About this time the Admiral, Sir Robert Otway, returned to England after a singularly unsuccessful period in South America, and with him went Lord Ponsonby, who found Rio even more uncongenial than Buenos Ayres.

Now that Rivadavia had left the country and Lopez had retired to Santa Fé, it seemed more possible to open negotiations with Rosas. The Federalist leader declared his wish merely to establish the legitimate institutions of Buenos Ayres and to postpone the National question for the time being. A decree of June 24, 1829, announced the termination of the Civil War, and Garcia was called in to assist in the negotiations. Brown had already retired in favour of General Rodriguez, who was now acknowledged by the Provinces as delegate Governor of Buenos Ayres. Lavalle appeared anxious to assist Rosas in settling the affairs of the country, and acknowledged that the revolution of December had been the cause of all the trouble. But no sooner did the elections for the Junta begin than his temporary loyalty to Rosas ceased; he gave orders to the soldiers to guard the electoral tables, and to allow the approach of none but the members of the Unitarian party. They alone were able to record their votes. The Federalists were naturally indignant, and had it not been for the tact of Garcia and the forbearance of Rosas, civil war would undoubtedly have broken out again. In August, however, Lavalle was persuaded to resign, and after some difficulty a new Ministry was formed to conduct the Government until a

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new Junta should meet and proceed to a permanent election in the manner prescribed by law. General Viamont, a staunch Federalist, became Provisional Governor; General Guido, Minister for the Departments of State and Foreign Affairs; Garcia was persuaded to take the portfolio of Finance; and Colonel Escalada was made Minister for War. Rosas was appointed to the General Command of the country districts, "with unlimited authority to take any measures he might deem best for promoting the restoration of their peace and tranquillity."

The new Government were unfortunately too anxious for compromise, and weakened their position by their appointments to the Cabildo, or Senate, and by offering the command of the cavalry to Lavalle. Contrary to all expectation he accepted it. On September 9 a circular was issued to the Provinces acknowledging the adoption of the Federal principle. This was the death-blow to Unitarianism, and early in October Lavalle was forced to flee for his life, in order to avoid a public trial on the charge of Dorrego's death. He effected his escape in an open boat, in which he managed to reach the Banda Oriental, while most of his officers retired to Peru. While Buenos Ayres had been in a continual state of revolution, the Province of Cordoba had been through similar struggles, resulting for the moment in the defeat of Bustos and the repulse of General Paz. In October confidence in the new Government restored peace to some extent in the Provinces of the Interior, but the finance of the country was in a bad way, and the Public Debt amounted to \$30,550,000. The people, however, placed unbounded

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

confidence in the ability of Garcia and in the natural resources of the country, and by a sound policy of retrenchment in every branch of the public service Garcia soon proved that their confidence was fully deserved.

Early in September Parish paid his formal visit to General Viamont, who received him most cordially, and asked his advice on many matters. It was owing to Parish's intervention that M. de Mendeville was persuaded to return from Monte Video and resume diplomatic relations with the new Government; Parish also assisted Rosas in devising a scheme for the appointment of a permanent Government without resorting to an immediate election.

The old Junta had been dissolved by Lavalle in December, 1828; that dissolution was now declared illegal, and the Junta was ordered to meet again in order to elect a Governor and pass a few necessary measures before it should dissolve itself previous to a fresh election in the spring.

In accordance with Rosas' suggestions this was done; the old Junta met on December 1, and a week later, amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, Rosas was elected Governor and Captain-General for Buenos Ayres for three years. Guido and Garcia were reappointed, and Balcarce returned to the War Department. Parish, writing to Lord Aberdeen on November 14, reported his great satisfaction with these appointments; Rosas, he says, impressed him with his power, modesty, and moderation; and as for the other Ministers, he was intimately acquainted with them all and had a high opinion of their ability.\*

\* F. O. Corr., vol xxvii., W. P. to Ld. Dudley.

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In the course of the year 1829 the Consul-General first called the attention of the Foreign Office to the question of the Falkland Islands. The British rights to those Islands originated in their discovery and occupation by Englishmen.\* This right was confirmed in 1771, when Spain, after a year's occupation, was forced to evacuate and restore them to England. A Governor was then appointed, and they were to a certain extent colonised by Englishmen. Three years later the British Government, from motives of economy, resolved to withdraw the garrison and relinquish the settlement. When the Governor was recalled the British flag remained flying, and other symbols of possession and property were left upon the Islands, in order that England "might resume her occupation at a convenient season."

Parish's attention was first called to the question early in 1829, when the Buenos Ayreans proposed a scheme for the detention of prisoners and convicts in the Islands. Parish at once communicated the intention of the Buenos Ayres Government to the Foreign Office, but before writing his next despatch a new development had arisen. A certain Mr. Louis Vernet had obtained permission from Rosas to colonise Solidad and Staten Island; he had done so with great success, finding the soil suitable for potatoes and other vegetables, the climate excellent, and the prospects of cattle-breeding most promising. Hearing that England claimed the sovereignty of the Islands, he now applied to Great Britain, through their Chargé d'Affaires, for the protection of his colonists.

\* John Davis, the companion of Cavendish, discovered the Falkland Islands in 1592.

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Lord Aberdeen thanked Parish for his information about the Islands, which might undoubtedly "in these days of the development of South America have great value for England as a naval base." He, therefore, requested Parish to inform the Buenos Ayres Government "that H.M. will not view with indifference nor can he recognise any cession of territory by the Government of Buenos Ayres either to individuals or to any foreign nation, which shall be found incompatible with the just rights of sovereignty to which H.M. lays claim, and which have heretofore been recognised by the Crown of Great Britain."

On September 17, accordingly, the Chargé d'Affaires made a formal protest to the Government with regard to their decree respecting the Falkland Islands, and against all acts, past, present or future, which might be prejudicial to the British rights of sovereignty. The warning was opportune, and saved the Falkland Islands for England without much further difficulty. Vernet's settlement, which had promised so well, was entirely destroyed in 1831 by North Americans, whose anger had been aroused by his seizure of three United States sealing vessels. In December, 1832, following up Parish's protest, Commander Onslow of H.M.S. *Clio* proceeded to Port Egmont, and found some remains of the British settlement on Saunders' Island, but no inhabitants. They left an inscription, stating "That these Islands have been visited by H.M.S. *Clio*, for the purpose of exercising the British rights of Sovereignty, December 23, 1832." \* In the following year the Union

\* See "History of the British Colonies," Montgomery Martin, vol. iv. p. 505, and the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

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Jack was once more hoisted in the Island, and since that time the Falkland Islands have been a regular British Colony under a Governor, and also the seat of a colonial Bishopric.

The year 1829 had been full of anxiety for Parish ; the difficult situations arising out of the civil war, out of the compensation claims for seizures of British ships by privateers, out of the Government decree for the military service of foreign residents, and out of the Falkland Islands question, had required most careful negotiation. It was a great relief and encouragement therefore to him when Lord Aberdeen commended his firm action, and expressed the King's entire approbation of his conduct under the unusually difficult circumstances in which he had recently been placed.\*

Much of the fighting in the neighbourhood of the city of Buenos Ayres had taken place close to Parish's house, and he had been obliged to apply for protection to the English Admiral. The latter had supplied him with a garrison of marines, under the command of Captain Bingham, † who spent two months on shore, guarding the Consulate ; but their services were never actively required,

\* F. O. Corr., February 27, and August 19, 29, vols. xxvi. and xxvii.

† The following winter Parish sustained a great loss in the death of Captain Bingham, whose friendship and assistance had proved so valuable to him during the civil war. In an accident off Guayaquil Captain Bingham was drowned, and his eldest son, a midshipman, was, with difficulty, rescued. A few months later the *Thetis* was lost at sea near Rio, and the second son, also a midshipman, was drowned. His elder brother was saved and returned to England with the news of the deaths both of his father and brother.

Had Mr. Fox come out when he was expected, the whole Parish family would have returned to England on the *Thetis*, and would in all probability have shared young Bingham's fate.

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in spite of the constant guerillas in the immediate neighbourhood, for, as Parish wrote, he "was never in any way molested or annoyed."

During these years he turned his attention to the early history of the country, as a pleasing change from politics, and made considerable zoological, geological, and geographical investigations. Many relics of the primæval mammalia were found about this time, and Parish obtained a considerable number of bones and fossils which he contributed to the national collections in England.\*

Though Mr. Fox had been appointed to succeed Lord Ponsonby in April, 1828,† his departure was constantly delayed. The British Government were at first responsible, as it was not thought advisable to send out a new Minister while the affairs of the country were in so unsettled a condition. Later on Fox himself delayed his arrival, with the result that Parish was left in charge of the British Legation from Lord Ponsonby's departure in July, 1828, until December, 1831.

On January 14, 1830, Rosas celebrated his accession to power by organising a magnificent state funeral for Dorrego. His body was brought from Navarro and reburied in Buenos Ayres with every possible demonstration of popular devotion to his memory: Rosas himself delivered the funeral oration, and all the foreign Representatives attended in their official capacity.

In spite of Parish's optimistic despatch with regard to the formation of the new Ministry, the last two years of his time in Buenos Ayres proved anything but peaceful. Though the Provinces had apparently agreed to

\* See Chapter XIII.

† See p. 405 *et seq.*



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suspend hostilities, General Paz made a sudden attack on the Federalist army which had remained in the territory of Cordoba under General Quiroga's command. The attack was entirely unexpected, and resulted in the complete defeat of Quiroga on February 25, 1830.

When the news reached Buenos Ayres the excitement in the city was intense, and great indignation was expressed with Paz and the Unitarians for having broken the peace.\* By the beginning of July Paz was in possession of the Provinces of Rioja, San Luis, San Juan, and Santiago, and there seemed little hope of a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile Parliament had opened in May, and the message of the Government, which was both moderate and judicious, had somewhat strengthened their position. Garcia now proposed to go to Cordoba in person and persuade Paz to arrange a meeting with Rosas and to come to some understanding.

Though this meeting took place, Paz's intrigues in Santa Fé soon nullified its good results. Fresh complications arose from the discovery of a secret Club of Old Spaniards in Buenos Ayres; it transpired that the Club existed for the purpose of promoting and encouraging internal dissensions in the United Provinces, and so weakening their position as a nation. The discovery produced an outburst of feeling against all Old Spaniards in the city and many arrests were made.

In September news arrived of the death of the King and of the accession of William IV. Since George IV. had been the first monarch to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces, the Governor

\* The other party threw the blame on Quiroga for not having withdrawn his troops.

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ordered public mourning to be worn for three days in respect for his memory.

The unrest in South America was by no means confined to the United Provinces. A dangerous conspiracy had been discovered in Rio Grande against the Emperor of Brazil, and ever since the resignation of the President, General Rondeau, in April, the new Republic of the Banda Oriental had been on the verge of civil war. Lavalleja had been appointed to succeed him, but the military leader in the Northern Provinces, Frutos Ribera, refused at first to recognise Lavalleja's appointment, and finally succeeded in obtaining the presidency for himself. This was a serious matter for Buenos Ayres, as Frutos Ribera was known to sympathise with Paz and the Unitarian faction in the Northern Provinces, and could be relied on to help them against the Central Government.

General Paz now obtained the command of all the military forces in the interior; the steady increase of his power caused considerable alarm in the Federalist party, and a fresh army, recruited from the Littorine Provinces, but entirely financed by Buenos Ayres, was placed under the command of General Lopez, and sent out to attack the military party early in 1831. On March 5 a battle was fought near Cordoba, but though General Lopez was victorious the result was not decisive; however, a month later Lopez again defeated Paz, and a further victory was gained by Quiroga in April, which enabled him to occupy the Provinces of Mendoza, San Luis, San Juan, and Rioja. Only four Provinces—Cordoba, Santiago, Tucuman and Salta—now remained in the hands of the military chiefs, and when Paz himself was unexpectedly taken prisoner by a skirmishing

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party, it seemed that Rosas, who had proceeded to the frontier, would have no difficulty in making peace.

Meanwhile a revolution had occurred in Brazil, and the prospect of the break-up of the Brazilian Empire was most displeasing to the Government at Buenos Ayres, as there would then be no power strong enough to hold the Banda Oriental in check. The new Republic had distinguished itself by intrigue and the harbouring of traitors ever since Frutos Ribera had become President. The neutrality which the Oriental Republic was supposed to observe had been undoubtedly violated by the protection given to Lavalle, and others, during their preparations for attacking the Buenos Ayres Government and promoting revolutions in the Provinces. Frutos Ribera had even tried to annex the Provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes, thus substituting the Paraná for the Uruguay as their boundary. Opposition in the two Provinces had alone prevented their annexation. Parish was most anxious that England should sign a treaty of commerce and navigation (similar to the Buenos Ayres one of 1825) with the Republic of the Banda Oriental, in the hopes of encouraging a settlement of the internal disputes by the development of international responsibilities. But her affairs were still too unsettled, and Parish had to leave South America without carrying out his cherished project, though he received full powers for the treaty from Lord Palmerston just before he left South America.

The revolution in Brazil had indirectly benefited both the Republics on the River Plate by the removal of a large number of Portuguese colonists, who were most desirable immigrants, from Brazil to Buenos Ayres and the Banda Oriental,

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In fact, after the celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of Independence in May, 1831, affairs in the River Plate looked much more hopeful. Tranquillity had gradually been restored in the interior, and the Government had been able to devote some attention to the development of the Southern Provinces. Between the Rio Negro and the Cordilleras there was a fertile tract of country particularly suitable for British settlers, provided they were sufficiently numerous to defend themselves against the Indians. Though the provinces of the interior had been reduced to desolation by the war, they had once more agreed to invest the Buenos Ayres Government with general powers, and Rosas returned to the capital and resumed the direction of affairs, which he had entrusted to his Ministers during his absence on the frontier. The army also returned, and the greater part of it was disbanded.

Before leaving the Argentine Parish had the satisfaction of welcoming Bompland, the naturalist, who, after all Parish's efforts, had at last been liberated from Paraguay. He arrived in Buenos Ayres in March, 1831, and in the following month a party of explorers appeared who had been detained by Francia for the last five years. Parish's services in obtaining the liberty of Francia's prisoners were greatly appreciated, and, in addition to the King's approval, he received the thanks of several foreign Governments, especially of France and Switzerland, for his interference on behalf of their subjects.

The English colony was once more on the increase,\* and they had shown great satisfaction with their Consul-General for the active part he had taken in promoting

\* It numbered about 5,000.

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the scheme for an English church. Parish laid the foundation stone on April 5, 1830, and in the following March it was opened and dedicated to St. John, in the presence of six hundred English people.\*

Parish had, some time past, asked for leave of absence, as the continuous work and anxiety had told

\* Inscription on Foundation Stone:—

“On the fifth day of April, 1830,  
 In the 11th Year of the Reign of George the IV.  
 King of the U. Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland  
 Woodbine Parish Esquire His said Majesty’s  
 Chargé d’Affaires and Consul-General to the  
 United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata  
 Attended by the Rev. John Armstrong Chaplain,  
 And the members of the Committee of Management  
 Appointed by the British residents in Buenos Ayres  
 Laid this foundation stone  
 Of the British Protestant Church ;  
 The funds for its erection being raised by contributions  
 Of the said Residents, conformably to the  
 Act of the British Parliament, passed in the  
 Sixth year of the reign of George IV. Cap. 87.  
 The site of the ground for the purpose being the  
 Liberal Donation of the Government  
 of Buenos Ayres.

In the first year of the administration of H. Excellency  
 Señor Don Juan Manuel de Rosas  
 Governor and Captain General of the said Province.

Architect, M<sup>r</sup>. Richard Adams.

God save the King !  
 And Bless the Republic !

Signed	}	WOODBINE PARISH. JOHN ARMSTRONG. THOMAS FAIR. WILLIAM DOUGLAS. JOHN HARRAT. JOHN CARLISLE. S. G. D. BAKER. ANDW. JAMIESON.	} Committee of Management.
Signed	}	THOS. WHITFIELD, Contractor. RICHARD ADAMS, Architect.”	

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very much on his health. Want of exercise and the relaxing climate had made him prematurely old, and he longed for England in the hope that the change would restore his energy and vitality. But still Fox did not arrive, although news had been heard of him at Rio. At last in October, 1831, he appeared and "took a bed at the Inn," where he lived, according to Parish's account, "in a most beggarly and disreputable manner, with neither mount, carriage, nor horse, on account of the expense, his whole suite consisting of a Belgian boy as valet."

Rosas was still conducting negotiations on the frontier, and, until Fox could be officially received by him, the Ministers refused to hold any communication with the new British Minister, so for two months more Parish continued as Chargé d'Affaires. In December the Governor returned, and on the 13th the new Minister presented his credentials, and Parish was free to return to England.

The English colony in Buenos Ayres had every reason to regret the departure of their first Consul-General, and their appreciation of his services was expressed by the presentation to him of a fine piece of plate,\* with the following address:—

\* Inscription on the plate presented by the British merchants of Buenos Ayres to Mr. Parish, on his departure for England, 1832:—

"To Woodbine Parish, Esq.

H.B.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General  
in the Argentine Republic,

This memorial of Respect and Esteem  
from a numerous body of his

countrymen in grateful acknowledgement of his valuable and conciliatory conduct during the many years of his Residence amongst them in Buenos Aires.

An. Dom. 1832."

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“We, the undersigned British Residents of this city and its environs, on the eve of your departure, and secession from your public duties, approach you, Sir, with assurances of that cordial esteem and high respect which the Natives of the British Isles are ever desirous to pay to men of station and condition in society, when their public conduct has been marked by unshaken fidelity to their country; and their private worth founded on the imperishable basis of truth, justice, and virtue.

It is, Sir, to the deep conviction we feel that such have hitherto been the characteristics of your life and actions, that you owe this public testimony of our regard.

Your departure from this country, whilst it awakens in us a sincere regret at the loss we are about to sustain, likewise admonishes us that it is the time to offer you our unfeigned thanks, individually and collectively, for the unerring political foresight and unshrinking firmness you have invariably shown, in times of peril and confusion; thereby enabling us to avoid innumerable difficulties which otherwise we must inevitably have encountered.

Your amenity on all occasions, in our private communications with you, claims our liveliest gratitude.

Should you be again called forth in the service of your country we earnestly hope your efforts may be attended with equal success; and we most heartily desire that you may continue to enjoy that happiness in the bosom of your family you so well deserve; that your voyage hence may be both prosperous and agreeable, and that your future hours may be enlivened by the reflection that you bear with you this proof of the esteem and admiration of your fellow-countrymen.”

To this address (which was presented on January 27, at his residence) Parish made the following reply:—

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“Gentlemen—It is difficult for me to express as I would wish the feelings with which I have read the Resolutions and Address, which you have been deputed by my countrymen to present to me on the occasion of my approaching departure from Buenos Ayres.

After the many years I have passed amongst you, nothing, I sincerely assure you, could have afforded me a higher gratification than such an evidence of your esteem and good-will; such a proof that in the fulfilment of the duties of my office here, I have been so fortunate as to satisfy those whose interests I was sent here to watch over and protect.

Gentlemen, I shall ever preserve the liveliest sense of the honour you have this day done me.

For the kind wishes which you are pleased to express for my future welfare, I cannot sufficiently thank you.

I take my leave of you, earnestly desiring you all happiness and prosperity, and a full share of those blessings, which I trust the return of peace will ere long insure to all those who have fixed their abode in this Republic.”

The *British Packet*, published at Buenos Ayres, made the following observations in reference to these proceedings:—

The name of Woodbine Parish will ever be conspicuous in the annals of this country. He was the first accredited Agent appointed to it by the Government of his Britannic Majesty, he exerted himself successfully in forwarding the acknowledgment of its independence by the Government of Great Britain, in the establishment of the Packets, and the treaty of commerce which exists between the two nations.



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Mr. Parish has indeed had an arduous and anxious employment—the equanimity of temper he has ever displayed has called for the general praise. He may now retire to his native land with the full consciousness that he has honourably discharged the duties of his office.

That Heaven may grant him a succession of happy days and literally “strew his path with flowers” is the sincere wish of the *British Packet*.

Early in January, 1832, Parish and his family sailed in the packet from Buenos Ayres and returned to England after an absence of about eight years in South America. On his arrival in London Lord Palmerston acquainted him with the decision of the Government to abolish the office of Consul-General in Buenos Ayres. Lord Palmerston assured Parish at the same time of his entire approbation of his conduct during the period in which he had executed the duties of his post, and recommended his name to the Treasury for a provisional retired allowance commensurate with the length and nature of his public services.\*

In December, 1832, Lord Palmerston † appointed Parish as English Commissioner to investigate French tonnage dues on English shipping. The French Commissioner was M. Durand de St. André, Consul-General of France, who was specially authorised by the French Government to negotiate on their behalf, and “to take into consideration the facts and calculations which have been collected by the two Governments for the purpose of ascertaining what rate of tonnage

\* He was consequently granted a pension of £1000 a year.

† Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary from 1830-41, and again 1846-51.

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duty on French ships entering the ports of France would be equivalent to the dues and port charges levied on French ships in the ports of England, and to state for the guidance of both Governments the determination to which you shall jointly come on this point."\*

These negotiations lasted about six months.

Parish had sent home his two elder sons to their grandfather in 1828, and three years later his son Frank came back to join his brothers. Writing to his father to announce Frank's arrival, Parish says, "he is a wild little fellow, but he will be obedient if you once show in earnest your authority, but it may be necessary to do so before he will behave himself." The unfortunate child thus described was only seven years old when his parents sent him home from Buenos Ayres. He had been born there and had never left the country before; he could speak only Spanish, and years after, when he was an old man, he would still give a vivid account of his arrival in England—with a monkey in his pocket and a parrot on his shoulder—and of the sudden plunge into an old-fashioned family of the severest type. For a week his grandfather kept him at home, and the child was greatly alarmed by his extreme severity; he was then sent to join his brothers at a dame's school, where he was terribly teased for his inability to speak English, and for his curious foreign ways.

Five of Parish's children were born at Buenos Ayres, and the youngest one in London, not long after his parents returned to England. Soon after the birth

\* Extract of a letter from Mr. Backhouse (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) to Mr. Parish.

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of her youngest son Mrs. Parish died at Hastings in 1835.

It was not until after her death that the country showed their appreciation of Parish's work in South America by conferring on him the knighthood of the Royal Guelphic Hanoverian Order.\* This recognition of his services was a great pleasure to Sir Woodbine, who, as his custom was, wrote without delay to his father to acquaint him with the details:—

5, Elvaston Place,  
March 1, 1837.

MY DEAR FATHER,

The King knighted me in a very kind manner to-day, and made me Sir Woodbine, which he pronounced in spite of the singularity of the name very loudly and distinctly. I had the satisfaction in a very full Levée to

\* George, Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his father Geo. III. instituted the Order of Hanover on August 12, 1815, "to be enabled to confer some public testimony of his favour upon faithful servants of the State, and individuals devoted to his exalted Person, as well as to reward distinguished services to the country. We have, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty the King, our Father, deemed the present time to be particularly favourable to the carrying into effect that intention. The return of the Hanoverian States after a long and hostile usurpation to the Gov<sup>t</sup> of their legitimate Sovereign, has led us with the deepest interest to review the years of their past misfortunes, in which all classes of our beloved German subjects gave to us such undoubted proofs of unshaken fidelity and attachment, and to revive the recollection more particularly of that year when for the expulsion of the enemy from our States, so many individuals risked their lives and property, and had the good fortune to signalise themselves by their gallant deeds. If we were previously led by these considerations, and by the occasion offered by the extension of the boundaries of our German Dominions, and their elevation to the rank of a kingdom, to institute this already proposed Order, the never-to-be-forgotten fame w<sup>h</sup> Our Han<sup>n</sup> troops obtained at the battle of Waterloo in Flanders, on the 18th of June in this year, has called upon us still more urgently to mark an epoch so glorious for Hanover, by the foundation of this Order henceforth and for ever."

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be immediately beside Lord Brecknock and Lord James Stuart, who it is odd enough were perhaps those in the room who alone were my contemporaries whilst working with poor Lord Castlereagh : and they were the first to shake me by the hand on my new Honours. Lord Conyngham \* was close to the King and seemed well satisfied with his share in this matter. I believe I shall be gazetted on Friday. . . .

Y<sup>rs</sup> aff<sup>ly</sup>.

W. P.

*P.S.*—I have only to pray you to keep the *Trumpet quiet* ; I guess you blew it rather strongly in Mount St. from an observation of Madam's who I saw the day before yesterday.

Three months later the King died, and with his death the Hanoverian Order came to an end. For several years Sir Woodbine Parish was the only surviving 'K.C.H.,' though the Duke of Cambridge, who was 'G.C.H.,' lived until 1904.

The English residents in Buenos Ayres had shown their gratitude for Sir Woodbine Parish's services on his departure from South America, but the chief recognition of his usefulness came from the Government of Buenos Ayres itself, and took a most unusual form. Not only did the Government make him a citizen of the Republic and honorary colonel of a cavalry regiment, but they gave to him and his descendants in perpetuity the right to bear the arms of the Republic ; † a right of which every member of his family proudly avails himself to this day :

\* Lord Francis Conyngham had succeeded his father in 1832.

† Registered in the Herald's College, July, 1875. See Appendix IV.



*Woodbine Parish*

*from the painting by Thos. Phillips R.A.*



## UNITARIANISM V. FEDERALISM

“Viva la Federacion!  
Buenos Ayres, 19th July, 1839.  
The 30th year of the Liberty  
the 24th of the Independence  
and the 10th of the Argentine Confederation.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of Buenos Ayres charged with those of the Argentine Confederation to Sir Woodbine Parish, K.C.H.

The undersigned has the satisfaction of sending to you, by order of his Government a Commission of Colonel of Cavalry in the forces of the Confederation, a letter of Citizenship of the Argentine Republic, and an authorisation to bear upon your coat of arms those of the Confederation, which documents his Excellency the Governor and Captain General of this Province charged with the Foreign Affairs of the Republic has ordered to be transmitted to you.

His Excellency in sending to you these honorary distinctions has had in remembrance the very important services which you rendered to the Independence and Political existence of the Confederation as the first Agent of H.B.M., your constant exertions to maintain those diplomatic relations which you first established between the two Governments, and the interest you have so decidedly evinced in a country where so many honourable records exist of your former residence in it.

Be pleased therefore to accept, Sir, these unequivocal testimonies of the consideration and esteem of the Argentine Government for your person, of its remembrance of the distinguished services you rendered to the cause of liberty in this country, and of its high sense of your continued good offices to keep up the friendly relations existing between Great Britain and the Argentine Confederation.

May God preserve you many years!

FELIPE ARANA.”

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During the years that followed his return from the Argentine, Parish busied himself with the preparation of his book on Buenos Ayres, the first edition of which appeared in 1839. Affairs in that country had meanwhile undergone the most unexpected changes owing to the extraordinary influence acquired by Rosas. His championship of the Federal Cause had resulted in a bloodthirsty animosity against all Unitarians ; \* when he accepted the supreme direction of affairs he said : “ You have chosen me as Governor owing to my knowledge and my conscience ; I obey. My convictions will be my guide, it will be my duty to make them prevail.” From this time forward every official document was headed,

\* Don José Rivera Indarte published a pamphlet at Monte Video in the year 1843, giving a list of the principal victims of Rosas' policy together with the manner of their several deaths, and to that table he appended the following summary of persons who died for opinion's sake alone, viz. :—

Poisoned	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Throats cut	...	...	...	...	...	...	3765
Shot	...	...	...	...	...	...	1393
Assassinated	...	...	...	...	...	..	722

Total 5882

Add to this the number killed in battle and executed by military orders, at a very moderate computation, 16,520, and we have a grand total of 22,404 victims to the sanguinary propensities of this man Rosas, with whom the civilised nations of the earth were on terms of friendship. These figures did not include Quiroga's expedition into the interior : he murdered as he went, and in the province of Tucuman alone shot 1500 prisoners (500 were shot in the city) ; near the Tablada at Cordoba he massacred 250 men asleep, and executed 140 prisoners immediately after the battle ; Oribe's march through the Upper Provinces was even more sanguinary—and all this was written in 1843. For nine years more Rosas pursued his ghastly policy, and added hundreds of victims to the list given by Indarte.—(See “ Twenty-four years in the Argentine Republic,” Col. J. A. King. Longman's, 1846, p. 426.)

Crichfield (“ Rise and Progress of the South American Republics ”) confirms these figures.



## UNITARIANISM V. FEDERALISM

“Long live the Argentine Confederation! death to the Unitarian Savages!” The brutal manner in which he carried out his relentless policy has been chronicled in many books and needs no repetition here. Colonel King’s narrative,\* as an eye-witness of Rosas’ atrocities, brings them only too vividly before us; they were not confined to the punishment of his enemies: jealousy of his own friends, of the men who had helped him to power, led him to strangle Quiroga, to poison Lopez, to murder his brother-in-law Cullen, and to execute the Generals Reynafé, Rodriguez and Heredia.† His tact was sufficient even to divert the popular indignation at the death of Quiroga, and it was generally supposed that the Unitarians were responsible for it, until Reynafé, at the moment of his execution, denounced Rosas as Quiroga’s murderer.‡

The ingenuity with which Rosas combined his arbitrary dictatorship with the semblance of constitutionalism and popular election amounted to genius; every five years he offered his resignation, and was enthusiastically reinstated with fresh honours, the Gauchos acclaiming him as the Washington of the South. At his orders the

\* See note, *ante*, p. 376.

† In 1841 Lavalle was also shot by his orders, after inciting the Argentines to revolt.

‡ Crichfield puts Quiroga among “the *worst*” of the Latin American Dictators, and quotes what Sarmiento said of him:—“He did not believe in God, in any morality or virtue. . . . In the line of battle his soldiers trembled with terror, not of the enemy but of their own chief, who strode behind them, brandishing his lance. They fell upon the enemy merely to put something between their eyes and the figure of Quiroga which haunted them like a phantom.” He committed appalling atrocities; he caused the girl he had promised to marry to be assassinated, and murdered his own son with his own hand in cold blood (p. 261, vol. i.).

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

coins of the country were stamped with his image, under which was printed "Eternal Rosas." \*

In 1838 he was beset with enemies on every side, the French were blockading the River Plate, the Orientalists declared war on him, and the Provinces of Corrientes and Entre Rios rose in arms against him ; but Rosas was equal to the occasion. He increased his cruelties and carried the war into the enemy's country, announcing his intention of annexing Monte Video. England then joined the French in the blockade of the River Plate, and opened up the navigation of the Paraná River, which had so far been closed to European commerce. Peace was the main object of France and England, and a preliminary treaty was signed with Rosas in 1849, declaring the free navigation of the Paraná river, a return to the "status quo ante bellum," and confirming the independence of the Oriental Republic. But the National Assembly in Paris refused to ratify the treaty, and in 1851 France decided to send an expedition of marines to coerce Rosas.

About this time the English Government had great difficulty in choosing the right person to conduct negotiations with Rosas at Buenos Ayres concerning the payment of British loans, and Sir Woodbine Parish was asked his advice. Finally the suggestion was made that Sir Woodbine should go out himself ; they besought him "to take Rosas in hand, not that the remuneration would be any object to you, but you would settle everything in a few days when others would take weeks, and it would be a crowning glory to your fame in South America that the Bondholders at last got their rights. By the

\* Crichfield, vol. i., 259-261, see *ante*, 376, note.

## UNITARIANISM V. FEDERALISM

screw-steamers the time of absence would be short and Lord P. would be delighted."

Sir Woodbine, however, declined the offer :

"I am myself," he wrote in reply, "very peculiarly situated with regard to that country and Rosas ;\* I consider myself, and I believe I am by them considered to be, identified with the history of its independence. Rosas and some of those most intimately connected with him will, I believe, always consider themselves under certain obligations to me, which in that country are considered as a debt of honor.

I believed when I left the country that I had established a British influence there which nothing but the most gross and flagrant mismanagement could have destroyed. I have seen with feelings I can hardly describe not only the destruction of that influence, but what I could not believe could possibly have been brought about, an actual rupture between the two countries ; and a Policy pursued so totally opposite to all I held during the time I was in the Country, that I should be perfectly ashamed to show my face there again, and to listen to reproaches which I could not reply to. With such feelings I should decline now even the Mission if it were offered to me. . . .

With respect to Lord Palmerston, I daresay he would, as you say, gladly see a settlement come to during his rule at the Foreign Office ; but he would prefer to see almost anybody else employed as the Agent to effect it.

Ever yours sincerely,  
WOODBINE PARISH."

\* The tyranny of Rosas was almost at an end. On January 8, 1852, "el grande ejercito libertador de la America del Su," under Urquiza crossed the Paranà ; on February 3, Rosas was utterly defeated at Monte Caseros. He fled to Ireland, was condemned to death by a B.A. tribunal in 1861, and finally died at Southampton in 1879.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Sir Woodbine always felt that Lord Palmerston did not thoroughly appreciate his services. Perhaps some justification for this feeling may be found in the next chapter.

Sir Woodbine never returned to South America, though his sons and grandsons found careers in the country which owed so much to its first Consul-General.

## CHAPTER XII

### NAPLES AND FLORENCE—1840—1847

Lord Palmerston appoints Parish Minister Plenipotentiary at Naples to settle the Sulphur Claims—Life at Bomba's Court—Sir Woodbine's Second Marriage—Return to Naples—Rome and Florence.

IN March, 1833, William Temple,\* brother of Lord Palmerston, was appointed British Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Naples. Ferdinand II. (commonly known in later years as "Bomba" after his cruel and destructive bombardment of the Sicilian towns in 1848-9) was then King of Naples and the two Sicilies. Temple's post was an easy one until 1840, when difficulties arose about the sulphur monopoly. He then proved inadequate to deal with the problem which confronted him, and Sir Woodbine Parish was sent out by Lord Palmerston to assist Temple in the necessary negotiations which preceded the making of a commercial Treaty between England and Naples.

The circumstances which led to the sulphur claims were briefly these :

In 1816 a commercial treaty,† in every way most

\* Afterwards Sir William Temple, K.C.B. The monument to him in Romsey Abbey ascribes his death in 1856 to the arduous strain of his work in Naples.

† See Ashley's "Life of Palmerston," vol. i. p. 401.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

favourable to England was made between that country and the Two Sicilies. In 1838, however, the King of Naples granted to a French company the monopoly of all sulphur produced and worked in Sicily—to the great detriment of the British sulphur trade. Our Government lost no time in remonstrating with Naples and complaining that this was a violation of the Treaty of 1816: they finally extorted a promise from King Ferdinand, in July, 1839, that the monopoly should cease on the 1st of January in the following year. 1840 came, the monopoly continued, and in February Palmerston peremptorily demanded of the Neapolitan Government an immediate cessation of the preferential treatment of France, and claimed full compensation for the losses sustained by British merchants since its commencement.

Sir William Temple returned to Naples with full powers to insist on both points, but after a few days' delay Ferdinand asserted that in his opinion the sulphur contract was not a violation of the treaty with England.

The British Government then prepared to enforce their demands by the presence of the Mediterranean Fleet under Admiral Stopford, and Lord Palmerston sent full instructions to his brother :

Foreign Office,  
March 13, 1840.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,

I send you some important instructions which you will execute without delay. We cannot stand any longer the postponement of the abolition of the sulphur monopoly.

When this question is arranged you will then begin

## NAPLES AND FLORENCE

the Treaty; but we cannot allow the abolition of the monopoly to be the result of the new Treaty, because that monopoly is a violation of the old Treaty and we cannot conclude a new Treaty while the present one remains broken. If matters should come to reprisals, that would not be a reason for you to leave Naples, because reprisal is not an act of war; and our ships should not establish a blockade or commit any more direct act of hostility without further instructions from hence. If we come to hostilities, then it would be fitting for you to withdraw and go to Rome to await further instructions."

On April 17, British ships of war commenced hostilities and captured several Neapolitan vessels, and finally Naples accepted the mediation of France on the terms named by Lord Palmerston, who writes again to his brother—

Foreign Office,  
April 20, 1840.

You will see that we have accepted the good offices of the French Government for the attainment of our demand, but that we cannot abate any part of those demands, and that in order to have the King of Naples more at liberty to yield to the advice of the French we have agreed to suspend for three weeks the further continuance of reprisals, without, however, releasing the ships which may already have been taken.

I have felt great pleasure in reading your despatches and seeing your account of the manner in which you have acquitted yourself in the difficult position in which you have been placed. You have acted with judgment, firmness, decision, and temper. . . .

It is possible that the matter may be settled before the French negotiator arrives, but it is also possible that

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

it may not. In that case your part during the time he is negotiating will be easy and simple : you will only have to wait and see what he can accomplish ; but if he asks you to waive any part of your demands you will say that your hands are tied on that point and that you have no power to do so. If the Neapolitan Government yields, there ought to be some instrument drawn up in the shape of a convention or protocol, to be signed by you and the Neapolitan Minister. . . . It ought to make a general engagement to make compensation to British subjects for all just claims which they have made against the N. Government for losses incurred by reason of the acts of that Government or its officers.

Carlton Terr.,  
May 13, 1840.

Guizot read me a letter to-day from Thiers saying that Capriola at Naples had been dismissed at the instigation of the King's confessor for having accepted the French mediation, but Thiers begged Guizot to assure me that he would not allow either himself or us to be the dupes of the King of Naples. I foresee that the matter will not be settled without blows, or more vigorous measures on our part—the first thing we shall do will be to establish a blockade and to cut off all communication between Italy and Sicily. . . .

The people of Vienna and Berlin affect to say that we are in the wrong about Naples, but this is evidently for the purpose of driving us to make matters up. I tell them, however, that we do not care what they think, but know ourselves to be in the right, and mean to compel the Neapolitans to give way. I said to Castalcicala \* that the only thing we regret in this matter is danger to Sicily ; he replied that I might make myself quite easy on that score, as he knew from his own observation that no country was ever more quiet

\* The Neapolitan Minister in London.



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and contented than Sicily! I said I was delighted to hear so and from such good authority.

French mediation having been accepted by Naples, Lord Palmerston appointed his nephew, Mr. Sullivan,\* and Sir Woodbine Parish as the British Commissioners to settle the claims of the British subjects arising out of the monopoly.

On September 27, 1840, Sir Woodbine Parish had an interview at the Foreign Office with Lord Palmerston's Secretary, Backhouse, who said that he expected the Neapolitan business to last about six months: three days later Sir Woodbine wrote from Brighton accepting the post of Commissioner.

The following points were laid down by Mr. Labouchere, of the Board of Trade, for the guidance of the British Commissioners (Board of Trade, June 29, 1840).

1. To take care that the period for the limitation of the sulphur monopoly is fixed for a period before August 12 next—the time when preparations begin to be made for the operations of next year.

2. To restrict the export duty which the Neapolitan

\* Sullivan's mother was Lord Palmerston's sister. His father had been deputy Secretary-at-War.

† From the *London Gazette*, Friday, November 27, 1840.

“ Foreign Office, November 17.

“ It having been agreed between Her Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies that a mixed Commission shall meet at Naples, to liquidate certain claims of Her Majesty's subjects against the Sicilian Government, arising out of the late sulphur monopoly, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint Sir Woodbine Parish, K.C.H., late Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres, and Stephen Henry Sullivan, Esq., now Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Munich, to proceed to Naples as Her Majesty's Commissioners, in virtue of the agreement aforesaid.”

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Government shall impose on the sulphur to a reasonable amount. It ought not to exceed six carlini per cantar. It must of course be equally applied to all.

3. The mines, possessed or leased or advanced upon by British subjects, must not be limited in their production.

To this Lord Palmerston added the following memorandum :—

“ It seems to me that the general principle on which compensation should be granted in these cases, should be, that on the one side should be set the quantity of sulphur which each merchant actually exported, and the net profit which he made on the sale of it at the high prices occasioned by the monopoly, and that on the other side should be set the quantity of sulphur which he would have exported during the same period, had the monopoly not existed, together with the net profit which he would have made upon the sale of that quantity at the prices which existed just before the monopoly was established, and the difference between these two is the utmost that could justly be demanded from the King of Naples.

No claim can in my opinion be made on account of profit which it is assumed would have been made upon transactions which would have taken place had the monopoly not existed.”

On November 26, 1840, Sir Woodbine Parish and his family travelled by the new railroad to Liverpool, and embarked two days later on the ship which was to take them to Naples. After a very stormy passage through the Irish Sea they stopped at Falmouth to take in the mails for the Mediterranean, and then made an excellent run across the Bay of Biscay, reaching Gibraltar on

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December 7. After a short stay on the Rock and at Malta, they arrived at Naples on the 19th, much delighted with the speed of their voyage.

Soon after the Parishes were settled in Naples, the other Commissioner, Mr. Sullivan, arrived; "an intelligent young man who will not give me much trouble," as Sir Woodbine Parish wrote to his father. Of Temple he writes that he is "civilly disposed and seems a quiet and obliging gentleman, but of a very different character to his brother." The French Commander was M. de Larde, whom Sir Woodbine had known in Buenos Ayres when he was an attaché in Brazil.

On the King's birthday the official presentations took place, and in the evening Sir Woodbine took his family to the opera to see the Royalties. The King, he says, "was far from popular, a thorough despot, very obstinate and ignorant and completely priest-ridden, and his family no better liked than himself."

The Carnival opened on February 4, and Sir Woodbine drove down the Toledo with the children, and was "pelted with balls of chalk or putty—a very stupid thing—no sugar plums—no masks—no King!" The children, however, were delighted, and insisted on returning to the Sunday Carnival, when Sir Woodbine's carriage windows were broken by the confetti. Every one wore wire masks that day as a protection.

During the Carnival the King and Queen went to a magnificent ball given by Solomon Rothschild, at which no expense was spared to show the riches of the house of Rothschild. Sir Woodbine had known him at Aix-la-Chapelle shortly after his marriage, but now his children were grown up and his son was about to marry his

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cousin, daughter of old Nathan Rothschild, with whom Sir Woodbine had had such a curious interview nearly twenty years before.\* It used to be said of the Neapolitan Rothschild, "Solomon ancien était roi des juifs ; Solomon moderne est le juif des rois !"

In March the Duchess of Cambridge and her "nice jolly little daughter," Princess Augusta,† came out to Naples, and the Parishes went to a great dinner at Mr. Temple's, in the Duchess's honour, and found her most agreeable. Great amusement was caused among the English people, as a guard of honour, which had been ordered out to greet her on her arrival in Naples, played "Polly, put the kettle on," under the impression that they were playing the English National Anthem.

The opera, though not very good, was the chief amusement at Naples, and Fanny Kemble was at that time *prima donna*. Sir Woodbine found her "very like her aunt Mrs. Siddons both in countenance and figure—allowing for the difference in age. . . . I should think she might succeed as an actress in England in some of her parts for which her appearance is well suited."

Great amusement was afforded to strangers who visited the San Carlo Opera about this time, as all the danseuses in the ballet were clothed in dark blue tights, in deference to the scruples of the late Queen's Jesuit confessor. The première danseuse, as a concession, was allowed to have her tights made in light blue! Superstition at Court was rampant, and the royal bed was sprinkled every night with holy water.

\* See p. 199.

† Princess Augusta was born in 1822 : in 1843 she married the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

## NAPLES AND FLORENCE

Sir Woodbine delighted in taking his children to the Museum and also to Pompeii, where great discoveries were being made at that time. When he had last been there, twenty-five years before, the excavations were only beginning. He did a certain amount of digging on his own behalf, and made some interesting discoveries near Pozzuoli of terra cotta and glass vases, and of some coins of the reign of Titus.

By August the heat in Naples had become almost unbearable, but the negotiations over the sulphur claims made little progress. Meanwhile a change of Government had occurred at home, and Lord Aberdeen had succeeded Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office.

In November Sir Woodbine wrote to his father that the business was practically done, but that after all it would be necessary to have recourse to French arbitration.

Early in 1842 the results of their labours were laid before Parliament, and Lord Aberdeen was so well pleased with the conduct of the negotiations that he appointed Sir Woodbine Parish (conjointly with Temple) British plenipotentiary for the commercial Treaty now to be made between England and Naples. Temple was anything but pleased with this arrangement, and was anxious to resign, and Sir Woodbine felt that the situation would require very careful handling. Temple had told his brother before the latter left the Foreign Office that it was useless to hope that a commercial Treaty could be negotiated between the two countries. However, Lord Palmerston advised his brother to "hold on," and not to regret "that Parish is associated with you in the Negotiation: the chances are that the Negotiation

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fails, or will at least not lead to our obtaining all we want, and if such should be the result, it will be quite as well for you not to have been the sole negotiator."

In a later letter, dated May 29, 1843, Lord Palmerston wrote again to his brother, saying—

I suppose you have found the Neapolitans hard to deal with in the matter of Treaty, and I remember foretelling this to you, and saying that it was a lucky thing for you that Parish was associated with you to treat, because if you had been alone there would not have been wanting people to endeavour to throw the blame of failure upon you, whereas now even the Tories will have their mouths stopped by the name of Parish.\*

While the negotiations were going on in a truly Neapolitan "dolce far niente" manner, the envoys were trying to get what amusement they could out of their quiet life at Naples.

The visit of the French fleet in July, 1842, caused some diversion, and the *Belle Poule* commanded by the Prince de Joinville was a great object of interest, being still painted black from her voyage to fetch the body of Napoleon from St. Helena. Some annoyance was shown by Admiral Hugon when he found that only four foreign ships of war were allowed to anchor at the same time off the city; part of the fleet had to be sent to Castellamare and four other ships to Baiæ. A big ball was given at the French Embassy for the Prince de Joinville—whom Sir Woodbine describes as "a nice looking fellow and very popular: he is slight and tall in figure with a handsome intelligent face, which he is trying to hide by encouraging

\* See vol. iii., "Life of Lord Palmerston," by Bulwer Lytton.

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as large a crop of beard and whiskers as he can get to grow upon it."

Some excitement was caused, before the departure of the fleet, by the proceedings of two young French naval officers, who, having had a quarrel, proceeded to settle it with swords in a duel at one of the hotels. They had hired the largest room they could get: one officer was run through the body and killed, and the other dangerously—if not mortally—wounded. The police, hearing a scuffle, broke in just as the duel was over, and seizing the seconds put them in prison, in accordance with the strict Neapolitan laws against duelling, refusing to give them up to the French admiral until special permission had been obtained from the King, who was at that time absent from Naples.

The revision of the English tariff was arousing great commercial hostility in France and Germany at this time, and the King of Naples, strengthened by the thought that Europe was with him and against the English, became daily more uncompromising towards England.

Further delays were caused by the death of King Ferdinand's brother, which plunged the Court into mourning, and by the marriage of Princess Teresa (the King's sister) to the Emperor of Brazil. This ceremony was done by proxy, and was the opportunity for a wonderful display of jewels by the Royal Family. Sir Woodbine Parish, having been in Brazil, was frequently cross-questioned as to the country over which the Princess was to reign: all Naples was apparently under the impression that it was a savage country with a population of nothing but blacks, and such doubts were entertained as to her ever reaching it alive that one of the Brazilian

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ships forming her escort was fitted up as a mortuary chapel.

In the summer of 1843 Sir Woodbine left Naples and spent a short time in England, obtaining further instructions for the Treaty. During this visit home his son Leonard left for India to join his regiment, and his younger son Frank, after a short training in the Foreign Office, went out to Koolungsoo, near Amoy, in China, as Assistant in the Consular Service.

Early in 1844 Sir Woodbine married Miss Louisa Hubbard of Leytonstone in Essex.\* Her father, Mr. John Hubbard of Forest House, was a well-known Russian merchant; her brother subsequently became the first Lord Addington. Sir Woodbine and Lady Parish left London in September for Naples *viâ* Antwerp and Aix-la-Chapelle; then by the Rhine to Mannheim, and thence by the railway to Basle, where a new hotel containing 250 beds aroused the wonder and amazement of the travellers.

The rest of the journey was made by the St. Gothard, the Italian lakes and Genoa, and thence by sea to Naples.

Soon after their arrival another Royal marriage took place between the Duc d'Aumale and the young Princess of Salerno. According to Sir Woodbine, the Prince de Joinville and the Count of Syracuse "were rather too merry during the ceremony at the extreme gaucherie of the Duc d'Aumale who, with a large pair of jack boots and spurs, was rather inconveniently clad for a man who had to go down on his knees several times during the ceremony!"

\* See Illustration, opposite.





Henry Walker Photo

Louisa Wife of Sir Woodbine Parish  
and her sister Miss Ellen Hubbard  
from a miniature by Sir William Ross R.A. 1822



## NAPLES AND FLORENCE

Royal marriages were the order of the day, and early in 1845 the King's brother arrived at Naples with his Brazilian bride—a sister of the Emperor and of the Princesse de Joinville. The Neapolitans were most curious to see her, and fully expected her to be black! And though among her countrymen she was considered good-looking, the Italians admired her as little as the French did the Princesse de Joinville. Many fêtes and Court balls were given in her honour, and were greatly enjoyed by Sir Woodbine's daughter Fanny,\* who had just made her *début* in society.

On May 31, 1845, Sir Woodbine wrote to his father to announce the birth of his daughter Nina, to whom her parents gave an Italian name in commemoration of the country of her birth. About this time Sir Woodbine's letters are full of references to his son Leonard, who was now stationed at Cawnpore. He was a most promising boy and had done extremely well at school, earning the affection of his masters and great popularity among his school-fellows. Unfortunately he developed dysentery in India, and died on August 10, 1845, just before his twentieth birthday, to the great grief of his father and stepmother and all connected with him.

In July, 1845, a messenger was despatched to England with the ratification of the commercial Treaty, which was at last an accomplished fact. Already on March 23, 1843, Sir Robert Peel had taken the opportunity of Mr. Hume's † motion in the House of Commons to "bear

\* She afterwards married the Rev. Thomas Hubbard, her stepmother's brother.

† Joseph Hume was for thirty years the leader of the Radical party in the House of Commons. Owing to his exertions "retrenchment" was added to the party watchwords, "peace and reform."

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testimony to the admirable manner in which Sir Woodbine Parish had performed his duty and to the great ability and zeal he had shewn in the public Service."

When the conditions of the Treaty became more generally known in England, great satisfaction was expressed at the remarkable reductions in the tariff brought about by the English Commissioners. Writing from Naples on March 12, 1846, the Naples correspondent of the *Morning Herald* said—

"We are all taken by surprise at the extent of the reductions on manufactures which have come out in the new Tariff published yesterday; and which, though long known to be in contemplation, goes beyond all our expectations, and does the greatest credit to the King—no thanks to his Ministers, who were most of them opposed to the change of system, except Fortunato and Prince Comitini, who signed the Treaty with Mr. Temple and Sir Woodbine Parish, which led the way to these important changes. We are all greatly indebted to these gentlemen who have done more for us than all the previous Ministers who have been here in the last 20 years. Thank God, however, the iniquitous system which has so long been in force is now put an end to; we have got a reciprocity treaty, the abolition of all special favours to others, fair play and a fair tariff, and I trust this will once more set up our long lost trade with this country."

On the successful conclusion of the commercial Treaty with Naples Sir Woodbine received the warmest thanks of the Messina merchants for the advantages of

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the new tariff for which they felt themselves greatly indebted to him. Lord Palmerston also acquainted him, in a letter of December 12, 1845, of the approval by His Majesty's Government of his zeal and diligence in procuring valuable information in Naples, as well as of his exertions in urging the adoption of the alterations in the tariff. He enclosed a copy of Prince Scilla's letter to Lord Aberdeen, written from Naples on December 4, 1845—

MY LORD,

Le choix de Sir Woodbine Parish fait par le Cabinet de S.M. Britique. pour la négociation entre le royaume des deux Siciles et l'Angleterre a été envisagé par le Roi mon maître comme une preuve nouvelle de l'intérêt du Gouvernement anglais à la conservation, et à l'affermissement des liens d'amitié et de bonne correspondance, qui depuis si longtemps unissent les deux couronnes.

Les qualités personnelles très distinguées de Sir Woodbine Parish, et l'esprit très délicat de conciliation dont il a fait usage pendant les négociations que les Gouvernemens se proposaient, lui ont acquis d'un côté toute l'estime du Roi, et de l'autre ont excité la reconnaissance de Sa Majesté envers le Cabinet de S.M. Britannique qui, en choisissant un sujet si digne à tous égards, lui a donné un nouveau témoignage de déférence pour sa Personne Royale.

Le Roi désirant que les sentimens dont il est animé soient connus du Cabinet de S.M. Britannique du moment que Sir Woodbine Parish vient de partir de cette capitale m'a commandé de transmettre l'expression à vous, My Lord, que Sa Majesté le croit bien, a du contribuer puissamment à la destination d'un tel Plénipotentiaire.

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En m'acquittant de l'honorable Commission du Roi mon Maitre, je suis, My Lord, etc. etc.

(Signé) LE PRINCE DE SCILLE,  
Duc de S. Cristina.

à son Excellence

My Lord Aberdeen, &c.,  
à Londres.

On leaving Naples, at the conclusion of the Treaty, Sir Woodbine was in no hurry to return to England, as it seemed likely that he might be employed on further negotiations arising from the revision of the English tariff.\* He went to Rome with his family in December, 1845, meaning to pass the winter there; but the news of his son's death made it impossible for him to enjoy the gaiety of a Roman winter, and early in January they moved to Florence. Sir Woodbine and Lady Parish drove post from Rome to Florence, passing by Assisi, "a very remarkable town on the right," and admired the Church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, "destroyed by an earthquake in 1832 and lately very handsomely rebuilt." They stayed two nights in Perugia, and Sir Woodbine visited the newly discovered Etruscan tombs, "most wonderfully preserved and of the highest interest," besides the Cathedral and the pictures of Perugino in the churches and Cambio. On the evening of January 22 they reached Florence, having left Rome six days before. Finding Florence to their liking, they took a villa overlooking the Arno, intending to spend the summer there and return to England in the autumn. The villa belonged to Madame Catalani, the famous

\* *Morning Herald*, Thursday, March 26, 1846.—See also the *Times* of the same date.

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singer, who reserved one wing for her own use. Sir Woodbine and Lady Parish lost no time in paying their respects to their landlady and found her, to their surprise, "still wonderfully young in appearance; though as upright as ever and her countenance radiant with intelligence and pleasure" she refused to sing any more, saying always that "God, who had given her that heavenly voice, had taken it back again to Paradise, from whence He had brought it for a short time on earth." Nevertheless, she did sing "God Save the Queen" one night at a concert and showed that her powers had not altogether gone.

One day Madame Catalani told Lady Parish her whole history. At the age of seventeen she was taken out of the convent in which she had been educated, and within a month was appearing in grand opera at Venice as prima donna; this was in the year 1797. She used to receive 1000 guineas for singing at a public concert, but she refused to be paid for singing in private houses. She was offered, and refused, £25,000 to sing at forty concerts in the United States—ten at each of the four great cities. Among her possessions at the Villa were two large porphyry vases given her by Bernadotte, who, in common with many other sovereigns, had been very kind to her. Metternich had been one of her best friends.\*

During his stay in Florence Sir Woodbine met a considerable number of interesting people at the house of the British Minister (Lord Holland) and elsewhere. On Monday, April 13, the entry in his diary states: "Dined with Fanny at the Morgan Thomas'; met

\* When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, Madame Catalani went to Paris, where she caught cholera and died, to the great regret of all who knew her.—W.P. (Diary).

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young Jerome Bonaparte\* (son of old Jerome), who is here, a fat, stupid young man, with a profile very like the Emperor, the duc de Talleyrand, (husband of the Duchesse de Dino), an old beau and polite man, Lord Vernon, Mr. Scarlett, † and others, Madame Catalani, her husband and daughter."

On May 30 Lady Parish's eldest son, George, was born at the Villa Catalani. Sir Woodbine's eldest son, Henry Woodbine, was now a captain in the 45th Regiment; John, who visited his father at Florence in the spring, was a lieutenant in the navy; Frank was in the China Consular service, and the youngest son of the first marriage still at school in England. Had Leonard lived he would have been in the thick of the Indian Mutiny, which broke out soon after his death.

News of Cardinal Ferretti's election as Pope—"Pio nono"—was received on June 21, ‡ and with it came rumours of his Liberal tendencies; but the next day was the eve of the Festa of San Giovanni, and interest in

\* Nearly sixty years later, in June, 1903, the writer (Sir Woodbine Parish's granddaughter) dined with Jerome's sister, Princesse Mathilde Bonaparte in Paris, at her house in the Rue de Berri. Princesse Mathilde had been brought up by the mother of Napoleon I., and was still, in her old age, acutely sensible of the remarkable power of her grandmother. She told me many stories of the famous "Madame Mère," and called my attention to the gold eagles which formed the only decoration of her dinner-table. They had accompanied her uncle Napoleon I. on all his campaigns—including Moscow. It was Princesse Mathilde's last dinner-party. She died the following autumn and with her died the last remaining traditions of the Empire in Paris.—N.L.K.S.

† Secretary of H.B.M. Legation at Naples.

‡ He succeeded Pope Gregory, who had been such a nonentity that the saying went round Rome—

"Disse Marforio  
E morte Gregorio  
Pasquino disse  
E quando visse?"



## NAPLES AND FLORENCE

the new Pope was forgotten while all the city made merry for their patronal Festival. Sir Woodbine took his daughter and Madame Catalani to the Corsini Palace, whither Prince Corsini had bidden all the principal foreigners and the nobility of Florence, to see the fireworks on the bridges over the Arno—"A very splendid party and exhibition, the Dome of the Cathedral was illuminated in outline like St. Peter's at Easter, and had a magnificent effect," he wrote in his diary. The following day they went to see the horse-racing in the streets, "the same as at Rome—no riders—a very absurd sight altogether."

The Liberal measures of the new Pope—he at once released two thousand political offenders who had been put in prison by his predecessors—had at first delighted all Italy, but a few months later his policy began to excite profound distrust. The Jesuits were the first to abuse him, and others soon followed: the recent earthquake\* and the unusually severe and destructive storms that had visited different parts of the country were all attributed to the disapproval by the Almighty of the new Papal policy.

In October the Parishes moved into the city, fearing that the long journey to England and a northern winter would be dangerous for the two babies; Sir Woodbine took an apartment in the Ruspigliosi Palace, and Lady Parish's brother, the Rev. Thomas Hubbard, and her sister Ellen visited them during the winter. The unusual severity of the winter—which was of course attributed to the modernist ideas of the Pope—and the

\* On August 13 many towns were damaged between Leghorn, Pisa, and Volterra.

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severe illness of the British Minister, Sir George Hamilton, who had lately succeeded Lord Holland, resulted in less gaiety than usual for the English community in Florence. On New Year's Day the Grand Duke of Tuscany gave a great party at the Pitti Palace and showed particular attention to Sir Woodbine, taking an especial interest in his work at Naples, as the Grand Duchess was a sister of King Ferdinand.

As the winter advanced the weather went from bad to worse. The Tiber overflowed its banks until a large part of Rome was inundated, and fever and sickness were prevalent throughout the city; still the Pope was blamed, and his friends did not hesitate to express their fears that poison was likely to carry him off, as it had done so many of his predecessors. "But in this case," Sir Woodbine writes, "it is probable that he will be the last Pope charged with temporal power, and there is little doubt that his death would give rise to a general movement throughout Italy in favour of popular institutions."

In March, 1847, he writes of the restless spirit that is everywhere abroad, the Austrians becoming so ungovernable that it will be difficult to prevent collision; and who can say where it will end? He fears that Louis Philippe and Metternich cannot live much longer, and in his opinion their influence was alone maintaining the peace of Europe.

To add to the general unrest, the snow was still lying all over Tuscany, and though the Italians tried to console themselves with their proverb—

"Sotto la neve pane  
Sotto l'acqua fame,"

## NAPLES AND FLORENCE

distress was increasing throughout the country, and with it thieving and brigandage of every kind. Twice the Bologna diligence was stopped and plundered, and news came of similar occurrences from every part of Italy.

It was therefore with some relief—when the spring came, and the unusually violent equinoctial gales were past—that Sir Woodbine and his family set sail from Leghorn. After an uneventful voyage they reached Southampton, and, leaving Lady Parish to take the children to Forest House, Sir Woodbine went straight to Brighton to see his father. Old Mr. Parish had grown very infirm during the past year, and his son was anxious to be with him as much as possible on his return from Italy.

Sir Woodbine was little more than fifty years of age now, but his public life was practically at an end. Though he was very desirous of further employment, his health was no longer equal to heavy work; moreover the size of his family, and the consequent expense of moving from place to place, made it difficult for him to accept a post abroad. The deaths of Lord Londonderry and Canning had deprived him, at an early stage in his career, of the men whose friendship would have been invaluable to him. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen had held out expectations to Sir Woodbine, but just before his return to England they had resigned, and Lord Palmerston, who then took office, was little disposed to help Sir Woodbine, who had undoubtedly accomplished what his brother, Sir William Temple, had failed to do at Naples.

In later years Sir Woodbine was offered the post of

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Minister at Berne ; and in 1857 Lord Clarendon asked him to undertake a mission for the settlement of affairs in Central America, but these offers came too late, and Sir Woodbine regretfully declined the tasks which he was then physically unfit to perform.

## CHAPTER XIII

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE ; AND LATER YEARS

The Parishes settle in England—Sir Woodbine's scientific work—The *Chlamyphorus truncatus*—The *Megatherium* and the *Glyptodon*—"Buenos Ayres and La Plata"—Later years—Death of Sir Woodbine and Lady Parish.

SIR WOODBINE had been anxious about his father's health for some time past, and on his return to England he let his London house and settled at Brighton, for the sake of being near old Mr. Parish and his daughter Eliza.

The next few years deprived him of several cherished friends : the news of Mr. Planta's death reached him at Southampton on his arrival from Naples. The loss of his earliest friend was a great grief to Sir Woodbine, who, throughout his career, had been in such close touch with Lord Castlereagh's devoted secretary.

Lady Parish's father, Mr. Hubbard, died in the same year ; and in 1848, Mr. Parish, "my dear Father and best friend," as his son called him, peacefully departed this life in his eightieth year. His son's affection for him is a delightful record of unbroken trust and confidence, beginning in the son's childhood and lasting till the father's death. A note in Sir Woodbine's diary on Saturday, May 30, says : "So passed away in an enviable death my dearest, kindest friend. . . He was a very handsome man, remarkably upright, of a most noble countenance and gentlemanly bearing."

After his father's death, Sir Woodbine spent two or three years in London at his own house in Gloucester

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Place. In 1853 he retired to Quarry House, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, which was his home until his death in 1882.

No account of Sir Woodbine Parish would be complete without a reference to his scientific work. Soon after his arrival in South America, he developed a great interest in geological research in that country. This led him on to the study of meteoric iron and pre-historic animals, and after his return to England his passion for scientific work developed along many different channels.

The results of his investigations, whether the outcome of original research, or merely the translation of Spanish or other scientific treatises, were generally embodied in papers delivered to the various learned societies in this country. They include a wide range of subjects, such as—

“The Indians in South America.” Ethnological Society, May, 1865. (4 vols. *Journal, E.S.*).

“Notice of a submarine Forest off Bopeep (Sussex) and of some fossil remains near St. Leonard's-on-Sea,” communicated to the Geological Society in 1834. (Vol. ii. No. 38, *G.S.*)

“Earthquake Waves on the Coasts of the Pacific.” (*G.S.*, vol. ii. No. 42.) This paper also appeared in the *London and Edinburgh Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science*, March, 1836.

“Account of a voyage to explore the River Negro of Patagonia, in 1782, by Don Basilio Villarina,” edited and translated by Sir Woodbine Parish. (*Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. vi., 1836.)

“Account of certain expeditions undertaken by order of the King of Spain, between the years 1749 and 1776, and of the Establishment of a Colony on the Island of Juan Fernandez.” Edited and translated by Sir Woodbine Parish. (*T.G.S.*, vol. iv., 1834.)

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“Diary of a Journey with Sir Eyre Coote, from Bussora to Aleppo, in 1780 (?),” communicated by Sir Woodbine Parish.

“A journey across the Southern Andes of Chile, with the object of opening a new route across the Continent,” by Don Guillermo Cox, communicated and translated by Sir Woodbine Parish. (*T.G.S.*, May 9th, 1864.)

“Records of the Provinces of La Plata,” collected by Pedro de Angelis, reviewed at length by Sir Woodbine Parish, and communicated to the *T.G.S.*, vol. vii., 1837.

“On the Southern affluents of the River Amazon, and on the advantages to be derived from the navigation of the Rivers which flow from the Cordilleras of Peru into the Amazon.” Translated by Sir Woodbine Parish from the Spanish MSS. of J. Haenke, 1799.

Also “An Official Report on the River Beni and the countries through which it flows.” (Vol. v. *T.G.S.*, pp. 90–101.)

“Notice of a MS. map of Pekin obtained by Sir Woodbine Parish from an Italian Missionary at Naples in 1843.” (*Geog. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 99, etc.)

“Account of the East Falkland Islands.” (*T.G.S.*, vol. iii. pp. 94–98.)

In addition to papers communicated to learned societies, Sir Woodbine Parish presented a skeleton of the *Chlamyphorus truncatus* to the Zoological Society. It was the only known specimen in Europe, and an article on the osteology of this strange animal appeared in the second volume of the *Journal of the Zoological Society*. When the Society dispersed their collection, the *Chlamyphorus truncatus* was purchased by the British Museum.

In 1826 Sir Woodbine Parish, through Sir Humphry Davy, presented the British Museum with the great mass of meteoric iron from the Chaco, which was

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supposed to be part of that of Otumpa described by Rubin de Celis in the "Philosophical Transactions for 1788." It weighed fourteen hundred pounds.

Sir Woodbine took some trouble to ascertain the precise history of this large mass of native iron, and found that there was no doubt of its having come from the same place as that described by Rubin de Celis, though, whether it was a fragment of the particular mass on which he made his report, or a smaller one in its immediate vicinity, it was difficult to determine. There certainly was an impression at Buenos Ayres that not only one but several masses of this iron were to be found in the Gran Chaco referred to by Ruben de Celis. The history of its being at Buenos Ayres was this \*—

"After the people of that country had declared their independency of Spain, they were blockaded by a naval force which cut off their communication with Europe, and especially prevented their receiving what they were in great need of, viz., arms and other warlike stores. In this dilemma it was suggested that muskets might be made if they had but the material; and it was then that the iron formerly described by De Celis was recollected as existing within their own territories, and people were sent to the Gran Chaco to bring away at least a part of it, that it might be ascertained how far it was fit for the purpose; and thus this particular mass was brought to Buenos Ayres. By the time it arrived there, early in 1813, the necessity for using it had ceased; the projected experiment, however, was tried, and a pair of pistols were made of it, which were afterwards sent as a present to the President of the United States."

\* See a letter from Sir Woodbine Parish, to Chas. Konig, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Royal Society, London, August 10, 1833.



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The remainder of the mass brought down from the Chaco, after some specimens were taken from it, was laid aside in the arsenal at Buenos Ayres until it was given to Sir Woodbine Parish, by the Government of that country, on the occasion of his carrying into effect the recognition by Great Britain of its political independence.

On his return from South America in 1833, Sir Woodbine also gave the British Museum a large mass of meteoric iron\* from the Desert of Atacama, and various specimens of native silver.

His most important contribution to science was the collection of fossil bones of the *Megatherium* and *Glyptodon*, which were given to the Royal College of Surgeons, and attracted a great deal of attention owing to their unusual size and good preservation.

Casts were taken of the bones and given, conformably to Sir Woodbine's wishes, to the British Museum (now transferred to the Natural History Museum at South Kensington), the Geological Society, and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Mr. William Clift, F.R.S., F.G.S., read a paper to the Geological Society in June, 1832, on "The discovery by Woodbine Parish, Esq., junior, of portions of three skeletons of the *Megatherium* in the Province of Buenos Ayres, in South America." Several years previous to this, Parish had presented the Geological Society with several large bones of mammalia, discovered in the valley of Tarija on the confines of Bolivia. Being anxious to procure further specimens, he instituted a series of inquiries, by which he ascertained that the

\* Described and analysed by Thos. Allan, Esq., in "The Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," February, 1828.

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teeth and bones of quadrupeds had been frequently met with in the Province of Buenos Ayres, especially in the neighbourhood of the river Salado, and in the beds of its tributary lakes and streams. More bones had been found in the adjoining Province of Entre Rios; and in the Banda Oriental an almost perfect skeleton was discovered.

Meanwhile, Parish was informed that some bones of extraordinary size had been found in the bed of the Rio Salado, and brought to Buenos Ayres from the Estancia of Don Hilario Sosa. On inspecting them, he was immediately struck with their resemblance to the remains of the *Megatherium* formerly sent to the museum at Madrid by the Marquis of Loreto, and also discovered in the Province of Buenos Ayres. The new bones, which were the property of Don Hilario Sosa, consisted of a pelvis, nearly perfect, a thigh bone, several vertebræ, five or six ribs, and four teeth. After much solicitation, Parish became possessed of them, and, in the hopes of procuring the remainder of the skeleton, he deputed Mr. Oakley, a gentleman from the United States, to make the necessary investigations.

Mr. Oakley soon found that other bones were imbedded in the mud at the bottom of the river, and, by partially diverting the course of the stream, he succeeded in obtaining a scapula, an os femoris, five cervical vertebræ, several teeth, and numerous other bones which were too much decayed to be preserved. Besides these valuable remains, Mr. Oakley procured parts of two other skeletons of the *Megatherium*; one of them from a stream near Villaneuva, and the other from the banks of the lake at Las Averias.

Although this collection of bones of the *Megatherium*

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was less complete than the one in the Royal cabinet at Madrid, the fact that several bones in Sir Woodbine's collection were those that had been missing in the Spanish one was a great help to the zoologists who were attempting to reconstruct the monster.

In addition to Megatherium bones, Mr. Clift found portions of a thick osseous covering or shell with which, for want of sufficient information, he did not deal in his paper of June 13, 1832.

But in 1839, Professor Owen read a paper to the Geological Society on "The Tooth and part of the Skeleton of the Glyptodon, a large quadruped of the edentate order, to which belongs the tessellated, bony armour figured by Mr. Clift in his memoir on the remains of the Megatherium brought to England by Sir Woodbine Parish."

Professor Owen said that Mr. Clift had "figured but not described" the original fragments, as they were not associated with the remains of the Megatherium. Since then, Sir Woodbine had sent home part of a jaw and several other bones which were found in connection with portions of a bony armour in the bed of a rivulet at Villaneuva, about ninety-five miles south of Buenos Ayres. On the examination of the last-mentioned remains, when they first arrived in England, it was evident to Mr. Clift and Mr. Owen, particularly from the conformation of the alveoli in the jaw, that the bones did not belong to the Megatherium, and that the dentition of the extinct species differed more widely from that of the existing sub-genera of armadillos than the respective dental characters of the latter differ from each other. As the portions of the skeleton were not

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sufficient to enable Mr. Clift to determine satisfactorily the characters of the animal, no account of them was given in his memoir on the Megatherium, but they were reserved for future investigation, the results of which were given in Professor Owen's paper in 1839. Soon after the arrival of Sir Woodbine Parish's collection, the College of Surgeons, as we have seen, had casts made of the bones, which were presented to different museums including the Jardin du Roi (in Paris), where they were particularly examined by M. Laurillard and Mr. Pentland. These naturalists also concluded, especially from the bones of the foot, that the remains were not portions of the Megatherium, but of a gigantic armadillo.

Some years later, Sir Woodbine heard of the discovery, in the bank of a stream near Rio Matanza, twenty miles south of the city of Buenos Ayres, of a perfect skeleton and bony covering. Of this he obtained a description, and with it a fragment of a tooth and a drawing of the animal. On examining the tooth, Mr. Owen found that it belonged to an animal referable to the Edentata of Cuvier, but indicative of a new subgenus of the armadillo family. In reference to the sculptured character of the tooth, he proposed to give it the name *Glyptodon*. Subsequently he compared the tooth with the alveoli in the fragment of the jaw in Sir Woodbine Parish's collection; he found that the peculiar longitudinal ridges in the sockets precisely corresponded with the flutings in the tooth itself, whereby he was able to prove that the bones discovered with the tessellated coat of mail at Villaneuva belonged to the same species as the more perfect skeleton and cuirass found near the Rio Matanza. After giving a minute

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description of the bones, etc., Professor Owen affirmed that both the dental modifications and locomotive organs proved that the *Glyptodon* could not be called an armadillo without making use of an exaggerated expression ; still less could it be considered a species of *Megatherium* ; but in his opinion it offered the type of a distinct genus much more nearly allied to the *Dasypodoid* than to the *Megatheroid* families of *Edentata*. For this genus, Mr. Owen proposed a name indicative of its dental peculiarities, and, as the species under consideration agreed with the armadillos in its dermal armour, he preferred the name of *Glyptodon clavipes*, in relation to the peculiar modification of the foot.\*

As early as the year 1824 Sir Woodbine (then Mr. Parish) was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in consequence of his gift of the *Chalmyphorus* the Zoological Society made him an Honorary Fellow in 1827. He was an active and highly valued member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society during many years, and was habitually their referee on all matters of South American geography which came frequently before the Society towards the later fifties. He was also a Fellow of the Geological Society, and was made a member of the French Statistical Society in 1839, a corresponding member of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil in 1841, of the Natural History Association of La Plata in 1855, and of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Buenos Ayres in 1856.

Sir Woodbine possessed a valuable collection of works bearing on South America, and was thoroughly

\* See *Geological Society's Proceedings*, 1839, vol. iii., No. 62.

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familiar with its complicated history.\* The second edition of his own book on Buenos Ayres appeared in 1859, and contained much additional matter about his scientific researches, etc. He was greatly gratified by the appreciation of his work expressed by Lord Macaulay, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston and others, but especially by the praise of Darwin,† Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Owen, Sir John Herschell, etc. Perhaps one of the letters Sir Woodbine treasured most was from Baron Humboldt, whose undying gratitude had been earned by Sir Woodbine when he procured the release of Humboldt's friend Bompland from his long captivity in Paraguay. Sir Woodbine received this letter from Baron Humboldt in acknowledgment of a copy of the second edition :

à Potsdam, Château de la Ville,  
ce 9 nov<sup>re</sup>, 1852.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. le chevalier,

Je suis d'une triste uniformité dans la confession de mes pêchés : je suis comme dans ma petite lettre en date de Sans Souci en sep<sup>re</sup>. 1839, à laquelle vous avez fait l'honneur de la citer avec tant de bienveillance, de nouveau dans le cas d'en appeler à votre indulgence. Ce n'est que dans le cours de cet été que j'ai pû par une lecture assidue m'occuper de nouveau de la nouvelle édition de votre solide et bel ouvrage. Les ossemens

\* For this information I am indebted to Sir Francis Galton, the eminent anthropologist, who knew Sir Woodbine well, and wrote in 1910 that he still "looks back with great pleasure to conversations with Sir Woodbine Parish in his Library at Quarry House, where he showed me much of rare interest concerning the disheartening influence of the Jesuits over the natives, even in their private lives, which seemed to account for their depopulation."—N.L.K.S.

† Darwin wrote to Sir Woodbine Parish, "I like your book very much ; it cannot fail to be extremely interesting, I should think, to all those who care for graver things than what the traveller eats and says to the Señoritas."

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fossiles sur lesquels vous avez pû fournir de si importans et nouveaux matériaux m'y ont ramené. J'ai admiré surtout (en outre de l'histoire des premiers établissemens et les données statistiques) le progrès immense qui vous est dû dans la partie géographique.

Je ne puis retomber sur votre page 266 sans me voir engagé à renouveler à Sir Woodbine Parish le plus affectueux hommage de mon éternelle reconnaissance. Les actions nobles et généreux se trouvent embellies par la simplicité du récit. Ma santé à un age si peu probable, a été moins bonne cette année, cependant je conte mon travail nocturne sur cet interminable Cosmos pour lequel on a montré plus de bienveillance dans votre noble Patrie (même dans vos vastes Colonies) que jamais j'aurais pu m'y attendre. . . .

Agréez, je vous supplie, Mons<sup>r</sup>. le Chevalier, l'hommage de ma haute et affectueuse considération.

Votre très h. et o. serv<sup>r</sup>.

A. VON HUMBOLDT.

Few things had caused Sir Woodbine more satisfaction in his varied life than his successful efforts to procure the release of Francia's prisoners from Paraguay. Many years later, in 1867, King Theodore of Abyssinia detained many European prisoners in a similar manner, and Sir Woodbine was most anxious that the Foreign Office should adopt the same measures which had been so successful in Paraguay to obtain the liberty of Bompland and others.

To the end of his life, Sir Woodbine continued to take a great interest in South American affairs; the flight of Rosas, on the termination of his tyranny in 1852, was facilitated by the Captain of H.M.S. *Conflict*, who

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brought him safely from South America to Ireland. By a curious coincidence, Sir Woodbine's second son John was then first lieutenant on H.M.S. *Conflict*, and saw something of the so-called "Monster" on the voyage home. Sir Woodbine never would believe the tales of Rosas' atrocities, and was firmly convinced that his arbitrary government was anything but an unmixed evil for the Argentine Confederation. Shortly after Rosas' return, Sir Woodbine dined with a friend, to meet the ex-Governor, and describes him as "very like an English country gentleman, with a benevolent countenance and very polite manners: he spoke of affairs at Buenos Ayres not hopefully, from the great want of some man of sufficient power and influence to take the lead; said Urquiza \* was a man of no capacity, and the young doctors now in power at Buenos Ayres as very *exaltés* and more likely to embroil matters than otherwise." †

The hardships of his early life had left their mark on Sir Woodbine Parish, and though he lived to a great age, his health prevented his taking a very active part in affairs after his retirement to St. Leonard's in 1853. He took some interest in the welfare of the municipality in which he lived, serving as a member of the Commission which was for a time the local authority of St. Leonard's; but his chief pleasures and sorrows were connected with his children. The devoted affection

\* Though Sir Woodbine defended Rosas, modern historians throw little doubt on the tales of Rosas' atrocities. In Crichfield's "Rise and Progress of the South American Republics," published in 1909, the author classifies the Dictators according to their merits, and both Rosas and Quiroga appear under the heading "The *Worst* Type," whereas of Urquiza (p. 261) Crichfield says "he ruled decently."

† Sir Woodbine Parish's Diary, Dec. 13, '53.



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which in early life had united him so closely to his father, had inspired, during thirty-five years of activity, the zealous and faithful service which he so gladly devoted to his country. When his own services were no longer required by the State, he inspired his children to fit themselves in the army, in the navy, in the consular service, in the Church and in the commercial world, as their father and grandfather had done before them, to be loyal and worthy citizens. His patriotism was derived from the highest sources, and entries in his private diary record his continual and vivid sense of the nearness of things spiritual, his intense gratitude for the mercies he received, and his splendid faith and heroism in time of trouble.

The pathetic deaths of his son George at Tonbridge School in 1862; of his daughter, Mrs. John Marten Cripps, in 1863; and of his daughter Nina, in 1875, were among the sorrows that came to Sir Woodbine in his old age; but as years went on it was a great satisfaction to him to see his younger sons successfully launched in their respective careers. The happy marriages of his youngest daughter Blanche \* and of his son Charles † also gave

\* Blanche Parish married Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire, in 1871. He succeeded his father, Sir James, in the baronetcy in 1875, as Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, and was created first Baron Shuttleworth at the Coronation of King Edward VII. At the time of his marriage Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth was junior member for Hastings, having succeeded his step-grandfather (Mr. Frederick North, of Hastings Lodge, and Rougham, Norfolk), after a sharp contest on the death of the latter in 1869. Mr. North was an old friend of Sir Woodbine, and had represented Hastings in several Parliaments.

† Charles Parish married Frances, daughter of Admiral Alexander Boyle, in 1879.

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great pleasure to Sir Woodbine and Lady Parish, who would allow nothing to interfere with the happiness of the younger members of the family; and Quarry House, where the most beautiful and saintly of grandmothers was ever the pervading spirit, is still a treasured memory to many of their grandchildren.

In 1882, after a short illness, Sir Woodbine died at the age of eighty-seven. Lady Parish did not long survive him, and five years later she was buried beside her husband in Fairlight Churchyard, on the cliffs above Hastings, close to the house, where, over forty years before, they had begun their married life together.

## APPENDICES

JOSIAH PARISH, *b. circa. 1660, of Hatfield Yorks.*

JOHN PARISH,  
1698-1777,  
*mar. Elizabeth Wilkinson*  
and had issue.

DAVID PARISH,  
1708-1771,  
*mar. Mary, daughter of,*  
John Vanner, Verderer  
of the Royal Forest.  
She was *b. 1712, d. 1776,*  
they had ten children,  
of whom

MARY PARISH,  
*d. unmar. 1783.*

a daughter  
*mar. Mr. Wilson,*  
and had issue.

HENRY PARISH,

1737-1771,  
Senior Optime, Cambridge, 1760; M.A., 1764; in Holy Orders; domestic chaplain to Lord Townshend; Vicar of Ireland,  
*mar. Sarah, daughter of John Woodbine, of East Dereham, Norfolk, d. 1821.*

JOHN PARISH,

1748-1798,  
Ordnance Store-keeper at Gibraltar till his death,  
*mar. Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Andrew Planta, S.P.*

HENRY WILLIAMS PARISH,  
1765-1800,  
Royal Artillery, *mar. Maria,*  
daughter of General Duncan  
Drummond.  
S.P.

SARAH PARISH,  
1767-1828,  
*mar. Rev. Richard*  
Turner.  
S.P.

WOODBINE PARISH,  
1768-1848,  
Chairman Board of Excise for Scotland;  
Major in the Light Horse Volunteers,  
*mar. Elizabeth, only surviving child of the*  
Rev. Henry Headley, of North Walsham,  
*d. 1833.*

FRANCES PARISH,  
*b. 1769, d. 1842,*  
*mar. George Cubitt, of*  
Catfield, Norfolk,  
and had issue.

CHARLES COMPTON PARISH,  
*b. 1771, d. 1841,*  
*mar. Elizabeth Cory, of*  
Yarmouth,  
and had issue.

SIR WOODBINE PARISH,  
see next page.

SARAH PARISH,  
*b. 1797, d. 1800,*  
*mar. Chamberlain Hinchliff,*  
and had issue.

ELIZA PARISH,  
*b. 1798,*  
*d. unmar. 1871.*

HENRY HEADLEY PARISH,  
*b. 1801, m. 1831, d. 1875,*  
in the Diplomatic Services; Secretary of Legation  
in Greece; *mar. Caroline Lateward, of*  
Brasted in Kent, *d. 1868,*  
and had issue.

MARY EDITH PARISH,  
*b. 1803,*  
*mar. 1831, Rev. Slair Douglas,*  
Canon of Chichester  
Cathedral.

SIR WOODBINE PARISH, K.C.H., 1796-1888.

*mar.* 1st, in 1819, Amelia, daughter of Leonard Becher Morse, she died 1835, and had issue. *mar.* 2ndly in 1844, Louisa, daughter of John Hubbard of Leytonstone, Essex.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
HENRY WOODBINE PARISH, 1821-1890. <i>mar.</i> 1849, Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Henry Cloete, LL.D., Recorder of Natal, d.s.p.	JOHN EDWARD PARISH, 1822-1894. <i>mar.</i> 1879, Williamina Emma, daughter of William Longman, of Paternoster Row.	FRANCIS PARISH, 1824-1906. <i>mar.</i> 1855, Margaret G. Miller, daughter of John Miller of Buenos Ayres, and had issue.	GEORGE LEONARD PARISH, 1825-1845. <i>d.</i> in India when and Lieut. of H.E.I.C. Artillery, Bengal Establishment.	EMILY FANNY PARISH, 1827-1892. <i>mar.</i> 1847, Rev. Thomas Hubbard, and had issue.	GEORGE LEONARD PARISH, 1828-1882. Sister of Mercy in the Community of St. John the Evangelist, Clewer.	MARY ANN PARISH, 1830-1863. <i>mar.</i> 1859, Rev. John Marten Cripps, and had issue.	WILLIAM DOUGLAS PARISH, 1833-1904. Vicar of Selmeston and Alceston, and sometime Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral.

NINA LOUISA PARISH, <i>b.</i> at Naples, 1845. <i>d.</i> at St. Leonard's, 1875.	GEORGE WOODBINE PARISH, <i>b.</i> at Florence; 1846. <i>d.</i> at Tonbridge, 1861.	CHARLES WOODBYNE PARISH, <i>b.</i> 1848. <i>mar.</i> 1st 1879, Frances Montgomerie, daughter of Admiral Alexander Doyle, and had issue. <i>mar.</i> 2ndly 1894, The Hon. Helen J. Sandlands, sister of the 12th Baron Torphichen, and had issue.	BLANCHE MARION PARISH, <i>b.</i> 1851. <i>mar.</i> 1871, Sir Ughtred James Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., 1st Baron Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire, and had issue.	ARTHUR WOODBYNE PARISH, <i>b.</i> 1854. <i>mar.</i> Beatrice, 1884, daughter of Clement Upton-Cottrell-Dormer, of Rousham, Oxford, and had issue.
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## APPENDIX I

### SIR WOODBINE PARISH'S FAMILY

SIR WOODBINE PARISH'S eldest son, Henry Woodbine, born in 1821, was educated at Eton, and joined the 45th Regiment, afterwards called the Sherwood Foresters, in 1839.

His active military career began the following year, when the 45th were stationed at Winchester. A Chartist outbreak in South Wales necessitated a sudden and very rapid march from Winchester to Newport, which was duly accomplished, the rioters dispersed, and their leaders captured in a few days' time. Ensign Parish carried the Regimental Colours the whole way.

In 1842, while stationed at Gibraltar, Lieut. Parish acted as quartermaster. The regiment was ordered to the Cape, but when they put in to Rio de Janeiro *en route*, the British Minister detained them there, and then sent them on to Monte Video to protect the British officials, merchants, etc., whose lives and property were endangered by the Civil War. Here they were joined by the 73rd Regiment and marines from French and English men-of-war. Together they defended, for nearly twelve months, the outer line of the city, until the state of rebellion and anarchy ceased. The men suffered terribly from disease, exposure, and want of accommodation, but in 1846—Woodbine Parish having then attained the rank of captain—the 45th and 73rd were taken in troopships to South Africa, their original destination.

Immediately on landing at Algoa Bay the Reserve Battalion, with which Captain Parish was then serving, was ordered to proceed up-country to take part in the Kaffir War. They at once proceeded to the Headquarters Camp at Fort Hare, Block

## APPENDIX I

Drift, under the Anatole Mountains, and set to work building forts and taking an active part in the campaign until its close.

In 1848 Captain Parish was ordered to Natal to join the Headquarters Battalion to which he had lately been promoted. Shortly after his arrival he took the command of a mounted troop—raised in the regiment—which corps, assisted by the Cape Mounted Rifles, performed all the cavalry work in Natal for over two years. For reasons of economy Sir Harry Smith was then obliged to disband it, but twenty men and horses volunteered to join the Cape Mounted Rifles, and were considered the “finest addition ever received by them.”

Captain Parish was married in Natal on June 5, 1849, to Charlotte Sophia, second daughter of Henry Cloete, LL.D., Recorder of Natal.

In 1851 Captain Parish was suddenly ordered to take the field in command of a force consisting of two companies (one of which was his own) of the 45th Regiment, one troop of Cape Mounted Rifles, and a contingent of six hundred Zulu natives, to which was afterwards added at Winburg half a battery of Royal Artillery under Lieut. Linger. The march from Natal over the Drakensberg mountains by Harrismith, Winburg, and Bloemfontein, occupied a month over a country then almost unknown. It was a trying ordeal, but the march was so rapidly made and well conducted that the various rebel Boers and Kaffirs then in arms—and threatening the Sovereignty\* in every direction—broke up their Laagers and dispersed. Captain Parish received the thanks and commendation of Sir Harry Smith for the able and zealous manner in which this had been effected. After a short halt in camp at Winburg, the force was sent to Thaban'chu to protect the native chief Maroko. About this time Sir Harry Smith was succeeded in his command at the Cape by Sir George Cathcart. Major Hogge and Mr. Owen, the Assistant Commissioners, went to Winburg, where, with the help of the force under Captain Parish, they succeeded in fining most of the rebel Boers, the fines being collected and paid in the camp. At Venter's Farm a treaty was afterwards

\* The name then given to the Orange River Colony.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

concluded with Pretorius, the Boer leader, acknowledging the Independence of the Sovereignty. Captain Parish was present with the Commissioners, and it was thought that his presence with the force under his command, and the precautionary measures taken by him largely contributed to the success of the meeting. Had it not been for this, the lives of the Commissioners and of the small escort of Lancers would have been in imminent danger among thousands of hostile Boers. Major Hogge died not long after, exhausted by his exertions, and the Natal force returned to the Colony.

Captain Parish, after his return to England, was for a short time in command of the Regimental Depôt at Chatham; he was then appointed A.D.C. to Colonel Cloete (his wife's uncle), who was in command of the South Wales District. When his chief was promoted to the command of the Windward and Leeward Isles, Captain Parish accompanied him as Assistant Military Secretary. After serving in the West Indies, he returned to his regiment in England in 1861, and went with them to Ireland in 1864. He then accompanied his regiment to India, and finally commanded it throughout the Abyssinian Campaign of 1868. The extraordinarily rapid march of the 45th from Zoula to Magdala resulted in honours both for the men and the commanding officers; the regiment was honourably mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, by Disraeli and Lord Derby respectively, and Colonel Parish was mentioned in despatches and received the C.B. Unfortunately the terrible hardships of the campaign, in conjunction with an accident, resulted in his losing the sight of one eye, and he returned to England on sick leave, while his regiment went back to India. He commanded the Brigade Depôt at Devizes for five years after his return, and was then, in 1878, placed on half-pay for the first time after thirty-nine years of full-pay service. In 1880, ten years before his death, he retired from the service with the rank of Major-General.

Sir Woodbine's second son, John Edward, was born in 1822 and went as a child to Buenos Ayres with his parents. He was educated at the Naval College, Portsmouth, and entered the



## APPENDIX I

Navy as a College Volunteer in 1836. After serving in the Pacific and Mediterranean he returned from South America on H.M.S. *Conflict*, with ex-President Rosas on board, in 1852.\* In 1859 he commissioned H.M.S. *Ardent*, and went to the Brazils; three years later he became acting Captain of H.M.S. *Satellite*. The Lords of the Admiralty, at the suggestion of Earl Russell, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, formally approved Captain Parish's refusal to give up the ex-President of the Argentine Republic upon the demand of his political opponents, when he was on his passage down the Paraná in the *Ardent*. In 1878 he was appointed to the command of the *Sphinx* on the North American station. When this command expired he was transferred to the *Cossack* in the East Indies until 1871. In 1873 he was appointed Commodore of the 2nd class, and senior naval officer at Hong Kong.

He retired from the service in 1876, and was raised to the rank of admiral three years later.

Admiral Parish married, in 1876, Williamina, daughter of William Longman.

Sir Woodbine's third son, Frank, after spending some time in the consular service in China, was transferred to Buenos Ayres, where he became Vice-Consul under Captain the Hon. Robert Gore, then Chargé d'Affaires. Owing to the outbreak of hostilities between Buenos Ayres and the Provinces, Captain Gore removed to Monte Video, where he shortly afterwards died. It was impossible to appoint a fresh diplomatic agent at that time, owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the Republic, and it was a very great satisfaction for Sir Woodbine to hear that his son had been appointed, early in 1853, Acting Consul-General at his father's old post. He held this office until 1861, when Sir Edward Thornton, the British Plenipotentiary at Rio, was transferred to Buenos Ayres, and Mr. Frank Parish became Consul. This post he held for about twelve years with considerable distinction. In 1860 he was appointed joint Commissioner for the arrangement of the British claims against the Province of Buenos Ayres, which

\* See Chap. XIII., p. 414.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

were settled to the satisfaction of the claimants and Her Majesty's Government. This, together with a similar arrangement made simultaneously by Sir Edward Thornton of the claims that were considered to be national, extinguished all the outstanding claims of British subjects against the Argentine Republic which had accumulated during a long succession of civil wars and arbitrary rule, and had been a constant source of grievance and official correspondence. In this, and in many other ways, Frank Parish was able to follow up and complete his father's work in the Argentine. Like his father, he earned the gratitude of the English residents as well as that of the Home Government, and when he was appointed Consul-General and State Commissioner at Havana, the principal merchants and residents in Buenos Ayres signified their great regret at his approaching departure. He was, however, unable to take up this new appointment owing to bad health, and remained at his post at Buenos Ayres until he finally retired from the service in 1873. He then settled in London, and the rest of his life was largely devoted to the direction of railways in Argentina and Uruguay, with results as satisfactory to the shareholders as they were beneficial to the country itself. As chairman of the Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway, Frank Parish continued to serve the interests of South America until his death in 1906. In 1855, Frank Parish married Margarita, daughter of Mr. John Miller of Buenos Ayres; their son, Woodbine, was elected a director of the Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway, and of some other Argentine railways, on his Father's death, thus maintaining the connection with South America for a third generation.\*

Sir Woodbine's fourth son, George Leonard, was born at Buenos Ayres in 1825; in 1843 he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the East India Company's Artillery, Bengal Establishment. In August, 1845, he died of cholera, and was buried at Cawnpore,

\* For particulars as to Mr. Frank Parish's connection with South America I am deeply indebted to the Memoir written in 1906 by his devoted friend and colleague on the Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway, Mr. H. C. Allen.

## APPENDIX I

where his brother officers erected a monument to record their esteem for him.

The youngest son of the first marriage was the Rev. William Douglas Parish, Vicar of Selmeston and Alceston in Sussex, and sometime Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral. He never married, and died at Selmeston Vicarage in 1904, at the age of seventy, having held the living for forty-one years. The Reverend W. D. Parish was a keen archæologist, and had made a special study of Sussex folk-lore. He was well acquainted with monastic Latin, and was an expert at deciphering old English script. He wrote one or two books on educational subjects, but he was best known to the general public as the author of the "Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect," published in 1875. He subsequently wrote "The Domesday Book in relation to the County of Sussex," and a "Dictionary of Kentish Dialect." He was a keen antiquarian, and collected many curiosities; he was responsible for the rebuilding of Selmeston Church, which was completed under his personal supervision in 1866.

His sense of humour was proverbial in all the country round, where he was much beloved by neighbours of every class. The obituary notice in the *Sussex Daily News* said that, "A magic spell seemed to bind Vicar and people together. He loved each one of them, and they loved him. He was also a great friend to the gypsies, whom he looked on in the light of being 'left outside,' and he went and preached to them. They never forgot his kindly ministrations, and revisited the place year after year."

Three children, by Sir Woodbine's second marriage, are still living: Charles Woodbyne Parish, Lady Shuttleworth, and Arthur Woodbyne Parish.

## APPENDIX II

### CANNING'S INSTRUCTIONS TO WOODBINE PARISH

#### Vol. I

*Instructions for His  
Majesty's Consul-General  
for Buenos Ayres.*

(January to December, 1823.)

Foreign Office,  
Oct. 10, 1823.

(1) Upon the arrival of the Consul-General at his Post he will announce himself to the principal public authorities, and exhibit to them His Majesty's Commission, and giving to them if required an authenticated copy thereof, will apply to them for any Exequatur or permission to enter upon his Consular duties.

(2) His Majesty's Commission will secure to the Consul-General the engagement of such Privilege, Immunities and Exemptions as are granted to Consuls to the Country where he will be resident, and the Consul-General will be cautious not to aim at more.

(3) It will be the particular duty of the Consul-General in the first instance to become conversant with the principles and the Laws upon which the Trade and the navigation of the United Kingdom with Foreign Parts are carried on—with those branches of Trade, especially British and Irish Trade, which prevail within the Ports of his Consularship—with the Language and general Municipal Laws of the Country where he resides, more especially such Laws as have any connection with the Trade between the two Countries—and with the several Regulations by which the conduct of H.M. Consuls in special cases is guided and governed.

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(4) The Consul-General will bear in mind that his principal duty will be to protect, to support, and to further the lawful Trade and trading Interests of the United Kingdom by every fair and proper means, taking care to conform himself to the Laws and Regulations in question—and whilst he is supporting the lawful Trade of the United Kingdom, he will take especial notice of all prohibitions, as well on the part of the State in which he resides, as of the Government of the United Kingdom, to prevent the Export or Import of any such prohibited articles. So that he may admonish all British Subjects against carrying on an illicit Commerce, and discourage by all proper means in his power such proceedings to the detriment of the Revenues, and in violation of the Laws and Regulations of either Country—and he will not fail to give immediate notice of any attempt to contravene those Laws and Regulations.

(5) He will be most careful to avoid mixing in any way in political dissensions, and giving offence to anyone. He will recollect always that his character is purely a commercial one, and his object expressly of a conciliatory nature. He will give his best advice when called upon, and his assistance to His Majesty's trading Subjects, quieting their differences, promoting peace, harmony and good-will among themselves, and conciliating as much as possible the subjects and Citizens of the two Countries on all points of difference which may fall under his cognizance.

(6) Where the persons or properties of the King's Subjects are illegally taken or detained, or insult and injury unjustly sustained by them, the Consul-General will uphold their rightful Interests by due representations, whenever necessary, in the Official Quarter. He will at the same time be careful to conduct himself with mildness and moderation in his transactions with the publick authorities, and will on no account urge on behalf of His Majesty's Subjects claims to which they are not justly and fairly entitled.

(7) If redress cannot be obtained by the Consul-General from the local administration ; or if the matter of Complaint be not within their jurisdiction, he will forward the Complaint to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to be by him

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

proceeded upon as he shall judge proper, and he will pay strict attention to the Instructions which he may receive in consequence from His Majesty's said Secretary of State.

(8) The Consul-General will keep His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs regularly informed of every occurrence of national Interest within his Consularship, respecting either the trade of His Majesty's subjects, or that of other Nations. The Consul-General will likewise not fail to transmit to His Majesty's Government through His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, such correct intelligence as he can procure, respecting the arming, equipment, or sailing of any publick or private armed Vessel, which may affect British Commerce. He will likewise send accounts of the general course of Events, and of any particular event of publick Interest which may take place in or near the Consulate.

(9) The Consul-General will previously to his departure from England send to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a duplicate of his Signature, and of the impression of his Seal of Office, that one Copy may be kept here, and the other deposited at the proper department of His Majesty's customs to prevent frauds upon the Revenue.

(10) The Consul-General will forward to the Secretary of State, in duplicate, by separate conveyances, the original to be sent so soon as the information he can collect will enable him to do so, but at any rate within Six Months from the date of his arrival at his Post, a general report on the Trade of the place and district, specifying the commodities, as well of the Export, as of the Import trade, and the Countries which supply the latter, together with the encrease or decline in late years, and the probable encrease or decline to be expected, and the causes in both cases. He will state the general regulations with respect to trade, at the place where he is resident, and their effect. He will give the average market prices within the year of the several articles of Export and Import. He will particularize what articles, if any, are absolutely prohibited to be imported into the Country where he resides, what articles are prohibited there, except from the place of their growth or production ; whether there

## APPENDIX II

be any privileges of importation, and what, in favour of ships that are of the build of, or belonging to the Country where he resides, whether there be any difference in the duty on Goods when imported into that Country in a Foreign Ship: and if so, whether it be general, or apply only to particular articles. Whether any particular Nation is favoured, and how:—What are the rates of duty payable on Goods imported into the said Country:—Whether there be any tonnage duty, and what, payable on Shipping entering Inwards or Outwards in that Country:—Whether there be any, and if so, what Ports in the Country, wherein Goods may be warehoused on Importation, and afterwards exported with or without payment of any duty, and under what regulations and charges. Also what are the demands of a local nature: What are the dues for Lights, Pilotage, etc. to which foreign, and those also to which Native ships or Merchandize are subject, in each particular Port within his Consular jurisdiction.

(11) The Consul-General will send to the Secretary of State in duplicate, at the end of each half year, a return of the Exports and Imports of Trade in the ports within his Consulate, separating the Ports, where there are more than one, distinguishing the British from the Foreign Shipping, and giving the amount of the Tonnage and Contents of the Cargo according to the form hereunto annexed. He will also send to the Secretary of State at the same time, a return of the market prices of the several sorts of Corn and Meal, and other articles the raw produce of agriculture within his Consulate, and also of Hides and Tallow, reducing the measures of the Country as far as he is able into the measures used in the United Kingdom, and stating the amount of the prices in British Currency, as well as in that of the Country. He will add to these Reports any general remarks upon the subject which may suggest themselves to him, as of sufficient importance to be conveyed to His Majesty's Government. These half-yearly returns to be made up according to the enclosed form, and transmitted to this Office on the 30th of June, and 31st of December in each year.

(12) The Consul-General will be furnished herewith for his guidance, with a publication containing the Acts of Parliament

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

for making provision for the effectual performance of Quarantine, together with the Orders in Council relative thereto, and an abstract of general Regulations applying to all Ships arriving in this Country from Foreign Parts. He will give his especial attention to the contents of these Documents, and he will make them known throughout his Consulate with a view of their being generally attended to. He will be careful to ascertain the exact truth of any circumstances stated in the Certificates which he may be called upon to grant: and amongst other points he will take care that his Certificates of the growth of Foreign Wool shall be made out in strict conformity to the various Orders in Council annexed to these Regulations.

(13) Whenever the Master of a British Vessel shall refuse to produce to the Consul-General his Certificate of Registry for inspection thereof, the Consul-General will report the case to this Office, for the information of His Majesty's Government:—and in those cases, in which by Act of Parliament the Master of a British Vessel is required to deliver in to the Consul a true Manifest of his Cargo, if the Master shall neglect or refuse to deliver the same to him, he will detain the clearance outwards, and not give any dispatch, passport, or bill of health for such Vessel: and he will, further, report the matter to this Office, also, for the information of His Majesty's Government.

(14) The Consul-General will take notice that no Vessel is to be considered as a British Vessel and allowed to make entry as such, unless she be furnished with a British Register agreeably to the provisions of the Register Acts, and be owned, manned and navigated as required by Law: Nor is any vessel entitled to have a British Mediterranean Pass unless Vessels above described, or Vessels belonging to Malta, Gibraltar, or the Ionian Isles. He will also bear in mind that British Consuls have not authority to grant protections to Foreign Vessels purchased by His Majesty's subjects in Foreign Ports, for the purpose of enabling them to proceed from thence to other Ports to obtain Mediterranean Passes:—and it having been judged right to call in the old Mediterranean Passes and to put forth new ones, the Consul-General is herewith furnished with an Order in



## APPENDIX II

Council issued on the occasion on the 20th of November, 1819, and he will consider it his bounden duty strictly to adhere to the Regulations therein contained and referred to.

(15) In reference to an Order in Council, herewith enclosed, dated 28th May, 1819, sanctioning certain modifications of the Laws which regulate the Colonial Trade, so far as they affect the Island of Mauritius, the Consul-General is hereby apprized that the Governor of the Mauritius has been instructed not to admit any foreign Vessels into the Ports of that Island unless she be provided with a Certificate from His Majesty's Consul resident at the Port, she may have taken out her Clearance, stating that Regulations corresponding to His Majesty's Order of the 18th of May had been promulgated by the Government of the Country where such Consul may be residing. The Consul-General will therefore act in strict conformity to the Instructions thus given to the Governor of the Mauritius; and will take all proper steps to make his arrangement known to the authorities within his Consulship.

(16) The Consul-General will give such aid and assistance to distressed British Seamen, and others, His Majesty's Subjects, thrown upon the Coast or reaching by chance any place within his district, as their necessities and the exigency of the case may dictate and justify, to enable them to return to their native Country. He will be guided more particularly in regard to Seamen, by the enclosed Instructions from the Navy Board, upon which Board he will draw, according to the form there pointed out, for his reimbursement for supplies to distressed British Seamen: but he will not pay the sums therein stated to Seamen who may be fit for His Majesty's Naval Service, if there be an opportunity of putting them on board of any of His Majesty's Ships; and he will avail himself of every opportunity of so doing. In regard to distressed British Subjects, not Seamen, he will relieve them, as nearly as may be, at the same rate as the Seamen. He will endeavour to procure a passage home for them on similar terms, applying for his reimbursement for these advances by Bills drawn upon the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury accompanying them, as in the case of the Bills on the

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

Navy Board by Vouchers as pointed out in the Instructions, rate as the Seamen. He will endeavour to procure a passage home for them on similar terms, applying for his reimbursement for these advances by Bills drawn upon the Lords of H.M. Treasury accompanying them, as in the case of the Bills on the Navy Board by Vouchers as pointed out in the Instructions, and by a letter of notice to the Board on which the Bills are drawn :—in the one case to the Navy Board, in the other case to the Treasury.

(17) The Consul-General will furnish intelligence to H.M. Ships touching upon the Coast ; to obtain for them when required supplies of water and provisions. In this latter instance the Instructions from the Navy Board herewith enclosed, will furnish the Consul with the means of regulating his Accounts, as also in respect to pilotage afforded, deserters apprehended, and despatches forwarded ; in all which he will do his utmost with prudence to promote the Interests of H.M. Service.

(18) The Consul-General will exert himself to recover, or cause to be recovered, all Wrecks and Cables, Anchors, etc., belonging to the King's Ships found at Sea by the Fishermen or other persons, and brought into the Ports of his Consulate paying the Customary Salvages, and informing the Navy Board of his proceedings thereon.

(19) The Treaty of Peace signed on the 5th November, 1815, having placed the Ionian States under the protection of the United Kingdom, the Consul-General will afford the same protection and assistance to the Subjects, Vessels, and Merchandize of the Ionian States frequenting the Ports of his Consulate, as to the trade and persons of H.M. Subjects :—But this is not to extend to any pecuniary advances to the Inhabitants of the Ionian States unless he shall be furnished with Instructions to that effect by the proper authorities of those States, as it is to them alone that the C.G. must look for the reimbursement of those expenses.

(20) The Consul-General will keep a watchful eye upon all undertakings for trading in Slaves, which may take place within the districts of his Consulate ; and whenever he has reason to suspect that British Subjects or British Capital are engaged or concerned

## APPENDIX II

in the carrying on of this Traffick, he will report the same to H.M. Secretary of State forthwith, in order that the necessary steps may be taken for putting a stop to such Criminal Acts, and for bringing to punishment the offenders against the Laws of their Country.

(21) The Consul-General will make a report from time to time upon the growing trade of the neighbouring Ports and Provinces, and upon the spots at which, in his opinion, it will be advisable that British Commercial Agents should be appointed, giving at length his reasons for that opinion ; but he will upon no account presume to make such appointment without direct authority from H.M. Secretary of State.

(22) The Consul-General will send to the Secretary of State at the end of each year, a return, upon oath, of the Notarial dues (the only fees which he is to levy for the present) levied by him in the year just expired, rendering the amount into Sterling money at the Exchange of the day, and accompanying the account by a Copy of the Tariff according to which they were levied.

(23) Further instructions will be given to the Consul-General from time to time as circumstances may render them necessary, and he will not refrain from asking for Instructions whenever he feels them to be wanting for his guidance.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

## APPENDIX III

### TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED PROVINCES OF RIO DE LA PLATA

*Signed at Buenos Ayres, February 2, 1825.*

EXTENSIVE commercial intercourse having been established for a series of years between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and the Territories of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, it seems good for the security as well as encouragement of such commercial intercourse, and for the maintenance of good understanding between his said Britannic Majesty and the said United Provinces, that the relations now subsisting between them should be regularly acknowledged and confirmed by the signature of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation.

For this purpose they have named their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Woodbine Parish, Esquire, His said Majesty's Consul-General in the Province of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies; and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, Señor Don Manuel José Garcia, Minister Secretary for the Departments of Government, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, of the National Executive power of the said Provinces;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

#### ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual amity between the dominions and

### APPENDIX III

subjects of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata and their inhabitants.

#### ARTICLE II.

There shall be, between all the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe, and the Territories of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, a reciprocal freedom of commerce: the inhabitants of the two countries, respectively, shall have liberty freely and securely to come, with their ships and cargoes, to all such places, ports, and rivers, in the territories aforesaid, to which other foreigners are or may be permitted to come, to enter into the same, and to remain and reside in any part of the said territories respectively; also to hire and occupy houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce; and, generally, the merchants and traders of each nation, respectively, shall enjoy the most complete protection and security, for their commerce; subject always to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

#### ARTICLE III.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages further, that in all his dominions situated out of Europe the inhabitants of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata shall have the like liberty of commerce and navigation stipulated for in the preceding article, to the full extent in which the same is permitted at present, or shall be permitted hereafter, to any other nation.

#### ARTICLE IV.

No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of his Britannic Majesty of any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, than are or shall be payable on the like articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country; nor shall any other or higher duties or charges be imposed in the

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territories or dominions of either of the contracting parties on the exportation of any articles to the territories or dominions of the other, than such as are or may be payable on the exportation of the like articles to any other foreign country ; nor shall any prohibition be imposed upon the exportation or importation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, or of the said United Provinces, which shall not equally extend to all other nations.

### ARTICLE V.

No higher or other duties or charges on account of tonnage, light, or harbour dues, pilotage, salvage in case of damage or shipwreck, or any other local charges, shall be imposed, in any of the ports of the said United Provinces, on British vessels of the burthen of above one hundred and twenty tons, than those payable in the same ports, by vessels of the said United Provinces of the same burthen ; nor in the ports of any of his Britannic Majesty's territories, on vessels of the United Provinces of above one hundred and twenty tons, than shall be payable, in the same ports, on British vessels of the same burthen.

### ARTICLE VI.

The same duties shall be paid on the importation into the said United Provinces of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, whether such importation shall be in vessels of the said United Provinces, or in British vessels ; and the same duties shall be paid on the importation into the dominions of his Britannic Majesty of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said United Provinces, whether such importation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the said United Provinces. The same duties shall be paid, and the same drawbacks and bounties allowed, on the exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's dominions to the said United Provinces, whether such exportation shall be in vessels of the said United Provinces, or in British vessels ; and the same duties shall be

### APPENDIX III

paid, and the same bounties and drawbacks allowed, on the exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said United Provinces to his Britannic Majesty's dominions, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the said United Provinces.

#### ARTICLE VII.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding with respect to the regulations which may respectively constitute a British vessel, or a vessel of the said United Provinces, it is hereby agreed, that all vessels built in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and owned, navigated, and registered according to the laws of Great Britain, shall be considered as British vessels; and that all vessels built in the Territories of the said United Provinces, properly registered, and owned by the citizens thereof, or any of them, and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners, at least, are citizens of the said United Provinces, shall be considered as vessels of the said United Provinces.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

All merchants, commanders of ships, and others, the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall have the same liberty, in all the Territories of the said United Provinces, as the natives thereof, to manage their own affairs themselves, or to commit them to the management of whomsoever they please, as broker, factor, agent, or interpreter; nor shall they be obliged to employ any other persons for those purposes, nor to pay them any salary or remuneration, unless they shall choose to employ them; and absolute freedom shall be allowed, in all cases, to the buyer and seller to bargain and fix the price of any goods, wares, or merchandise imported into, or exported from, the said United Provinces, as they shall see good.

#### ARTICLE IX.

In whatever relates to the lading, and unlading of ships, the safety of merchandise, goods, and effects, the disposal of property

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

of every sort and denomination, by sale, donation, or exchange, or in any other manner whatsoever, as also the administration of justice, the subjects and citizens of the two contracting parties shall enjoy, in their respective dominions, the same privileges, liberties, and rights, as the most favoured nation, and shall not be charged, in any of these respects, with any higher duties or imposts than those which are paid, or may be paid, by the native subjects or citizens of the power in whose dominions they may be resident. They shall be exempted from all compulsory military service whatsoever, whether by sea or land, and from all forced loans, or military exactions or requisitions; neither shall they be compelled to pay any ordinary taxes, under any pretext whatsoever, greater than those that are paid by native subjects or citizens.

### ARTICLE X.

It shall be free for each of the two contracting parties to appoint consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions and territories of the other party; but before any consul shall act as such, he shall, in the usual form, be approved and admitted by the Government to which he is sent, and either of the contracting parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as either of them may judge fit to be so excepted.

### ARTICLE XI.

For the better security of commerce between the subjects of his Britannic Majesty and the inhabitants of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, it is agreed, that if at any time interruption of friendly commercial intercourse, or any rupture, should unfortunately take place between the two contracting parties, the subjects or citizens of either of the two contracting parties residing in the dominions of the other shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of interruption, so long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence against the laws; and their effects and property, whether intrusted to individuals or to the State, shall not be liable to seizure or



### APPENDIX III

sequestration, or to any other demands than those which may be made upon the like effects or property belonging to the native inhabitants of the State in which such subjects or citizens may reside.

#### ARTICLE XII.

The subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata shall not be disturbed, persecuted, or annoyed on account of their religion, but they shall have perfect liberty of conscience therein, and to celebrate divine service either within their own private houses, or in their own particular churches or chapels, which they shall be at liberty to build and maintain in convenient places, approved of by the Government of the said United Provinces. Liberty shall also be granted to bury the subjects of his Britannic Majesty who may die in the Territories of the said United Provinces, in their own burial places which, in the same manner, they may freely establish and maintain. In the like manner, the citizens of the said United Provinces shall enjoy, within all the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, a perfect and unrestrained liberty of conscience, and of exercising their own religion publicly or privately, within their own dwelling-houses or in the chapels and places of worship appointed for that purpose, agreeably to the system of toleration established in the dominions of his said Majesty.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

It shall be free for the subjects of his Britannic Majesty residing in the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata to dispose of their property, of every description, by will or testament, as they may judge fit ; and in the event of any British subject dying without such will or testament in the Territories of the said United Provinces, the British consul-general, or, in his absence, his representative, shall have the right to nominate curators to take charge of the property of the deceased, for the benefit of his lawful heirs and creditors without interference, giving convenient notice thereof to the authorities of the country ; and reciprocally.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

### ARTICLE XIV.

His Britannic Majesty being extremely desirous of totally abolishing the slave trade, the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata engage to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the completion of so beneficent a work, and to prevent all persons inhabiting within the said United Provinces, or subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in such trade.

### ARTICLE XV.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London within four months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

Done at Buenos Ayres, the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed.) WOODBINE PARISH.  
MANUEL JOSÉ GARCIA.

## APPENDIX IV.

A TRANSLATION from the Spanish of three letters granting to Sir Woodbine Parish :

- I. Permission to bear the arms of the Argentine Republic.
- II. A letter conferring on him the citizenship of the Republic.
- III. Commission of Colonel of Cavalry of the Line.

### PERMISSION TO USE AND WEAR THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE REPUBLIC.

Long live the Federation !

The Governor of Buenos Ayres charged with the Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Confederation.

Placed in the gratifying obligation of testifying to Sir Woodbine Parish, Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order, the just sense entertained of his very estimable good offices at all times for the maintenance of the friendly relations happily existing between Great Britain and the Argentine Republic, after having been the first British Agent sent by his Britannic Majesty to recognise the Independence of this Republic and to establish with it formal diplomatic relations, all which have in an especial manner commended him to the consideration of the Argentine Confederation for whose existence, prosperity and welfare he has also exerted himself in other ways no less important. Now we have resolved to grant to the said Sir Woodbine Parish, as by the present Diploma we do grant to him especial permission to use and wear the armorial bearings of the Republic, as well as to transmit them to his sons and descendants as a record of the Independence of this Republic in the establishment of which he bore so distinguished a part.

## SIR WOODBINE PARISH

To which effect and that none may hinder him in the use and possession of this especial privilege hereby granted to him, we have ordered the present diploma to be prepared sealed with the Arms of the Republic and countersigned by my Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Given in Buenos Ayres the 16th of July the Year of Our Lord 1839, the 30th year of the Liberty, the 24th of the Independence, and the 10th of the Argentine Confederation.

JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS,  
Governor and Captain-General.

FILIFE ARANA,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

LETTER OF CITIZENSHIP OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION IN FAVOUR OF SIR WOODBINE PARISH, COMMANDER OF THE GUELPHIC ORDER.

Long live the Federation !

The Government of Buenos Ayres charged with the Foreign Relations of the Argentine Confederation.

Whereas having had under our consideration that Sir Woodbine Parish, Commander of the Guelphic Order, was the first British Agent sent to recognise the Independence of the Argentine Republic, and to establish with it formal Diplomatic Relations on the part of Great Britain—also his very valuable services for the preservation at all times of those friendly relations which he established between the two Countries, and the particular interest which he has constantly shown in the Political existence and Prosperity of the Republic,

Now the Government desiring to give to the said Sir Woodbine Parish a testimony of its sense of his distinguished and generous services, has resolved to declare as by these presents it does declare him a Citizen of the Argentine Republic constituting him in absolute possession of all the rights which belong to him as a citizen aforesaid in the same manner as if he had been born in these Countries ; and commanding all authorities, Civil, Military and Ecclesiastic, and all the inhabitants of this Republic ; and

## APPENDIX IV

requesting and charging those of other Nations to consider and acknowledge him as a Citizen of the Argentine Republic ; giving and causing to be given to him all the Immunities and Privileges which on that account may belong to him.

Wherefore I have ordered to be prepared for him this present letter of Citizenship of the Republic of the Argentine Confederation, signed by my hand, sealed with the Arms of the Republic and countersigned by the principal notary of the Government.

Given at the fortress of Buenos Ayres this 16th of July in the year of our Lord 1839,—the 30th year of the Liberty, the 24th of the Independence, and the 10th of the Argentine Confederation.

JUAN MANUEL ROSAS,

Governor and Captain-General.

Countersigned by order of the Government by

DON JOSEPH RAMON BASAVILBASE.

### COMMISSION OF COLONEL OF CAVALRY OF THE LINE.

Long live the Federation !

The Government of Buenos Ayres charged with the Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Confederation.

Whereas Sir Woodbine Parish, Commander of the Guelphic Order, has rendered the Republic of the Argentine Confederation the most distinguished and important services not only in his Character of first British Agent in this Country for the negotiation of its Independence and for the establishment of its formal Diplomatic Relations with Great Britain, but also by the constant and lively interest with which he has exerted himself to maintain those relations and the good intelligence subsisting between the two Countries,

Therefore the Government has thought fit to confer upon him the Rank of a Colonel of Cavalry in the regular forces of Buenos Ayres and the Argentine Confederation, granting to him all the rights and exemptions and Privileges thereto belonging, and ordering and commanding him to be duly acknowledged as a Colonel of Cavalry as aforesaid,

And the present Commission is made out and ordered to

SIR WOODBINE PARISH

be registered by the Accountant-General of the Province accordingly.

Given at Buenos Ayres 16th July, 1839.

JUAN MANUEL DE ROSAS,  
Governor and Captain-General.

Countersigned,

AUGUSTIN PIREDÓ.

And noted in the Office of the Accountant-General of the Province the 22nd July, 1839,

VICTORIO FUENTES.

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