THE LIFE OF

FIELD MARSHAL

THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

By J. H. STOCQUELER, Esq.

Author of "The British Officer," "The Handbook of British India," "The Military Encyclopædia," "Travels in Persia, Turkey, Russia, Germany, &c.," and other works.

IN TWO VOLUMES, WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

It was intended that the present volume should have followed its predecessor at the interval of one month. The deep interest, however, taken by the British public in all that in any manner relates to the illustrious subject of this biography led to such an extensive publication of facts and correspondence, more or less bearing upon the career and character of the Duke of Wellington, that it was deemed advisable to await the completion of the array, in order that everything that could throw light upon his history might be accumulated and collected to contribute to the perfection—if such a word may be unpresumingly used—of these Memoirs.

In the author's anxiety to avoid the sin of book-making, he has now reduced the ample *matériel* at his command within the smallest compass consistent with justice to the reader and to the theme. But a mere narrative, in the most enlarged form, is insufficient to convey a fair idea of the true greatness of the Duke of Wellington, even with the assistance of copious notes. A reserved man—one of few words in conversation,—and scarcely accessible to any but his most intimate friends,—the cast and comprehensiveness of the Duke's mind could only be measured by an attentive study of his speeches, despatches, and other writings.

Dr. Johnson said that a man might be known by his letters. 'his is but partially true. Most men furnish additional and neces-ry clues to their characters, whereas the Duke of Well[illegible] justifying the dictum of the great lexicographer, left his [illegible] speak for him entirely. Hence it has become essential to

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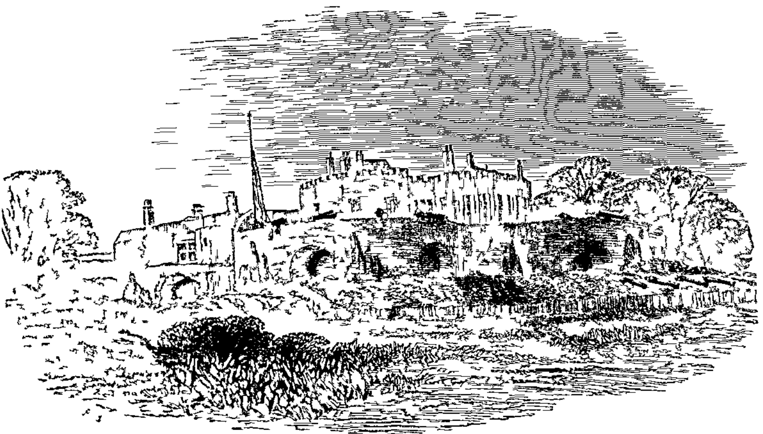

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LIFE OF

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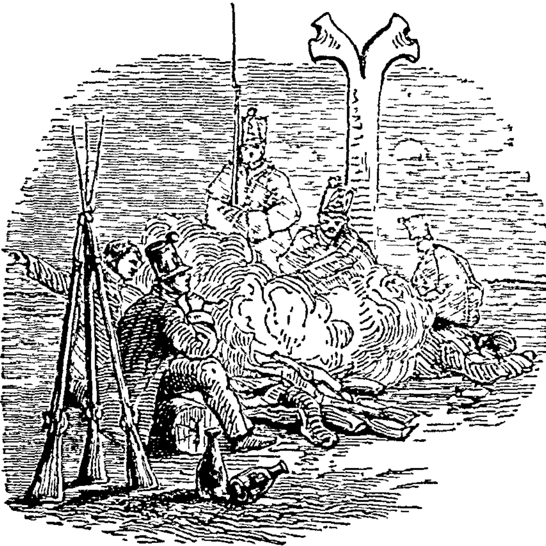
CHAPTER I.

Napoleon's progress to Paris—Defection of the French troops—The Emperor's preparations for War—The Duke's plan of operations for the Invasion of France—Correspondence of the Duke when at Brussels—View of Napoleon's aggression.



T has been stated that Napoleon resumed the Government of France on the 4th of April, 1815. It is necessary to take a retrospect of the steps by which he ascended to that "dangerous eminence."

Immediately after landing in the Gulf of St. Juan, Napoleon at the head of his fragment of an army, advanced towards Paris. His journey lay through La Mure, Vizille, Grenoble, Lyons, Maçon, Montereau. The cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were at first faint and scattered—the peasantry did not know whether to curse or bless the chance that had again brought them *vis-à-vis* the man who had conquered and reigned through the conscription. At Vizille, the 5th Regiment of the Line were drawn up to oppose his progress. He fearlessly presented

himself before them. The apparition of the little *chapeau*, the drab frock, the green coat of the *chasseurs de la garde*, and the jack boots, was too much for them. They forgot their vows to the Bourbons, and after a moment declared for the Emperor.

"It was," exclaims Lamartine, "the junction of France, past and present, embracing each other at the call of glory—*the involuntary sedition of hearts*." One defection was an example for others—the hearts of the army were with Napoleon; hostility at a distance became loyalty in his presence. The 4th Regiment of the Line deliberately prepared themselves for a traitorous demonstration by carrying the coloured cockades in their bosoms and in the drums, displaying them under the auspices of Colonel Labedoyere, as soon as the Emperor was in sight. The people of Grenoble, in defiance of the garrison, burst open the gates and lowered the draw bridge to admit Bonaparte.

Napoleon's marshals were not much disposed to second his enterprise. He flattered himself that it was because they had become rich through his favour, and did not wish to be killed; but the truth was, that he had acquired no hold upon their affections. On the contrary, he had treated every one of them in his turn with insolence and injustice, and they did not forget it. He had stored their minds with recollections of affronts and offences. There was not one who had not been either censured or superseded, and those who had not been spontaneously recalled had tendered their resignations. He gave them fine names—fed them—occasionally caressed them—trained them to hunt down the game, as if they were so many dogs—rewarded them with a share of the spoil, but made little scruple of whipping or kicking them when anything went wrong. They were not displeased at his fall—could they be otherwise than annoyed at his sudden return? Massena, who commanded in the South, announced his arrival to the King, and declared that all the necessary military measures had been taken to arrest him. Soult, who had become Minister of War, and was supposed to be sincere towards the Bourbons, issued a proclamation to the army, in which he spoke of Napoleon as a usurper. "What does he want?" ran the document—"Civil war. What does he seek for? Traitors. Where will he find them? * * * * Bonaparte despises us enough to believe that we can abandon *a legitimate and well beloved* Sovereign to share the fate of a man who is nothing more than an adventurer! He believes it, the madman! His last act of lunacy shows him in his true colours." And thus he, the crafty old soldier, who was known to the army of the Empire by the *soubriquet* of "Monsieur

Renard," and who had so often invoked fealty to the Eagle, called upon the soldiers to rally round the banner of the Lilies. Ney was even more enthusiastic in his new-born loyalty, and, rushing to the presence of the King on the eve of his joining an army assembled under the Count d'Artois, the King's brother, to crush Napoleon's invasion—swore to Louis XVIII. that he would bring his enemy to Paris conquered and in chains in an iron cage!

But all this enthusiasm did not assure the Bourbons that they could rely upon the honour and fidelity of the marshals. Their suspicions—groundless as the result in some instances proved—led them to move the King to at least dismiss Marshal Soult from his post.

At Lyons, Napoleon, it was supposed, would be annihilated; for a large force had been hastily assembled there under the Count d'Artois, the Duc d'Orleans (afterwards Louis Philippe), and Marshal Macdonald—the latter of whom was adored by the soldiers, because he had been true to the Emperor in the last hours of his adversity. Never was calculation on loyalty more unfounded. At the sight of Napoleon's advanced guard, the whole force declared for the Emperor, and the three generals fled back to Paris in consternation. At Lons-le-Saunier, Marshal Ney, who, with all his bravery and skill, was a man of small moral purpose, decided, after a racking contest, between his sense of duty and the allurements of military glory, to abandon the cause of the Bourbons. He harangued his troops, vilified the Bourbons, declared their cause lost, and dignifying Napoleon's invasion with the appellation of the "re-ascent to the throne of the legitimate dynasty," announced that he was about to lead the soldiers to the "immortal phalanx," which the Emperor was conducting to Paris. "Vive l'Empereur!"

The soldiers took up the cry—the defection became universal. The people, no longer assured of the protection of the army, joined in the sedition, and the roads to Paris being thus opened, Napoleon moved on to Fontainebleau, and, after a faint opposition, reached Paris. The Bourbons had fled. Louis XVIII. to Ghent, in Flanders.

What intermediately passed at Vienna has been recorded.

The Bourbons now made an attempt to raise a civil war on their own account. The Duc d'Angoulême and the Duchess, "the only man in the family," as Napoleon was accustomed to call her, endeavoured to rally the people in the south—at Provence, Marseilles, and Bordeaux—and all unavailingly. The Bonapartean fever had seized the people, and the Bourbonism of a few months evaporated rapidly.

Napoleon, of course, made a multitude of fine promises to the nation He began to prepare for it a new Constitution He abolished slavery—and appealing to the *souvenirs* of the soldiers of the Empire, he created a spontaneous enthusiasm for the military service The army had been reduced by the policy and servile economy of the Bourbons to 90,000 men, Napoleon raised it by his artful appeals to 130,000 in a very few days, and numerous corps were formed by the young men of France, who enrolled themselves as volunteers under the denomination of "patriotic associations" On the 1st of June, a grand and imposing military spectacle was held on the Champ de Mars, when the deputies of departments and of the Army and Navy attended, and the Emperor, in the presence of many thousands of spectators, made a speech, the burthen of which was that he held power for the people—that France was the sole object of his thoughts and actions—and that the honour, glory, and happiness of France were the only guides of his conduct All this, however, was unavailing with the Legislature They appointed for their President a man who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to Napoleon at the close of his reign in March, 1814 Napoleon craftily confirmed the nomination, and trusted to the march of events to give him back the popularity which it was clear he had lost

In the meantime the recruiting for the French army went on, to prepare for the struggle which Napoleon saw was inevitable To meet the immense force the allies had resolved on collecting, he managed to raise an army of 559,000 men, such as it was Clothing, and arms, and equipments of all sorts were necessary, but when the regiments destitute of these came to be enumerated, there were not absolutely more than 217,000 soldiers of the regular army fully equipped for service

The scheme of operations devised by the allies for extinguishing the new power which had thus suddenly arisen was not unknown to Napoleon, and he applied the resources of his mind to its counteraction Several plans suggested themselves to him He at first meditated awaiting their advance upon Paris, where he might, by the time they could possibly have reached the capital, be prepared to receive and defeat them But the people dreaded the approach of the allies, and the vast force they were accumulating seemed to render all prospect of a successful opposition to their advance perfectly futile Under these circumstances Napoleon conceived another plan of operations, and this, after many deliberations, he adopted Belgium, he concluded, wished to be re united to France

The presence of the English was an obstacle to the accomplishment of this wish. The foe driven out, Belgium would again become a French province, and the English parliamentary opposition, alarmed at the expense of the war, would compel the Government to make peace. He therefore resolved to anticipate attack, and endeavour to defeat the allies in detail, as they reached the frontier.

To carry out this plan Napoleon distributed his army along the frontier, and made peace with all the Generals of the empire, for the sake of their services. He forgot their treachery in their revived loyalty, and gave to Soult the post of Major-General of the army; to Massena, the governorship of Metz; to Ney, he assigned the command of the first corps in the army, posted in the neighbourhood of Lille. Lobau, Clausel, Grouchy, Kellerman, Excelmans, Gerard, Suchet, and Vandamme, were placed at the head of different corps, and Davoust was continued at Paris as Minister of War.

The moment that it was decided the Duke of Wellington should take an active part in resisting the new aggression of Napoleon, his Grace began to direct his mind to the measures essential to the success of the operations of the allies. He saw that, with such a force as they could bring into the field, the contest would be a short one, and decidedly successful. Nothing, he was satisfied, could be done with a small or inefficient force: "The war would linger on and would end to our disadvantage." Motives of economy, therefore, supplied an inducement to the British Government to bring the largest possible force into action at the earliest and the same period of time, and this force could only be assembled with the help of subsidies which, as already shown, were granted.

The Duke of Wellington was quite satisfied that no chance of a continuance of the peace of Europe existed so long as Napoleon held power. His destruction was necessary as a prelude to tranquillity. Addressing Lord Castlereagh from Vienna, on the 26th of March, the Duke said:—

"It is the desire for war, particularly in the army, which has brought Bonaparte back, and has formed for him every party and given him every success; and all my observations, when at Paris, convinced me that it was the King alone who kept Europe at peace, and that the danger which most immediately threatened his Majesty was to be attributed to his desire to maintain the peace, contrary to the wishes not only of the army, but of the majority of his subjects, of some of his Ministers, and even of some of his family.

"Your lordship," continued the Duke, "will then judge what chance there is of maintaining the peace if Bonaparte should be

entirely successful, considering his disposition for war, adverting to the opinions he has delivered and entertains upon the peace, and to the necessity under which he labours to cultivate his popularity with the army, and to endeavour, at least, to flatter the vanity of the nation by military success Depend upon it, my lord," concluded the Duke, "that if he succeeds in establishing himself, we have no chance of peace, except by resigning all our conquests to the Rhine at least, and our chance then depends upon his moderation"

A MEMORANDUM of the course of procedure most desirable for the allied troops was drawn up by the Duke on the 12th of April, 1815 In this he stated that the object of the allies should be, by their rapidity, to be before hand with the plans and measures of Bonaparte, and to throw such a force into France as would be capable of either defeating the army in the field, or keeping it in check, and of retreating upon supporting armies in case of misfortune He recommended the employment of allied British, Dutch, and Hanoverian troops, under his own command, Prussian troops, under Count Gneisneau, allied Austrian, Bavarian, Wurtemburg, and Baden troops (to be assembled on the Upper Rhine) under Prince Schwartzenburg He was of opinion that the British, Hanoverian, Dutch, and Prussian troops should enter France between the Sambre and the Meuse, that he, the Duke, should endeavour to get possession of Maubeuge or Avesnes, while General Gneisneau directed his march upon Rocroy and Chimay Corresponding operations were to be undertaken by Prince Schwartzenburg, and their combined movements promised to give the allies possession of a number of important fortresses, and to place 200,000 men in the centre of France, with a reserve of 300,000, whose operations might be directed upon Paris between the Meuse and the Oise

Four days after drawing up this memorandum, the Duke of Wellington wrote to the Prince Regent of Portugal, inviting him to assist the great objects of the European confederacy with a body of troops, and adverting to the impossibility of their operating on the Spanish frontier with a Spanish corps in the then state of the financial resources of the Government of Spain, the Duke urged the Prince Regent to employ the troops of Portugal *with the allied army* assembling in Flanders

At the beginning of April, 1815, the Duke of Wellington established his head quarters at Bruxelles (Brussels), and from that time until the beginning of June he was perpetually engaged in assembling the army for offensive operations in France, and in discussing the plan of operations with a number of persons of rank interested in

destruction of Napoleon's power. He was in free communication
ι Marshal Blücher, Prince Schwartzenburg, Prince Metternich,
d Clancarty, Le Comte de Blacas, the Duc d'Orleans, the Duc
Feltre, the Emperor of Russia, and others—and to each he
riably expressed the same opinion—namely, that the misfortunes
he King of France had arisen from the defection of the French
y, and that even if the faults and follies of his civil administration
not been committed, the same results would have been produced.
eving a combined aggressive movement upon France, and the
at of the French army indispensable to the restoration of the
g, the Duke of Wellington anxiously awaited an intimation from
ıce Schwartzenburg of his readiness to commence operations.
shal Blücher was prepared, and "very impatient to begin;" but
Duke would undertake no movement without the co-operation of
ıce Schwartzenburg.[1]

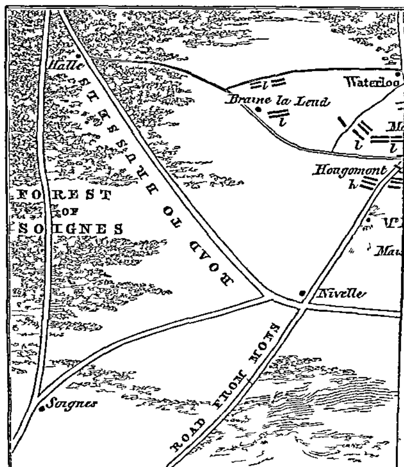
mongst the correspondents of the Duke at this juncture was one
ι of rank—a Frenchman—who was desirous of joining in the
sade against Napoleon, but who seemed to have some scruples of
science on the subject of warring with France. To set his mind
ase on that point, the Duke entered into an elaborate exposition
he real state of the case as regarded France and Napoleon, whose
rests he held to be antagonistic.

The principle," he wrote (Brussels, 4th of June, 1815), "on
ch you proceed is generally true and sound; a brave man cannot
e in the ranks of the enemy of his country; but I do not perceive
; such a case now exists. France has no enemies that I am aware
ınd, as far as I know, does not deserve to have any. We see the
mies of one man and his adherents, who has availed himself of
influence over the French army to overthrow the King's throne,
order to subjugate France, and to revive all the days of misery
fancied we had escaped. We are at war with him because we
. he cannot be at peace. It is unfortunate for France that she is
become the theatre of a war which this man renders necessary, and
which he is the cause and the object; but it must not be supposed
t the war is directed against her. On the contrary, the King of
ınce—he whom you desire to see restored to the throne, and to
re—is the ally of all Europe in this conflict, in which also I
ieve him to be the true representative of the sentiments and
hes of his nation."

"Le Maréchal Blücher est preparé, et très impatient de commencer; mais je lui ai fait aujourd'hui qu'il me paraissait, que nous ne pouvions rien faire jusqu'à ce que nous fussions ain du jour que vous commenceriez, et en général de vos idées sur vos opérations."—*er to the Prince, 2nd June,* 1815.

This passage comprehends so just a view of the relations between France and the allies, as distinct from those of the corrupt and traitorous French army and its opponents that it deserves to be remembered and treasured in all discussions of the question as between England and France It is clear that the sword was not now drawn against France, but *for* France, and *against* Napoleon

The allies, it has been shown, intended to act upon the offensive It will presently be seen that Napoleon Bonaparte was beforehand with them, and, in the attempt to carry out his design of destroying them in detail, forced a decisive contest upon the plains of Belgium



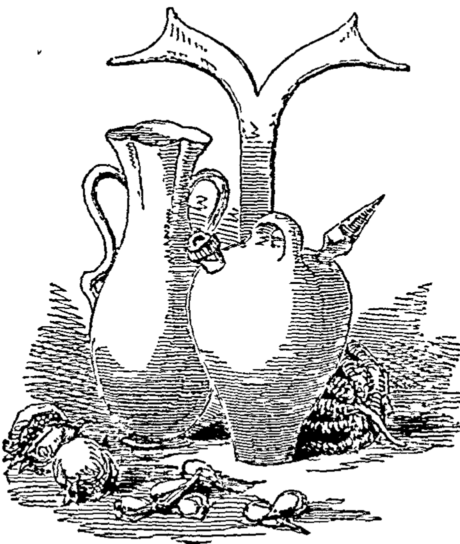
EXPLANATION OF THE MAP

a. Route of the French army under Napoleon to Ligny
b Route of Marshal Ney's corps to Quatre Bras.
c Route of General Grouchy's corps
d. Route of the Prussians to Wavre
e Route of Napoleon's force to join Ney
f Route of the whole French army to Planchenoit
g The French at Ligny
h. The Prussians at Ligny
k. The French position at Waterloo.
l. The British ditto ditto.
m The Prussians at Wavre.
n. The French at Sart à Walhain
o Blucher's movement to join Wellington.

THE THEATRE OF WAR I

CHAPTER II.

The British Army in the Netherlands—Napoleon joins his army at Avesnes—Attacks the Prussians—Battle of Ligny—Battle of Quatre Bras.



HE army assembled under the Duke of Wellington in the Netherlands numbered 78,500 men. Two-thirds of the force consisted of British, Hanoverians, and Belgians; the remainder were from the Brunswick and Nassau States. It was precisely such a force as the Duke of Wellington would not have taken the field with if he could have helped it. The British troops were, for the most part, raw levies. After the Peninsular War, a large proportion of the troops was sent to Canada and New Orleans; disbandment also took place upon a grand scale; and the "astonishing infantry," with which the Duke felt that he could have accomplished almost anything, was dispersed over the kingdom; small gratuities and trifling pensions marking the gratitude of the country for all the scars they had earned, and the blood they had freely shed. Still, in the raw troops now assembled under the Field Marshal, there was the same British spirit—the same sense of duty—and a perfect reliance upon the great chief by whom so many victories had been won. And the army was well officered. Renouncing the enjoyments of home, and the tranquillity of garrison existence, every man who had distinguished himself in the fields of Portugal, Spain, and France, sought employment at this juncture; and the

Duke soon found himself surrounded by the men he loved best, and on whom he could place the most perfect dependence. Lord Hill was with him, and commanded the right wing of the army near Ath The Prince of Orange was at the head of the left wing at Braine le Comte and Nivelles. Lord Combermere was not present; but a soldier distinguished by his intrepidity, and the admirable manner in which he had covered Sir John Moore's retreat to Coruña, headed

THE EARL OF UXBRIDGE, AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY.

the cavalry, and gave assurance that wherever he was, there victory would be;—this was the Earl of Uxbridge.[1] Besides these men, and

[1] "The Earl of Uxbridge was born the 17th of May, 1768, and received the first rudiments of his education at Westminster, from whence he was removed to Christ Church, Oxford. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, in 1793, the Earl, then Lord Paget, disdaining inglorious repose, and anxious to embrace a military life, raised the 80th Regiment of Foot.

severally commanding divisions and brigades, were Picton, Clinton, Alten, Colville,—all become Lieutenant-Generals, and covered with

or Staffordshire Volunteers, a fine body of young men, principally on the estates of his noble father. On 600 men being raised, Lord Paget was presented with a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the army; and on 400 more being added, his lordship was offered a Colonelcy, which he refused, on the grounds of his not having then been on foreign service. Three months after the letter of service, Lord Paget, with his regiment, embarked for Guernsey, and from thence, in 1794, joined his Royal Highness the Duke of York in Flanders; and in that retreat, his lordship being junior field officer, was entrusted with the command of Lord Cathcart's brigade, the latter gallant officer having a separate corps, to which his attention was necessarily directed. Lord Paget, who had been removed from the 80th to the command of the 7th Regiment of Light Dragoons, accompanied his Royal Highness the Duke of York in the expedition to Holland; and in the general attack made on the 2nd of October, 1799, his lordship was attached to the division under the command of the Russian general, De Hermann, and posted on the sand-hills, where he had an opportunity of contributing materially to the brilliant victory that day obtained by British troops, under circumstances of the most discouraging nature. Late in the evening of that day, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the British horse artillery, were charged by the cavalry under Lord Paget, and driven with considerable loss nearly to Egmont-op-Zee. In the retreat of that army Lord Paget, with his cavalry, protected the rear; and some skirmishing having taken place, whereby several pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy, his lordship, with one squadron, made a gallant attack upon the force of General Simon, amounting to above six times that of his lordship's, totally repulsed them, and obtained back the British, and with them several pieces of the enemy's, cannon. After the return of the army from Holland, Lord Paget devoted himself with the greatest assiduity to the discharge of his regimental duties, and, by his unremitting attention, the 7th Light Dragoons became one of the first regiments of cavalry in the British service. Lieutenant-General Lord Paget, with two brigades of cavalry, consisting of the 7th, 10th, 15th, and 18th Regiment of Hussars, followed the division sent under the command of Sir David Baird to co-operate with Sir John Moore in Spain. Lord Paget disembarked his forces at Coruña, amidst the innumerable difficulties opposed to his lordship from the want of forage, the apathy of the people of Spain, and the tardy supplies they afforded, very different from what either the men or horses had been accustomed to, and proceeded in the route Sir David Baird's division was directed to take. On the 10th of December, Lord Paget arrived at Zamora, and after a toilsome march, was enabled to bring into the field a well-equipped body of cavalry; and on the 24th of November, his lordship's division effected a junction with the army of Sir John Moore. At this period, the critical state of affairs had determined the British commander to fall back upon Portugal. Circumstances afterwards caused this movement to be suspended, and a junction was resolved upon with the division under Sir David Baird, which was happily effected on the 20th of December. Lieutenant-General Lord Paget was stationed with his division of cavalry twelve miles from Sahagun; and at the latter place a body of the enemy's horse, amounting to 700, had been posted, which his lordship proposed by a rapid movement to cut off from the main body of the French army; and accordingly, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, Major-General Slade was despatched by a different route from that his lordship proposed pursuing, with the 10th Light Dragoons, whilst Lord Paget, with the 15th Regiment of Dragoons, moved with great celerity in a contrary direction, reached Sahagun, and surprised a picket of the enemy; unfortunately some men escaped and gave the alarm, which afforded the French an opportunity of forming in an advantageous position on the outskirts of the town. The strength of the post was particularly favourable, from a hollow which opposed any regular charge of the British cavalry; and it was therefore necessary to manœuvre so as to gain the advantages of ground for his intended operations. Here the abilities of Lord Paget were exercised with effect; and having succeeded in improving his position, a charge was made upon the enemy, drawn up in line. The rapidity with which the British cavalry rushed on to the attack could not be

decorations earned in the Peninsula. There were also Major-Generals Kempt, Ponsonby, Byng, Pack, Bradford, Lambert, Maitland, Halkett, and Adam. The staff was admirably composed. In the Adjutant-General's department were Sir Edward Barnes, Sir George Berkeley, Colonel Waters—he who had managed the passage of the Douro—and many more. Sir W. De Lancey was the Quartermaster-General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens, Sir R. D. Jackson, and Sir A. Dickson, were among those under him. Sir George Wood commanded the artillery; and in the Duke's personal staff were Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the young Lord March, and the gallant Marquis of Worcester.[1]

The cavalry comprised several regiments of heavy dragoons, including the Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), and *fourteen regiments of Light Dragoons. Five of the light* corps were composed of the German Legion. The infantry consisted of thirty-five battalions and two complete regiments; one of these was the 33rd Foot, the corps in which the Duke first saw service, and with which he had been connected for twenty years.

withstood by the French, their line was immediately broken, and their whole force dispersed, with considerable slaughter, two Lieutenant-Colonels, and upwards of 190 men, made prisoners, were the fruits of this bold, yet well-planned operation In the disastrous retreat *of Sir John Moore, Lord Paget, with his cavalry, brought up the rear, and the ardour of his* lordship frequently exposed him to imminent danger Skirmishes daily took place, and the masterly disposition of his lordship, and the alacrity he at all times evinced, enabled the British troops to reach Coruña with a trifling loss At Majorga, a well-directed attack was executed on a considerable force of the enemy by the 10th Hussars, under Colonel Leigh, in which the British were successful, and 100 of the French made prisoners At Benevento Lord Paget's division was attacked by the chasseurs of Bonaparte's Imperial Guard, the pickets which were along the Esla river having been driven in, his lordship reinforced them with the inlying pickets; these, with a part of the German Hussars, gallantly kept in check six squadrons of the Imperial Guards. Lord Paget having arrived on the spot, found them engaged in a very sharp skirmish, he immediately sent for the 10th Hussars, and gave orders for an attack with the pickets the instant he had formed the 10th in a second line. This attack was conducted with so much gallantry that the Imperial Guards were overthrown, with the loss of a General and several other officers, and 100 men made prisoners, and many killed, wounded, and drowned. By a continual series of bold operations, Lord Paget acquired for the British cavalry the high character they held during the rest of that campaign, and the very able manner in which the retreat of Sir John Moore was protected, throughout, by the Hussar Division, obtained the approbation of the lamented commander, and will ever continue a theme for admiration and example to the rest of the army. Lord Paget succeeded, on the death of his father, to the title of Earl of Uxbridge."—*The Military Encyclopædia*

[1] "His military secretary and Quartermaster-General were tried men. His Aides-de-Camp and *Galopins* were young men of the best families in England, who thought it an honour to devote to their country and its greatest commander all the energies of their will and intellect. Mounting the finest horses of England's famous breed, they made it a point of honour, whenever the Duke added the word 'quick' to a message, to cover three German miles in the hour, or, for a shorter distance, one (German) mile in eighteen minutes"—*Aus meinem Leben*, or "Passages of my Life," by General Muffling.

Late in April, the Duke of Wellington received reports of Napoleon's intended movement upon the northern frontier. He accordingly issued orders for such a concentration of the troops as would enable them to effect a junction with ease and rapidity in case the Netherlands should be attacked. He soon afterwards obtained accurate information of the strength and disposition of the French army, and instead of attempting to carry out the original plan of an irruption into France with the allies, he calmly awaited Napoleon's attack.

At daybreak, on the 12th of June, 1815, Napoleon quitted the Palace of the Tuileries, and proceeded to Avesnes, on the Belgian frontier, where he threw himself with confidence into the midst of the army, "his real people—his true capital."

To concentrate the grand army on the banks of the Sambre, push it forward resolutely to Charleroi, attack the Prussians at the point of junction where their right wing extended to the left wing of Wellington's army, drive them back upon Luxembourg, penetrate Belgium, manœuvre on the rich plains of an almost level country, leave an imposing force in front of Blücher, to prevent him from taking the Emperor in flank, throw himself to the left, and march upon Brussels and upon Wellington; crush the English, return afterwards as conqueror upon the two armies of the Lower and Central Rhine, fight and conquer again the coalition of those two first armies,—such was the plan of Napoleon, and the only one suited to the circumstances of the hour, to the natural genius of the Emperor and his soldiers, and finally to the genius of impetuosity and despair.[1]

The moment Napoleon found himself amidst his troops, he addressed to them one of those written harangues with which on all former occasions he was accustomed to stimulate their pride, excite in them a thirst for glory, and fill them with hatred of the enemy they were about to encounter. Believing in auguries, the troops who had won so many battles in Germany, were easily moved to enthusiasm if they were appealed to on the anniversary of any great fight. Napoleon addressed them on the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland. He charged the "princes whom he had suffered to remain upon their thrones" with a coalition aimed at the independence and the most sacred rights of France, and with the most unjust of aggressions! He reminded the soldiers that they had beaten the Prussians at Jena and Montmirail when the odds were much against the French. He endeavoured to make them believe that the Saxons, the Belgians, and the Hanoverians bewailed the necessity of

[1] Lamartine's "History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France."

"lending their arms to the cause of princes who are the enemies of justice and the rights of nations"

"Soldiers!" he concluded, "we have forced marches to make—battles to wage—perils to encounter, but, with constancy, the victory will be ours The rights, the honour, and the happiness of our country will be recovered For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has now arrived either to conquer or perish"

The army now at Napoleon's disposal for service in the north amounted to 130,000 men The Prussian army, consisting of 110,000 men, stretched from Liege, where the left of the army, under General Bulow, was posted, forming a junction with the British The high road from Charleroi to Brussels ran between the two armies The advanced posts of the Prussian right wing were at Charleroi, and a brigade of Nassau troops, forming the left of the Duke of Wellington's army, was stationed at Frasne, on the same road Quatre Bras and Fleurus then became the centre and rallying points of the entire mass of Anglo German troops, assembled to oppose an enemy advancing against Brussels by the road from Charleroi It was calculated that the British army could reach the appointed post in twenty two hours from the firing of the first gun, and the Prussians in twenty four hours So difficult, however, is it to ensure the fulfilment of the best laid plans, that 30 000 men were absent from the Prussian army at the moment when they were most wanted Marshal Blucher had but 80 000 men in position when the French army were close upon him

Blucher's impatience to commence the contest arose from his anxiety to fight by the side of the English Convinced of the invincibility of an Anglo Prussian army, he was desirous of overthrowing the French before the Russians—for whom he cherished a great antipathy, because in former campaigns they had thwarted his plans—could effect a junction with the English and himself He had not long to wait for the opportunity On the 15th, Napoleon, intending to throw himself between the allied armies to separate them and beat them in detail, moved from Beaumont at daybreak, and pushing through the deep and miry roads leading to the bridges over the Sambre, effected the passage of the river, and took Charleroi, in spite of the gallant resistance of a comparatively small corps under General Ziethen

The Duke of Wellington received early intelligence on the morning of the 15th of the attack on the Prussian outposts As yet, however, it was not certain what direction Napoleon intended subsequently to take, and it was consequently impossible for him to give orders for

the movement of troops that should leave Brussels uncovered, until that should be known. His Grace limited himself to the preliminary orders to the army to be prepared to move at a moment's notice. Not many hours afterwards expresses reached him with intelligence that Napoleon had divided his army into two parts, and while one portion advanced towards Fleurus, the other, under Marshal Ney—*le plus brave des braves*, as he had been flatteringly called on more than one occasion after his return to Paris from Russia,—was marching against the English on the road to Quatre Bras,[1] by Frasne. Ney knew the country: he had served there in his youth. With 40,000 men he was, by the Emperor's orders, to entrench himself and hold the position against the English.

As the news reached Brussels of the approach of the French, the most intense anxiety began to prevail. The English had made great way with the Belgians during the time they had occupied the country. Mingling with the inhabitants in society, the innate worth of the British character had come to be understood and valued, and it was not the least among the recommendations of our countrymen, that they spent a great deal of money among the Brussels shopkeepers. Yet were there many who cherished a great regard for the French. The few months that had elapsed since the cry of *Orange Boven* was roused had not served to completely dissever the ties established for twenty years, and if the town could have been polled at the critical moment of which we write, it is probable that as many persons would have been found to hoist the tricolor *de bonne volonté*, as to wear the orange cockade of the restored *régime*.

From the moment that the Duke of Wellington fixed his head-quarters at Brussels, the town had become the resort of the aristocracy of England and Northern Germany. Among the former were the Duke and Duchess of Richmond. Invitations to a ball for the evening of the 15th had been issued by the Duchess, in which a great number of the officers of the British army, quartered in and about Brussels, had been included. The probability of the immediate movement of the troops, and the evidently perturbed state of the inhabitants, suggested a postponement of the entertainment. The Duke of Wellington entreated that no change should be made in the arrangement. He had nicely calculated the time that it would take for his troops to reach Quatre Bras, and he deemed it better to carry

[1] Quatre Bras is the name given to the junction of four roads, about twenty-four miles from Brussels, and twelve from Waterloo. One road, to the south-east, leads to Charleroi—one, to the east, to Namur—a third takes a westerly course to Nivelles and Halle—and the fourth goes north-westerly to Brussels.

them into the field somewhat fatigued by their march than to create a panic by a sudden summons to arms His coolness and self possession contributed to give one more evening's enjoyment to many a fond and fluttering heart, but the hurry of departure which followed upon the *fête* exposed the Duke for many years afterwards to the imputation of having been *surprised* by the French—an imputation which even Englishmen are disinclined to renounce lest the force which some of the grandest lines ever penned by Lord Byron, derived from their supposed truth, should be destroyed[1] The Muse of History, dispelling the injurious fiction in which the sister muse delights, has at length vindicated the reputation of the Duke It is now admitted that from first to last he was fully prepared, and leisurely gave his orders[2]

The Duke of Wellington entered the Duchess's ball room shortly after eleven o'clock, and remained for a few moments At one o'clock in the morning of the 16th the ball broke up, but for some hours previously the drums had been beating in the streets, and before midnight of the 15th the bugles and bagpipes had sounded the "Camerons' gathering," and the "War note of Lochiel"

Now came the excitement and the agony which had hitherto been restrained It was not the agony of fear but of sorrow, lest the partings then taking place should be eternal Assured by the calm bearing of the Field Marshal and his officers, and the blithesomeness of the men, the people of Brussels, freshly remembering the exploits of the Peninsular army, did not so much apprehend that the French would approach Brussels as that the effort to drive them back across the frontier would cost hundreds of the brave fellows they then looked upon their lives or limbs Tears were freely shed, lamentations and choking sighs mournfully accompanied the warlike sounds which announced the march of regiment after regiment from the Place Royale The Highlanders (the 42nd and 92nd) were much regretted, for the "douce" manners of the Scotch had endeared them to the inhabitants But, in truth, each regiment carried away its share of hearts

The 5th Division, commanded by Sir Thomas Picton, consisted of the 28th, 32nd, 79th, 95th, 92nd, 44th, 42nd, and a battalion of the Royals The four first regiments formed a brigade under Sir James

[1] There was a sound of revelry by night &c

[2] "I did not hear of these events till in the evening and I immediately ordered the troops to *prepare* to march and *afterwards* to march to their left *as soon as I had intelligence* from *other* quarters to *prove* that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack."—*Despatch of the 19th of June*

Kempt; the four last constituted the left brigade, under Sir Denis Pack. They were followed by the Duke of Brunswick's corps, the Hanoverian infantry, and the contingent of Nassau, in all 15,000 men. This strong body of infantry, totally unsupported by cavalry or artillery, marched at once to Quatre Bras. The Duke followed some hours afterwards, awaiting in the interval fresh advices from Blucher.

While Marshal Ney rapidly—as rapidly as the muddy roads would permit—advanced towards Quatre Bras, Napoleon pushed on to Fleurus. Emerging from the woods around the place about noon of the 16th, he found the Prussians posted along some undulating and elevated ground, called the heights of Bry, their left resting on the village of Sombreff, their right on Wagnele, the centre at Bry. The rivulet of Ligny ran along the front of their position for about three miles, and upon its banks were three or four small hamlets. There were 70,000 infantry and 9000 cavalry, with 252 pieces of artillery—a force about equal in strength to that of the French. By two o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, the Duke of Wellington joined Marshal Blücher on the heights, for the purpose of ascertaining if the operations meditated by the French upon the Prussian line were their main attack, and having satisfied himself upon this point he proceeded to join his own army. Napoleon began the attack upon the Prussians, at three in the afternoon, with a discharge of artillery from the rising ground behind his infantry and cavalry, which moved forward in the usual way. The Prussian artillery replied to the fire. The valleys and hamlets immediately became the scene of a fierce and bloody contest, which continued until nine o'clock at night with varying success. Encouraged by the intrepid Blücher—who narrowly escaped death from his horse falling mortally wounded upon him in a cavalry *mêlée*—the Prussians behaved nobly throughout the day; but when the injuries the old Marshal received in his crushing fall compelled him to quit the field, "the energy and unity of command were gone," and a retreat was resolved upon. The corps accordingly fell back upon Wavre, and early the next day retired upon Gembloux, without being assailed or pursued by the French. Twelve thousand men fell upon either side, and the French remained masters of a field which offered them no other trophies than thirty dismantled guns. But Ligny was a victory in the widest sense of the term, and Napoleon did not delay to present it to the people of Paris as the precursor of other achievements which were to restore the *prestige* of his name.

Coevally with the operations of Napoleon between Fleurus and

Ligny, Ney was "changing bardiment" with the Belgian brigade under the Prince of Weimar On the evening of the 15th, not more than 1500 Belgians occupied the approaches to Quatre Bras at Frasne, but in the night a considerable body had moved through the forest of Nivelles, and, when day broke on the 16th, the French marshal found himself engaged with 8000 men—under the Prince of Orange and General Perponcher The Prince of Weimar at first lost ground before the impetuous attacks of the French columns rein forced, he regained his position, and thus commanded the communica tions leading from Nivelles and Brussels with Marshal Blucher The battle raged till noon, when, pressed by the superior numbers and

MARSHAL NEY

resistless energy of the enemy, the Prince of Orange also fell back to Quatre Bras, defending the woods around with determined

obstinacy. A pause ensues—the French obtain reinforcements, and resume the attack at half-past two in the afternoon, with the full confidence of clearing the way to Brussels. The Belgians are imperilled—they begin to give way—victory is almost within the grasp of the daring Ney, who has everything to gain by success, when Picton's division, toil-worn, but animated by the sight of the battle-field, suddenly comes to the rescue. With the rapidity of lightning, the wood of Bossu, the roads to Ligny and St. Amand, are occupied by the British and foreign infantry, and Wellington coming up with his staff, takes post on a bank on the right of the latter road near Quatre Bras. An attempt is made to push back the French. For the moment they retire, but, strengthened by bodies of cavalry and numerous pieces of artillery, they renew the combat. Forming squares, the British infantry bravely repel the repeated assaults of cuirassiers and dragoons. The Brunswick cavalry now come up, headed by their gallant Duke in the costume of his Black Hussars,[1] and for an instant check the fiery assaults of the French cavalry. At this time (three o'clock), the Duke of Wellington appeared in that part of the field of battle which was close to the village of Quatre Bras. Halting with his aides-de-camp in front of the 92nd Highlanders, exposed to a heavy fire of round shot and grape, he took out his watch, and appeared to calculate the minutes when the British cavalry might be expected. His eye—clear—cold—intelligent—looked from one part of the field to another. He was evidently anxious, but not alarmed. He knew the British infantry. The shot ploughing up the earth around him and even wounding men at his side, the Duke sought shelter. Again the cuirassiers thundered on and surrounded the squares—and again and again they were forced to retire. The infantry became impatient, and would have charged the cavalry, as the 5th and 77th had done at El Bodon, but Wellington would not hear of it. He bid them stand, and, from their living redoubts, hurl stout horsemen from their saddles. They obeyed, and earned a tribute of praise from him who never used the language of admiration but when the valour displayed was of the most brilliant character. Kempt's brigade suffered severely—the Royals, the 42nd, and 44th were sent to their support. For three hours the troops in the centre were warmly engaged. The enemy kept up a heavy fire, and twice attempted to carry the British position. On their second

1 It was a corps which peculiarly bore the aspect of messengers of death. The dress was altogether of black, and the death's head and cross-bones decorated the cap. This dress had been assumed after the battle of Jena, where the Duke's father was killed. The Hussars vowed never to leave off their mourning until his death had been avenged.

attempt, the Brunswick cavalry reserved their charge amidst a terrible fire of grape, and their intrepid chief, rushing into the thickest of the fight, met the fate of his gallant sire The infantry now received permission to charge, and, deploying into line, frequently dashed at the French columns, committing the greatest havoc in their onslaught, and then re-forming square The 79th signalised themselves on this occasion by the most heroic bravery The 92nd and 42nd, the 32nd, 33rd, and 44th performed prodigies—the "Slashers" (28th) resisted every cavalry charge—the Royal Scots also charged under the personal direction of Sir Thomas Picton Colonel Douglas of the 79th was four times wounded Colonel Macra, and many other officers of the immortal 42nd, fell At seven in the evening, the French poured like a torrent upon the British, covered by a blinding fire of artillery "Ninety second! you must charge those fellows!" energetically exclaimed the Duke The order was obeyed Colonel Cameron and three other officers were struck down mortally wounded The Highlanders, infuriated, pressed the enemy, and his vast columns fled before the daring band

Evening was closing in The battle raged in the centre and on the right Never was an action so severely disputed with such unequal means Infantry against the three arms of the first service in the world! But the steady endurance of the noble Fifth Division was to reap its reward The Guards, long and anxiously expected, appeared upon the field, led by General Peregrine Maitland Imitating the conduct of the line, they flew into the wood, of which the French had obtained possession, and clearing it of the *tirailleurs*, emerged upon the plain, encountering and overthrowing the French cavalry, who now came upon them For three hours did the enemy endeavour to regain possession of the post Every repeated effort was repulsed with renewed vigour, a corps of Black Brunswickers supporting the Guards with the utmost spirit

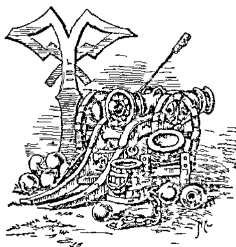
Night fell The French were in confusion and despair Ney, becoming desperate, sent for a corps he had left in reserve, Napoleon had withdrawn it to aid himself in contending with the Prussians The Marshal, intensely mortified, called up another reserve, to cover his broken and dispirited battalions, and then retired, discomfited, to Frasne Quatre Bras was won by the British, the Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, after ten hours' incessant fighting

The carnage at Quatre Bras was terrible The English lost 2251 men and officers killed, wounded, and missing Adding the loss among the Belgians and Hanoverians, the casualties of the day did not amount to fewer than 5000 The Highlanders were nearly

decimated. At ten o'clock at night the piper of the 92nd took pos in a garden in front of the village, and "setting his drone in order," endeavoured to collect the scattered members of the regiment "Long and loud blew Cameron; but although the hills and valley echoed the hoarse murmurs of his favourite instrument, his ultimat efforts could not produce above one-half of those whom his music ha cheered on their march to the field of battle."

CHAPTER III

The Retreat from Quatre Bras—The Battle of Waterloo



"THE morning of the 16th of June," writes the eloquent writer of "The Fall of Napoleon"[1] "had seen 310,000 men, all in the pride of hope and strength, advancing from different points towards the plains of Fleurus Peace still rested on the fruitful fields and noble woods that skirt the fertile banks of the Sambre and the Dyle Leaves, grass, and corn, refreshed and sparkling with the million dew-drops of early summer, presented from the heights of Bry a sight of beauty and repose, to which the scenes of the following morning offered a melancholy, but too piquant contrast The sun of the 17th of June rose on trampled harvests, scorched forests, and on the smoky ruins of cottages and hamlets, it rose on heaps of broken arms, dismounted guns, overturned carriages,—on lines of cheerless *bivouacs*,—on dead and dying steeds,—on trains of wounded,—and on the naked, mangled, and unburied corses of ten thousand valiant men, who had fallen in the fierce and fruitless strife at Ligny and Quatre Bras

The Duke of Wellington passed the night upon the field Some of the 92nd made a fire for him, for the fatigues and anxiety of the

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, author also of "The Life of Wallenstein," "Thoughts on Tactics" &c An able and ingenious writer, addicted, however, to a theory that the bayonet is an inefficient weapon when opposed to the broadsword

previous day had worn and wearied the warrior; and he had yet great work before him. Every hour brought him reinforcements. The cavalry and artillery quickly came up, and, at a very early hour of the 17th, he was preparing to assume the offensive against Marshal Ney at Frasne.

But soon the evil tidings came that Blücher had fallen back upon Wavre. The Duke had almost foreseen that the Marshal's position would be untenable against such a force as Napoleon could bring against him; and he had therefore promised to assist him with his own army, "if he were not attacked at Quatre Bras."

The result of the battle of Ligny rendered it necessary that the projected attack upon Ney, at Frasne, should be abandoned; and the order was given for a retreat upon the field of Waterloo. There were three roads, or *chaussées*, leading to different parts of the position the Duke had made up his mind to take up. Prince Frederick of Orange proceeded to Halle, with 18,000 men; Lord Hill moved to Braine la Leude; and the Prince of Orange to Mont St. Jean. This distribution was necessary, as Napoleon, who had moved to Rosonne, towards Genappes, could have disposed of those roads to Brussels.

The retreat of the Duke of Wellington from Quatre Bras to Waterloo has always been considered, by competent military judges, a perfect model of operations of that nature, executed, as it was, in the face of a powerful enemy. He had three objects to attain: to mask the retirement of the main body; to secure the passage of the defile in his rear; and to ensure the orderly and regular assembly of the several corps on the ground respectively allotted to them. The manner in which this was accomplished "evinced a degree of skill which has never been surpassed." [1]

The retreat of the infantry divisions was covered by the British cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge, the several brigades being commanded by Generals Hussey Vivian, Vandeleur, and Lord Edward Somerset. The regiments employed on this occasion were the 1st and 2nd Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards (Blue); the 1st or King's Dragoon Guards, the 1st or Royal Dragoons, the Scots' Greys, or 2nd North British Dragoons; the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons, the 1st, 7th, 10th, 15th, and 18th Hussars, and three or four regiments of German cavalry. These were supported by a battery of horse-artillery.

No sooner had Marshal Ney discovered that the British were in full retreat, protected only by their cavalry, than he launched a mass of heavy dragoons and artillery upon the covering force. By the

[1] Captain Siborne's "History of the War in France and Belgium."

advice of Lord Uxbridge, who deemed it impossible to offer any serious resistance to the superior force of the French, Lord Wellington had assented to the retreat of the cavalry But the pressure of the Cuirassiers rendered it indispensable that Lord Uxbridge should show them a bold front A great deal of skirmishing, and several charges and counter charges distinguished the pursuit On reaching the village of Genappes—harassed by the vigorous and repeated attacks of the French—Lord Uxbridge resolved on making a stand, for the narrowness of the road, flanked on one side by houses, would necessarily diminish the front of the enemy He therefore posted the 7th Hussars at the upper end of the village, and when the French Lancers entered, and got jammed together in the limited space open to their advance, the Hussars gallantly charged them The Lancers halted, formed a *chevaux de frise* with their lances, and repelled the assault The Hussars retreating, the French, elated at their success, furiously galloped after them, only to be overthrown in their turn by the Life Guards The counter charge of the latter has been described as "truly splendid its rapid rush down into the enemy's mass was as terrific in appearance as it was destructive in its effect, for although the French met the attack with firmness, they were utterly unable to hold their ground a single moment." The road was instantaneously covered with men and horses scattered in all directions "This brilliant and eminently successful charge," adds Siborne, "made a deep impression upon the enemy, who now conducted his pursuit with extreme caution" No serious affair succeeded this, the fine manœuvering of the brigade under Sir William Ponsonby, and the activity of the skirmishers, supported by the active fire of the artillery and rocket brigade, kept the enemy at a distance until the fall of night, when the British army had taken up its position in front of the village of Waterloo

The 16th and 17th of June had been excessively hot The march upon the first of these days from Brussels—a distance of twenty miles—followed by one of the severest actions on record, had sorely tried the strength and patience of the soldiers, and the retreat upon the following day had augmented the tax upon their powers Towards the evening of the 17th, however, a violent thunderstorm mitigated the sultriness, but, flooding the earth, converted the roads into mire Gratefully, then, the troops hailed the hour which found them *en bivouac* in the corn fields around Mont St Jean and near Waterloo, albeit they were not destined to enjoy uninterrupted and refreshing repose, for the rain fell in torrents during the night, and frequent thunder-claps startled them from their slumber

The Duke of Wellington had written to Marshal Blücher, upon the commencement of the retreat, to intimate that he intended to receive battle from the French at Mont St. Jean, if he could depend upon receiving the assistance of two Prussian *corps*; and Blucher, with characteristic warmth and earnestness, replied that he would come not simply with two corps, but with his whole army. Thus assured, the Duke felt confident of his ability to defend the approaches to Brussels against the entire French force, and probably cherished a conviction that he would ultimately drive Napoleon back upon the frontier of France.

There was little to cheer and animate the British army as day broke on the morning of the memorable 18th of June. The rain had fallen heavily during the night, and the field offering but scanty cover, it was with difficulty the men could keep their bivouac fires a-light. "Like sacrifices," they

> "Sat patiently and only ruminated
> The morning's danger; and their gesture sad
> Investing lank, lean cheeks, and war-worn coats,
> Presented them unto the gazing morn
> So many horrid ghosts."

A singular parallel was presented between the scene of 1815 and that which was enacted on the plains of Agincourt four hundred years previously. The English were on a foreign soil—held in contempt by the leader of the enemy—the weather very bad—and the British chief enjoyed the same degree of confidence as the troops of the Fifth Harry reposed in their dauntless king.

Gloom did not long pervade the British ranks. The trumpet, the drum, and the bugle sounded an early *reveillée*, and soon the whole camp was in motion, soldiers cleaning their arms, troopers their swords and horses, aides-de-camp galloping from division to division, and the great Duke himself arranging his plans, and indicating the positions to be assumed by the different brigades.

The field which was to be the scene of that mortal (or immortal) strife extended about two miles from left to right. The centre of the position was three quarters of a mile south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farmhouse of Mont St. Jean, both of which are intersected by the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. The British army occupied the crest of a range of undulations, the eminences being separated by gentle slopes sufficiently deep to conceal a large portion of the force and the whole of the reserve, from the view of the enemy, who took

post upon heights of similar altitude, between 1000 and 1500 yards from the British front

To the right of the Duke's position in a valley of no great depth was an old country house and orchard called Goumont or Hougoumont (sometimes written Hougemont) and upon the high road to the north east of Hougoumont stood a farm house and gardens, called La Haye Sainte These two places were immediately occupied by troops, who lost no time in rendering them available as posts of defence, by raising barricades making loop holes in the walls, taking post behind the hedges &c, for although they were

MONT ST JEAN

neither of them sufficiently formidable to offer a very stubborn resistance to artillery, they were decidedly valuable as cover for infantry, and, indeed constituted the key to the British position Hougoumont was occupied by a battalion of Brunswick troops, and the light companies of the Guards under Colonel Macdonnell of Glengarry La Haye Sainte was held by the light battalion of the King's German Legion Behind the position, to the right and left of the road to

Brussels, *was* the forest of Soignés,[1] which was also traversed by minor roads from Braine la Leude, Ter la Haye, and other hamlets. Being quite free from underwood, and everywhere passable for men and horses, this forest not only offered a good second position along the verge of the wood, if the wing should have been obliged to fall back from the first position, but presented, in case of reverse, the best possible security for a retreat. To the left of the British line, at a distance of twelve miles, concealed by woods and rising ground, lies Wavre, and from this place the Prussians marched, early on the morning of the 18th, to unite themselves with Wellington.

It is related that as soon as the dawn of day enabled Napoleon to distinguish the English army, he gave utterance to feelings of exultation, that they were within his grasp. Believing that they occupied their position, either because the roads and their exhausted state prevented their continuing the retreat to Brussels, or were unaware of the proximity of the French; he savagely exclaimed, "*Ah, je les tiens, ces Anglais!*" It is quite certain that he believed it to be in his power to crush them at any moment, for upon no other ground can the manner in which he wasted his time between day-light and noon be explained. He knew that the Prussians were hurrying to join the British, and that if this junction were effected, the task before him would become more difficult. Perhaps—and this conjecture has been hazarded by his apologists—he waited until the earth, saturated with the rains of the previous night, should hav resumed some portion of its consistency, and enable his artillery an cavalry to act with greater effect. Be this as it may, he devoted som time to marshalling his troops in

"Battle's magnificently stern array,"

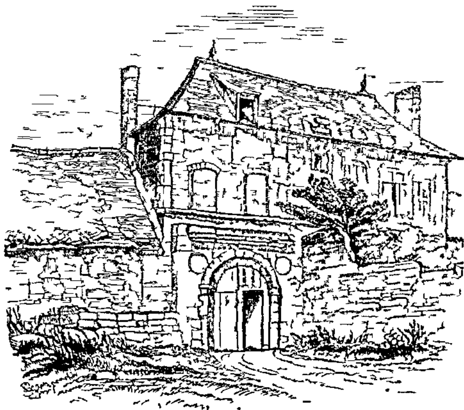
and then rode along the line, attended by a brilliant staff, in order t whet the appetite of his men for the contest. The French soldie needed the stimulus of display, and did not fight the worse for th *fanfaronnade* of pompous harangues, inspiring music, and the sight o "*le petit caporal.*"

At about twelve o'clock, the signal for the fight was given. Th Emperor directed his attack upon the British position at Hougoumont and as his six battalions of infantry, under the command of Princ Jerome, advanced towards the château, the Guards and Brunswickers met them with a volley of musketry, which was seconde

[1] Scarcely a vestige of this forest now remains. It is supposed to have been the Forest of Ardennes, alluded to in Shakspeare.

and sustained by the fire of a British battery on its right In a few minutes the battle became general, for the discharge of musketry and artillery augmented like thickening peals of thunder, and soon extended to the furthest extremity of the lines

Within the limits of this biography it were impossible to attempt to render justice to the details of a conflict which, without needless expansion, has formed the material of ample volumes Siborne and Alison, and Mitchell, Gleig, and Scott, and a hundred writers beside, have rendered the "current of the deadly fight" familiar to English men as household words Innumerable valorous deeds, and tactical



CHATEAU OF HOUGOUMONT

operations of a high and ingenious class, distinguished the British The battle was at first purely defensive on the part of the Duke of Wellington The French attacked vigorously and in great force At Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte the conflict was terrible Several times did the enemy obtain possession of the orchard and gardens of Hougoumont, but they never penetrated the enclosure The

Coldstream Guards immortalised themselves by the unconquerable resolution with which they held the court-yard under their brave leaders, Colonel Macdonnell, Sir John Byng, and Lord Saltoun, even when the farm-house was in flames from the fire of the enemy's howitzers. From time to time the Duke dispatched aides-de-camp to urge the defence of the position, and upon each occasion received words of encouragement from the intrepid leaders. "Your Grace need not fear for Hougoumont," exclaimed Lord March, after courageously delivering his message under a hot fire, "for Saltoun is there!"

The attack upon Hougoumont was followed by the assault of the French line upon the British centre and left. Eighteen thousand

CHAPEL OF HOUGOUMONT.

soldiers advanced in majestic order, under the personal direction of Napoleon, who had galloped towards a public-house, called *La Belle Alliance*, whence to order, and to view the effect of the attack. Shouting "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and "*en avant—en avant!*" the cohorts of the Emperor energetically pushed forward. The Belgian

troops—young and inexperienced—gave way in confusion, after a brief defence of La Haye Sainte. The Rifles also gave ground, boldly turning at every opportunity to deliver their effective fire upon the front of the daring foe. From La Haye Sainte, the columns of the enemy ascended the exterior slope of the allied position, covered by the fire of the French artillery, posted on the ridges above them. But here they were destined to experience a check, for Picton, with the remnant of the brigades which had fought so valiantly at Quatre Bras, seized the favourable opportunity of a halt and deployment by the French to pour into them a destructive volley, and then to charge with the spirit and gallantry common only to British troops. The struggle which ensued was frightful, and though the British infantry triumphed in the collision, their glory and delight were dimmed by the death of the brave Picton, who was struck by a musket ball in the right temple.[1]

About the same time that the infantry brigade repelled the masses of French foot, the Union Brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Enniskillen Dragoons, the Royal Dragoons, and Scots Greys, made terrible havoc among the French Cuirassiers. The Earl of Uxbridge renewed in this contest the proofs of judgment and intrepidity which had made his command of the rear guard, on the way from Quatre Bras, so efficient. The Highland regiments, thinned by the previous fight, again displayed the national valour, and the shouts of "Scotland for ever!" which rang across the field, announced that, in conjunction with the Scots Greys, they were driving the French cavalry like chaff before the wind. In this desperate encounter, a serjeant of the Greys captured the eagle of the French "Invincibles," as the 15ème Régiment was called. The Union Brigade charged recklessly into the French lines, until fresh bodies of the enemy's cavalry—chiefly

[1] The death of Sir Thomas Picton was a subject of deep regret to the British army, and to the nation at large. He was the bravest of the brave. Ever foremost in the fray, the division which he commanded in the Peninsula was called emphatically the "Fighting division." So devoted was he to his profession—so regardless of all personal considerations in his eager anxiety to do his duty in the field—that although severely wounded in the hip at Quatre Bras, he concealed the circumstance from all about him, lest he should have been ordered from the field. It has often been said that the Duke of Wellington was *jealous* of Picton. This was an absurd imputation. Their relative positions put jealousy, or even rivalry and emulation, out of the question. It is possible that the Duke did not like Picton, and found it difficult to ensure ready obedience from the stern old soldier. Napier has shown that in his intercourse with General Craufurd, Picton was most unaccommodating. He was enterprising and intrepid, but harsh and rigid in command, and not remarkable for skill in handling troops under fire. "In fact," adds the historian of the war in the Peninsula, "to compare him (or Craufurd) with Wellington, was to display ignorance of the men and of the art they professed."—They could never comprehend the profound military and political combinations of the subject of this biography.

Lancers—held in reserve, came fiercely upon them, and forced them to retreat. In this retrogressive movement the brave Sir William Ponsonby, who commanded the brigade, fell beneath the deadly thrusts of the Lancers. The whole of this cavalry charge, which, frustrating the attack of the enemy, took 3000 prisoners, two eagles, and put *hors de combat* 30 to 40 pieces of cannon, has been justly regarded as one of the grandest scenes which distinguished the mighty drama of the day.

Simultaneously with these deeds of high emprise, the French Cuirassiers had advanced to attack the British centre. Showers of round and grape-shot saluted them as they slowly trotted across the plain, but they moved bravely on to the slope of the position, where the Life Guards and Blues, under Lord Edward Somerset, thundered down the eminence, and, after a sharp combat, forced them to quit the field.

This kind of attack was frequently repeated. The enemy seemed to grow like Hydra's heads, for, ever as they were repulsed, they returned in augmented numbers to sweep the English from the field. Four hours were passed in this way. Hundreds, nay thousands, of brave men fell under the galling fire of a terrible and well-pointed artillery, the concentrated discharges of musketry, and the diligent sharp-shooting of the riflemen and *tirailleurs*. But the British were rooted to their position. They yielded no foot of ground. By 4 P.M., after a brief interval of slaughter, an immense force of French cavalry of all branches was prepared to renew the attack; and it was evident from their formation and direction that the annihilation of the British infantry was their object. The infantry were in line, with artillery at the intervals. An awful cannonade opposed the daring and impetuous advance of the proud chivalry of France—but still they moved down into the plain at a steady pace. As they pushed at a gallop up the slopes, the infantry formed squares,[1] and the artillerymen, abandoning their guns for the moment, took refuge within these impregnable living redoubts. No persuasion could force the horses of the Cuirassiers against the hedge of bayonets bristling from the squares. They thundered on for a brief space—opened out and edged away from every volley which the third ranks in the squares fired upon them. "In this manner they flew from one

[1] The square consists of four lines of men on either of four sides, the two exterior files kneeling with the butt of the musket pressed against the knee, and the bayonet advanced. The men in the third and fourth lines fire over the formidable *chevaux-de-frise* thus produced. All European nations have adopted the square. It enables infantry to defend itself in every direction.

square to another, receiving the fire of different squares as they passed They flew more frequently at a trot, however, than at a gallop, from one side of the square to another, receiving the fire from every face of the square Some halted, shouted, and flourished their sabres, individuals and small parties here and there rode close up to the ranks It is said that, on some points, they actually cut at the bayonets with their swords, and fired their pistols at the officers But nowhere was there one gallant effort made to break a square by *the strength and influence of the steeds* on which these ignorant and incapable horsemen were mounted "[1]

As the cavalry, baffled in their attacks, retired, the infantry opened out and saluted their departure with volleys which rattled against the metal shells in which the Cuirassiers were encased, often prostrating man and horse or emptying many a saddle But still the cavalry *came on again and again—to be driven back in the same way*, harassed as they retired by the British Hussars

And so the day wore on—and, as it waned, the anxiety of the commanders of the respective armies increased Repeatedly did Napoleon turn to Marshal Soult and ask why the English did not give way, "evidently beaten as they were," and as often as he put the question so often did Soult, taught by bitter experience, assure him that they *never* gave way, but preferred being cut to pieces More than once on the other side did the generals commanding brigades send to the Duke of Wellington to announce that the ranks were rapidly thinning —the men exhausted—the prospect of ultimate defeat increasing "Will the men stand?" asked the immovable chief "Until they die, your Grace," was the instant reply "Then I will die with them," was the rejoinder "Lead us to the charge!" cried the impatient soldiery wearied with the defensive inaction of twelve long hours "Not yet—not yet—my men," was the invariable answer Anxiously, feverishly, impatiently, Napoleon looked over the volumes of smoke which lazily rested upon the right of his army he had ordered Marshal Grouchy to join him with a strong corps, and he momentarily expected him—such an accession would fix the fortune of the day—at least so thought the sanguine Emperor With no less anxiety—but with better concealed emotion—the Duke cast his telescope in the same direction, for he knew that Blücher was hastening from Wavre The roads must have been a perfect quagmire, or the energetic marshal, whose motto was "Forward!" could not have consumed an entire day in marching twelve miles "Would to God that night or Blucher were come!" was the expression which

[1] Mitchell's "Fall of Napoleon"

SQUARE AT WATERLOO—CHARGE OF THE FRENCH CUIRASSIERS.

escaped the lips of the over-wrought but invincible British chief. He knew that night would close the battle, or Blücher's presence convert it into a victory.

At length, while infantry and cavalry debated the issue—while Generals Adam and Halkett and Maitland, with diminished forces, maintained the reputation of the British Guards and Line against the onslaught of well-appointed veterans of all arms; while artillery roared over the plains and heights, and reverberated in the ancient forest, intelligence reaches both sides that the Prussians approach under General Bulow. Napoleon detaches 7000 men under Count Lobau to hold them in check—and his quick perception of an immediate necessity dictates a tremendous attack upon the whole of the British line, that his troops may be free, afterwards, to assail the Prussians. This attack is entrusted to the Imperial Guard, the companions of all his old campaigns, the reapers of victory where the British were *not*. The Emperor forms them into two columns, 10,000 strong, and sending hundreds of *tirailleurs* in advance to cover their approach, he personally encourages them to strike the first blow. Hastily the Duke arranges the remnants of the British army—the gallant fragment which had survived the murderous combats of the prolonged day. On, on, come the French—their artillery still tearing up the ridges where the shattered British hold their ground. Napoleon has advanced to the farm of La Belle Alliance to be, as he expects, the gratified spectator of the destruction of his foes. Meanwhile, the Allied artillery unceasingly sends an iron hailstorm into the ranks of the French, while the British Guards lie down behind a ridge to avoid the shot and shell from the opposite heights. The Imperial cohorts gallantly move onwards—they are within fifty yards of the Duke's position—the danger is imminent. A hundred heavy shot for an instant tell upon their first rank—they reel—they waver —"Up, Guards, and at them!" is shouted by the Duke, by generals, by aides-de-camp along the line. The Guards arise—the apparition staggers the enemy—"Charge!"—and the household troops, who had shown their mettle at Hougomont, pour upon the imperial troops with determined force. The first column of the French is defeated—the second advances to the rescue. Sir John Colborne at once throws the gallant 52nd upon their flank—the Rifles take up the attack—the Guards still press forward. The Duke sees the critical moment has arrived—the Prussians are at Planchenoit. "Let the whole line advance!" exclaims the excited chief. The welcome order is obeyed with alacrity. The gallant Anglesey proceeds to head the Life Guards—a cannon-shot takes off his leg—Vivian and

Vandeleur and Somerset lead their brigades, now reduced to skeleton squadrons, and amidst a waving of hats, shouts, and the encouraging roll of drums, the unconquerable British army rushes down the slopes In vain, the daring Ney, who had headed the Imperial Guard, urges it to rally and resist—in vain Napoleon launches his broken cavalry, till then held in reserve, upon the Allies Dutch, Belgian, Hanoverian, and Nassau troops cheerfully join in the charge, though some of the former had shown the white feather at earlier periods of the day, and, terrified by their impetuosity, the French fall into dire confusion All is lost Napoleon is quick to see that the disaster is irretrievable Panic has seized the flower of his troops, and exhortations to renew the attack are futile They abandon their arms—they fling away their knapsacks The Prussians thunder upon the Emperor's right—already he is overwhelmed *Sauve qui peut!* is shouted by a hundred voices, and the sun which at length shoots out some parting rays lights 30,000 fugitive Frenchmen upon an inglorious retreat At the heels of his animated soldiers, Wellington, who, throughout the day has ever been amongst them when danger was imminent and his presence important, follows with the fragment of his Staff Fitzroy Somerset has been wounded—his right arm is gone—Alexander Gordon has received a mortal hurt—the Prince of Orange is *hors de combat* Soon the position of the French is cleared — Wellington reaches La Belle Alliance, the chosen locality of Napoleon's anticipated triumph, and there he meets the admirable Blucher The old Marshal embraces him fervidly But there is no time to lose A few words from the Duke to the effect that his troops are worn out and incapable of continuing the pursuit, suffice for Blücher He casts his Prussian cavalry upon the backs of the recreant French, and for miles they follow the broken legions of the once proud Emperor, cutting them to pieces in their helplessness, and avenging in their merciless slaughter the wrongs inflicted upon Berlin, and Frederick William's excellent Queen

Slowly, and with mingled emotions of sorrow and gratification, the Duke of Wellington retraces his steps across the field to take up his quarters at the little village of Waterloo The groans of the wounded, the sight of the thousands of dead over whom his horse ever and anon stumbles, smite his heart He—the sternest of the stern, where the claims of "duty" invoke the suppression of all natural impulses—gives way to grief at the moment when men of Napoleon's mould, in whom exultation smothers all the better feelings of Nature, would have been intoxicated with delight Dismounting

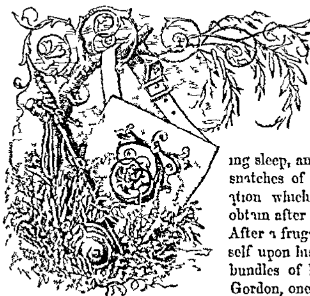
from "Copenhagen,"[1] who had borne him for seventeen hours—and narrowly escaping a fractured skull from the heels of his charger, who kicked out his sense of the relief he now experienced—the Duke of Wellington—*le vainqueur des vainqueurs*—enters the little inn to seek refreshment and repose.

[1] "Copenhagen derived his name from the city in which he was foaled, his dam having been taken out there in the expedition of 1807, by Field-Marshal Grosvenor. The horse was not only thorough-bred, but he was also very fashionably bred, being on his father's side a grandson of the celebrated Eclipse, and on his mother's of a well-known horse of his day—John Bull. In the hands of General Grosvenor Copenhagen did not remain long, for he was sold by him to the Marquis of Londonderry, then Adjutant-General to the Peninsular army, who sent him with other horses to Lisbon, in 1813. While there he was selected and bought with another horse, by Colonel Charles Wood, at the price of four hundred guineas, for his Grace the Duke of Wellington, with whom he soon became, as he continued, an especial favourite. On the memorable day of Waterloo, though the great captain had been on his back for eighteen hours, yet Copenhagen gave little signs of his being beaten, for on the Duke's patting him on the quarters as he dismounted after the battle, the game little horse struck out as playfully as if he had only had an hour's ride in the Park. For endurance of fatigue, indeed, he was more than usually remarkable; and for the duty he had to fulfil as proportionately valuable. However hard the day, Copenhagen never refused his corn, though he eat it after a very unusual manner with horses, lying down. Copenhagen, whose colour was a full rich chesnut, was a small horse, standing scarcely more than 15 hands high; he possessed, however, great muscular power. His general appearance denoted his Arabian blood, which his enduring qualities served further to identify. Though not much suited, from his size, for crossing the country, the Duke did occasionally ride him to hounds."—*Sporting Magazine.*

Bell's Life in London gives a different account of the pedigree of the horse. That journal—the highest authority in such matters—says:—"The horse was bred in the year 1808 by the late Field-Marshal Grosvenor; his sire was the famous little racer Meteor, son of Eclipse. Meteor hardly exceeded 14½ hands; he was, however, very strong and handsome, with a remarkably good constitution and legs, which enabled him to stand the wear and tear of training for seven years. Meteor was just a little short of the first class or form of race-horses, running well at all weights and distances. His illustrious progeny, Copenhagen, appears to have inherited the stoutness of his sire in no slight degree, although very unsuccessful as a race-horse upon the turf. His dam was a mare whose name was given in the 'Stud-book' as Lady Catherine, by John Bull, a very large, strong horse, the winner of the Derby Stakes in 1792; who, as well as Meteor, was in the stud of Lord Grosvenor, the grandfather of the present Marquis of Westminster. By those who are versed in the mysteries of the 'Equine Peerage,' Lady Catherine was always considered to be entitled to the 'bend sinister.' In fact, she was *not quite* thoroughbred. The newspapers have informed us that the Duke's charger was named in consequence of his having been foaled in Copenhagen, which we must beg leave to doubt; for, even supposing Field-Marshal Grosvenor to have visited the Danish capital in 1808, either in a military or a civil capacity, which does not anywhere appear to be the case, it is hardly possible that he would have taken a brood-mare as a part of his travelling establishment. At that time it was a very common circumstance to name race-horses after some illustrious event happening during the war. Thus we have the names of Albuera, Waterloo, Smolensko, St. Vincent, and many others. For a similar reason Copenhagen most probably received that title. At the time Copenhagen was foaled, Meteor was twenty-five years old. Copenhagen was taller than his sire, being very nearly, if not quite, 15 hands, but neither so strong nor so handsome."

CHAPTER IV

The night after Waterloo—The gains and losses—State of Brussels during the 16th, 17th and 18th of June—*Advance of the Allies* into France—Louis XVIII joins the British camp—The *scenes in* Paris—Napoleon's political throes—The *abdication of the* Emperor—Proposals for Peace—Capitulation of Paris—The Allied Armies enter Paris



HERE was brief rest for Wellington on the night after the battle of Waterloo Nature claimed some relief, and had gifted him with the singular power of commanding sleep, and deriving from hasty snatches of slumber that invigoration which ordinary men only obtain after long hours of repose After a frugal meal, he threw himself upon his cloak, laid over some bundles of hay, for Sir Alexander Gordon, one of his attached aides de camp, severely wounded, had been placed upon the Duke's bed His sleep was sound—the sleep of the good man and the brave, whose unconquerable resolution *to* fulfil his duty, had found its highest reward in the liberation of mankind from the renewal of a dreadful tyranny

At three o'clock on the morning of the 19th of June, the Duke was aroused to hear that the spirit of Gordon had fled The gay and gallant now lay a corpse in the adjoining apartment[1] Reports had

[1] The Duke was much attached to Sir Alexander In the afternoon of the 19th he wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, Gordon's brother, and spoke of the "extreme grief" his death had

in the meanwhile reached the little inn from the general officers at the head of divisions and brigades, and the Duke in the stillness of the night had opportunity to count his profits and his losses. Heavily as the latter weighed upon his spirit—"they have quite broken me down," he said to the Duke of Beaufort, the brother of Lord Fitzroy Somerset,—the gain was beyond all price. He felt it—proudly as a soldier, humbly as a Christian—and if at the commencement of the struggle he spoke in the animated tones of the Fifth Harry, like him, he now exclaimed in the fulness of his gratitude,—

> "O God, Thy arm was here;
> And not to us, but to Thy arm alone,
> Ascribe we all."

The reports which came to the Duke of the casualties of the day—determinable by the musters of the regiments—announced a much heavier loss than he had contemplated, although he had seen the field covered with the dead and the dying, and was a witness to the continual removal of hundreds of wounded men to the rear. In the morning of the 18th June he had gone into the field with an army of 67,661 men, and 156 guns.[1] Of that number 14,724 were ascertained to be killed, wounded, and missing. But official duty demanded the suppression of emotions, and by the dim light of a candle, the conqueror of Napoleon penned the memorable despatch which was to announce to anxious England the final triumph of her arms on the continent of Europe. In this despatch, which simply records the operations described in the foregoing chapter, the Duke of Wellington revels in the expression of approbation of all who had aided him to bring the struggle to a successful issue. Twenty-two British general officers, and nine foreign general officers received the tribute of his honest praise. Many of them had been wounded. Besides those already mentioned, there were among the seriously hurt, Lieut.-Gen. Cooke, Lieut.-Gen. Baron Alten, Major-Gen. Barnes, General Baron Vincent, and General Pozzo di Borgo. Of inferior officers

caused him. "He had served me most zealously and usefully for many years, and on many trying occasions; but he had never rendered himself more useful, and had never distinguished himself more, than in our late actions. * * * I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you and his friends; but I hope that it may be expected that this last one has been so decisive, as that no doubt remains that our exertions and our individual losses will be rewarded by the early attainment of our just object."

[1] See Appendix, I., for a detail of the strength, and the table of killed, wounded, and missing.

nearly 500 were wounded, and 116 killed But the loss of the enemy was very much greater, it has been roughly estimated at 40,000, besides about 7000 prisoners, including Count Lobau and General Cambronne It was, in truth, a terrible fight The Duke's private correspondence sufficiently described his sentiments To Lord Beresford he wrote, "Never did I see such a pounding match Both were what the boxers call '*gluttons*' *Napoleon did not manœuvre* at all He just moved forward in the old style in columns, and was driven off in the old style" And to Dumourier he observed, "Jamais je n'ai vu une telle bataille que celle d'avant hier, ni n'ai remporte une telle victoire—et j'espere que c est fini de Bonaparte" To Prince Schwarzenberg he wrote, "Our battle of the 18th was *a battle of giants*, and our success complete Pray God that I may be so far favoured as never to have another, for I am much afflicted at the loss of old friends and comrades"

Early on the 19th, Wellington proceeded to Brussels for a few hours, and then returned to Nivelles, to issue his orders for the march of the allied army into France

The scenes which had been enacting in Brussels while the battle was raging at Quatre Bras, on the 16th, and at Waterloo on the 18th, have furnished themes for five hundred pens The general character of the story is the same, simply varying in the details Perhaps the following is among the most comprehensive and graphic extant —

"The agony of the British, resident in Brussels, during the whole of this eventful day, sets all language at defiance No one thought of rest or food, but every one who could get a telescope flew to the ramparts, to strain his eyes, in vain attempts to discover what was passing

"At length, some soldiers in French uniforms were seen in the distance, and, as the news flew from mouth to mouth, it was soon magnified into a rumour that the French were coming Horror seized the English and their adherents, and the hitherto concealed partisans of the French began openly to avow themselves tri colored ribbons grew suddenly into great request, and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' resounded through the air These exclamations, however, were changed to '*Vive le Lord Wellington!*' when it was discovered that the approaching French came as captives, not conquerors

"The wounded suffered dreadfully from the want of a sufficient number of experienced surgeons able to amputate their shattered limbs,[1] and there was also a deficiency of surgical instruments and

[1] "The Duke of Wellington had returned to Brussels to dine with those of his Staff who

of lint. The Flemings, however, roused by the urgency of the case, shook off their natural apathy, and exerted themselves to the utmost to supply everything that was necessary. They tore up their linen to make lint and bandages; they assisted the surgeons in the difficult operations, and they gave up even the beds they slept upon to accommodate the strangers. The women, in particular, showed the warmest enthusiasm to succour the wounded. They nursed them with the tenderest care, and watched them night and day. In short, their kindness, attention, and solicitude reflect immortal honour on the sex. The very children were seen leading the wounded Highlanders into the houses of their parents, exclaiming 'Voici nôtre braves Ecossais!' Even the national vice of covetousness was forgotten in the excitement of the moment; rich and poor fared alike; and in most cases every offer of remuneration was declined.

"The whole of Friday night (16th June) was passed in the greatest anxiety; the wounded arrived every hour, and the accounts they brought of the carnage which was taking place were absolutely terrific. Saturday morning (17th June) was still worse; an immense number of supernumeraries and runaways from the army came rushing in at the Porte de Namur, and these fugitives increased the public panic to the utmost. '*Sauve qui peut!*' now became the universal feeling; all ties of friendship or kindred were forgotten, and an earnest desire to quit Brussels seemed to absorb every faculty. To effect this object the greatest sacrifices were made. Every beast of burthen, and every species of vehicle, were put into requisition to convey persons and property to Antwerp. Even the dog and fish-

were able to join him on the 19th (it was now the 20th) of June. Some one who saw him said that he appeared to feel much grief for the dead, mingled with his joy for the victory, and that he acknowledged the Providential interference by which he himself had been preserved in the hour of battle. We heard, also, that while at dinner, a French General, who had been taken prisoner, insisted upon seeing the Duke of Wellington, that he might communicate something of importance. He was, therefore, escorted by a guard into the presence of his Grace, when, being questioned by Colonel Fremantle, I believe, as to the object of his mission, the boasting Frenchman said he could speak to none but the Commander-in-Chief! The Duke being pointed out, monsieur thus began :—

"'Sir,—I appear before you as a General of France, who claims, on behalf of himself and his fellow-prisoners, the attendance of the British surgeons, besides all the medical attendance which it is your duty to bestow upon us.'

"'Sir,' replied the Duke of Wellington, almost without looking the insolent General in the face, 'I have but too many of my own brave followers who are yet without surgical or medical attendance; you may therefore retire.'

"His Generalship did so, not a little abashed by this just rebuke, and those for whom he petitioned soon learnt that British clemency towards the vanquished was better produced by the natural feelings of the conquerors than through the intervention of those leaders who had so long been the abettors of ferocity in other countries."—*New Monthly Magazine.*

army his thanks for their conduct in the glorious action, fought on the 18th instant, and he will not fail to report his sense of their conduct, in the terms which it deserves, to their several sovereigns"

To the French people the Duke addressed a proclamation, somewhat similar in language to that which he issued on the descent of the allied army from the Pyrenean heights to the southern plains of France

"I announce to the French people that I enter their country at the head of an army already victorious—not as an enemy (excepting of the usurper—the declared enemy of the human race, with whom there is neither peace nor truce) but in order to aid them in throwing off the iron yoke by which they are oppressed I have consequently issued the following orders to my army, and I beg that I may be made acquainted with every instance in which they are infringed," &c [1]

Leaving the subject of this memoir for a brief space, let us follow Marshal Blucher in his hot pursuit of the flying French

"Nothing could exceed the devastation spread by the French and their Prussian pursuers through the country It seemed as though the arm of a destroying angel had swept over the land, and withered as it went The trees were stripped of their branches, the hedges broken down, and the crops trampled into the ground, in short, wherever the fugitives passed, like the blasting simoom of the desert, 'they left their track behind'

"*Sauve qui peut* was the order of the day with the French The fields and roads were strewed with their cannon, baggage, and stores, they even threw away their arms, that they might fly the faster They rushed into Charleroi about three o'clock on the morning of the 19th, with such violence that a number of the country people, who were coming to market, were trampled to death, and the provisions they brought either carried off or destroyed The fugitives did not stay to inquire what mischief they had done, but hurried on, the Prussians following close behind, and putting so many to the sword, that the road to Philipville was soon choked up with the wounded and the dead

"Bonaparte was saluted with yells and execrations in every place, and the people who had so lately hailed him with rapture, now shouted, 'There goes the butcher of France!' as he passed along *Sic transit gloria!* Never was a flight more ignominious he only paused at Laon to order that the National Guard should be mustered to *stop all runaways*, except himself, and then hurried on to Paris"

[1] See Proclamation dated "Malplaquet, 22nd June, 1815," in Gurwood's selection of Despatches (No. 957)

But although the army which fought at Waterloo had dissolved itself, and the retreat was not even covered by the semblance of a rear-guard, the places occupied by the French on the Belgian frontier still held out, and Marshal Grouchy, who, after contending with General Thielmann and the Prussians at Wavre, had fallen back on Laon, when the news of Napoleon's overthrow reached him, was yet in the field with 32,000 men and 100 guns. It was indispensable that the fortresses should be captured, and Grouchy crushed.

The Duke of Wellington crossed the French frontier on the 21st of June, and immediately blockaded Valenciennes, Lequesnoy, and Cambray. The Prussians, meanwhile, blockaded Maubeuge, Landrecy, Avesnes, and Rocroy. A few days afterwards Cambray was stormed by a corps under Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Colville,[1] Peronne was taken on the 26th of June, and Marshal Blücher, coming up with the rear-guard of Grouchy at Villars Cotteret, on the 28th, defeated it with the loss of 1000 men and six guns.

At Cateau, Louis XVIII., having quitted Ghent, joined the allied army, and was received by the people with the utmost demonstrations of joy. Upon the surrender of Cambray he proceeded thither with his Court and troops, and the Duke of Wellington gave up the fort to his Majesty. Upon the capture of Peronne, the Duke left some of the troops of the Netherlands, who had behaved very well in storming the horn-work which covered the suburb of the town, in garrison at Peronne, and then moved onward with Marshal Blücher. The necessity which the Duke was under of halting at Le Cateau, to allow pontoons and stores to come up for the capture of the fortress, placed Marshal Blücher one march in advance of him, but it did not lead to any separation of the armies. General Müffling, of the Prussian army, suggested to the Duke that he would do well to keep better pace with his ally. "Do not press me in this," replied his Grace, "for I tell you it won't do. If you knew the English army, its composition and habits, better, you would agree with me. I cannot separate from my tents and subsistence. My people must be kept in camp and well taken care of, if order and discipline are to be maintained. It is better to arrive a couple of days later at Paris than that discipline should grow slack."

[1] This excellent soldier, who had served with much distinction throughout the Peninsula War, and previously in other parts of the world, received, five years after the Peace, the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army. That Army had become much disorganised in the Mahratta campaign. Drill and discipline were at a low ebb, and Sir Charles Colville effectually restored them. He afterwards became Governor of Mauritius.

The diorama of our history shifts to Paris

Paris, the chosen locality of excitement, had been, since the departure of Napoleon on the 12th, the theatre of an anxiety not less intense than that which pervaded Brussels on the three days described above Intrigue had been at work to provide for either the triumph or the overthrow of Napoleon, but upon the 18th, public feeling reached a crisis of alarm "People interrogated each other on meeting in the streets, and news from the north was anxiously hoped for" At length it came, and was of a nature to gladden the Parisians Napoleon—telling his own story in the "Moniteur"—had announced the "great" victory at Ligny The people of Paris congratulated each other—"they experienced the noble pride of a military nation which learns that its name has been exalted in history, and in the face of other nations by one more victory" On the 19th and 20th, vague and incomplete reports alloyed the prevalent delight The Prussians had been defeated—good—'twas an old story—Jena and Montmirail revived—but what of the English, had *they* been beaten? There was to be a fight on the 18th, and by the 21st of June Paris would illuminate—or go into mourning The suspense was horrible Paris, with all her vanity, could not feel sure that Napoleon would humble Wellington The *souvenirs* of Toulouse and Orthes, of Nive and Nivelle, were yet too green

As day broke on the 21st, "a sough and a surmise" went through the proud capital of France "*Tout est perdu!*" was muttered along the banks of the Seine, in the parks of Versailles and St Cloud—on the Boulevards—and, worse than all, as the day grew older, the disastrous news circulated on the Bourse Shrouded by the darkness of the night, Napoleon had slunk into the palace of the Elysée, and there concealed his defeat and his despair, but the intelligence of his arrival spread rapidly, and people crowded around the gates to observe the entrance and exit of ministers and to deduce the truth from the expression of their faces Soon the direful fact of the complete rout of the French army forced itself upon the whole of the populace, and murmurs "not loud but deep" circulated over the town Napoleon found comfort and *consolation only in the presence of* Caulaincourt He was exhausted in body—dreadfully agitated in mind The long nights, the anxieties of two battles, the fatigue of *riding, of standing in* the midst of his army for many consecutive hours, all told against him He sought a bath and repose Awaking he summoned his ministers, and, after recounting the disaster of Waterloo, exclaimed "The enemy is in France, and to save the

country, I must have ample power—a temporary dictatorship!" But no one responded to the hint. The proposition in the Chamber of Representatives was anticipated by Lafayette, the old soldier of the Republic, who moved the permanence of the Chamber, and the treason of any one who should attempt to dissolve it. The motion was voted *nemine dissentiente.* Napoleon summoned his brother Lucien to his aid,—Lucien, whose eloquence and firmness, had carved the way for Napoleon to despotic power during the Revolution of the last century. Vain expedient! The Frenchmen of 1792 were not the Frenchmen of 1815. Lucien's oratory, directed as it was to the preservation of Napoleon's power at the expense of France, received no sympathetic response—on the contrary, the Chamber demanded the sacrifice of Napoleon to the welfare of the country. Napoleon stubbornly resisted a measure, alike, as he maintained in interviews with friends and ministers, destructive of the interests of the nation and himself. But wrought upon by the growing hostility of the people, and the news of the advance of the Allies, he abdicated in favour of his son. This, however, did not content the Assembly, for it involved a regency. Nevertheless proposals were at once despatched to the advanced posts of the Allies, under Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, near Valenciennes, and to those of the 1st Prussian *corps d'armée* for a suspension of hostilities on the grounds of the abdication; the delegates stating, at the same time, that a provisional government had been formed and had sent Ministers to the Allied Powers to treat for peace.

The proposition for an armistice was peremptorily rejected. Both the Duke and Blücher regarded it as a trick, and not calculated to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies. The Duke referred to the treaty of the 25th of March, which bound the Allies to force Napoleon to desist from his projects, and to place him in a situation, in which he could no longer have it in his power to disturb the peace of the world.

"I could not consider his abdication of usurped power in favour of his son, and his handing over the government provisionally to five persons, named by himself, to be that description of security which the Allies had in view, and which should induce them to lay down their arms."—*Letter to Earl Bathurst, Joucourt, June 25, 1815.*

As for Blücher, he had but one leading object in view, in marching upon Paris,—the capture of Napoleon. The delivery of the Emperor was the invariable condition stipulated by him in every conference with the French commissioners sent to treat for peace or armistice. He directed General Müffling to state to the Duke that "as

the Congress of Vienna had declared Napoleon under outlawry (*Vogelfrei*), it was his (Blucher's) intention to shoot him whenever he got him" Muffling was at the same time desired to learn the Duke's views on the subject, for the Prussian Field-Marshal wished, if possible, to act in concert with the Duke Müffling, in his account of the interview, illustrates the fine chivalry of the British chief "The Duke stared at me with all his eyes, and in the first place disputed this interpretation of the Vienna declaration However that might be as concerned his own position, and that of the Field-Marshal, with respect to Napoleon, it seemed to him that, after the battle they had won, they were much too conspicuous persons to be able to justify such a transaction in the eyes of entire Europe 'I therefore wish,' continued the Duke, 'that my friend and colleague may adopt my views, such an act would hand down our names to history with a stain, and posterity would say of us, that we had not deserved to be the conquerors of Napoleon, the rather because the act would have been superfluous and without an object or advantage'" Blücher ultimately yielded to the Duke's wishes, but under a very mistaken and unjust (though thoroughly *Prussian*) impression [1]

[1] The following official letters from General Von Gneisenau to General Müffling, exhibit Blücher's sentiments on the subject —

"COMPIEGNE, *June 27th*

"The French General, De Tremolin is at Noyons, with the intention of proceeding to the Duke's head-quarters and treating for the delivery of Bonaparte Bonaparte has been declared under ban by the Allied Powers The Duke may possibly—*for Parliamentary considerations*—hesitate to fulfil the declaration of the Powers Your Excellency will, therefore direct the negociations to the effect that Bonaparte may be *delivered over to us, in order to his execution*"

"This is what eternal justice demands, what the declaration of March 13th defines, and thus will the blood of our soldiers killed or mutilated on the 16th and 18th of June be avenged.

VON GNEISENAU"

The third letter is as follows —

"SENLIS, *June 29th*

"I am directed by the Field Marshal to request your Excellency to communicate to the Duke of Wellington that the Field-Marshal had intended to execute Bonaparte on the spot where the Duc d'Enghien was shot, that, out of deference however to the Duke's wishes, he will abstain from that measure, but that the Duke must take on himself the responsibility for its non-enforcement

GNEISENAU

"P S If the Duke declare himself against the execution, he thinks and acts in the matter as a Briton England is under weightier obligations to no mortal man than to this very malefactor for by the occurrences of which he has been the author, her wealth, prosperity, and power have attained their present elevation They are masters of the seas, and have no longer to fear a rival in their sovereignty of it, or in the commerce of the world. It is otherwise with Prussia. We have been *impoverished by Bonaparte* *Our nobility will never* be able to right itself again And ought we not to consider ourselves instruments of that Providence which has given us such a victory, for the ends of eternal justice! Does not the death of the Duc d'Enghien call for such a vengeance? Shall we not draw upon us the

The French commissioners returned to Paris mortified and humbled and the Allies prosecuted their triumphal march upon the capital. On the 29th June the British passed the Oise, and established themselves in the wood of Bondy, close to Paris, while Blucher advanced to the Seine. The French provisional government had collected at Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of Waterloo, between 40,000 and 50,000 men, besides the National Guards, and a new levy, called *les Tirailleurs de la Garde*, and the *Fédérés*, under the command of Soult, Massena, and Davoust; Carnot assisting to place Paris in a state of defence. On the 30th of June, five fresh commissioners waited on the Duke of Wellington at Etrées, and the subject of an armistice was again pressed upon him. His Grace, however, continued inflexible. No suspension of hostilities could be listened to while Napoleon remained at Paris, or so near to it as Malmaison, influencing the soldiery by his proclamations, and virtually exercising a species of indirect control. The commissioners again retired.

On the 2nd July, Blücher was strongly opposed by the enemy on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon; but the troops under General Zeithen surmounted every obstacle, and obtained possession of the latter heights and the village of Issy. On the morning of the 3rd, the French attacked them again, but were repulsed with considerable loss, and finding that Paris was then open on its vulnerable side; and that a communication had been established between Blücher and Wellington; and that a British corps was also advancing upon the Seine towards the Pont de Neuilly, the enemy sent a flag of truce, and proposed a capitulation of Paris. The firing ceased; officers on both sides met at St. Cloud; and Napoleon having hastily quitted Paris for Rochefort, the following Convention was signed in the very chamber in which Napoleon had planned most of his military operations:—

"MILITARY CONVENTION.

"This day, the 3rd of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the Commanders-in-Chief of the respective armies: that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs; the Count Guilleminot, chief of the General Staff of the French army; the Count de Bondy, Préfect of the Department of the Seine; being furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Marshal Prince

reproaches of the people of Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Portugal, if we leave unperformed the duty which devolves upon us? Be it so. If others will exercise theatrical magnanimity, I shall not set myself against it. We act, in this, from esteem for the Duke."

of Eckmuhl, Commander in Chief of the French army, on one side; and Major General Baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his Highness the Field Marshal Prince Blücher, Commander in Chief of the Prussian army, and Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, Commander-in-Chief of the English army,—on the other side, have agreed to the following Articles —

"Article 1st —There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by his Highness the Prince Blucher and his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris

"Art 2nd —The French army shall put itself in march to morrow to take up a position behind the Loire Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days, and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days

"Art 3rd —The French army shall take with it all its *materiel* field-artillery, military chests, horses, and property of regiments without exception All persons belonging to the depots shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration which belong to the army

"Art 4th —The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the Commander in Chief of the English and Prussian armies

"Art 5th —The military, and those holding employments, to whom the foregoing article relates shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to re join the corps to which they belong

"Art 6th —The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army shall be at liberty to remain in Paris The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property and that of their husbands

"Art 7th —The officers of the line employed with the *Féderés*, or with the *tirailleurs* of the National Guard may either join the army, or return to their homes, or the places of their birth

"Art 8th —To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid day, St Denis, St Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly shall be given up The day after to morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up

"Art 9th —The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the National Guard, and by the corps of the municipal *Gendarmerie*

"Art 10th —The Commanders in Chief of the English and Prussian

armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities, so long as they shall exist.

"Art. 11th.—Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war—whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authorities—shall be respected, and the Allied Powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

"Art. 12th.—Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and, in general, all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed, or called to account, either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

"Art. 13th.—The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

"Art. 14th.—The present Convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days beforehand.

"Art. 15th.—If any difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the Articles of the present Convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army, and of the city of Paris.

"Art. 16th.—The present Convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependent.

"Art. 17th.—The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

"Art. 18th.—Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present Convention.

"Done and signed at St. Cloud, in triplicate, by the Commissioners above-named, the day and year before mentioned.

"The Baron Bignon.
"The Count Guilleminot.
"The Count de Bondy.
"The Baron de Müffling.
"F. B. Hervey, Colonel.

"Approved and ratified, the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3rd of July, 1815

"THE MARSHAL PRINCE OF ECKMÜHL

"Afterwards approved by Prince Blücher and the Duke of Wellington, and the ratification exchanged on the 4th of July"

The terms of the Convention were literally fulfilled On the 4th, the French army, commanded by Marshal Davoust, quitted Paris, and proceeded on its march to the Loire, and the Anglo allied troops occupied St Denis, St Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly On the 5th, the latter took possession of Montmartre On the 6th, they occupied the barriers of Paris, upon the right of the Seine, and the Prussians those upon the left bank On the 7th, the two allied armies entered Paris, the Chamber of Peers having received from the Provisional Government a notification of the course of events, terminated its sittings The Chamber of Deputies protested, 24th July, but in vain Their president (Lanjuinais) quitted his chair, and on the following day the doors were closed, and the approaches guarded by foreign troops

Immediately, as if by magic, the whole population of the city became enthusiastically loyal, all caricatures of the Bourbons disappeared, and the streets echoed with songs in praise of Louis XVIII The first troops marched through the Barrière de l Etoile, and across the Place Louis Quinze, but others soon after advanced by different gates, from whence they proceeded to all parts of the city Everywhere they were received with rapture, the Parisians crowding round the English in particular, as they passed, and exclaiming repeatedly, "*Quels braves hommes! Quels beaux chevaux! Quels jolis garçons! Qu'ils sont gentils!*" &c, while the *Messieurs Calicots*, of the Palais Royal, and the Rue Vivienne, descanted learnedly on the bright steel and well tanned leather of the British saddlery, and the glossy coats of their horses The Prussians were not received so favourably however, upon the whole, the pageant, for as such alone it seemed to be regarded, passed off with the greatest *éclat* The whole city was in a bustle, the people were dressed as for a holiday, their vanity moving them to cut a respectable figure before their enemies, and though the multitude was immense, the confusion was not so great as might have been expected 'The quays and Boulevards were enlivened by ballad singers, tumblers, charlatans fire-eaters, conjurors, &c, &c, all trying their best to please the wealthy strangers, whilst the soldiers, both English and Prussians, were highly amused, and

laughed heartily at their tricks, their hilarity being increased by the cheap *chopines de vin* and *verres de liqueur* with which they were abundantly supplied. English, Prussians, and French were soon mingled together, all apparently enjoying themselves; and no one who looked on their merry faces, and heard their bursts of laughter, could possibly have fancied they were the inhabitants of a conquered city and their conquerors.

"The major part of the French had, indeed, quite forgotten their troubles; they enjoyed a *grand spectacle*, and that was quite enough to make amends for anything. There were a few persons certainly amongst the crowd who, looking unutterable things, betrayed that all was not right within; and these fellows, who were probably old soldiers of Napoleon, though disguised *en habit bourgeois*, seemed ready to foment any disturbance which might chance to arise. Old Blücher, however, had taken the precaution of planting cannon, like open-mouthed bull-dogs, upon all the bridges, and the malcontents were kept in good order by the certainty of having the principal buildings in the city knocked about their ears if they dared to misbehave themselves.

"As soon as the officers and soldiers of the Allies were settled in their quarters, they were surrounded by crowds of *marchands* and Jews, who came to purchase (*à bon compte*) any supernumerary articles which the warriors might have picked up in their campaigns; rings, watches, snuff-boxes, and camp-equipages were bought for about a fiftieth part of their intrinsic worth, and many of the *marchands* had reason to bless the arrival of their conquerors. *Commissionaires* and *valets-de-place* were also in great requisition, and the most ridiculous mistakes were made every instant in bad English or worse French. The soldiers who had received billets, got to the wrong streets or houses, and blows were frequently given to obtain admission to domiciles which they had no right to enter. The baggage, in particular, very seldom went in the same direction with its owner, as the rueful appearance of many of the officers sufficiently evinced.

"The first bustle of taking up quarters being over, the strangers began to enjoy themselves, and all the *restaurants, traiteurs, cafés, cabarets*, and wine-houses, soon overflowed with customers. The consumption of provisions was enormous, and it was soon very difficult to get either a glass of brandy or a crust of bread at any price. In the evening there was a brilliant illumination. The Palais Royal looked like a fairy palace; the elegant little shops sparkling like gems, were crowded with purchasers, who were served by the prettiest *filles de boutique* that could be found in Paris. The soldiers were too gallant

to *marchander*, and the bright eyes of the fair *Parisiennes* grew still brighter from the reflection of the English gold The *Salles de Mars* and *de Flore*, in the Champs Elysees, were crowded with dancers, and whilst the soldiers were thus amusing themselves, the officers were thronging Frescati and the gaming houses in the Palais Royal All the chairs on the Boulevards and in the public gardens were occupied by military, whilst the innumerable lights around flashed on the laced uniforms and bright accoutrements of the Allies, as they appeared and disappeared amongst the trees The Prussians were mostly in the estaminets smoking most devoutly, the theatres were thronged to suffocation, and the air resounded with every possible description of music, drums and trumpets, however, preponderating prodigiously No one thought of rest, the city was in movement the whole night, and before three o'clock the country people, who had heard the news, came crowding in, loaded with provisions, all were greedily bought up, and there were many broken heads and scratched faces in the eagerness of buying and selling About five, the heavy baggage began to arrive, and as it was placed on the quays and Boulevards, the soldiers, in their various uniforms, crowded round it, each claiming a share, with such energy of gesticulation from the difficulty of making themselves understood, as would have formed rich materials for the pencil of a Hogarth

"Considering the good humour and good understanding which *appeared* to subsist between the French and their conquerors, it is melancholy to relate that on the morning of the 8th the Morgue was found nearly filled with the dead bodies of Prussians, who seemed to have been thrown into the river during the night, probably whilst in a state of intoxication

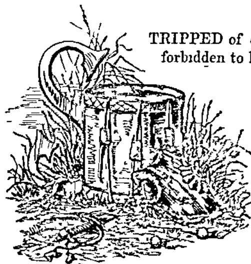
"This disgraceful treachery, however, was scarcely noticed in the bustle of the preparations made for the reception of the French King His Majesty arrived with a splendid *cortege* soon after noon, and was received with shouts and acclamations of delight, flowers were strewed in his path, and the power of music strained almost to exhaustion, in order to bid him welcome About half past two he alighted at the Tuileries At that moment a scene of excessive confusion took place, a number of English and Prussian officers, who had attended the King, gave their horses to *commissionaires* to hold, and these fellows rode off, and were seen no more There was no redress, as no effective government was yet established, and the National Guard, to whom alone the peace of the city was confided, generally sided with their countrymen The King of Prussia made his entry at seven in the evening, the Emperor of Russia at half past

eight, and the Emperor of Austria about nine. Loud plaudits cheered the Autocrat of all the Russias; but the monarchs of Prussia and Austria were received very coldly, and considering everything, perhaps no mighty kingdom ever changed its masters with more indifference."[1]

[1] "United Service Journal."

CHAPTER V.

Napoleon flies to Rochefort—Is taken to England, and deported to St. Helena—Feeling in England on the news of the Battle of Waterloo—Thanks of Parliament, and Additional Vote of 200,000*l*.—Other marks of Public Gratitude—Blücher's design on the Pont de Jena frustrated—Wellington created Prince of Waterloo, &c.



STRIPPED of every vestige of authority, and forbidden to hope for its restoration in any form, NAPOLEON fled, as has been stated, to Rochefort, with the intention of proceeding to America. Application was made on his behalf to the Duke of Wellington for passports. The Duke very properly refused them. He had no authority to grant safe-conduct to a man who, wherever he was, would be certain to stir up strife, and probably re-kindle a European war. The flight of Napoleon was a contingency not foreseen by the British government, and arrangements had not therefore been made to provide for it. But as soon as the Duke communicated to the Ministry that the ex-Emperor was a fugitive to the shores of France, Lord Bathurst ordered thirty ships of war to environ those coasts, and arrest his departure. Selfish to the last, Napoleon had latterly passed his time in getting together the most valuable effects from the different palaces near Paris; and as these were all borne away by him on the occasion of his quitting Malmaison on the 29th of June, he was well prepared to establish himself comfortably wherever fortune might carry him. "Fame and memory would have been sufficient for a great man who

had so long swayed the destiny of empires; but Napoleon felt that he could not dwell upon his, and therefore required toys and trinkets!"[1] The projects, however, which he had formed for a free and independent existence were baffled by his active enemies. The Provisional Government had given orders to the captains of the frigates destined to convey Napoleon to the United States not to execute their commission if it endangered the safety of the vessels—and in the same breath they prohibited his being re-landed in France. The British commanders, on the other hand, were directed by their own government to obtain possession of his person, and carry him to England. Several projects of escape were suggested to Napoleon, but he had the sagacity to perceive that it was impossible to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers. Dreading lest the resumption of power by Louis XVIII. should be followed by an order for his arrest, he at length came to the resolution of putting himself voluntarily on board an English frigate, trusting to the chapter of accidents for a generous reception in England. He accordingly embarked in the *Bellerophon*, claiming, to use his own words, the "protection of the Prince Regent and the British laws." He was received, not as a guest—not under any pledge of protection—but simply because he wished to go to England; and Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, had the orders, in common with others, to which reference has been made above. Reaching England on the 24th of July, 1815, Napoleon despatched a letter to the Prince Regent, in which he complacently called himself *a victim to the factions that divided France*, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe; and, "like Themistocles," he cast himself, metaphorically, on the hearth of the British people. The appeal was treated as it deserved. The multitude who crowded around the *Bellerophon* at Plymouth stared at him as at a caged monster; and the British government taught, by dear experience, the folly of trusting him in any way, sent Napoleon a captive to the island of St. Helena, there to expiate, during six years of painful exile, the enormous political crimes which had stained his career, and which, rending asunder the bonds of society and desolating Europe, had plunged half the civilised world into mourning.

The events following upon the second restoration of Louis XVIII., and the occupation of Paris by the allied troops, now claim attention as far as they bear any relation to the subject of this biography. But before describing them, let us take a glance at what had been passing in England since the middle of June, 1815.

[1] Mitchell's "Fall of Napoleon."

Six years of a succession of victories had cast a halo around the name of Wellington The people, like the soldiery, had learnt to believe him invincible No undue estimate had been formed of Napoleon's genius for war—nor were the resources suddenly placed at his disposal at all underrated But the nation could not bring itself to look upon the contest, which it saw approaching in the Netherlands, with anything like apprehension If the truth were told, the sentiment was rather the other way Wellington had beaten all of Napoleon's marshals who had been opposed to him, and Great Britain had taught herself to think that her hero was more than a match for the master of the marshals She now desired to witness the confirmation of this belief, and every post was looked for with lively anxiety as it brought the unavoidable conflict nearer to its issue A great tournament was "coming off"—Europe the lists—universal peace or tyranny, the stake—Wellington and Napoleon the combatants There was, of course, much anxiety in families, whose male members had hastened to the field, and the financial reformer, with a fixed idea, groaned over the prospect of fresh taxation Those English people, also, who had made the Continent their residence after the peace of 1814, mourned the derangement of their plans, and the cessation of a style of life to which they had begun to accustom themselves But with the exception of these classes there was an enthusiasm afloat throughout the land, and the young blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland circulated with increased velocity as the hope of ultimate triumph ripened into moral conviction

The Stock Exchange had been in a state of considerable excitement from the hour of Napoleon's landing at Frejus in the previous March The funds—the unerring barometer of the fluctuations of prosperity and adversity, in all well regulated commercial countries—now rose or fell with every report according to its sinister or cheering character After the Restoration in 1814, a great deal of money had been vested in the French funds by English people, and on the chances of peace or war depended the integrity of their property Much anxiety, therefore, prevailed As the news arrived of Napoleon's advance into the Netherlands, the mercury of the commercial barometer fell, and a perfect stagnation of business succeeded to the most active speculation But the news of the fight at Quatre Bras revived the hopes of the jobbers, and when the horns of the itinerant venders of "Extraordinary Gazettes" proclaimed a great victory at Waterloo, with all the exaggeration cupidity could supply, the funds rose very considerably[1]

[1] The 3 per cent. Consols fell from 65½ to 55½ when Napoleon returned in March, but every kind of Stock rose at the end of June

Well has the eloquent Alison written:

"No one who was then of an age to understand what was going on can ever forget the entrancing joy which thrilled through the British heart at the news of Waterloo."

The wailings which covered the land when the long lists of killed and wounded were displayed, were drowned in the tumultuous joy which animated eighteen millions of human beings between the Land's End and John o' Groat's. Parliament was happily sitting at the time. Within three days of the receipt of the intelligence of the victory, the Prince Regent, the steadfast friend and generous supporter of the Duke of Wellington, justly interpreting the feelings of the country at this juncture, sent down a message to the House of Lords, recommending it to concur in such measures as might be necessary to afford a further proof of the sense entertained by Parliament of the Duke of Wellington's transcendant services and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation.

Parliament, never backward at such a call, unanimously concurred in a vote for adding the sum of 200,000*l.* to the former grants, by which its sense of his extraordinary merits had been demonstrated.

When this message was read in the House of Lords, the Earl of Liverpool said he had one or two facts to relate. He was one of the trustees of the grant already voted to the Duke of Wellington. It was stipulated that out of the sum given, 100,000*l.* were to be applied towards procuring a mansion fit to commemorate the nation's gratitude for the distinguished services of his Grace; but it was soon found to be absolutely impossible with such a sum to erect a house in any degree adequate to the intended object. Every man, as soon as he heard the account of the recent victory—a victory which he had no hesitation in saying was unequalled in the history of this country—anxiously inquired whether no other proof of the nation's gratitude could be bestowed besides the thanks of Parliament? Could the House, under such circumstances, hesitate to furnish to the Duke the means of supporting his exalted rank?

In the House of Commons, Mr. Whitbread said he cordially agreed in the grant. He conceived that the Duke of Wellington had done more than had been achieved by any other human being than himself. If we had read of such achievements in history, as having been performed ten centuries ago, we should almost discredit the story. He had understood that, during the battle, the Duke of Wellington had repeatedly thrown himself into the centre of a square that was attacked, thus placing the most entire confidence in the valour of the soldiers that composed it. They also felt the same confidence in

him, and the inestimable value of that commander whose life was entrusted to their defence Although honour was the best reward for such distinguished services, yet, as the Duke of Wellington had already reached the climax of human honour, the House had no way to show its gratitude but by a grant of money The conduct of the British army in all its parts had never been surpassed by any other troops As to the opinions, however, which he entertained about the justice of the war, they rested upon principles which could not be altered by the accidental circumstances of victory or defeat

The thanks of both Houses were afterwards voted to the Duke of Wellington, and to many officers of distinction in his army, and to Marshal Prince Blucher, and the allied troops under the Duke's command

On this occasion, Earl Bathurst, on moving the thanks in the House of Lords, said, "he was aware that their lordships must be eager to discharge the debt of gratitude to the Duke, who had now so gloriously relieved them from the anxiety which all must have felt for some time past The campaign was begun by Bonaparte himself He had not, for this time at least, to accuse the seasons, nor the defection of those from whom he expected support He could not say that he was obliged to commence the battle by those to whose measures he was compelled to yield, contrary to his own better judgment It was completely his own act and choice Under these circumstances he had failed His attacks were repulsed, the order was reversed—he was attacked in his turn His boasted genius shrunk under the ascendancy of a mightier genius, and the result was, the complete overthrow of the French army An achievement of such magnitude could not be performed without great loss It had been wisely ordained by Providence that we should taste neither of joy nor of grief unmixed, and the pain at which this victory was gained must teach us to check our exultation"

In the House of Commons Lord Castlereagh prefaced his motion for a vote of thanks by observing "that it would be confessed that whatever the former fame of the Duke of Wellington might have been, yet, in all the various occurrences of his life—in all those great achievements which he had performed, and which had called for the thanks of the House, he had never before attained to a height of glory like the present And, in all the great events which he had been engaged in, and those scenes that he had witnessed, it had never before fallen to the lot of the illustrious commander to render so great a service to his country, so extensive a benefit to the world There was in the present victory an acknowledged pre-eminence over

all those that had preceded it; but when we looked at its influence and combination, in which are bound up all the interests of the civilised world, it was almost impossible to conceive an idea adequate

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

to its magnitude and importance. The position of the allied army previously to the late one was a very peculiar one; and without meaning to impute blame, or to suppose any neglect of security, he must say that the circumstance of the armies' not being actually engaged in hostilities necessarily led to a distribution of force, for the more convenient obtainment of sustenance for so large an army. The whole line of troops destined to act upon France not being equally advanced, it was clearly not the interest of the Allies to become the assailants; the army, therefore, which was to act upon the offensive making its point of union the point it chose for an attack, must have a great advantage over an army situated as the allied army was; and yet it was impossible to alter that position; for if Marshal Blücher and the Duke of Wellington had concentrated their forces, they must have left open a long line of country at the

mercy of the enemy, who might have made use of such a lapse for the most important ends, and, therefore, not imputing any neglect of preparation to the commanders, it must be evident that the attacking army would have the advantage With such a force on the frontiers of France, it was with Bonaparte a great object to attack it in some powerful point, before the combined powers were all perfectly ready for operations, and, accordingly, he had acted with all the decision of character and energy of mind that he was known to possess, and as soon as he could leave Paris he joined his army, and, directing it to the north, commenced his operations In considering the nature and extent of the forces engaged, he must observe, that of the ten *corps d armee* which France possessed, the five which were complete were united under Bonaparte, together with his guard and other cavalry These troops had certainly maintained their ancient character, and one feature of the victory was, that it had been gained over the best troops of France, and that, too, at a moment when they displayed all their ardour, and when their conduct even surpassed all that they had before performed"

A motion being afterwards made by Lord Castlereagh for an address to the Prince Regent, that he would be pleased to give directions for a national monument in honour of the victory at Waterloo, and in commemoration of those who gloriously fell in achieving it, the same was unanimously agreed to

The Duke of York, the Commander in Chief of the British Army, always prompt to the expression of merited commendation, wrote to the Duke of Wellington on the 21st of June, in reply to the despatch of the 19th, describing the battle of Waterloo —

"Horse Guards, 21st June 1815

"My Lord Duke,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's despatch of the 19th instant, conveying a report of the military operations up to that date

"Marked and distinguished as these operations have been by the glorious and important victory gained over the French army on the 18th instant, I have infinite pleasure in communicating to your Grace the high feeling of satisfaction and approbation with which the Prince Regent has viewed the conduct of the troops upon this memorable occasion No language can do justice to the sense his Royal Highness entertains of that distinguished merit, which has even surpassed all former instances of their characteristic firmness and discipline, allow me to desire that your Grace will also accept

yourself, and convey, in my name, to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and troops under your command, the thanks of his Royal Highness for the great and important services which they have rendered their grateful country.

"From my partiality and well-known opinion of the Prussian nation and their troops, your Grace will readily believe, that I also concur in that expression of admiration and thanks which have emanated from the Prince Regent for the important services rendered to the common cause by Prince Blücher and the brave army under his command. The triumph of success cannot lessen the regret which must be felt by all for the loss of the many valuable lives, which has unavoidably attended the accomplishment of this great achievement; and I particularly deplore the fall of Lieutenant-General Sir T. Picton and Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby.

"FREDERICK, *Commander-in-Chief.*"

And Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of War and the Colonies, wrote three days afterwards:—

"WAR DEPARTMENT, LONDON, *24th June*, 1815.

"MY LORD,

"Your Grace will be pleased to convey to General H. R. H. the Prince of Orange the satisfaction the Prince Regent has experienced in observing that in the actions of the 16th and 18th, his Royal Highness has given an early promise of those military talents for which his ancestors have been so renowned; and that by freely shedding his blood in the defence of the Netherlands, he has cemented an union of the people with the House of Orange, which, it is to be hoped, will thereby become indissoluble. The Prince Regent is pretty sensible of the meritorious services performed by the Earl of Uxbridge, who had the command of the cavalry on the 18th, and commands me to desire you will communicate to his lordship his Royal Highness's most gracious acceptance of them.

"The judicious conduct and determined courage displayed by General Lord Hill and by the other general officers in command of his Majesty's forces upon this glorious occasion, have obtained the high approbation of the Prince Regent. Your Grace will be pleased to communicate to the general officers his gracious approval of their exertions; and your Grace will also be pleased to make known to the army at large the high approbation with which the Prince Regent has viewed the excellent conduct and invincible valour manifested by

all ranks and descriptions of the troops serving under your Grace's command.

"His Royal Highness commands me on no account to omit expressing his deep regret on receiving so long a list of officers and men who have fallen or been severely wounded in the actions of the 16th and 18th instant; and the Prince Regent particularly laments the loss of such highly distinguished officers as Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, and Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby.

"It cannot be expected that such desperate conflicts should be encountered, and so transcendant a victory be obtained, without considerable loss. *The chance of war must at times expose armies* under the ablest commanders to great casualties, without any *adequate advantage to be derived in return.* But whoever contemplates the immediate effects and the probable results of the battles fought upon the 16th and 18th instant, cannot but think that, although on the lists of killed and wounded, several of his Majesty's most approved officers are unfortunately inscribed, many endeared to your Grace, and whose names have become familiar to the country by their distinguished services in the Peninsula; the loss, however severe, and however to be lamented, bears but a small proportion to the magnitude of the victory which has been achieved, and which has exalted the military glory of the country—has protected from invasion and spoil the territory of his Majesty's ally, the King of the Netherlands—and has opened the fairest prospect of placing on a lasting foundation the peace and liberties of Europe.

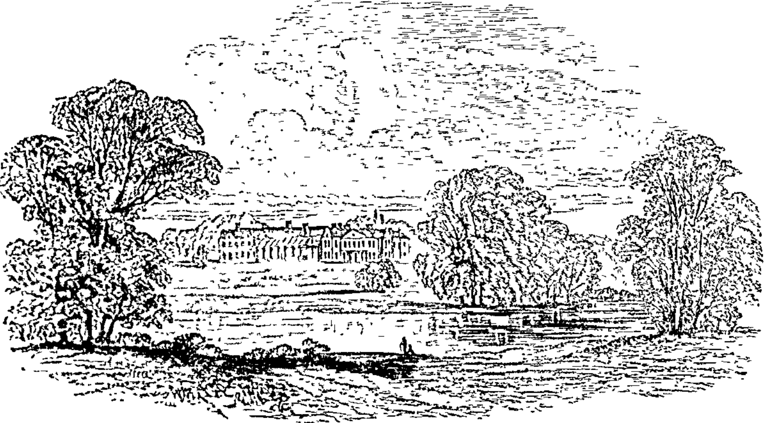
"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"BATHURST."

Besides the foregoing tribute to the Duke's worth and ability, the Duke of York wrote to him a letter, dated 23rd of June, desiring him to recommend certain officers for the third class of the Order of the Bath.[1] The Duke acknowledged the compliment, and named the deserving. His Grace at the same time suggested some modifications of the Order, and asked for some consideration for the captains of the army.

"I confess that I do not concur in the limitation of the Order to Field Officers Many captains in the army conduct themselves in a very meritorious manner, and deserve it, and I never could see the reason for excluding them from the Order or the medal."

[1] Down to January, 1815, all officers honoured with the military Order of the Bath were called Knights Companions, or Knights of the Bath In that month and year a statute was passed, dividing the Order into three classes, C.B., K.C B., and G C B



STRATHFIELDSAYE.

The Duke was, in a general way, very averse to the indiscriminate issue of medals, but upon the present occasion he departed both from his principle and his reserve, and wrote to the Duke of York:

"I would likewise beg leave to suggest to your Royal Highness the expediency of giving to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, engaged in the battle of Waterloo, a medal. I am convinced it would have the best effect on the army; and, if that battle should settle our concerns, they will well deserve it."

How that suggestion was acknowledged, every Englishman knows. To this hour—December, 1852—five hundred officers and several thousand men proudly bear the Waterloo medal upon their breast.

But the gratitude of the nation did not stop short with the issue of the medal. Five hundred thousand pounds were raised by voluntary subscription, for the benefit of those who had been wounded in the fight, and for the widows and orphans of the fallen. An enthusiastic desire to perpetuate the name of "Wellington" and the crowning scene of his triumphant career, pervaded every class of his countrymen. In Ireland a noble testimonial was erected in the Phœnix Park, and in the British capital a magnificent bridge spanning the Thames was baptised Waterloo, in the presence of the Prince Regent and Duke of York. With the money voted by Parliament the mansion and estates of Strathfieldsaye were purchased, to be held by Wellington and his heirs, on condition of his presenting a tri-coloured flag to the sovereign at Windsor Castle on the 18th of June in every year. A more desirable property could not be procured at the time, or it is certain that a preference would have been given to an estate of a more productive character, and in a more picturesque locality.[1] The Duke was heard to say in after

[1] Strathfieldsaye is situated about six and a half miles north-west of the Winchfield station, and about the same distance north-east of the station at Basingstoke; it is about three and a half miles east of Silchester. The parish of Strathfieldsaye is partly in the county of Berkshire. The park is not of very great extent, the average breadth being about a mile, and the length about a mile and a half; but it is rendered pleasant, especially on the eastern side, by a diversity of hill and dale, and some fine trees; and it is also enlivened by the waters of the river Loddon, which, widening through the grounds, are expanded into various sheets of water, near which the mansion is situated. The term "Strath," or "Strat," as it is usually pronounced, seems to have been an old term signifying a "stretch" of level ground with elevations running along the sides. In this sense it is frequently used in Scotland, and some instances of its employment with this meaning may be found in Wales. The addition of "Saye" appears to have been derived from a family of that name, who originally possessed the domain, and from which it passed in marriage to that of the Dabridgecourts, who held it from the time of Richard II. to the year 1636. About that time it was purchased by Sir W. Pitt, an ancestor of the Earl of Chatham, to whom it descended, and who, as well as his equally celebrated son, often resided here. The avenue of beech trees at Strathfieldsaye is

times, that it required the greatest frugality to prevent an annual loss upon the estate

During the period of the peace of Amiens, Canova, the renowned statuary, sculptured a colossal figure of Napoleon This, at the peace in 1814, was presented by the King of France to the Prince Regent of England The Prince now caused it to be transferred to Apsley House, the Duke's dwelling, in Piccadilly, in the very case in which it was originally conveyed from Rome to Paris, that case never having been opened between the time of its first arrival in the French capital and the capture of that city by the Allies[1] In addition to this compliment, the countrywomen of the Duke subscribed a sum for the erection of a bronze figure of Achilles, which was placed in Hyde Park, contiguous to Apsley House

Nor were the honours and rewards showered upon the Duke of Wellington *emanations of English gratitude and admiration alone* The King of the Netherlands conferred upon him the title of Prince of Waterloo, and the King of France created him a Marshal of France, a Knight of the Holy Ghost, and Duke de Brunoy[2]

Reverting to the proceedings of the Allies upon their occupation of Paris, we come upon a period of our history when the judgment, the

very beautiful There is an anecdote current that Mr C J Loudon the botanist, wrote to the Duke *to ask leave to make drawings of them. The Duke mistook the signature for* C J London the name of the diocesan and therefore wrote to the Bishop that he might do anything with the trees but cut them down Mr Loudon owing to this mistake never received a reply to his letter and was perhaps one of the very few men whose letters were unanswered by the Duke

[1] Canova had several sittings from Napoleon for the head of this remarkable statue and was so well pleased with its resemblance to the original that he expressed the strongest interest in this production of his chisel and explained to an English gentleman who visited him, that the reason why the statue had remained at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris till the entrance of the Allied Armies into that city without the case ever having been opened was, merely *that the habitual superstition to which Bonaparte was so subject had induced him to* forbid the opening of the case solely because when he understood that the small antique figure of Victory which stands upon the orb in the right hand of the statue had its back turned towards him and had wings upon its shoulders he was fearful that it would be construed into an omen that Victory had fled or would fly from him and therefore would not allow anybody in Paris to see the statue and thus it is remarkable that this statue which Napoleon rejected as ominous of defeat fell into the possession of his Conqueror—a lasting memorial of Victory The orb is supposed to represent the globe It is remarkably disproportioned to the size of the figure An observation to that effect being made to Canova we believe he courteously replied, Ah you see Napoleon's world did not include Great Britain

[2] Brunoy is a delightful village, situate in the beautiful valley of Yeres on the Lyons road, about twenty five kilometres from Paris It was formerly a Royal residence with a magnificent château and a display of water works which must have rivalled St Cloud or Versailles Charles X used to visit Brunoy as a *rendezvous de chasse* but the château was partly destroyed at the time of the great Revolution and the remaining portions have since been converted into villas or country residences

patience, and the magnanimity of the Duke of Wellington were to be put to a very severe test.

No two men could be more unlike in every respect than the Duke and his colleague, Marshal Blücher. The Prussian marshal had the highest possible respect for the Duke. He offered him the homage which the superior mind insensibly exacts of the inferior. The one soldier, however, was the mere representative of brute force; the other was decorated with all the attributes of moral greatness. Blücher would have tarnished every success by the indulgence of a vindictive spirit; Wellington sheathed the sword when the battle was won.

> "Being angered—his revenge being nigh—
> He bade the wrong stay, and the displeasure fly."

Thwarted in his project for seizing the person of Napoleon, the Prussian marshal determined, on entering Paris, that she should feel that she was a conquered city, and no longer permitted to boast of the trophies of the subjugation and humiliation of Prussia. There is a bridge on the Seine erected by Napoleon, and bearing the title of the Pont de Jéna, in commemoration of the battle which laid Prussia at his feet. Blücher conceived that he was at liberty to destroy the bridge, in right of retribution, and at the instance and with the consent (it is said) of the Emperor Alexander, he had caused excavations to be made in some of the piers, filled them all with gunpowder, and stripped the bridge of its pavement. At the same time, Blücher imposed upon the city a military contribution of one hundred millions of francs, and threatened that, unless the sum were paid within twenty-four hours, he would send a considerable number of the bankers and merchants to prison; in earnest of the sincerity of which menace, he actually arrested two of the principal bankers, by placing guards in their houses!

The intelligence of these violent measures on Marshal Blücher's part reaching the ears of the Duke of Wellington, he addressed the following letter to the Marshal—a letter than which nothing that he ever penned more fully illustrated the loftiness of his character, his sense of delicacy, and his regard for the interests of justice and humanity.

TO MARSHAL PRINCE BLUCHER.

"*Paris, 9th June*, 1815.

"The subjects on which Lord Castlereagh and I conversed with your Highness and General Compte Gneisenau this morning, viz.,

the destruction of the bridge of Jena, and the levy of the contribution of one hundred millions of francs upon the city of Paris, appear to me to be so important to the Allies in general, that I cannot allow myself to omit to draw your Highness's attention to them again in this shape

"The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the King and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city It is not merely a military measure, but is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the Government are willing to change the name of the bridge

"Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the Commissioners on the part of the French army, during the negotiation of the Convention, viz , that the monuments, museums, &c , should be reserved for the decision of the Allied Sovereigns

"All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the Sovereigns shall arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no objection

"In regard to the contribution laid on the city of Paris, I am convinced that your Highness will acquit me of any desire to dispute the claim of the Prussian army to any advantage which can be derived from its bravery and exertions, and services to the cause, but it appears to me that the Allies will contend that one party to a general alliance ought not to derive all the benefit resulting from the operations of the armies Even supposing the Allies should be inclined to concede this point to the Prussian army, they will contend for the right of considering the question whether France ought or ought not to be called upon to make this pecuniary sacrifice, and for that of making the concession to the Prussian army, if it should be expedient to make it

"The levy and application of this contribution ought, then, to be a matter for the consideration and decision of all the Allies, and in this point of view it is that I entreat your Highness to defer the measures for the levy of it till the Sovereigns shall have arrived

"Since I have had the happiness of acting in concert with your Highness and the brave army under your command, all matters have been carried on by common accord, and with a degree of harmony unparalleled in similar circumstances, much to the public advantage What I now ask is, not the dereliction of your measures, but the

delay of them for the day, or at most two days, which will elapse before the Sovereigns will arrive, which cannot be deemed unreasonable, and will, I hope, be granted, on account of the motive for making the request."

Yet did not the Duke escape calumny. He was assailed virulently in every possible manner. To anonymous letters he gave no heed; but some one even personally addressed him, charging him with participating in the outrageous conduct of the Prussians and their labours at the bridge. He calmly replied to the writer, that had he (the writer) known any of the circumstances connected with the attempted destruction, he would have found that the Duke did not deserve the reproach levelled at him. He attributed them to the ease with which false impressions are made upon an excitable people. "If," he added, "the injustice which you have done me in your letter should have the effect of inducing you hereafter to be cautious and reflective before you accuse a public man on any future occasion that may present itself, I forgive you the present wrong."

CHAPTER VI

The second Restoration—Condemnation of Political Offenders—Justification of the Duke in reference to Marshal Ney—The spoliation of the Louvre—The Duke's honourable proceedings—The Army of Occupation

N the 7th of July, Louis XVIII entered Paris under the protection of the Allied Armies He was less welcome now than in March, 1814, for Bourbonism and its priestcraft, its partialities and prejudices, had been tried and found wanting Before, he had everything to forgive in 1815, he had something to avenge

A decree, dated 9th of July, announced the formation of the new French Ministry The Prince de Talleyrand was appointed President of the Council and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs

Talleyrand was the French Vicar of Bray He had been a member of almost every government France had known from the hour he entered into political life A man of consummate abilities, of great wit and unsparing sarcasm—familiar with, and attached to, the ceremonials of Courts—he had rendered himself rather necessary than agreeable to the dominant authorities Of aristocratic origin, he was sent to college preparatory to taking holy orders, for as there had always been a prelate of the noble house of Talleyrand, he was intended for the ecclesiastical dignity At the age of thirty five he had become Bishop of Autun, without having acquired a high

owing partly to the war with Spain, and partly to Talleyrand's spirit of intrigue with England and the Bourbons, and Napoleon dismissed him with a handsome *douceur* With the Restoration, Talleyrand, who had always carried on a clandestine correspondence with Louis XVIII, returned to power He was immediately sent as Ambassador to the Congress of Vienna, and influenced the Congress to oppose Napoleon Could Louis XVIII do less than make him the chief of his first ministry, after the battle of Waterloo had consolidated (for a time) the throne of the Bourbons? The Duke of Wellington liked Talleyrand, his society, his wit, his cleverness, and no doubt he dropped a word in season, which ensured his present elevation

One of the first acts of Talleyrand, in conjunction with the Duc de Richelieu, the Prime Minister, was to dismiss from the Chamber of Peers all those who had accepted seats in the Chamber recently established by Napoleon In this act of dismissal were comprehended Marshals the Dukes of Elchingen, Albufera (Suchet), Conegliano, and Treviso (Mortier) This was followed by a decree, dated 24th of July, directing that the generals and officers who *betrayed the King* before the 23rd of March, or who attacked France and the government with force and arms, and those who, by violence, gained possession of power, should be arrested and brought before competent courts martial in their respective divisions Amongst the officers included in this decree were Marshals Ney and Grouchy, Colonel Labedoyere, Generals Drouet d'Erlon, Clausel, Laborde, Cambronne, and Lavalette By the same decree numbers were banished Paris, and ordered into the interior of France, there to await until the Chambers should decide which of them ought to depart the kingdom, or be delivered up to prosecution Soult, Excelmans, Carnot, Vandamme, and Regnault de St Jean d'Angely *were included in the eight and thirty thus exiled*

Of those who were ordered to be arrested and brought to trial, Colonel Labedoyère and Marshal Ney were found guilty and shot to death The circumstance created a great sensation in Paris and in England, for the character of Ney for courage and soldiership—a character which he maintained to the latest hour of his life—had created a great deal of sympathy in his favour The Bourbons were denounced in France and *in England for a want of humanity*, and much obloquy was cast upon the Duke of Wellington for abstaining from an interference in Ney's behalf "The share of the Duke of Wellington in that lamentable butchery, if it reflect no discredit on him, certainly cannot be told to his honour" So spake

an influential part of the *liberal* press of England; and the Muse of Byron, in her "savage imbecility," bespattered him with tirades unworthy of a poet capable of sublime and lofty efforts. Passion and prejudice evidently had more to do with these contemptible censures than reason and common-sense. Calmly and patiently reviewing the circumstances at this distance of time, and looking at the *consequences* of Marshal Ney's atrocious treachery, apart from the simple act of his betraying the cause of the King, it seems impossible to imagine that the Duke of Wellington could, as a soldier in love with honour, as a statesman abhorring the author of the frightful bloodshed arising out of Napoleon's being permitted to march on Paris, move hand or foot to save the perfidious Marshal. Every English soldier who had been executed for desertion or betrayal of his trust, under a warrant signed by the Duke, would unquestionably have been murdered had Ney been spared. The Marshal's defence of himself was the weakest that could be conceived. He said he had "lost his head" when he approached Napoleon—he was "disconcerted"—he was in "no relation with things as they were"—he was, "doubtless, wrong in reading his proclamation to the troops at Lons le Saulier, but he was impelled by circumstances,"—all of which amounted to a confession that he had no fixed principles in the first instance, no justification whatever to offer in the second. It was established on the clearest evidence, that if battle had been given to Napoleon when Ney, with his corps, encountered the returned Emperor's small force, the troops might have remained faithful to the King; but "the proclamation defeated everything!" The circumstances connected with that proclamation have been already given to the reader. Can any candid Englishman, recalling those circumstances, hold Ney guiltless of all the blood of our countrymen spilt at Quatre Bras and Waterloo? Would any British officer who might thus betray his Queen, and consign his country to all the horrors of war, be deemed worthy of the slightest clemency? Many efforts were made to save Ney; by personal application to the Duke of Wellington of Madame Ney; by appeals to the Allies in Paris, and to the Prince Regent in England; but they were properly unavailing. Ney himself made no appeal to the generosity of the soldier who had defeated him at Quatre Bras, and driven him back at Waterloo; his letter claimed mercy on the faith of a clause in the Military Convention of Paris. It was more of a lawyer-like than a soldier-like appeal. That clause expressly exempted all persons found in Paris at the time of the capitulation from any measure of severity at the hands of the allied troops, but it certainly did not

tie up the hands of any existing or future French government from acting in that respect as it might seem fit, and so wrote the Duke of Wellington to Marshal Ney[1]

A great many negotiations took place, and treaties were entered into at Paris at this time, for the due settlement of the affairs of Europe, and in most of these the Duke of Wellington took an active part, exhibiting as much ability as a statesman as he had hitherto manifested as a general Whilst acting as the British representative on these occasions, a circumstance occurred, which forcibly exemplified his forbearance, firmness, and disinterestedness

At a very early conference of the ministers of the Allies at Paris, the minister of the King of the Netherlands put the direct question to the Duke of Wellington, whether he had received any instructions from, or knew the intentions of, his Court as to the integrity or demolition of the Louvre and other Parisian galleries? to which the Duke distinctly replied, that he had not received any instructions from his Court upon the subject; and as his Court did not interfere with the galleries on the former occasion, (meaning upon the first restoration of the Bourbons,) he had no reason to suppose they would interfere on the present occasion This seemed to be received as satisfactory at the moment, and nothing further was said upon it at that time But at a subsequent conference, a considerable time afterwards, the minister of the King of the Netherlands renewed the

[1] If there could have been any doubt as to the interpretation put by the Duke of Wellington upon the clause, the following letter from Earl Bathurst must have removed it, and at the same time imposed upon the Duke the obligation, as a good and loyal subject, of continuing to act with perfect neutrality in the matter —

"FROM EARL BATHURST TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

"DOWNING STREET, *7th July*, 1815

"MY LORD,

"Although your Grace has stated distinctly that the convention entered into by you and Marshal Prince Blücher on the one hand, and certain French authorities on the other, upon the 3rd instant, while it decided all the military questions, had touched nothing political, and although it cannot be imagined that, in a convention negotiated with these authorities by Prince Blücher and your Grace, you would enter into any engagement whereby it should be presumed that his most Christian Majesty was absolutely precluded from the just exercise of his authority, in bringing to condign punishment such of his subjects as had, by their treasonable machinations and unprovoked rebellion, forfeited all claims to his Majesty's clemency and forbearance, yet, in order that no doubt shall be entertained as to the sense with which this article is to be considered by the Prince Regent, in conveying his entire approbation of the convention, I am commanded to state that his Royal Highness deems the twelfth article of it to be binding only on the conduct of the British and Prussian commanders and the commanders of such of the Allies as may become parties to the present convention, by their ratification of it

"I have, &c

"BATHURST"

subject, and stated, to the surprise of all present, that a positive promise had been made by the King of France (Louis XVIII.), during the short period of Bonaparte's resumption of the throne, to his master, the King of the Netherlands, that if he (Louis) should ever recover the Crown, he would restore to the King of the Netherlands all the works of art belonging to Holland and Belgium, which Napoleon had removed from those countries into France, and were then in the Louvre; and that as all matters connected with the settlement of affairs appeared then to be nearly brought to a satisfactory conclusion, he considered it proper that he should, without further delay, insist upon the performance of the King's promise in this respect to his master. Upon this disclosure, Marshal Blücher, as the representative of Prussia, declared, that if the works of art belonging to the Kingdom of the Netherlands were to be restored to the King of those countries, he (Marshal Blücher) must insist upon a similar restoration being made to his master, the King of Prussia. These two claims having been so strongly put forward, the Duke of Wellington felt that it was his duty, in fairness to all interests concerned, to require, without any further loss of time, that in the event of the King of the Netherlands and the King of Prussia being allowed the works of art in the Louvre belonging to them respectively, an option should be secured for all other powers interested in the same question to reclaim such works as belonged to them, if they should think proper to do so. The requisition of the two first-mentioned claimants being adhered to, it soon became evident that the dissolution of the galleries was inevitable, and serious discussions on the subject immediately ensued between the Duke of Wellington and the Duke de Richelieu, at that time the Prime Minister of France. From the Duke de Richelieu he obtained no satisfactory decision, and subsequently had an audience of the King, which was as little decisive in its result; the effectual part of the King's promise was evaded, and the Duke was again referred by his Majesty to the Duke de Richelieu upon this momentous and still undecided question. By the Duke de Richelieu the Duke was at length referred to Denon (the principal officer of the Government as regarded the Fine Arts). A great deal of discussion ensued, and ultimately, when Denon found that there appeared to be no escape from this demand upon the French Government, he said to the Duke, "If you *are* to have the galleries you must *take* them." This settled the question, and a guard was immediately placed over the Louvre, and preparations made for removing all those works which were claimed in consequence of the original promise of Louis XVIII. to the King of the

Netherlands This occurrence caused extraordinary excitement in Paris The bitter hatred of the Prussians by the French appeared to be superseded by the virulence which manifested itself in a few hours against the English on this occasion, as the supposed authors of this formidable blow to the vanity and exultation by which the French had always been actuated with respect to these possessions, and the Duke of Wellington, who, as appears from the above statement of facts to have been perfectly innocent of any spontaneous assault upon the Louvre, became the subject of the most unmeasured and opprobrious invective From this unmerited and painful position the Duke could in an instant have relieved himself, and have transferred the fury to which he was exposed *to the real instigators of the movement*, if he had chosen to state the fact, that Louis XVIII had falsified his word, by first voluntarily promising in part to demolish the galleries, and then practically opposing the execution of that promise, but it needed not one tenth part of the penetration and sagacity of the Duke of Wellington to enable him clearly to foresee what would have been the effect upon the interests of that monarch and his crown, and probably upon all Europe, if in the then excited state of Paris, such a disclosure had been made Here, then, is another extraordinary instance, in which private feeling and personal interest were nobly sacrificed by this high-minded man, in the faithful and intrepid discharge of what he felt to be his paramount duty to the general interests of those for and with whom he was called upon to act[1]

[1] The reader is referred to Appendix II, for the Duke's explanation of this affair to the British Ministry

CHAPTER VII.

The Army of Occupation—The Duke's residence in Paris, from 1815 to 1818—The Army breaks up, and the Duke returns to England.

BY the 20th of November, 1815, after a great deal of protocolling, anxious and sometimes angry discussions, the Allied Powers made a treaty with the French King, settling the future limits of the kingdom, defining the compensation France was to make for the expenses of the long war, and the spoliation inflicted on different states during the Revolution, and fixing the sums she was to pay for the maintenance of an allied army in the different French fortresses for the period of five years. The burthen thus imposed upon the nation did not fall short of seventy millions sterling—a terrible pressure upon the industry of the people and produce of the country for many years in prospect. The allied army in occupation of the fortresses was 150,000 strong, and the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the four great powers determined that that army should be placed under the command of the Duke of Wellington.

The state paper, in which the ministers intimated their wishes upon the subject, was so highly honourable to the Duke, that no biography of his Grace can be complete without it. The document is at the same time a remarkable specimen of diplomatic courtesy. The Duke de Richelieu—the grand-nephew of the famous cardinal—was the Prime Minister of France at the time. He had struggled with patriotic fervour to obtain for his country the complete restoration of

her power and position, and the departure of the whole of the foreign troops Sound policy, however, dictated to the Allies an adherence to the plan they had chalked out, and it was considered a great act of clemency that 550 000 of the troops, then in the French territories, should be withdrawn, and that some of the posts, such as Conde, Giret, and Charlemont, and the forts of Joux and Ecluse should not be included in the territorial cession Another point yielded to the earnest entreaties of the Duke de Richelieu, was the diminution of the tribute by one hundred millions of francs

The following is the paper, in which the arrangement of the command of the allied armies was notified to the Duke de Richelieu

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU

"The Allied Sovereigns having confided to Marshal the Duke of Wellington the command in chief of those of their troops which, according to the 5th article of the treaty concluded this day with France, are to remain in this country during a certain number of years, the undersigned ministers, &c &c &c, think it their duty to give some explanation to his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu as to the nature and extent of the powers attached to this command

"Although chiefly guided with respect to the measure by motives tending to the safety and welfare of their subjects, and being very far from having any intention of employing their troops in aid of the police, or of the internal administration of France, or in any manner that might compromise or interfere with the free exercise of the royal authority in this country, the Allied Sovereigns have, however, in consideration of the high interest which they take in supporting the power of legitimate sovereigns, promised to his most Christian Majesty to support him with their arms against every revolutionary convulsion, which might tend to overthrow by force the order of things at pre ent established, and to menace al o again the general tranquillity of Europe They no not however dissemble, that in the variety of forms under which the revolutionary spirit might again manifest itself in France, doubts might arise as to the nature of the case which might call for the intervention of a foreign force, and feeling the difficulties of framing any instructions precisely applicable to each particular case, the Allied Sovereigns have thought it better to leave it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington to decide when, and how far, it might be advisable to employ the troops under his orders, always supposing that he would not in any case so determine without having concerted his measures

with the King of France, or without giving information, as soon as possible, to the Allied Sovereigns of the motives which may have induced him to come to such a determination. And as, in order to guide the Duke of Wellington in the choice of his arrangements, it will be *important that he should be correctly informed of the* events which may occur in France, the ministers of the four Allied Courts, accredited to his most Christian Majesty, have received orders to maintain a regular correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, and to provide at the same time for an intermediate one between the French Government and the Commander-in-Chief of the allied troops, for the purpose of transmitting to the French Government the communications which the Duke of Wellington may have occasion to address to it; and of communicating to the Marshal the suggestions or requisitions which the Court of France may wish in future to make to him. The undersigned flatter themselves that the Duke de Richelieu will readily recognise in these arrangements the same character, and the same principles, which have been manifested in concerting and adapting the measures of the military occupation of a part of France. They carry with them, also, on quitting the country, the consoling persuasion that, notwithstanding the elements of disorder which France may still contain—the effect of revolutionary events—a wise and paternal government, proceeding in a proper manner to tranquillise and conciliate the minds of the people, and abstaining from every act contrary to such a system, may not only succeed in maintaining the public tranquillity, but, also, in the re-establishing universal union and confidence, relieving, likewise, as much as the proceedings of the government can prevent it, the Allied Powers from the painful necessity of having recourse to those measures which, in case of any new convulsion, would be imperiously prescribed to them by the duty of providing for the safety of their own subjects, and the general tranquillity of Europe, &c.

"The undersigned have the honour, &c.

"METTERNICH.
"CASTLEREAGH.
"HARDENBERG.
"CAPO D'ISTRIA."

The four names will be familiar to the reader. Metternich was the astute minister of Austria, and through life the most ardent upholder of the monarchical principle in its most despotic form. Of Lord Castlereagh we have already spoken. Baron Hardenberg represented the Prussian Crown. He was a highly educated man, of

excellent business habits, and had filled important diplomatic offices for many years, and in the most troublous days of the Prussian monarchy Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek, enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor of Russia, and in all the negotiations common at this period among the Allied Powers, sought to maintain a preponderance for Russian interests

Ten days after the Definitive Treaty with France had been signed, the allied armies quitted the country The Duke of Wellington, in his capacity of Field Marshal, bade them adieu in a complimentary order, observing that in the late campaign they had given proofs to the world that they possessed in a remarkable degree all the good qualities of soldiers He bore testimony to their good conduct in their camps and cantonments, as well as when engaged with the enemy on the field

The life led by the Duke of Wellington during the period of his command of the army of occupation, was peculiarly agreeable to his feelings, for it combined the claims of duty with the allurements of pleasure The French, who at first were disposed to give vent to their mortification in caricatures of the British and puns at the expense of the Duke,[1] gradually became reconciled to one who never interfered with their affairs but to obtain for them some concession from the Allies, and whose splendid hospitalities attracted hundreds of wealthy English families to spend their fortunes in Paris Capefigue, a Frenchman, says,—"The generalissimo resided in Paris, where he saw a good deal of Louis XVIII, and his English principles were in perfect agreement with a system of moderation and freedom He possessed an honest and upright heart, and a habit of judging with ease and simplicity of the state of events, and we must do him the justice to say that when, on various occasions, he was constituted arbiter of the claims of the Allies, he almost invariably gave his opinion in favour of our unfortunate country" Numerous anecdotes are preserved of the "Duke in Paris," many of them of an apocryphal character, and some embellished or distorted according to the fancy or prejudices of the writer It is certain that he felt himself quite secure among a people towards whom he entertained the most friendly feelings He was accustomed to ride out every day on horseback attended by a single groom You were sure to meet him either in the Boulevards, the Bois de Boulogne, or the Champs Elysées[2] He had "a French guard at his residence, which

[1] Oh Wellington—or *Vilainton* for fame
Sounds the heroic syllables both ways"—Byron

[2] I have met him when he stopped his horse to speak to my companion, addressing him

rendered any attack near his own house hazardous. The returned emigrants hated the English at heart much more than the Bonapartists, because they found the Duke would have nothing to do with the population of France, from the sovereign to the poorest subject, much less aid to place such miserable incompetent individuals at the head of affairs. 'We hate your government,' said the Bonapartists; 'you have beaten us—it is the fortune of war,—but we have no hatred to individual Englishmen, and we are happy to see you.' The old emigrant party hated us altogether, adding an implacable religious antipathy to ingratitude, of which antipathy the Bonapartists had none.

"'*Apropos* of the French guard,' says a recent writer; 'there was a cover for the officer laid every day at the Duke's table. The restoration of Louis XVIII. was accompanied, as far as possible, with the absurdities of the old time, from the Court being under that influence, and a monarch, even poor old gormandising Louis, was a *Dieu mortel* in their eyes, or all others were to esteem him so. The late King of Prussia, visited Paris in 1817, *incog.*, as the Count de Ruppin. The Duke of Wellington invited the king-count to dinner. Louis XVIII. invited himself to meet him. Covers were laid for six only. A sort of *avant-courier* of old Louis proceeded to the Duke's to examine whether all was *en regle.* On being told that six covers were laid—if I recollect rightly, the Duke de Richelieu and Sir Charles Stuart, with the two kings and the Duke, made up five of the party—"Who," the officious official asked—"who is the sixth cover for? I must announce it to his most Christian Majesty." He was told it was for the officer of the guard, a French captain. He at once declared that the King could not dine that way, with a subject in such a station; it was contrary to all rule—all etiquette. The Duke of Wellington was appealed to, who replied he could not alter the rule of his house, and have his table changed; that he was a soldier himself. The official went back to the Tuileries, and made his report. They then attempted to prevent the King from going, but Louis cared

familiarly by his Christian name 'Bob.' Except an occasional 'God-dem!' from some lower-class Frenchman, spoken often in the same tone to any English passenger, I never heard of the Duke's meeting an insult in his daily rides about—at least none that caused any public remark or complaint. I have still his inflexible figure when on horseback before my eyes, almost savouring of the drill; his, on the whole, fresh, healthy complexion, and active make, notwithstanding his services in the burning climate of the south.' He had the appearance of being taller than he really was; latterly he had seemed to shorten, and grow broad. His countenance was always striking, the upper part, above the mouth, being exceedingly fine."—"*Reminiscences,*" *from the New Monthly Magazine.*

nothing about the matter, he said, and shocked some of his old courtiers in no slight degree—the relics of the race who thought France was ruined for ever when Necker came to court with strings in place of buckles in his shoes On the present occasion, it may be added that no one was more surprised than the officer of the guard himself, to be seated at table so unexpectedly with two crowned heads'"

The fair *Parisiennes* were much captivated by the elegant manners of the British officers, but the Duke himself—his achievements—his martial bearing—particularly enslaved their imaginations It is related by a lady of the Court of Louis XVIII, that the Comtesse de Bl—— no sooner saw him than she became deeply enamoured of him [1] Nor was she the only one whose heart was temporarily enchained, although, be it observed, the Duke wasted very little of his time in paying general court to the sex He admired *spirituelle* women, and was often found in the company of those who enjoyed the highest reputation for their conversational powers, but he was not much of a wooer Lady Hester Stanhope gave it as her opinion that he was "a plain, blunt soldier, who pleased women because he was gallant, and had some remains of beauty" (he was now nearly forty-six) "but he had none of the dignity of courts about him"

To the honourable and friendly conduct of the Parisians towards the Duke there were two disgraceful exceptions Upon one occasion, a quantity of gunpowder was placed in his cellar for explosion, on the occurrence of a *fete*—and upon another, a miscreant named Cantillon discharged a pistol into his carriage To Napoleon Bonaparte's eternal infamy, it is to be remembered that when he heard of the circumstance, he included in his will a bequest to this latter ruffian, who escaped the vengeance of the law [2]

[1] The anecdote, as published some fifteen years since runs as follows —' His eagle like countenance completely captivated her The lady s Royalist sentiments might certainly have some share in this enthusiasm, but, be this as it may, the poor Countess was in love When in company with the Duke, she sighed and assumed all sorts of languishing airs She no doubt, thought it a very fine thing to have a hero for her lover At length a rendezvous was solicited and granted, but its result did not appear to convince the lady that the Duke was quite as amiable and gallant as he was reported to be She was greatly enraged and she spoke of the Duke in the most contemptuous terms There are some things which a woman can never pardon when the Countess heard that the Duke had received the baton of a French Marshal, she said that he deserved a cudgel rather than a baton. Only those who witnessed the state of things in France in 1814 and 1815 can form an idea of the extravagant political fanaticism which then prevailed and which in several instances, was converted into love The above story I had from my friend the Viscountess de Vau——, who was exceedingly intimate with the Countess de Bl—— I communicated it to the King, who was much amused by it —*Souvenirs of a Lady of the Court of Louis XVIII*

[2] On February 11, 1818, as the Duke, in his carriage, was entering the gate of his hotel

Judging from the general orders issued by the Duke of Wellington during the period of the occupancy of France by the troops under his command, the charge was by no means free from anxieties. He paid frequent and prolonged visits to Cambrai, in 1816 and 1817, and on each occasion he is to be found reprehending irregularity and disorder—the terms by which he expressed drunkenness, violence, and robbery. It was also necessary to check the conduct of officers, some of whom, in hunting, would ride over the corn-fields, or, in garrison, invade the boxes of the theatres without requital, to the dismay of the box-keepers, and the disturbance of the entertainment. Disputes often took place between the French people and the British troops, and as the former never scrupled to resort to violence, the Duke gave peremptory and frequent orders that the latter should not go about without their fire-arms.

Early in the year 1817, the Prince Regent accorded twenty-five millions of livres to the army as prize booty, captured on the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of June, 1815. This proved a seasonable addition to the pecuniary resources of men and officers, and rendered a residence in France even still more attractive than it had hitherto proved. The share of the Duke of Wellington was 60,000*l.*

It has been stated above that the period stipulated for the occupation of France by the troops under the Duke was five years. It has also been mentioned that certain heavy sums were to be paid on

at Paris, a wretch named Cantillon fired a pistol at his Grace, but happily missed his aim. The Ministers of the Allied Sovereigns, as well as the King of France, warmly congratulated the Duke on his escape, and the Prince Regent sent him an autograph letter on the occasion. Lord Castlereagh, in consequence of this atrocious attempt, procured an extension of the Alien Act for two years. Cantillon, and his accomplice, named Marinot, were tried in the next year, but were acquitted. Napoleon (died May 5, 1821) left Cantillon a legacy of 10,000 francs for this atrocity, in the fifth item of the fourth codicil of his will, as follows:—

"'We bequeath 10,000 francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarchist, as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify himself by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he really had assassinated that lord, would have excused himself; and have been justified by the same motives—*the interest of France—to get rid of a general* who had, moreover, violated the capitulation of Paris, and by that had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs, Ney, Labédoyère, &c., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.'

"'This clause in the last will of a dying man' (we quote the words of Sir Walter Scott) 'is not striking for its atrocity merely, but from the inaccuracy of the moral reasoning which it exhibits. Napoleon has drawn a parallel betwixt two cases, which must be therefore both right or both wrong. If both were wrong, why reward the ruffian with a legacy? but, if both were right, why complain of the British government for detaining him at St. Helena?'"—*Wellingtoniana.*

various accounts to the Allies—enough to bear down the richest nation upon the face of the earth But a stipulation was made in favour of private individuals whose fortunes had suffered by the revolutions and wars, and these having been invited to send in their claims, they poured in on every side The payment, according to the first arrangement, was to be effected by inscriptions on the great book of the public debt of France, and nine millions a year were set aside for that purpose The time, however, for presenting claims was not to expire until the 28th of July, 1817, when the sum total amounted to a sum "of almost fabulous magnitude, which surpassed the value of the two budgets of France" What was to be done, asks the author of "The Diplomatists of Europe," under circumstances of so much difficulty? Russia was so situated as naturally to assume the character of a mediator, for she had but few claims, and the Emperor Alexander, convinced that unless the negotiation were carried on by an arbiter common to all parties, it would fall to the ground before the diversity of views and opinions, proposed to intrust it to the Duke of Wellington, making, at the same time, a sort of appeal to his generosity

Those who trusted to the liberal character of the Duke of Wellington, rendered justice alike to him and to themselves It was not in his nature to scorn a claim addressed to his generosity, even though, as in this case, his own pecuniary interests and public functions were likely to sustain much damage from an abridgment of the five years during which he had expected to hold command He accepted the mediation A congress of plenipotentiaries assembled at Aix la Chapelle, to discuss the subject Their deliberations were brief France had kept her engagements religiously up to this point Order had been re established, and everything justified the hope of a progressive consolidation of the repose and prosperity of the nation It was needless—it would have been cruel—to have checked her advance in happiness by rigidly insisting upon the observance of the Treaty Influenced by his own convictions, the arguments of Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian plenipotentiary, and the urgent appeals of the Duc de Richelieu, the Duke of Wellington energetically adopted the cause of France, and procured the assent of the Allies to the evacuation of France by the troops he commanded, and the surrender of a portion of the indemnity France, to this hour, remembers the great service thus rendered by the man she had been taught to hate

Early in November, 1818, the Duke quitted the army of occupation after giving expression to his feelings in the following General Order —

ORDER OF THE DAY.

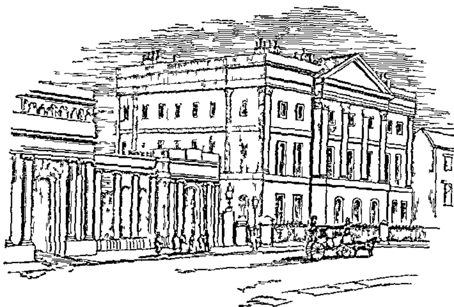
"Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington cannot take leave of the troops whom he had the honour to command without expressing to them his gratitude for the good conduct which has distinguished them during the time they have been under his orders. It is now nearly three years since the Allied Sovereigns confided to the Field-Marshal the chief command of that part of these forces which circumstances rendered it necessary to keep in France. If the measures which their Majesties commanded have been executed in a manner to give them satisfaction, this result must be wholly attributed to the prudent and enlightened conduct manifested on all occasions by their Excellencies the Generals commanding in chief; to the good example which they have given to the other generals and officers who were subordinate to them; and, lastly, to the excellent discipline which has always prevailed in the contingents.

"It is with regret that the Field-Marshal has seen the moment arrive when the dissolution of this army was to put an end to his public connection and his private relations with the commanders and other officers of the corps of the army. The Field-Marshal deeply feels how agreeable these relations have been to him. He begs the Generals commanding in chief to receive, and make known to the troops under their orders, the assurance that he shall never cease to take the most lively interest in every thing that may concern them; and that the remembrance of the three years during which he has had the honour to be at their head will be always dear to him.

(Signed) "G. MURRAY,

"Lieutenant-General, and Chief of the Staff of the Allied Army."

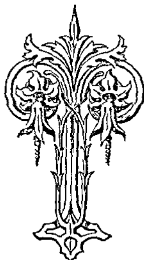
The Allied Armies began to evacuate France on the 21st of November, 1818. A week previously, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, to mark their great regard for the Duke of Wellington, created him a Field-Marshal of their respective armies.



APSLEY HOUSE

CHAPTER VIII

The Duke's return—Appointed Master General of the Ordnance—Birth of Queen Victoria—Accession of George IV.—Queen Caroline—Unpopularity of the Duke—Trial of the Queen—The Congress at Verona—Death of Lord Londonderry—The Duke goes to Verona—Result of his mission



HE return of the Duke of Wellington to England for a permanency was a source of very great satisfaction to many of the highest members of the nobility, who had for too long a time been denied the opportunity of *testifying their regard for* one of their own order who had, by a long series of triumphs, adorned the peerage and exalted the British character. To no one, however, was his arrival more agreeable than to the Prince Regent, who was beginning to feel the value of the presence of a councillor and companion who had, throughout his career, given the strongest imaginable proofs of his loyalty and truth.

The Duke of Wellington took up his residence at Apsley House in Piccadilly. He had purchased the mansion of his brother some

time previously, and under the professional superintendence of Mr. Wyatt, the celebrated architect, it had been enlarged and repaired—in fact it was almost entirely re-built. Here he began to give those annual dinners known as the "Waterloo Banquet." At first they took place in the dining-room, and the guests were forty-two in number; but they gradually increased to eighty or ninety—seldom falling short of eighty-six—and then the entertainments were given in the drawing-room, which acquired the title of the "Waterloo Gallery."

To the active mind of the Duke of Wellington, idleness would have been intolerable. The Government, moreover, were sensible that they would be guilty of an absurd piece of self-denial if they did not avail themselves of his services in a position of importance adequate to his great talents and merits. Fortunately, at the moment of his return (December, 1818) the office of Master-General of the Ordnance—an appointment second only in responsibility to that of Commander-in-chief—was vacant, and this was immediately conferred upon the Duke of Wellington. The office has a salary attached to it of 3000*l.* per annum, and the Master-General is allowed a Secretary at 1000*l.* per annum. The duties comprehend the complete control and management of the Artillery branch of the service, and all that relates to it. It was therefore in every way suited to the dignity, the tastes, and the military rank of the Duke.

On the 24th of May, 1819, the gracious lady of these realms, Queen Victoria, came into the world at Kensington Palace. Amongst the dignitaries and officers of state present at the auspicious event was the Duke of Wellington. The circumstance could not fail to have its influence upon the mind of the Duke. It imparted an increased degree of interest to his connection with the Crown in after years, casting a halo of parental affection around the loyalty which, under any circumstances, he would have been proud to manifest towards his sovereign—and that sovereign a female.

In the same year the sinecure office of Governor of Plymouth was conferred upon the Duke. It seemed to be the special pleasure of the Prince to heap honours and rewards upon the man who had for so long a time sustained the glory of the British arms, and was now the chosen companion of the Regent's luxurious leisure. The Court Circular of the time continually makes mention of the visits of the Duke at Carlton Palace, and it is not too much to say that his presence imparted dignity even to a Court, which, under the auspices of Queen Charlotte, relaxed nothing of the severity of ceremonial and coldness of punctilio by which it was distinguished throughout the reign of George III. Early in the following year, the Duke

received the appointment of Colonel-in-chief of the Rifle Brigade—an appointment of more honour than profit, and invariably held by a military officer of the highest rank.[1]

George III. dying in 1820, the crown devolved upon the Prince Regent, who had for several years exercised the monarchical prerogative, and, in all but the title, was the sovereign of the country.

This event was followed by the appearance in England of the wife of George IV., who had for six or seven years been residing

LORD ELDON.

and travelling abroad. She came, contrary to the advice of her wisest and best friends, to claim the right of being crowned with her husband. It was a fatal piece of folly. Her life on the continent had been remarkable for its irregularity, its indiscretions and sensualities If absolutely innocent, she had been so entirely regardless of public opinion, that guilt was generally inferred But although narrowly watched by the emissaries of the King, she would probably have been left to pursue her mad career with impunity had she not,

[1] The emoluments are only 238*l.* 15*s.* 6*d* per annum.

by coming to England, raised a commotion and a scandal, and forced the issue of the question as to whether she should continue a Queen. To destroy her title by establishing her incontinency became now the almost unavoidable alternative of the King. A Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in, and the Queen was tried by the House of Lords. The evidence was of a revolting description. Some of the witnesses grossly perjured themselves—others, of unquestionable integrity, adduced a sufficiency of damnatory facts, to shake the belief

LORD LIVERPOOL.

which a generous public wished to entertain of her purity. Great excitement was produced out of doors by the trial—society divided itself into parties—the press became either her champions or persecutors—family feuds arose out of the antagonistic opinions as to her innocence—and the King himself, who, in legal parlance, came not into court with clean hands, was especially the object of public vituperation. Lords Liverpool and Eldon (the latter Lord Chancellor of England), were the King's chief advisers in the matter, and conducted the proceedings with courage and perseverance; but the principal

supporter of the monarch was the DUKE OF WELLINGTON Standing by the King (his favourite expression) in the time of difficulty he disregarded vulgar clamour, and beheld with supreme indifference the waning of a popularity on which he had never set much store He could not contemplate without horror the attempt as he conceived it to pollute the throne and he was keenly affected by the deplorable spectacle presented to other nations by the contest in which the highest personages in the realm were involved These feelings nerved his defence of George IV

The issue of Queen Caroline s visit to England is written in the page of history The Bill of Pains and Penalties was abandoned because the Ministerial or Tory majority was insignificant The Queen continued in England however and when George IV was crowned in 1821 she renewed her claims and even attempted to force herself into Westminster Abbey during the ceremonial The mob—as much from dislike to the King who had always kept himself

THE WALL OF THE CHATEAU OF HOUGOUMONT

aloof from the people as from any settled convictions of the Queen s innocence and the integrity of her pretensions—espoused her cause, but the clamour was borne down by the agents of authority and the pageant of the coronation soon diverted attention from the alleged persecution and afforded the many headed monster a fertile subject of agreeable excitement

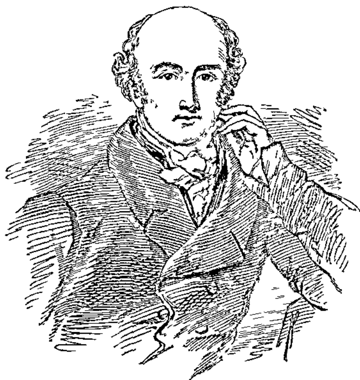
At the coronation, which took place in the autumn of 1821, the

Duke of Wellington officiated as Lord High Constable of England. Soon afterwards George IV. visited Ireland, and subsequently proceeded to his Hanoverian dominions. Upon the latter occasion, the Duke of Wellington accompanied him. The King took the *route* by way of Ostend and Brussels. The vicinity of the field of Waterloo tempted his Majesty to proceed to the locality of the great battle, and he enjoyed, when there, the inestimable advantage of the society of the Duke, who, acting as *cicerone*, pointed out to the King the scenes of the various contests of the 18th June, 1815. George IV. was gifted with a strong comprehension, military tastes, and a perfect acquaintance with the science of war. With all the details of the great struggle fresh in his memory, he realised with facility the images conjured up by the exact description of the Duke. The contests at Hougoumont particularly interested the King. It is difficult to say who was the proudest man on that day—the King who heard upon the battle-field the story of the battle from the lips of the mightiest soldier in the memorable fight—or the Field-Marshal, who "showed how fields were won," with the proudest sovereign in Europe for his auditor.

The year 1822 saw the subject of this biography again employed on an important diplomatic mission. The affairs of Europe were terribly out of joint. Five years' experience of peace and absolutism, contrasting, as it did very forcibly with the *laissez aller* of Juntas and a state of war, had fostered a restless and angry spirit among the people in many parts of the continent of Europe. Naples and Piedmont became the theatre of revolutions designed to destroy authority. The spirit of innovation spread in Spain to such an extent that the country was kept in a state of constant distraction—on the very verge of social dissolution: not so much by the struggle between the partisans of the new system and the old, or by the dissensions of the Liberals themselves, as by mutual jealousies, their ignorance of all practical modes of administration, and their atrocious want of all moral or political principle. Turkey too had presented a scene of continual disorder; there had been an insurrection in Albania, and two insurrections north of the Danube. And in Greece and its islands a revolt had, amid outrages and butcheries disgraceful to humanity, acquired so much strength as to render the struggle with the Ottoman Power of exceedingly dubious issue. In France, the Ministry had been wavering and unsteady, and the increase of the public prosperity had failed to diminish the discontent of the people.

Uneasy at the prospect of a disturbance of the monarchical principle, the Sovereigns who had assisted at the Congress of Vienna

now determined to meet at Verona, to concoct measures for the suppression of the liberalism—as they denominated the resistance to tyranny—disseminating itself over Europe. Lord Castlereagh, who had become Marquis of Londonderry, was to represent Great Britain at the second Congress, but the efforts he had long made to sustain a position of responsibility requiring higher intellectual powers than he possessed, had now begun to operate upon him. His mind was rapidly giving way. The Duke, at one of his interviews with Lord Londonderry, detected the approach of insanity, and his impressions received a dreadful confirmation in the self-destruction of the unfortunate nobleman. On the 12th of August, 1822, just as his physician, who was latterly in frequent attendance upon him, was entering his dressing-room, Lord Londonderry fell a corpse into his arms. He had inflicted a deep and mortal wound upon himself in the carotid artery, with a small penknife he had concealed in a letter-case.[1]



THE RIGHT HON GEORGE CANNING

The Right Hon George Canning succeeded Lord Londonderry in

[1] As Lord Castlereagh, he had become so very unpopular, from his resistance to progress, his adherence to the interests of absolute monarchy, and his domestic Toryism, that the multitude

the office of Foreign Minister. Immediately addressing his attention to the great European question at issue, he selected the Duke of Wellington to proceed to Verona, as the best substitute for Lord Castlereagh available. As it was agreeable to George IV. that he should accept the office, the Duke received his instructions from Mr. Canning and departed.

Among the subjects which the Sovereigns assembled at Verona regarded with anxious solicitude was the state of Spain. The Spanish people had peremptorily demanded the realisation of those constitutional prospects with which they had long been beguiled, and it seemed probable that Ferdinand VII. would be compelled to yield. Such a compulsion was viewed at Verona in the light of a political sacrilege, and it was determined by France, with more or less assent on the part of the Allied Crowns, to maintain the royal prerogative in Spain by force of arms. When the actual invasion of Spain by a French army, in support of absolutist principles, was announced to the world, it was loudly exclaimed, that either the instructions given to the Duke by Mr. Canning must have been disregarded, or that the Government had been grossly inattentive to its duty, in permitting such an outrage upon the independence and liberties of a people. The debates in Parliament were long and violent, and though those were not times of Ministerial minorities, the Opposition produced some impression by their protests. The Duke defended himself by proving what could never, of so strict a disciplinarian, have been seriously disbelieved—that he had faithfully conformed to his instructions, that those instructions included no authority to use menace, but that, as far as influence or remonstrance could go, he had strongly dissuaded such interference with the affairs of the Spanish nation, and had set the difficulties of Peninsular intervention in the fullest light from his own experience. At this distance of time we can see that the affair, like many of our own day, was magnified beyond its due proportions for party purposes. It is not unreasonable to suspect that the Duke, who had no personal sympathies with Canning, and few, as yet, with his politics, may have co-operated somewhat ungraciously with the liberal successor of Castlereagh; but, apart from his invariable fidelity to his duties, it is perfectly certain, from his known opinions, that he must have been opposed to the renewal of war in the Peninsula under circumstances like these. He may have had very little affection for Spanish patriots, and he may have thought that the

exulted at his death. In the "Life of Lord Eldon," it is stated, that when the corpse was taken out of the hearse at Westminster Abbey, the mob cheered for joy that he was no more."

neutrality professed by his Government would have been as truly violated, by contesting the decisions of Russia or France, as by dictating terms to Spain, but his opposition to the project was doubtless exerted as cordially as his position allowed [1]

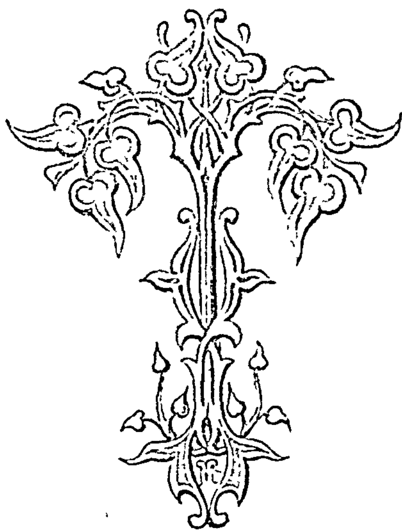
In this year (1822), on the 18th of June, the bronze statue of Achilles, subscribed for by the ladies of England, between 1819 and 1821, and alluded to in a foregoing page, was erected in Hyde Park, as a memorial of the warrior Duke

[1] Memoir of the Duke published in the *Times* of the 16th September, 185?

THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON

CHAPTER IX.

Three years of Idleness—Apsley House—The pictures—The Greek question—Embassy to St. Petersburgh—Death of the Duke of York—The Duke of Wellington appointed Commander-in-Chief—Death of the Earl of Liverpool—Mr. Canning forms a Ministry—Resignation of the Duke—His reasons for resigning his seat in the Cabinet, and the command of the Army.



HE feeling which had been engendered in England by the Duke's espousal of the cause of the King on the occasion of Queen Caroline's return, and the absence of any necessity for his appearing prominently in the House of Lords, or elsewhere, rendered the three years between 1823 and 1826 a blank in his Grace's public existence. Mention is rarely made of him in the papers and periodicals of the day, excepting in connection with the ordinary chroniclings of "The Court of Fashion." He passed much of his time in improving his country seat, and in decorating his magnificent town dwelling. The latter became the receptacle of a great number of beautiful works of art, many of which had formerly graced the palace of Joseph Bonaparte at Madrid, falling into the possession of the Duke after the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria. The front drawing-room of Apsley House was particularly distinguished by the high character of the paintings. The Italian and Spanish masters occupied conspicuous places, but the Duke generally preferred the Dutch school. The familiar pictures of Jan Stein and Cuyp found an ardent admirer in him, and our own

Wilkie came in for a share of his patronage The celebrated picture of "*The Chelsea Pensioners reading the Account of the Battle of Waterloo,*" was purchased for, and still adorns the walls of Apsley House,[1] and near to it is a companion picture, "*The Greenwich Pen-*

[1] The *Illustrated London News* of the 20th November, 1852, gives the following interesting abstract of Wilkie's own account of the preparation of the picture —

"When it was known (says Cunningham, *in his 'Life,') that Wilkie was engaged* on a picture for the Duke of Wellington of a military nature, great was the stir in the ranks of the army, and likewise in society, the current of a heady fight was in the fancy of some, while others believed he would choose the field *after the battle was fought, and show the mangled* relics of war—

"'With many a sweet babe fatherless,
And many a widow mourning,'

but no one guessed that out of the wooden legs, mutilated arms, and the pension lists of old Chelsea he was about to evoke a picture which the heart of the nation would accept as a remembrance of Waterloo, a battle which had filled the eyes of Britain with mingled gladness and tears. *Amongst those who were touched by the subject was Sir Willoughby Gordon, a* soldier of the old Scottish stamp, whose name appears early in the list of the painter's admirers of whom the following entries in the painter's journal speak —

"'*Nov 28th*, 1818 Sir Willoughby Gordon called and expressed a strong wish to possess *my sketch of 'The Chelsea Pensioners' I mentioned the price of sixty guineas, to which he* agreed

"'*Dec 23rd* Left a note at Apsley House, to inform his Grace the Duke of Wellington that I had prepared a sketch of 'The Chelsea Pensioners,' and would be proud to submit it to *his Grace's consideration either at Apsley House or at Kensington*'

"Subsequent entries show how the Duke and the artist were at cross purposes for some little time, ere they could come to a meeting upon—to the latter all engrossing point—the order of the day for his great work —

"'*Jan 24th*, 1819 Went to dine with Haydon, and when absent was so unfortunate as to miss the Duke of Wellington, who did me the honour to call about three o clock His Grace looked at the sketch, but made scarcely any remark upon it, but both the Duke and the friend that was with him seemed to look with attention at 'The Wedding' and at 'Duncan Gray' His Grace said, when going, that he would call again

"'*25th* Sent a note to the Duke, to express my regret, and to say that, after Tuesday, when my picture ('The Penny Wedding') was to be delivered at Carlton House, I should be *at home constantly*

"'*Feb 26th* Called at Apsley House The Duke sent me out word that he had to attend a committee, and begged that I would call some other day

"'*27th* Went to Apsley House again, and took my sketch with me The Duke still could not see me, but requested that I would leave my sketch'

"At length, on the 7th of March, he calls again at Apsley House, has an interview with the Duke, 'who told me he wished to have in the picture more of the soldiers of the present day, instead of those I had put of half a century ago He wished me to make a slight sketch of the alteration, and would call on me in a week or ten days to look at it.'

"The alterations were put in progress, but the Duke does not appear to have called till the 18th of June, the anniversary of the battle, when Wilkie unfortunately was again absent, dining with Haydon, and so missed the Duke

"'On coming home in the evening,' the journal says —'found that the Duke of Wellington had called about five o'clock, with two ladies, one of whom seemed to be the Duchess My sister saw them, and showed them the pictures and sketches His Grace mentioned what he liked and disliked in the last sketch I made, and left word that he should be at home if I

sioners perusing the Description of Trafalgar." In later years, the Duke purchased and adorned his walls with Sir W. Allan's gigantic

called any morning before twelve o'clock.' Accordingly, Wilkie called a week after, but the Duke 'sent out word he was engaged, but requested the sketches to be left, and he would call upon me in a few days.'

"The above notes show that the Duke had a will of his own, even in regard to a picture, and was precise in explaining his views. In the following passage we find that he was open to conviction, and could yield a point or two to others in matters of which they might be supposed to know more than himself.

"In his objections to the introduction of the man with the ophthalmia the Duke was firm; and he was right, both in point of feeling and of artistic taste:—

"'*July* 12*th*. Called at Apsley House. Mr. Long (afterwards Lord Farnborough) there, and, after waiting a considerable time, the Duke of Wellington came from a review in the Park. He showed Mr. Long the two sketches of 'The Chelsea Pensioners,' stating what he liked and disliked, and observing that out of the two a picture might be made that would do. He preferred the one with the young figures; but, as Mr. Long remonstrated against the old fellows being taken out, the Duke agreed that the man reading should be a pensioner, besides some others in the picture. He wished that the piper might be put in, also the old man with the wooden leg; but he objected to the man with the ophthalmia. I then asked the Duke if I might now begin the picture, and he said *immediately* if I pleased. I brought the sketches home with me.'

"Wilkie set to work accordingly, and painted on so unremittingly, as to injure his health. On the 30th of October, 1820, he writes to Sir George Beaumont:—'My picture of 'The Chelsea Pensioners' is in progress; but, previous to my leaving town, underwent a complete alteration, or rather transposition of *all* the figures. The effect has been to concentrate the interest to one point, and to improve the composition by making it more of a whole. The background is almost a correct view of the place itself, and is remarkably favourable for the picture.'

"Mr. Cunningham says:—

"'The 'Waterloo Gazette' was like a spell on Wilkie during the whole of the year 1821, and as far into the succeeding year as the month of April, when it went to the Exhibition: those who were curious in such things might have met him after measuring the ground, as it were, where the scene of his picture is laid, watching the shadows of the houses and trees, eyeing every picturesque pensioner who passed, and taking heed of jutting houses, projecting signs, and odd gates, in the odd rabblement of houses which, in days before the cholera and amended taste, formed the leading street, or rather road, of Chelsea. Nor had he seen without emotion, as I have heard him say, the married soldiers when they returned from the dreadful wars; sometimes two legs, as he observed, to three men, accompanied by women, most of whom had seen, and some had shared in, the perils and hardships of the Spanish campaigns, or had witnessed the more dreadful Waterloo, and soothed or ministered to the wounded as they were borne from the field—

"'When, from each anguish-laden wain,
The blood-drops laid the dust like rain.'

"'With these, Chelsea mingled veterans who had been at Bunker's-hill and Saratoga; others were blinded with the hot sands of India or Egypt, or carried the scars of the Duke of York's campaign in the outbreak of the great war of the French Revolution. He brooded over all these matters. Every time he visited Chelsea, and saw groups of soldiers paid and disbanded, and observed their convivialities, the more was he confirmed that the choice of the picture was excellent, and that even the desire of the Duke to mingle the soldiers of his own great battles with the hoary veterans of the American War had its advantages.'

"Mrs. Thompson, wife of Dr. A. T. Thompson, states, in a pleasing narrative, how Wilkie used to go continually to Jews'-row, Chelsea, to sketch an old projecting house, under the shade of which some of his groups were placed.

picture of the Battle of Waterloo, the only faithful representation of the battle that had ever appeared It possessed the peculiar

"'I remember,' proceeds this accomplished lady, 'how he rejoiced over the picturesque attributes of Jews' row, and loved to enumerate its peculiarities I do not know whether you know it it is a low Teniers-like row of extremely mean public-houses, lodging houses, rag-shops, and huckster shops, on the right hand as you approach Chelsea College It is the Pall Mall of the pensioners, and its projecting gables, breaks, and other irregularities, were admirably suited, in the artist's opinion, for the localities of the picture which then was formed in his mind There is, you know, a young child in the picture half springing out of its mother's arms The attitude of the child, which is nature itself, was suggested by a momentary motion which he observed in one of my children, and he asked again and again to see the child, in order to confirm that impression, and fix the same effect'"

"At length the picture was finished, and ready for the Exhibition in 1822 On the 27th of February, Wilkie writes —

"'Had the honour of a call from the Duke of Wellington to see the picture He seemed highly pleased with it, took notice of the black's head and old Doggy, and of the black dog which followed the Blues in Spain, observed that it was more finished than any I had done, was *interested with what I told him of the people and where they had served*, and seemed pleased with the young man at the table, and with the circumstance that old Doggy had been at the siege of Gibraltar'

"The picture was hung at the Royal Academy in the centre, on the fire place, with Jackson's portrait of the Duke of York on the one side, and Lawrence's portrait of the Duke of Wellington on the other, an arrangement with which the artist was much pleased The Duke was pleased also He was present at the opening dinner, and 'appeared much pleased with the picture, and with the satisfaction it seemed to give to other people'

"The crushing and crowding to see this picture were greater than had ever been known in any similar case —

"'The battle of Waterloo itself,' says Cunningham, 'made scarcely a greater stir in the land than did 'The Reading of the Gazette,' when it appeared in the Academy Exhibition The hurry and the crush of all ranks to see it, which Wilkie has described in his journal, was surpassed by the reality, a crowd, in the shape of a half moon, stood before it from morning to night, the taller looking over the heads of the shorter, while happy was the admirer who could obtain a peep, and happier still they who, by patient waiting, were rewarded with a full sight, as some of the earlier comers retired, wearied but not satisfied Soldiers hurried from drill to see it, the pensioners came on crutches, and brought with them their wives and children to have a look, and as many of the heads were portraits, these were eagerly pointed out, and the fortunate heroes named, sometimes with a shout Such was the enthusiasm which the picture inspired'

"The artist, trembling for the safety of his picture, wrote a letter to the President, requesting him to cause a railing to be erected round it, a request which Sir Thomas Lawrence, with his usual good and gentlemanly feeling, himself superintended before eight o'clock on the very day following

"The Duke of Wellington, if not a lavish man, was a liberal man, he thought every man who did his duty should have his due Accordingly, we find the following entries in the artist's journal —

"'*July 20th* Received a note from the Duke of Wellington, asking what he was indebted for the picture

"'This picture contains sixty figures, and took me full sixteen months' constant work, besides months of study to collect and arrange It was ordered by the Duke in the summer of 1816, the year after the battle of Waterloo His Grace's object was to have British soldiers regaling at Chelsea, and, in justice to him, as well as to myself, it is but right to state that the introduction of the *Gazette* was a subsequent idea of my own, to unite the interest, and give importance to the business of the picture

recommendation, in the Duke's eyes, of giving prominence to Napoleon and the French troops, merely showing the British Field-Marshal in the distance.[1] But this homage to Napoleon's military genius shone conspicuously in other rooms in the mansion. There were—there still are (for they are inalienable from the title of Wellington) numerous portraits of Napoleon and his generals, Soult, Massena, &c., but not a single picture of the Duke himself. His own friends and favourites in every variety of style, from the kit-cat to the life-size portrait, abounded; Lords Anglesey and Fitzroy Somerset, &c., and the present Duchess of Wellington (then Marchioness of Douro), to whom the Duke was always much attached while of the noble owner of the mansion there was but one effigy—a bust by Nollekens—which occupied by no means a conspicuous situation in the dwelling.

Strathfieldsaye, as each autumn came round, presented a succession of visitors, many of whom partook of the sports of the field. "The Duke was a fox-hunter,"[2] spending as many hours in the saddle in this country, in the pursuit of healthful pleasure, as he was accustomed to spend in the Peninsula and the Netherlands, in the service of his country.

At Strathfieldsaye the Duke raised a monument to poor old *Copenhagen*, his favourite Waterloo horse.

In the year 1826 it became necessary to despatch a special Ambassador to St. Petersburgh. The struggle of the Greeks for liberty was approaching a climax. Aided by the money and the sympathy of Englishmen—among whom Lord Byron occupied a foremost position[3]—and still more by the clandestine contributions of Russia,

"'*22nd.* Sent the picture to Apsley House, with a bill of the price, which, after mature consideration, I put at 1260*l.*, *i. e.* twelve hundred guineas.

"'*23rd.* Was told by Sir Willoughby Gordon that his Grace was satisfied to give twelve hundred guineas for the picture, and gave Sir W. leave to tell me so.

"'*25th.* At the Duke's request, waited upon him at Apsley House, when he counted out the money to me in bank-notes, on receiving which I told his Grace that I considered myself handsomely treated by him throughout.'"

[1] It is from a recollection of the general character of this picture, which the writer of this biography had an opportunity of seeing in Apsley House some time since, that the pictoria sketch of the Battle of Waterloo, in a foregoing page, has been taken.

[2] Mr. Apperly (Nimrod, as he called himself) in his articles on the Turf and the Chase, in the "Quarterly Review," could not find a more suitable peroration than this simple phrase. It embodied at once a justification and a recommendation of the sport, and exhibited its connection with the highest modern chivalry.

[3] Byron's sympathies with the cause of Greece, "But living Greece no more," are familiar to the reader. He went thither to assist her with his influence and money in 1823, and after his arrival at Missolonghi, in January of the following year, he was appointed

whose connection with the Greek Church, independently of her political interests, had rendered her keenly alive to the results of the struggle, the Greeks had made considerable head against their Mussulman persecutors and had established a species of Provisional Government of their own Nothing was wanting but the open

COPENHAGEN'S GRAVE

espousal of her interests by some great European Power to sever the connection of Greece with Turkey Russia was prepared to make the declaration, and, of course, to reap her recompense in the establishment of her power and authority in the Mediterranean Canning saw the danger which menaced British interests To prevent altogether the interference of Russia was impossible The only way in which it could be kept within due bounds was by inducing the Court of St Petersburgh to act in common with England, and other powers, as mediators in the quarrel between Turkey and Greece To this end a special embassy became necessary, and the

Commander in Chief of an expedition against Lepanto then held by the Turks He was seized with illness in the following month and died in April 18?4

Duke of Wellington was solicited to fulfil the delicate and important mission. His firm unbending character—his rigid adherence to the path of diplomacy chalked out for him—were guarantees that the interests of Great Britain were safe in his hands. The friendship which the Emperor Nicholas—for the Czar Alexander had died—entertained for the Duke, likewise encouraged a belief that Russia would be more disposed to give way than if the negotiations were conducted by an English ambassador who was personally a stranger at the Court.

The Duke proceeded to St. Petersburgh. The coronation of the Emperor Nicholas supplied an excuse for the splendour of the embassy. His reception was all that could be desired—it certainly was deserved. Upon the anniversary of the entrance of the Allied Armies into Paris, the Emperor paid him a very high compliment. He addressed him an autograph letter, in which he told the Duke that in order to testify to him his particular esteem of his great qualities, and for the distinguished services he had rendered to the whole of Europe, he had given orders that the Smolensko Regiment of Infantry, formed by Peter the Great, and one of the most distinguished of his army, which was formerly under the Duke's command in France, should thenceforward be called "The Duke of Wellington's Regiment."

The mission of the Duke was perfectly successful. It was agreed between England and Russia, in concert with France, who readily became a party to the arrangement, that the Ottoman Porte should be called upon to offer certain terms to the Greeks, which the Greeks should be called on to accept; and that *ulterior measures,*—a significant phrase, comprehending a resort to arms,—should be adopted to obtain the assent of such of the parties as might prove refractory. The terms to be proposed were, that the Turkish Sultan should still retain a nominal sovereignty over the Greeks, receive from them a fixed annual tribute, and have *some determinate voice* in the nomination of the authorities by whom they were to be governed; but those authorities should be directly chosen by the Greeks themselves. All Mussulmans possessing property in Greece were to give it up, and receive indemnification by some arrangement to be afterwards concocted. The object of the plan was "to bring about a complete separation between the two nations, and to prevent the collisions which are the inevitable consequences of so long a struggle." The result of this proposal will be hereafter mentioned.

At the close of 1826, the Duke of Wellington was appointed

Constable of the Tower of London, vacating the Governorship of Plymouth

Early in 1827, died, FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK, the second son of GEORGE III, and Commander in Chief of the British army His death was a subject of national grief,—to the army the loss was irreparable He had been for thirty two years at its head, and his administration of it did not merely improve,—it created an army From the earliest date of his appointment he applied himself to the correction of the abuses which at that time disgraced the internal organisation of the force, rendering its bravery ineffectual His personal experience in the Netherlands, during the war of the French Revolution, had bitterly proved the necessity of extensive reforms, and he only awaited the opportunity which supreme command gave him, of carrying them out vigorously and rapidly He at once identified himself with the welfare and the fame of the service He possessed great readiness and clearness of comprehension in discovering means, and great steadiness and honesty of purpose in applying them By unceasing diligence he gave to the common soldier comfort and respectability, the army ceased to be considered a sort of pest house for the reception of moral lepers, discipline and regularity were exacted with unyielding strictness, the officers were raised by a gradual and well ordered system of promotion, which gave merit a chance, instead of being pushed aside to make way for mere ignorant rank and wealth The head as well as the heart of the soldier took a higher pitch, the best man in the field was the most welcome at the Horse Guards, there was no longer even a suspicion that unjust partiality disposed of commissions, or that peculation was allowed to fatten upon the spoils of the men The officer knew *that one path was open to all, and the private felt that his recompense* was secure The spirit thus produced soon showed its effects in the field

"The private character of the Duke of York, frank, honourable, and sincere—was formed to conciliate personal attachments, a personal enemy he had never made, and a friend once gained, he had never lost Failings there were he was improvident in pecuniary matters, his love of pleasure, though it observed the decencies, did not always respect the moralities of private life, and his errors, in that respect, had been paraded in the public view by the labours of unsparing malice, and shameless, unblushing profligacy *But in the failings of the Duke of York there was* nothing that was un English—nothing that was un princely, and those whose own reflections, while they enjoy tranquillity of conscious

virtue, tell them likewise through what difficulties that tranquillity must be pursued, even in the more uniform paths, and under the more sober lights of private life, will most easily forgive the aberrations into which the less fortunate are seduced, amid the devious

THE DUKE OF YORK IN THE CORONATION COSTUME.

paths and false and dazzling glare of courtly temptation. Never was man more easy of access, more fair and upright in his dealings, more affable, and even simple, in his manners. Every one who had intercourse with him was impressed with the openness, sincerity, and kindness which appeared in all his actions; and it was truly said of him that he never broke a promise, and never deserted a friend. Beloved by those who enjoyed the honour of his private intercourse, his administration of a high public office had excited one universal sentiment of respect and esteem."

The Parliament met soon after the death of the Duke of York. All parties in both Houses joined in panegyrising his good qualities.

Mr Peel said —"The Duke had been forty-six years a soldier, and when he came into office he had declared, that no man should, for the future, labour under the disadvantages which he had had to contend with To enumerate all the benefits which the Duke had conferred upon the army, it would be necessary to go through many details of various regulations connected with religious duties, with military schools, with points of discipline, and with the security of fair hopes of promotion to every man in the service But it was sufficient to recollect that, while the Duke of York held the office of Commander-in-Chief, every man knew that justice would be done him, and it was by this, and not by the minute regulations of discipline, that the English army had obtained that plastic energy which distinguished the free soldier from another During the long period—during the ten thousand days in which the Duke of York had been in office—he (Mr Peel) did not think that one of those days had passed without his devoting some portion of it to the business of his official situation No letter ever came to the office which, if it had a signature, was not read and attended to Individuals might frequently have mistaken the proper quarter to which their applications should be addressed, but even in these cases a civil answer was always returned, accompanied by a direction to the applicant respecting the department to which he ought to apply The impartiality of the royal Duke had always been the theme of applause in that House, whenever his disposal of promotion had been brought under its notice On the augmentation of the army in 1825, the only lieutenants who were promoted were senior lieutenants, no interest was allowed to interfere in this, and the only exception to the rule which the Duke had here laid down, was one which reflected anything but dishonour It was in the case of a lieutenant of the year 1814, who was promoted on account of his conduct at the battle of Waterloo, where the command of his regiment devolved upon him, all the other officers of the regiment having been disabled or slain In 1825, twenty-two captains were promoted to the rank of majors, without purchase The power of conferring promotion without purchase was certainly a means of conferring favour, but the average service of these twenty-two captains, who had thus obtained majorities without purchase, was twenty-six years Sixteen majors were also raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonels, and the average service of these, fifteen years. During the whole of the time in which the Duke of York was in office, there had never been an instance of an officer being raised by purchase over the head of another, without the offer being previously made to that officer, or unless he had for some reason forfeited his

claims to promotion. Three-fourths of the commissions which had been given away in the year 1825, without purchase, were conferred upon the sons or relations of old officers. The Duke had possessed extraordinary advantages, from having been in the army for forty-six years, and having filled the office of Commander-in-Chief for thirty-six years. It was no slight encouragement to a soldier to know that an experienced eye observed him, while there was no greater advantage in a Commander-in-Chief than to know who had seen service."

Mr. Brougham considered it no small praise to the Duke of York, that, "having for so long a time held the office of Commander-in-Chief, he had never allowed his political principles, by which he (Mr. Brougham) meant party principles, to interfere in the discharge of the duties of his office. The best testimony of the sincerity and honesty with which the late Duke entertained those strong political sentiments which he was known to hold upon some subjects, was, that he entertained them free from all asperity towards the persons who differed from him."

Sir R. Wilson said: "It was worthy of observation, that the improvement which the Duke of York had effected in the discipline of the army, was maintained without any exaggerated severity. When his Royal Highness came into office, corporal punishment, which had been carried to so great an extent as to become a matter of opprobrium in the eyes of foreigners, was considerably reduced by him; and it was to be hoped that the House would complete what the late Commander-in-Chief had begun. The kindness, the benevolence, and the impartiality of the Duke of York, were well known; and although parties upon whose cases he judged might sometimes think his decisions harsh, yet in no case had any one impeached the motives upon which he had determined."

Upon the death of the Duke of York, the King placed the command of the British army in the hands of the Duke of Wellington. In what other hands, indeed, could it so fitly have been deposited? He who had led the army to victory in every part of the world in which he had been called upon to serve; who had become identified with its honour and greatness; who, by his rank and his position, his familiarity with every branch of the service, and whose name throughout Europe and Asia filled the trumpet of fame, was indicated by the common voice as the only individual in whom the serious and honourable trust could appropriately be confided. The Duke, however, always alive to the favour of the monarch, appreciated the compliment, and George IV. to render it complete, gave the Duke the colonelcy of the Grenadier Guards.

We now approach a new epoch in the life of the Duke of Wellington Hitherto we have known him only as the warrior and the occasional diplomatist—the invincible commander, the astute minister plenipotentiary, the courteous ambassador, or the inflexible envoy We are now to recognise the politician and the minister

The Earl of Liverpool, who had held the office of Premier since the death of Mr Spencer Perceval, was struck with paralysis in the month of February, 1827 The event was disastrous in its immediate effects, because it broke up a firm government, and gave rise to serious dissensions, but there is no doubt that its ultimate consequences were essentially favourable to the course of political and religious freedom The Cabinet of the Earl of Liverpool was singularly constructed It comprised men of great talent—good men of business, and experienced debaters—but the opinions they represented were of a varied and antagonistic character The Earl himself was inveterately opposed to the claims of the Roman Catholics to political equality with Protestants and Dissenters—equally opposed to those claims were Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Castlereagh, and Mr Peel and the Duke of Wellington, were supposed to share their opinions Mr Canning, on the other hand, was the eloquent supporter of the Catholics It had been agreed, however, between them, that "Catholic Emancipation," as it was called, should remain an *open* question, that is to say, every minister was at liberty to maintain his own individual opinion, without attempting to lend it the influence and patronage of his particular department Such an anomalous state of things could not have lasted under any other man than Lord Liverpool The weight of his character alone cemented the discordant materials He was not distinguished by any brilliancy of genius, and was inferior to several of his colleagues as a public speaker But he possessed a "sound, cautious, business mind," well stored with political knowledge His habits of business were regular and confirmed, and his integrity was pure and unquestioned He was most disinterested, and the public gave him credit for his honesty The Earl was never once suspected of governing to suit mere party purposes—he never made a speech for the pleasure of victory—he never entered into an intrigue to acquire or to retain power[1] He was as open and manly in his conduct as he was honest and prudent in his resolves And as he was quite independent of office in a pecuniary sense, the world knew that, while he would do nothing unworthy of his position, he did not care to hold it if it were incompatible with his convenience, or rendered harassing by cabinet dissensions Each

[1] 'Annual Register,' 1827

of his colleagues knew if he resigned there would be a difficulty in selecting a successor, and a common interest therefore held them together.

The King sent for Mr. Canning immediately that it became necessary to provide a successor to Lord Liverpool. On the subject of the Catholic claims, the King was inflexible. He would not hear of concession. Mr. Canning proposed then to retire; advising his Majesty to form a Cabinet of men opposed to the Catholics *à l'outrance.* This would have deprived the Ministry of its only hold upon the popular regard, and essentially weakened its foreign influence. The proposition was inadmissible. Canning's colleagues then suggested the placing an anti-Catholic peer at the head of the Government—continuing, in fact, the system adopted by the Earl of Liverpool. Where was a peer combining all Lord Liverpool's qualities and influence, to be found? And what right had the anti-Catholic Ministry to suppose that Canning himself, pro-Catholic as he was, could not conduct the affairs of the country without making emancipation a cabinet question? Three months were consumed in negotiations and correspondence. At length, on the 10th of April, the King insisted that Mr. Canning should be at the head of the Administration,[1] but that that Government, like its predecessor, must continue divided on the Catholic question.

Within eight and forty hours from this declaration, seven of the Ministers sent in their resignation. The Duke of Wellington not only resigned his seat in the Cabinet—he threw up the Command of the Army and the Master-Generalship of the Ordnance.

The suddenness of the resignations caused a great commotion in the Houses of Parliament and in the country, albeit some such issue was expected in many quarters. None, however, excited greater interest than that of the Duke of Wellington. "His retirement"—we quote what follows from the "Annual Register"—"not merely from the Cabinet, but from the command of the army, which was by no means in itself a cabinet office, and might be held with perfect propriety by a person who stood in no political intimacy with the Cabinet, seemed expressive of hostility to the new arrangements of a peculiar and very decided character. Accordingly, his Grace's

[1] "Canning's refusal to give way to his colleagues upon the subject of the Premiership, was natural. He looked upon the office as his 'inheritance.' He was the last survivor of the great race of statesmen who had been contemporaries with Pitt and Fox. As second Minister, also, in the administration of Lord Liverpool, he had a right, upon being thus consulted, to vindicate in his own person the principle of direct succession."—*Robert Bell's "Life of Canning."*

explanations on this occasion were, on both points, expected to be full, manly, and satisfactory It is due to him that they should be given here in all their length and breadth 'He should be obliged,' he said, 'to trouble their lordships with some details, but he would make them as short as possible, as he had no other reason for entering upon them than a wish to vindicate his character against the attacks which had been made upon it in another place—to say nothing of the abuse which had been poured on him, day after day, by a press, which, if not in the pay, was under the direct influence of Government There were two points on which he intended to trouble their lordships the first was, his retirement from the councils of his Majesty, and the second, his resignation of the office of Commander-in Chief In regard to the first, he had received from Mr Canning, on the 10th of April, a letter,[1] stating that the writer had been desired by the King to form a new Administration, on the principles of Lord Liverpool's, and expressing a hope that his Grace would continue to form part of it This letter, their lordships would observe, did not contain one word of information who the persons were of whom it was intended that the new Cabinet should consist, or what members of the old Cabinet had resigned, or were expected to resign He was not desired to come and receive explanation as to the evident omissions of the letter, nor was he referred to any person who could give him information on these points He had since learned, from authority which could not be questioned, that this was not the line of conduct pursued towards his other colleagues They had been invited to go to the intended Minister, and receive such explanations as they required, or the Minister had gone to them in person to give them these explanations, or had sent his personal friends to give them for him To himself, however, no explanation was ever given, nor was he referred to any person who could give it Although, as he

[1] "TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

'FOREIGN OFFICE *April* 10*th* 6 P M, 1827

'MY DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON

The King has at an audience from which I have just returned been graciously pleased to signify to me his Majesty's commands to lay before his Majesty, with as little loss *of time as possible* a plan *for the reconstruction of* the Administration. In *executing* these commands it will be as much my own wish as it is my duty to his Majesty to adhere to the principles upon which Lord Liverpool's government has so long acted together I need not add how essentially the accomplishment must depend upon your Grace's continuing a member of the Cabinet.

'Ever my dear Duke of Wellington, your Grace's sincere and faithful servant

'GEORGE CANNING'

had been on the most friendly terms with that right honourable gentleman, he was somewhat surprised at this departure from the forms of intimacy which had distinguished their intercourse, still he felt no pique against him for his omissions, and therefore determined that nothing should prevent him from communicating with him in the most open and amicable manner. In that spirit he wrote to him the same evening,[1] expressing his anxiety to continue in his Majesty's councils, but stating his wish to be informed who was to be placed at the head of the Ministry. Next day he received Mr. Canning's reply.[2] It stated, that it was usually understood, that the individual who was entrusted by the King with the formation of a government was to be himself at the head of it, and that it was not intended to depart from that custom in the present instance; that his Grace's letter, however, had been submitted to the King, and his Majesty's orders received, to inform his Grace that he, Mr. Canning, was to be the Prime Minister. His Grace said, that this did not tend to convince him that there was any serious design that he should form a part of the new Cabinet; but he still thought it was his duty not to let his private feelings towards the right honourable gentleman influence

[1] "TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

"LONDON, *April 10th*, 1827.

"MY DEAR MR. CANNING,

"I have received your letter of this evening, informing me that the King had desired you to lay before his Majesty a plan for the reconstruction of the Administration; and that, in executing these commands, it was your wish to adhere to the principles on which Lord Liverpool's Government had so long acted together. I anxiously desire to be able to serve his Majesty, as I have done hitherto in his Cabinet, with the same colleagues. But, before I can give an answer to your obliging proposition, I should wish to know who the person is you intend to propose to his Majesty as the head of the Government.

"Ever, my dear Mr. Canning, yours most sincerely,

"WELLINGTON."

[2] "TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *April 11th*, 1827.

"MY DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

"I believed it to be so generally understood, that the King usually entrusts the formation of an Administration to the individual whom it is his Majesty's gracious intention to place at the head of it, that it did not occur to me, when I communicated to your Grace yesterday the command which I had just received from his Majesty, to add, that, in the present instance, his Majesty does not intend to depart from the usual course of proceeding on such occasions. I am sorry to have delayed some hours this answer to your Grace's letter; but, from the nature of the subject, I did not like to forward it without having previously submitted it (together with your Grace's letter) to his Majesty.

"Ever, my dear Duke of Wellington, your Grace's sincere and faithful servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

his decision on this great and important public question He therefore considered it entirely upon its own grounds, and turned his attention particularly to the point whether he could, consistently with his avowed principles, join in the new Administration He sincerely wished that he could bring himself to a conviction, that the new Government was to adhere to the line of policy pursued by Lord Liverpool He thought that it would be a great advantage, if it could be so constituted, but he was afraid that it would not He conceived that the principles of Lord Liverpool's policy had been already abandoned, and that the measures of a government, constituted on the principles of Mr Canning, would be viewed with suspicion by foreign governments, and would give no satisfaction to the people at home Under these circumstances, his Grace requested Mr Canning to communicate to his Majesty, that he wished to be excused from forming a part of the new Cabinet'[1]

* * * * * *

"Such were the communications which had taken place—so stood the facts 'I have heard,' continued his Grace, 'that Mr Canning states to his personal friends, that my letter to him of the 10th instant, in which I inquired who was to be the head of the Government, gave him great offence, and I therefore wish the point to be fully examined, in order that your lordships may see, whether anything was done by me which could justify him in taking offence I must here inform your lordships, that early in the month of April,

[1] "TO THE RIGHT HON GEORGE CANNING

"LONDON, *April 11th*, 1827

"MY DEAR MR CANNING,

'I have received your letter of this day, and I did not understand the one of yesterday evening as you explained it to me I understood from yourself that you had in contemplation another arrangement, and I do not believe that the practice to which you refer has been so invariable as to enable me to affix a meaning to your letter which its words, in my opinion, did not convey I trust that you will have experienced no inconvenience from the delay of this answer, which I assure you has been occasioned by my desire to discover a mode by which I could continue united with my recent colleagues I sincerely wish that I could bring my mind to the conclusion that, with the best intentions on your part, your Government could be conducted practically on the principles of that of Lord Liverpool, that it would be generally so considered, or that it would be adequate to meet our difficulties in a manner satisfactory to the King, or conducive to the interests of the country As however, I am convinced that these principles must be abandoned eventually, that all our measures would be viewed with suspicion by the usual supporters of the Government, that I could do no good in the Cabinet, and that at last I should be obliged to separate myself from it, at the moment at which such separation would be more inconvenient to the King's service than it can be at present, I must beg of you to request his Majesty to excuse me from belonging to his councils

"Ever, my dear Mr Canning, yours most sincerely,

"WELLINGTON'

I had a conversation with the right honourable gentleman, in which he stated to me, that in case his Majesty should desire him to reconstruct the Government, one of his plans was to recommend that Mr. Robinson, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, should be called up to your lordships' House, and should be made First Lord of the Treasury; and I confess that it was my intention, if I had heard anything more of that scheme, to have proposed such a modification of it as would have kept the members of the old Administration together. I mention this to your lordships, in order that you may see that the language of my first note was founded on his previous communication to me. Not only was the offence which Mr. Canning took at my note unfounded, but it was quite unjustifiable, even upon the grounds on which he himself had put it. When negotiations were going on for the formation of a ministry in 1812, the present Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland waited on a noble lord and a noble earl for the purpose of consulting with them to that effect; but, on both of these occasions, he was only commissioned by the Prince Regent —he did not know what place he himself was to occupy in the Administration, or who was to be at its head—nor did he desire any place in the Government. This is one instance of a command to form an Administration, not necessarily implying that he to whom such command is given is to be at the head of the Government. After that had failed, Lord Hastings (at that time Lord Moira) carried a communication to a noble lord, for the purpose of forming a ministry, but he stated, that he did not know how a single seat was to be disposed of, or who was to be at its head. This is another instance in which the principle alluded to was not observed. But there is still an authority, which, in this case, would not be disputed, proving that the question which I had asked ought not to have been construed into an offence. After the death of Mr. Perceval, Lord Liverpool waited on Mr. Canning, by command of the Prince Regent, and requested that he would consent to form part of the Administration. From a memorandum of what took place on that occasion, it appears that the very first question which Mr. Canning put to Lord Liverpool was, who was to be at the head of that Administration? Now, if that was the first question which the right honourable gentleman thought proper to put in 1812, I do not see why I should be censured n 1827. Moreover, in the right honourable gentleman's letter it was stated, that, in the formation of a ministry, it was not intended to depart from the line of policy adopted under the Administration of the Earl of Liverpool. Now, if that policy were to be continued, I could never suppose that the right honourable gentleman would be

at the head I am sure that the right honourable gentleman is utterly incapable of misrepresenting my meaning, or of wilfully taking offence, but I had no intention of giving offence in asking the question If Mr Canning were Minister on the 10th why had he felt it necessary to lay my letter before his Majesty? This fact proves that he was not then minister It is further proved, that he was not minister on the 11th, by what was done in another place In fact, he was not minister until he kissed hands on the acceptance of office, which was not till the 12th, and on that day he had represented to his Majesty, that he could not go on in the formation of a ministry till his new writ was moved for, which was done on the same day Now it is too much that I should be accused of being peevish, hasty, ill tempered, and so on, for having asked such a question and then for having sent in my resignation, after having received the answer which I did receive'"

It was impossible for the Duke to remain in office under a Minister whom he would feel himself bound to oppose on at least one vital question of domestic policy He would suppose, he said that the King himself differed from his Ministers on some important principle of policy, and that he forming part of the right honourable gentleman's Cabinet, but agreeing with his Majesty, were called upon to give his opinion, how could he give the right honourable gentleman that fair support which one member of the Cabinet had a right to expect from another? He could have no secret understanding upon the great and important question to which he was now alluding, but he must know the principle on which the Government was hereafter to be conducted, and that principle must not only be known to him, but also to the public at large Would he not have been degrading himself, and deceiving the public, in sitting in a Cabinet with the right honourable gentleman at its head, whose principles he felt himself bound to oppose? It was no answer to tell him that the present Cabinet acted upon the same principles with that of which Lord Liverpool had been the head The two Cabinets materially differed, and the chief difference between them was this, that the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool was founded on the principles of maintaining the laws as they now were,—whilst that of the right honourable gentleman was founded on the principle of subverting them Those who formed part of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet knew well what it was to which they pledged themselves, for they knew that his lordship was conscientiously opposed to all changes in the existing form of government But those who coalesced with the right honourable gentleman had no idea how far their coalition was to carry them

for the right honourable gentleman was the most able, and active, and zealous partisan of those changes with which the country was at present threatened. The principles of the noble earl were principles by which any man might safely abide: the principles of the honourable gentleman fluctuated every day, and depended upon transitory reasons of temporary expedience. These were the conscientious reasons of his resignation. * * * * They knew little of the King who imagined he could be moved by intimidation; and still less did they know of himself, who thought his ambition ran in such a channel. "Can any man believe," asked his Grace, in a spirit of honest and justifiable pride, "Can any man believe, that after I had raised myself to the command of the army, I would have given it up for any but conscientious reasons? I say raised myself—not because I undervalue the support received from my noble and gallant friends around me—not because I have forgotten the services of the officers and soldiers who acted under me—not because I do not entertain a proper sense of the gracious favour and kindness of his Majesty towards me,—but because I know that, whatever his Majesty's kindness might have been towards me, he could not have exalted me through all the grades of military rank to the very highest, if I had not rendered to him and to my country some service of which he entertained a high sense? Will any man then believe, that, when I was in a situation which enabled me to recommend to the notice of his Majesty all my former friends and companions in arms, and to reward them according to their merits, for the exertions which they had formerly made under my command in the field, I would voluntarily resign a situation so consonant to my feelings and my habits, for the mere empty ambition of being placed at the head of the Government? I know that I am disqualified for any such an office; and I therefore say, that feeling as I do with respect to the situation which I recently filled at the head of the army,—liking it, as I did, from the opportunities which it gave me to improve the condition of my old comrades-in-arms,—knowing my own capacity for filling that office, and my incapacity for filling the post of first Minister, I should have been mad, and worse than mad, if I had even entertained the insane project which certain individuals, for their own base purposes, have imputed to me. It is equally base to say that there was any conspiracy between myself and my colleagues, to dictate to the King the construction of a new Administration. I call upon any individual to whom I ever mentioned my opinions as to the formation of a new Government, to state in direct terms what those opinions were. I call on the noble Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who himself resigned, and

who, from having re accepted his office, would be a fair witness, to say whether there was any concert between him and any of his colleagues as to their common resignation There is no conspiracy It is a foul falsehood to say that there was such a conspiracy I repeat it is a foul falsehood, and I care not who has said it"

In regard to his resignation of the command of the army, his Grace said he would candidly state to the House that, when he retired from his Majesty's councils, he was perfectly aware that he could not retain any office under the new Government The office of Commander in Chief placed the holder of it in a constant confidential relation with his Majesty and the Government With the Prime Minister the Commander in Chief was in communication every day The Commander in Chief had not a control over the army, for the chief control was placed in the hands of the Prime Minister On the other hand, the Minister could not withdraw any part of the army in Portugal, or elsewhere, without consulting the Commander in Chief, he could not make up his budget, nor introduce any reform into the army in England, Scotland, Ireland, or indeed in any part of the world, without seeking the opinion of the Commander in Chief The difference which existed between himself and Mr Canning, in political opinions, would not of itself have prevented him from retaining the office of Commander in Chief He would have followed the example of his illustrious and royal predecessor, and would have held himself aloof from all considerations of party feeling No political opinions would have prevented him, under ordinary circumstances, from continuing either at the Horse Guards or at the head of the army in the field, but from the tone and tenor of the communications which he had received from his Majesty,—from the nature of the invitation the right honourable gentleman had originally given him in his first letter, to join in the new Administration,—and from the contents of the last letter which he had received from Mr Canning by his Majesty's commands, he saw that it would be impossible for him to consider the continuance of his relation with that honourable gentleman either serviceable to the country, or creditable to himself He therefore sent in to his Majesty the resignation of the two offices which he held under the appointment of the Crown In regard both to them and to his situation as a member of the Cabinet, his conduct had not been hastily adopted He had adopted it only after the most mature deliberation which he could give to the subject, and the more he reflected on it, the more he felt satisfied that he had acted consistently and correctly He had no other object in making this statement but that the truth should be laid before their lordships and

the public, and he felt fully confident that they would concur in thinking that he had been most unjustly and wantonly accused.

Such was the Duke of Wellington's defence.

Posterity, with all the advantages of accumulated evidence and the Duke's clever justification before it, will form its own conclusions. It is difficult to believe, after all, that the verdict will be entirely favourable to the Duke of Wellington. As far as human motives can be penetrated through a cloud of somewhat plausible correspondence and apologetic oratory, it is not impossible that the desertion of Mr. Canning will be found among the least defensible of the Duke of Wellington's acts. Canning was not of aristocratic origin: his father had been a barrister; the highest positions attained by his ancestors were those of mayors and county members; one had been a city knight in 1456; and his mother when widowed, married a country actor. These were crimes which the proud peers of England never could forgive. They were rather magnified than palliated by the brilliant talents of George Canning; for the pre-eminence which his ability assured him added the pangs of jealousy and mortification to the intensity of patrician dislike. "*Parvenu*" was ever upon the lips of those who held by their pedigrees; and they rendered homage to an intellectual brilliancy they could neither comprehend nor rival, with marked and ungracious reluctance. The Duke of Wellington was not of this latter class, for he had a mind fully capable of estimating the high qualities of others; but, nevertheless, he stood very much upon his order—he was at the head of the aristocracy of rank, and never could thoroughly relish contact with men of plebeian descent. All his favourite generals and aides-de-camp were persons of family, and he delighted in advancing to posts of consequence those who cast the lustre of an ancient name upon their trust.

Besides this foundation for a disinclination to serve under Canning, the Duke was obnoxious to the imputation of desiring supreme power. It was natural that he should seek the Premiership. He had been so long accustomed to almost irresponsible command, that it may be presumed he wished for a revival of absolute authority. It is true that he modestly chid himself when his ambitious views were hinted, and that he even declared he should be "mad" to covet an office for which he was disqualified; yet in the face of all this he soon afterwards became Prime Minister, and carried out the very policy which he professed to constitute the obstacle to his co-operation with Canning! The inference is fair, that, in refusing to serve under Canning's premiership, the Duke hoped that great embarrassment would be experienced by Canning in the formation of a

Ministry, and that in abandoning the task in despair, the Duke himself—avowedly the first of the Anti-Catholic section of the Cabinet—would be sent for The Duke was premature in that calculation, if he really made it Canning formed his government, in which were comprehended some very superior men [1] Lord Dudley,

[1] "Mr Canning and Lord Dudley especially, the men of the greatest talents in the party, were truly formidable Possessing in an equal degree all the resources of accurate and extensive information, all the powers of acute reasoning and lively fancy, and all the accomplishments of the most finished classical education, they differed rather in the degrees to which habit and accident had fitted them for actual business, and in the strength of their understandings as influenced by their inclinations, than in the genius or the acquirements which might inspire or had trained their oratory Mr Canning was the more powerful declaimer—Lord Dudley had the more original fancy and the sharper wit, although in every kind of wit and humour, Mr Canning, too, greatly excelled most other men Lord Dudley could follow an argument with more sustained acuteness, while Mr Canning possessed a skill in statement which frequently disposed of the matter in dispute before his adversary was aware that his flank had been, as it were turned and thus spared himself the labour of an elaborate attack by argumentation Both prepared for their greater exhibitions with extreme care, and wrote more than almost any other modern orators, but Mr Canning had powers of *extempore* debating which Lord Dudley had either never acquired, or hardly ever ventured to exert In habits of business and the faculties which these whet, or train, or possibly bestow, Mr Canning had, of course, all the advantage which could be derived from a long life in office acting upon abilities of so high an order But that Lord Dudley only wanted such training to equal him in these respects, was apparent from the masterly performance of his official duties, which marked his short administration of the Foreign Department in 1827 Here, however, all parallel between these eminent individuals ends In strength of mind in that firmness of purpose which makes both a man and a statesman, there was, indeed, little comparison between them Both were of a peculiarly sensitive and even irritable temperament, and this, while it affected their manner, and followed them into debate, quitted them not in the closet or the Cabinet But in Mr Canning the weakness had limits which were not traced in the nervous temperament of Lord Dudley He suffered all his life under what afterwards proved to be a diseased state of the system, and, after making the misery of part of his existence, and shading the happiness even of its brightest portions, it ended in drawing a dark and dismal curtain over his whole faculties towards the close of his life The result of the same morbid temperament was a want of fixed inclination—a wavering that affected his judgment as well as his feelings—an incapacity to form, or, after forming to abide by any fixed resolution With these men was joined Mr Huskisson, than whom few have ever attained as great influence in this country, with so few of the advantages which are apt to captivate senates or to win popular applause, and, at the same time, with so few of the extrinsic qualities which, in the noble and the wealthy, can always make up for such natural deficiencies He was not fluent of speech naturally, nor had much practice rendered him a ready speaker he had none of the graces of diction, whether he prepared himself (if he ever did so) or trusted to the moment His manner was peculiarly ungainly His statements were calculated rather to excite distrust than to win confidence Yet, with all this, he attained a station in the House of Commons, which made him as much listened to as the most consummate debaters, and upon the questions to which he, generally speaking, confined himself the great matters of commerce and finance, he delivered himself with almost oracular certainty of effect This success he owed to the thorough knowledge which he possessed of his subjects, the perfect clearness of his understanding the keenness with which he could apply his information to the purpose of the debate, the acuteness with which he could unravel the argument, and expose an adversary s weakness, or expound his own doctrines In respect of his political purity, he did not stand very high with any party He had the same intense

CHAPTER X.

The Duke, by an amendment, destroys Mr Canning's Corn Bill—Death of Mr Canning—The Goderich Ministry—The Duke resumes the command of the Army—Break-up of the Goderich Administration—The Duke becomes Prime Minister.

EW Parliamentary Sessions have been of greater interest and importance than that of 1827-28. All the great questions which then divided the State councils into strong parties of decided opinions were agitated and discussed with vehemence, and not unfrequently with rancour. The claims of the Roman Catholics to manumission from political trammels—the Corn Laws, with their protective evils—the state of Parliamentary Representation—the condition of the Law—and the Shipping Interests—engaged close attention, and gave rise to acrimonious debate and personal difference.[1]

The Corn Law question again brought the Duke into antagonism with Mr. Canning.

[1] Moore's lively lament over Corn and Catholics may be recalled to the reader's recollection —

> What! *still* those two infernal questions
> That with our meals, and slumbers mix—
> That spoil our tempers and digestions,
> Eternal Corn and Catholics!
>
> Gods! were there ever two such bores?
> Nothing else talk'd of, night or morn—
> Nothing *in* doors or *out* of doors
> But endless Catholics and Corn?

Previous to the recess, occasioned by the interregnum in the Ministry, a corn bill had passed the House of Commons. It was brought up to the House of Lords in May, 1827; was read a first and a second time. A debate took place on the 28th May, preparatory to its being referred to a committee, and an amendment, proposed on that occasion by Lord Malmesbury, was defeated. In committee, some important amendments were made, and several which were proposed were lost. But one, brought forward by the Duke of Wellington, sealed the fate of the bill. By the bill, as it had been sent up from the Commons, the duties payable on foreign grain and the prices in the home market at which they should become payable were the same, whether that grain were brought directly from the foreign port into the home market, or having been imported, was stored up in bond under the warehousing system. The Duke of Wellington, insisting on the absolute necessity of preventing the warehousing system from being a vehicle of fraud, by its operations on the averages, moved that "no foreign corn in bond should be taken out of bond until the average price of corn should have reached sixty-six shillings;" and he added his belief that the Ministers were not indisposed to accede to this proposal. Lord Goderich, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, on the contrary, that so far from being ready to give an assent to such a clause, it was at direct variance with the essential principles of the bill, as an establishment of that system of prohibition which the bill removed, and would, if persisted in, occasion the loss of the bill altogether! Lord Goderich added, that it was singular that the noble Duke, with all his opportunities, should only now have discerned the imperfections of the bill; for, be it remembered, the bill was passed while the Duke was a member of the Government. The Duke rejoined that he was no party to the framing of the bill, which he had never seen until it was printed; and although he had supported its general principles for the benefit of the country, he was not therefore to be considered as pledged to the whole detail of its particular clauses. On a division, the Ministry were left in a minority, and the bill was lost.

Never were such a brace of pests,
  While Ministers, still worse than either.—
Skill'd but in feathering their nests,
  Plague us with both, and settle neither.

So addled in my cranium meet
  Popery and Corn, that oft I [illegible]
Whether this year 'twas bonded wheat
  Or bonded Papists they let out.

Of course there was a great division of sentiment upon the subject of the virtues or otherwise of the lost bill The great body of the public, however, seemed more alive to the nature and causes of the Duke of Wellington's opposition, than to the probable mischiefs or prospective advantages of the bill itself, and it became necessary that a long correspondence, explanatory of the source of the mis understanding, should be published This correspondence took place between the Duke of Wellington and Mr Huskisson, who was alleged to have been favourable to *an* amendment, and from this it appeared that the Duke had mistaken Mr Huskisson, and had also mistaken Lord Goderich, who, he conceived, had consented to the Duke's proposition

Mr Canning was exceedingly hurt at the failure of the bill, and in the House of Commons, upon a later night, he declared that, from the correspondence between the Duke and Mr Huskisson, he "was not convinced that the former did not labour under some misapprehen sion, and did not think that he was doing that which was beneficial" He could not, he said, "exclude from his consideration, that *even so great a man as the Duke of Wellington had been made an instrument in the hands of others on that occasion* History afforded other instances in which equally great men had been made the instruments of others for their own particular views"

This was an unfortunate, and, there can be no doubt, a most unmerited imputation The Duke was the very last man in the world not to perceive the designs of others, and the very first to resent any attempt to convert him into a tool Mr Peel particularly animadverted on the unlucky expression, characterising it as a vain attempt to cast obloquy on a public man, who, on the anniversary of Waterloo,[1] if on no other, ought not to be subjected to unfounded charges The House of Lords, as far as etiquette and the rules of the House permitted, took notice of the unwise imputation, and out of doors it was freely canvassed,—neither the Duke nor Mr Canning gaining much by the occurrence

Mr Canning's Ministry was brought to an abrupt conclusion by his death, which took place on the 8th of August, 1827 He had caught cold at the funeral of the Duke of York, before he had fairly recovered from it, he was assailed by rheumatism, acquired by sitting under a tree in the open air, while yet warm with exercise During the brief tenure of his power as Prime Minister, he was impelled to great exertions to carry measures in the face of the strong opposition which arrayed itself against him,—the ultra-Liberals on the one

[1] The debate took place on the 18th of June, 1827

hand, the bitter old Tories on the other. While the excitement lasted, he was sustained; but the session over, "the terrible effects" of the mental harassment and bodily labour he had endured began to manifest themselves. "There was leisure," says his graceful biographer, "for the fatal struggle between disease and the powers of life." And amidst the frightful contest came the fatal rheumatic attack.[1]—

> "England mourned her orator,[1]
> Who, bred a statesman, still was born a wit,"

and the nation decreed him a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, where he lies at the foot of Pitt's tomb.

The treatment which Canning experienced at the hands of the Duke of Wellington was felt the more acutely by the public, and denounced with the greater vehemence, because it appeared in some measure to have accelerated the statesman's death. If we call to mind that, when the Duke was serving in the Peninsula, continually exposed to the obloquy of a factious opposition, who now attacked the reputation of the General, and anon assailed the Ministry, he found in George Canning the most eloquent champion, the most enlightened and enthusiastic supporter, it augments our regret that, upon whatever pretext, the Duke should have severed himself from the Prime Minister at a critical moment.

The Ministry, bereft of the commanding talents of Canning, became a *caput mortuum.* Lord Goderich (late Mr. Frederick Robinson) was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Herries —a capital man of business, who had been Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Liverpool's Government—came in as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The appointment was distasteful to the Whigs; and Lord Lansdowne even waited upon the King, to resign the seals of the Home Department, under the mistaken impression that the King had forced Mr. Herries upon Lord Goderich, whereas the latter had recommended Mr. Herries to the King.

The Duke of Wellington resumed the office of Commander-in-Chief upon Mr. Canning's demise, thereby strengthening the original impression that personal dislike had really had some influence on his previous withdrawal.

There are not many of the Duke of Wellington's general orders of 1827 which serve to illustrate his manner of commanding the army on a peace establishment. We find him engaged in settling some

[1] "Our last, our best, our only orator."—*The Age of Bronze.*

disputed points regarding the comparative rank of civil and military officers, and the interference of District General Officers with the duties of the Ordnance Department, but nothing else of moment presented itself We may imagine, however, from these that he preserved the peremptory tone of command to which he had accustomed himself in the Peninsula, and we have evidence that, for all his measures, he gave clear and unanswerable reasons in the fewest words possible His economy of language he carried to a remarkable extent, and he recommended its adoption by the officers generally —"If officers abroad," he wrote, "will have no mercy on each other in correspondence, I entreat them to have some upon me, to confine themselves to the strict facts of the case, and to write no more than is necessary for the elucidation of their meaning and intentions"

Lord Goderich's Ministry was very short lived Some misunderstanding with Mr Herries, arising out of the introduction of Lord Althorp into the Ministry, appeared to strike the feeble Premier with a moral paralysis He had conceived a notion that Mr Herries was the corner stone of his Government, and that bereft of his confidence and cordial co operation, it could not endure Under this strange hallucination he resigned, after a seven months' feeble tenure of power

The King, seeing the hopelessness of any reliance upon the Whigs, and aware of the commanding position which the Duke of Wellington was acquiring in the House of Lords, now sent for him, and commissioned his Grace to form a new Cabinet This was on the 8th of January, 1828

After so recent a disclaimer of his fitness for the office of Prime Minister as that which was more than implied in his speech justificatory of his refusal to form one of Mr Canning's Cabinet, the readiness with which the Duke accepted the charge excited public surprise, and no small measure of public vituperation What! after declaring that he would be "mad" to take such an office—after disavowing the remotest wish to undertake such a responsibility—at once and unhesitatingly to assume the trust! Such conduct was preposterous —at any rate it was glaringly inconsistent

But those who so deemed of the Duke's conduct knew him not They were not aware that in him loyalty was an ingrained principle —the wish of his Sovereign an imperative and irresistible law All considerations vanished before the obligations of duty If the Duke could not accomplish what was required of him, he at least felt himself under an obligation to make the attempt The desire of the King nerved him for the effort—failure might be unfortunate and

mortifying, but disobedience was a crime of the highest magnitude. Such were his feelings upon the subject, and those who had attentively watched his previous career justly gave him full credit for integrity of intention.

On the 29th of January, speaking in the House of Lords of his acceptance of the office of Prime Minister, he said,—"When I received his Majesty's commands to give my opinion respecting the formation of a Ministry, it was far from my wish to place myself at its head, or to take any office other than that which I already held; but finding in the course of the negotiation which arose out of the commands of his Majesty, a difficulty in getting another individual to fill the place, and that it was the unanimous wish of those who are now my colleagues that I should take it, I determined to accept it; but having so determined I resigned the office of Commander-in-Chief."

The Duke had a difficult card to play in the construction of his Cabinet. Had he followed the bent of his own inclinations, in all probability he would have formed a phalanx of ultra-Tories, prepared to ride rough-shod over the Liberals, *coûte qui coûte*, or to stand or fall by a stern resistance to every species of innovation upon existing institutions. The feeling of the country was, however, too strong upon certain questions to admit of so daring a measure. Compromise—a thing the Duke detested—was indispensable in the first instance, to prevent too marked and open a display of public hostility. The country watched with anxiety the proceedings of the Duke. It was not long kept in suspense. He re-called Mr. Peel to the Cabinet, and Mr. Goulburn; retaining Mr. Huskisson, Lord Dudley and Ward, Mr. Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), Mr. Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne), and Lord Palmerston,—all men favourable to the policy of Mr. Canning.

To hold together a divided Cabinet upon the plan in force since Lord Liverpool accepted office, was not a difficult matter when the Ministry loved place for its own sake, and the Premier was indifferent about the degree of practical assent yielded to his views. The Duke had very willingly taken a share in a government where he was allowed free scope for his opinions, without incurring any risk of receiving his *congé*. It was otherwise when he came to the top of the tree. He who had commanded so long, and who was always impatient of opposition to his plans, was not likely to extend to his subordinates the latitude of political sentiment he had been permitted to enjoy. Accordingly, the arrangements at first made, as they did not combine the elements of permanent existence, were, as we shall presently see, of very brief duration.

The parliamentary session of 1828 commenced on the 29th of January The speech from the throne carefully excluded any allusion to the subjects then engaging the thoughts of the people of England It was entirely confined to a summary of the foreign policy of the previous year in respect to the intervention in the affairs of Greece In the attempt to carry out the treaty for the reconciliation of Turkey and Greece, a collision had taken place between the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Codrington, and the fleet of the Ottoman Porte at Navarino This collision being called in the speech an "untoward event," a sharp debate was raised upon the whole question, and there it ended

The Duke, untrammelled by any promises or recommendations from the throne, at first determined to observe a passive domestic policy, allowing the Opposition to bring forward their favourite measures and regulating his assent or resistance by the national feeling of the hour

Lord John Russell opened the Liberal ball on the 26th of February, by bringing forward a motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts These Acts, passed in the reign of the second Charles, for the purpose of curbing and punishing the sects whose votes and exertions had contributed to his father's death, excluded Dissenters from offices of trust and power, and closed the doors of all corporations against them, unless they consented to take the sacrament according to the ritual of the Church of England It is true that an Annual Indemnity Bill relieved them from these disabilities, but as it was at any time—in any one year—liable to be opposed and suspended, the position of the Dissenters was not as firm as their modern loyalty and the principles of religious toleration demanded After considerable discussion, the motion for the repeal of the Acts was carried, much to the alarm of the High Church party in the House of Commons In the House of Lords it encountered considerable opposition from the bench of Bishops and the Tories of the old school They beheld danger to the Protestant Church in the slightest relaxation of the disqualifying laws, and would hear of no alteration in the Acts The strong common sense of the Duke of Wellington turned the scale When it came to him to express the sentiments of the Government, he declared himself, on the 17th of April, in these terms —

"I fully agree that the security of the Church of England, and the union existing between it and the State, depend neither on the law about to be repealed by the present bill, nor upon the provisions of this measure itself That union and security, which we must all

desire to see continued, depend upon the oath taken by his Majesty, to which we are all, in our respective stations, parties, and not only on that oath, but on the Act of Settlement, and the different acts of union from time to time agreed to; all of which provide for the intimate and inseparable union of Church and State, and for the security of both.

"The question is, What security does the existing system of laws, as they now stand, afford the Church establishment? My Lords, I am very dubious as to the amount of security afforded through the means of a system of exclusion from office, to be carried into effect by a law which it is necessary to suspend by an annual act, that admits every man into office whom it was the intention of the original framers of the law to exclude. It is perfectly true it was not the intention of those who brought in that suspension law originally, that dissenters from the Church of England should be permitted to enter into corporations under its provisions. The law was intended to relieve those whom time or circumstances had rendered unable to qualify themselves according to the system which Government had devised. However, the dissenters availed themselves of the relaxation of the law, for the purpose of getting into corporations, and this the law allowed. What security, then, I ask, my Lords, is to be found in the existing system? So far from dissenters being excluded by the Corporation and Test Acts from all corporations, so far is this from being the fact, that, as must be well known to your lordships, some corporations are absolutely and entirely in the possession of dissenters. Can you suppose that the repeal of laws so inoperative as these can afford any serious obstacle to the perfect security of the Church, and the permanent union of that establishment with the State? The fact is, that the existing laws have not only failed completely in answering their intended purpose, but they are anomalous and absurd—anomalous in their origin, absurd in their operation.

"If a man were asked the question, at his elevation to any corporate office, whether he had received the sacrament of the Church of England, and if he said 'No,' he lost every vote that had been tendered on his behalf, and there was an end of his election; but if, on the contrary, by accident or design, he got in without the question relative to the sacrament being put to him, then the votes tendered for him were held good, and his election valid, so that no power could remove him from the office which he held. I ask, is there any security in that? My noble friend says that the original intention of the framers of these acts was, that the sacrament should not be

taken by dissenters, but the law requires that a man, on entering into any corporation, shall receive the sacrament without regard to his religious belief Thus an individual, whose object it is to get into a particular office, may feel disposed, naturally enough, to take the sacrament before his election, merely as a matter of form, and thus a sacred rite of our Church is profaned, and prostituted to a *shameful and scandalous purpose*

"I confess, my Lords, I should have opposed this bill if I thought it calculated to weaken the securities at present enjoyed by the Church However, I agreed not to oppose the bill, though I consented in the first instance to oppose it, in order to preserve the blessings of religious peace I was willing to preserve the system which had given us this peace for forty years, for, during that time, the name and the claims of dissenters had not been heard of But now they have come forward, and their claims are approved of by a great majority of the House of Commons, and the bill has come up to this House If it be opposed by the majority of this House, it is to be feared, now that the claims are made, that such an opposition will carry hostility throughout the country, and introduce a degree of rancour into every parish of the kingdom, which I should not wish to be responsible for"

Again, upon the 21st of April, the Duke said "I have not called on your lordships to agree to this bill because it has been passed by the House of Commons, I merely assigned that as one of the reasons which induced me to recommend the measure to your lordships I certainly did allude to the feeling in favour of the bill which has for some time been growing up in the House of Commons as a good reason for entertaining it in your lordships' House, but other reasons also operated on my mind Many individuals of high eminence in the Church, and who are as much interested as any other persons in the kingdom in the preservation of the Constitution, have expressed themselves as being favourable to an alteration of the law The religious feelings of those venerable persons disposed them to entertain this measure, because they felt strong objections to the sacramental test Under these circumstances, wishing to advance and preserve the blessings of religious peace and tranquillity,—conceiving the present a good opportunity for securing to the country so inestimable an advantage, I felt it to be my duty to recommend this measure to your lordships It is on all these grounds that I support the bill, and not on the single ground—the circumstance of its having been carried in the House of Commons—as a noble lord has stated I am not one of those who consider that the best means

of preserving the constitution of this country is by rigidly adhering to measures which have been called for by particular circumstances, because those measures have been in existence for two hundred years; for the lapse of time might render it proper to modify, if not to remove them altogether.

"I admit, my Lords, that for about two hundred years the religious peace of the country has been preserved under these bills; but, when Parliament is discussing the best means of preserving the constitution of the country, it is surely worth while to inquire whether any, and what changes, in what have been deemed the securities of the Church, can safely be made, so as to conciliate all parties.

"All I hope is, that your lordships will not unnecessarily make any alteration in the measure that would be likely to give dissatisfaction; that your lordships will not do anything which may be calculated to remove that conciliating spirit which is now growing up,—a spirit that will redound to the benefit of the country, and which, so far from opposing, we ought, on the contrary, to do everything to foster and promote."

The result of the discussion was the repeal of the Acts,—the old religious test being replaced by a "Declaration" from the holder of office that he would never exert any power or influence he might possess, in virtue of his office, to injure or subvert the Protestant Church.

If one large section of the British public had viewed the accession of the Duke of Wellington to supreme civil power with doubt and alarm, the confidence with which he now inspired it, in the liberality of his views, was counterbalanced by the dread which the opposite or Church section entertained of his latitudinarianism. "Since," said they, "the door is thus opened to the dissenters, we have no security that the Roman Catholics will not be allowed to rush in and destroy the sacred edifice of Protestantism—the bulwark of liberty—the guarantee of universal peace." Apparently to calm this apprehension, but in reality because the subject was incidentally introduced, the Duke, on the 28th of April, said, in his place in the House of Lords:—

"There is no person in this House whose feelings and sentiments, after long consideration, are more decided than mine are, with respect to the subject of the Roman Catholic claims; and I must say, that, until I see a very great change in that quarter, I shall continue to oppose the Emancipation of the Catholics."

The phrase "until I see a very great change in that quarter," was very ambiguous. What change did the Duke desire? A change

in the temper of the Catholics, who were then "agitating" the subject with unexampled fervour? A change in the views of the Protestant party—or what? Speculation became rife upon the subject, and while the Church party drew inferences favourable to their views from the declaration of "*decided*" feelings and sentiments, the Liberals gathered hope from the vague allusion to a possible alteration [1]

A reform in the Parliamentary representation had been a standing dish with a section of the House of Commons for more than a quarter of a century On the broad principle of taking from the landed aristocracy of the House of Peers the power of nominating members subservient to their views, the question had been argued with vigour and eloquence by some of the most enlightened and independent members of the Lower House, who also contended for a system which would give to a large portion of the country, still unrepresented, the right of sending members to assert their views and interests Until 1827 the subject made little progress, because the advocacy of reform had been volunteered by a class of popularity-hunting men whose station in society was comparatively obscure, and their mode of advancing their opinions distasteful to the better classes In point of fact, the very prospect of a new system which should introduce such persons as Mr Cobbett and Mr Hunt [2] into

[1] The claims of the Roman Catholics had engaged the attention of the Duke at the earliest period of his Parliamentary career Balancing even then (1793), between justice and expediency, the Honourable Arthur Wesley (as the name was then spelt) thus spoke, in the Irish House of Commons —"He had no objection to giving the Roman Catholics the benefits of the Constitution, and, in his opinion, the bill [alluding to some bill then introduced] conferred them in an ample degree, but the motion of the honourable gentleman seemed calculated to promote disunion With the bill as it stands, the Protestants are satisfied and the Roman Catholics are contented Why, then, agitate a question which may disturb both? —A gentleman has said that admitting the 40s freeholders of the Roman Catholic persuasion to vote at elections will annihilate the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and he has founded this assertion upon a supposition that the Roman Catholics will, in voting, be directed by their priests But have not Roman Catholics, like Protestants, various interests and various passions, by which they are swayed? The influence of their landlords—their good or bad opinion of the candidates—their own interests—and a thousand other motives? It appeared to him that they would not vote in a body, or as had been supposed, if the bill should pass in its present form, but if the motion of the honourable gentleman should be adopted, then, indeed, they would undoubtedly unite in support of Roman Catholic candidates" Previous to this on seconding the Address in answer to the speech from the throne, the young member for Trim said —'In regard to what had been recommended in the speech from the throne respecting our Catholic fellow-subjects, he could not repress expressing his approbation on that head he had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country, and he trusted that when the question would be brought forward, respecting that description of men, that we would lay aside all animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans'

[2] Cobbett was a man of humble origin who had once been a private soldier Of a s rong

Parliament was offensive alike to the aristocracy and to the middle classes, and originated a strong and effective opposition. But by 1828 circumstances had occurred which so powerfully illustrated the necessity for purifying the elections, that public opinion began to undergo a material change. The House of Commons had convicted the burgesses of Penryhn, in Cornwall, of gross and prevailing bribery, and had passed a bill disqualifying the borough, and transferring its right of electing two members to Manchester. East Retford, too, in Nottinghamshire, had also been found guilty of corruption, and a bill was brought in to transfer its franchise to Birmingham. The House of Lords, dreading the loss of borough influence, repudiated the first bill, and the second (East Retford) only acquired partial favour in the Lower House. It was deferred for a session, East Retford remaining for a time without a representative.

In the discussions upon the East Retford Bill, a circumstance occurred which, bearing particularly upon the Duke of Wellington's ministerial career, demands special mention.

Amongst the "Canningites" who had remained with the Duke was Mr. Huskisson, a man of talent, attached to office, whose political opinions hung rather loosely about him. The Government opposed the East Retford Bill. Mr. Huskisson, however, had upon a previous occasion, given a pledge to the House of Commons that he should, when any one borough became disfranchised, vote for the transfer of the franchise to Birmingham or Manchester. He now considered himself bound to redeem this pledge; and when the matter came to an issue, he divided against his colleagues in the Ministry. Considering that this act compromised him with the Premier, he sat down upon his return home, and at two o'clock in the morning wrote the following letter to the Duke of Wellington:—

"Downing Street, *Tuesday morning*, 2 *a. m.*, *May* 20*th*.

"My dear Duke,

"After the vote which, in regard to my own consistency and personal character, I have found myself, from the course of this evening's debate, compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe it to you, as the head of the Administration, and to Mr. Peel, as

mind and resolute purpose, he had, so to speak, educated himself, and many years previously had started periodicals called "The Gridiron," and "The Register," in all of which he maintained opinions of an almost democratic hue — assailing placemen, pensioners, Corn Laws, &c. This had given him a large popularity. Hunt was a vendor of blacking, and disseminated his doctrines (corresponding with Cobbett's) in mob harangues. Both were clever, unscrupulous men.

the leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the King's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his Majesty's councils, however unfounded in reality, or however unimportant in itself the question which has given rise to that appearance"

The Duke replied the next day —

"My dear Huskisson,

"Your letter of this morning, which I received at ten, has surprised me much, and has given me great concern I have considered it my duty to lay it before the King"

Mr Huskisson was not prepared for such promptitude of action He did not know that the Duke was glad of an opportunity of getting rid of a colleague of unstable principles, or, at least, of men addicted to free-trade tendencies He immediately induced two of his friends to go to the Duke, and upon their return he thus rejoined —

"Downing Street, *May 20th* 1828, *half past 6 p m*

"My dear Duke,

"Having understood from Lord Dudley and Lord Palmerston that you had laid my letter of last night before the King, under a different impression from that which it was intended to convey, I feel it due both to you and to myself to say, that my object in writing that letter was, not to express any intention of my own, but to relieve you from any delicacy which you might feel towards me, if you should think that the interests of his Majesty's service would be prejudiced by my remaining in office, after giving a vote, in respect to which, from the turn which the latter part of the debate had taken, a sense of personal honour left me no alternative"

The Duke's resolve was not to be shaken by this affectation of delicacy He had looked upon the resignation as *bonâ fide*, and in that sense he was determined that it should be understood and accepted His Grace, however, again wrote —

My dear Huskisson,

"I have received your letter of this evening I certainly did not understand your letter of two this morning as offering me any option, nor do I understand the one of this evening as having

me any, except that of submitting myself and his Majesty's Government to the necessity of soliciting you to remain in your office, or of incurring the loss of your valuable assistance to his Majesty's service. However sensible I may be of this loss, I am convinced that, in these times, any loss is better than that of character, which is the foundation of public confidence.

"In this view of the case, I have put out of it altogether every consideration of the discredit resulting from the scene of last night, of the extent of which you could not have been but sensible when you thought proper, as a remedy for it, to send me the offer of 'placing the office in other hands.'"

Mr. Huskisson now beginning to perceive that the *revocare gradum* was placed beyond possibility, and anticipating the publicity of a correspondence which had commenced in a "private and confidential" form, once more addressed the Duke.

"COLONIAL OFFICE, *May* 21*st*, 1828.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"In justice to myself, I cannot acquiesce for a moment in the construction which your letter of last night puts upon my conduct.

"You cannot refuse to me the right of knowing the motives of my own actions; and I solemnly declare that, in both my letters, I was actuated by one and the same feeling. It was simply this:—That it was not for me, but for you, as head of the Government, to decide how far my vote made it expedient to remove me from his Majesty's service. I felt that I had no alternative, consistently with personal honour (in a difficulty not of my own seeking or creating), but to give that vote; that the question, in itself, was one of minor importance; that the disunion was more in appearance than in reality; but I also felt that, possibly, you might take a different view of it, and that, in case you should, I ought (as I had done on a similar occasion with Lord Liverpool) to relieve you from any difficulty arising out of personal consideration towards me, in deciding upon a step to which you might find it your public duty to resort on the occasion.

"It was under this impression alone that I wrote to you immediately upon my return from the House of Commons.

"If you had not misconceived that impression, as well as the purport of my second letter, I am persuaded that you could not suppose me guilty of the arrogance of expecting 'that you and his Majesty's Government should submit yourselves to the necessity of

soliciting me to remain in my office,' or do me the injustice of believing that I could be capable of placing you in the alternative of choosing between the continuance of my services, such as they are, and the loss to your administration of one particle of character, which, I agree with you, is the foundation of confidence.

"If, understanding my communication as I intended it to be understood, you had in any way intimated to me either that the occurrence, however unfortunate, was not one of sufficient moment to render it necessary for you, on public grounds, to act in the manner in which I had assumed that you possibly might think it necessary, or that you were under that necessity, in either case there would have been an end of the matter. In the first supposition, I should have felt that I had done what in honour and fairness towards

W. HUSKISSON.

you I was bound to do; but it never would have entered my imagination that I had claimed or received any sacrifice whatever from you or any member of his Majesty's Government.

"On the other hand, nothing can be further from my intention than to express an opinion that the occasion was not one in which you might fairly consider it your duty to advise his Majesty to withdraw from me the seals of office on the ground of this vote. I do not, therefore, complain; but I cannot allow that my removal shall be placed on any other ground. I cannot allow that it was my own act, still less can I admit that when I had no other intention than to relieve the question on which you had to decide from any personal embarrassment, this step, on my part, should be ascribed to feelings the very reverse of those by which alone I was actuated, either towards you or his Majesty's Government."

Many men would have preferred allowing the world to suppose that they had resigned, rather than endure the odium of having been discarded. Mr. Huskisson's tenacious love of place rendered him for the moment oblivious of what was due to his own personal consequence, or he would scarcely have penned the foregoing letter. As will be seen from what follows, the explanation made no impression on the impenetrable Duke:—

"London, *May 21st*, 1828.

"My dear Mr. Huskisson,

"In consequence of your last letter, I feel it to be necessary to recal to your recollection the circumstances under which I received your letter of Tuesday morning.

"It is addressed to me at two o'clock in the morning, immediately after a debate and division in the House of Commons. It informs me that you lose no time in affording me an opportunity of placing your office in other hands, as the only means in your power of preventing an injury to the King's service, which you describe. It concludes by regretting the necessity for troubling me with this communication.

"Could I consider this in any other light than as a formal tender of the resignation of your office, or that I had any alternative but either to solicit you to remain in office contrary to your sense of duty, or to submit your letter to the King?

"If you had called on me the next morning after your vote, and had explained to me in conversation what had passed in the House of Commons, the character of the communication would have been quite different, and I might have felt myself at liberty to discuss the whole subject with you, and freely to give an opinion upon any point connected. But I must still think that if I had not considered a letter, couched in the terms in which that letter is couched, and received

under the circumstances under which I received it, as a tender of resignation, and had not laid it before the King, I should have exposed the King's Government and myself to very painful misconstructions My answer to your letter will have informed you that it surprised me much, and that it gave me great concern I must consider, therefore, the resignation of your office as your own act, and not as mine"

Nothing can more strongly mark the resolution of the Duke to shake off the Ministerial connection with Mr Huskisson than this communication Had he desired sincerely to retain the services of the "Canningite," he would gladly have accepted the explanations offered, whether they originated in a desire to remain in charge of *the seals of the Colonial Office, or a sense of delicacy towards the* Duke himself Mr Huskisson now sought to excuse himself to the King, and we have here the result of his endeavour to obtain an interview with his Majesty —

"DOWNING STREET *May 25th* 1828

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"On Tuesday last I wrote to the King, to solicit an audience His Majesty has not yet been pleased to grant me this honour

"In the expectation (not unnatural for me to entertain in the situation which I hold) of being afforded an opportunity of waiting upon his Majesty, I have deferred acknowledging your letter of the 21st, which, passing by altogether all that is stated in mine of the same date, you conclude in the following words —'I must, therefore, consider the resignation of your office as your own act, and not as mine'

"I will not revert to the full explanation which I have already given you on this subject Not denying that my first letter might be capable of the construction which you put upon it, I would ask you whether it be usual, after a construction has been from the first moment explicitly disavowed, to persist that it is the right one? It being however, the construction to which you adhere, I must assume, as you laid the letter before his Majesty, that you advised his Majesty upon it, and that his Majesty is, therefore, under the same misapprehension as yourself of what I meant, the more especially as I have no means of knowing whether any subsequent letters have been laid before his Majesty

"It was for the purpose of setting right any erroneous impression

in the royal mind that I sought to be admitted as soon as possible into his Majesty's presence.

"I was then, as I am still, most anxious to assure his Majesty that nothing could have been further from my intention than that the letter in question should have been at all submitted to his Majesty,—to make known to his Majesty the circumstances and feelings under which it had been written,—to point out to him that I had taken the precaution (usual between Ministers in matters of a delicate and confidential nature, when it is wished to keep the subject as much as possible confined to the respective parties) of marking the letter 'private and confidential,'—that I understood that this letter, so marked specially to guard its object, had been, without previous communication of any sort with me—in respect to the transaction referred to, but not explained in the letter itself—laid before his Majesty, as conveying to the foot of the throne my positive resignation.

"I should further have had to state to his Majesty the great pain and concern which I felt at finding that a paper should have been submitted to his Majesty, and described to him as conveying my resignation of the seals in a form so unusual, and with a restriction so unbecoming towards my Sovereign, as is implied in the words 'private and confidential;' that in a necessity so painful (had I felt such a necessity) as that of asking his Majesty's permission to withdraw from his service, my first anxiety would have been to lay my reasons, in a respectful but direct communication from myself, at his Majesty's feet; but that, most certainly, in whatever mode conveyed, the uppermost feeling of my heart would have been to have accompanied it with those expressions of dutiful attachment and respectful gratitude which I owe his Majesty, for the many and uniform proofs of confidence and kindness with which he has been graciously pleased to honour me since I have held the seals of the Colonial department.

"If I had been afforded an opportunity of thus relieving myself from the painful position in which I stand towards his Majesty, I should then have entreated of his Majesty's goodness and sense of justice to permit a letter, so improper for me to have written (if it could have been in my contemplation that it would have been laid before his Majesty as an act of resignation), to be withdrawn. Neither should I have concealed from his Majesty my regret, considering the trouble which has unfortunately occurred, both to his Majesty and his Government, that I had not taken a different mode of doing what, for the reasons fully stated in my letter of the 21st, I found myself bound in honour to do, so as to have prevented, perhaps,

the misconception arising out of my letter, written immediately after the debate

"I have now stated to you frankly, and without reserve, the substance of all that I was anxious to submit to the King I have done so in the full confidence that you will do me the favour to lay this statement before his Majesty, and that I may be allowed to implore of his Majesty that he will do me the justice to believe that, of all who have a right to prefer a claim to be admitted to his royal presence, I am the last who, in a matter relating to myself, would press that claim in a manner unpleasant to his Majesty's wishes or inclinations,—I bow to them with respectful deference, still retaining, however, a confidence founded on the rectitude of my intentions, that, in being removed from his Majesty's service, I may be allowed the consolation of knowing that I have not been debarred from the privilege of my office in consequence of my having incurred his Majesty's personal displeasure"

Mr Huskisson must have been but imperfectly informed of the influence of the Duke in the royal Cabinet, and still less of the implacable character of the Premier s resolution, if he expected that any other reply to the foregoing letter could have been sent him than the following —

"LONDON *May 25th* 1828

"MY DEAR HUSKISSON,

"It is with great concern that I inform you that I have at last attended his Majesty, and have received his instructions respecting an arrangement to fill your office

"I sincerely regret the loss of your valuable assistance in the arduous task in which I am engaged"

The "concern" and the "sincere regret" of the Duke must be accepted in the ordinary sense of unmeaning courtesy The Duke could not have meant that he had attended the King with "great concern," because there was really no earthly occasion for his doing his feelings a violence if he had wished to continue Mr Huskisson in the Cabinet, nor can he be allowed the credit of "sincerely regretting" a "loss" he might have spared himself, had he wished to do so Not to be outdone, however, in empty courtesy, and desiring to stand well with the King, Mr Huskisson returned the following reply —

"DOWNING STREET, 9½ *p. m. May 25th*, 1828.

"MY DEAR DUKE,

"Lord Dudley has just sent to me, unopened, my letter to you, which I forwarded to Apsley House about five o'clock this afternoon.

"This letter was written as soon as I was given to understand by Lord Dudley, who called here after an interview with you this morning, that his Majesty had not signified any intention of granting me the honour of an audience.

"No other mode, therefore, remaining open to me of conveying my sentiments to the King, I address myself to you for the purpose of bringing before his Majesty, in the shape of a written communication, what I am prevented from stating to his Majesty in person.

"I feel confident that you will not deny me this favour; and you will be satisfied, by the contents of my letter (which I now return), that in writing it nothing was further from my intention than to intrude myself between you and the arrangements which, upon my removal from office (for such I have considered the result of our correspondence since your letter of the 21st), you have received his Majesty's instructions to make.

"Your letter, communicating this fact, reached me about half-past seven this evening. I thank you for the information, and for the kind manner in which you advert to any feeble assistance which I may have been able to give to your administration, as well as for the expression of the concern with which you have advised his Majesty to place my office in other hands."

The subjoined communication closed the correspondence:—

"LONDON, *May 26th*, 1828.

"MY DEAR HUSKISSON,

"I have received your letter of yesterday, accompanied by another letter from you, dated also yesterday, which I had returned to Lord Dudley, under the impression that I ought not to open it without your previous consent, under the circumstances that existed at the time I received it.

"I have laid both before the King. In answer I have only to repeat that I considered your letter of the 20th as a formal tender of the resignation of your office; and that the circumstance of its being marked 'private and confidential' did not alter the character of the letter, or relieve me from the painful duty of communicating its contents to his Majesty, as I did, in person.

"Your subsequent letters did not, according to my understanding of them, convey any disavowal of your intention to tender your resignation I laid them before his Majesty, and my answers to them, and communicated to Lord Dudley that I had done so

"The King informed me—I think on Wednesday, the 21st—that you had desired to have an audience of his Majesty, and that he intended to receive you on the day but one after I did not consider it my duty to advise his Majesty to receive you at an earlier period

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that your letter to me of the 20th was entirely your own act, and wholly unexpected by me If the letter was written hastily and inconsiderately, surely the natural course was for you to withdraw it altogether, and thus relieve me from the position in which, without any fault of mine, it had placed me—compelling me either to accept the resignation which it tendered, or to solicit you to continue to hold your office

"This latter step was, in my opinion, calculated to do me personally, and the King's Government, great disservice, and it appeared to me that the only mode by which we could be extricated from the difficulty in which your letter had placed us was, that the withdrawal of your letter should be your spontaneous act, and that it should be adopted without delay

"The interference of his Majesty, pending our correspondence, would not only have placed his Majesty in a situation in which he ought not to be placed in such a question, but it would have subjected me to the imputation that that interference had taken place on my suggestion, or with my connivance

"I did not consider it my duty to advise his Majesty to interfere in any manner whatever

"His Majesty informed me this day that he had written to you this morning, appointing an audience in the course of the day"

Besides the endeavours made by Mr Huskisson, in his letters to the Duke, to retract the resignation, personal exertions were employed by Lords Palmerston and Dudley and Ward to induce his Grace to cancel his acceptance of the renunciation of office The Duke was obdurate To an assurance that it was all a mistake, he answered emphatically, "It was no mistake—could be no mistake—and should be no mistake"

Reviewing the whole correspondence and interviews, and looking at the evident predisposition of the Duke, it is to be regretted that he did not in the first instance take more dignified ground, and preserve his character from the taint of insincerity It might have

been expected of his ordinary frankness, and his notions of the importance of agreement in the Cabinet, that he would have replied at once: "I will advise the King to accept your resignation, because no chance must be allowed to exist of the country being again disturbed by the appearance of division in the Councils of the King, on a subject of so much moment as Parliamentary Reform." Perhaps the Duke more than once regretted in after life that he had not taken this decided step.

Mr. Huskisson's expulsion—for it can be called nothing else—led to the immediate resignation of Lords Palmerston and Dudley and Ward, and Mr. Charles Grant.

Thus weeded of every vestige of the moderate Liberalism which pertained to the Canning portion of the Ministry (with the exception of Lord Lyndhurst, who had become Lord Chancellor when Lord Eldon seceded), the Duke's Cabinet immediately became the representative of strong opinions; for he called into office Sir George Murray, Sir Henry Hardinge, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. The two former were Peninsula soldiers, in whose business habits the Duke had great confidence, and on whose co-operation, not to say obedience, he felt he could rely.

Much alarm was felt by the Liberals at this infusion of military men. There was already a General Officer at the head of the Government of Ireland (the Marquis of Anglesey). Four *aiguillettes* thus distinguished the Council Board, and "strong" measures were expected as the result of such a combination of men of camp habits, under the dominion of one powerful and somewhat despotic will.

A fortnight had scarcely elapsed after the construction of the Cabinet, when the question of Roman Catholic emancipation came before the House of Lords, in the distinct form of a resolution of the House of Commons to go into committee upon the subject of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics. A conference with the Lords was proposed and agreed to; and after it had taken place, the resolution of the Commons was debated in a full House for two days. Upon this occasion the Duke of Wellington thus expressed himself:—

"He considered the question, he said, merely as one of expediency, and he grounded his opposition to the motion, not on any doctrinal points, but on the Church government of the Roman Catholics. Nobody could have witnessed the transactions which had been going on in Ireland, during the last thirty-five years, without being convinced that there was a combination between the laity and the clergy, which was daily gaining ground. Hence sprung the confusion that

distinguished Ireland If the aristocracy had been rendered powerless, and political authority transferred to the people, who, again, were the creatures of the priest, it was to this combination that it was owing Emancipation, they had been told, would cure all these evils But, in addition to emancipation, they would also be obliged to give to the Catholic Church the whole establishment of the Protestant Church, after which the country would be exposed to the same evils which now prevailed On all former occasions, too, it had been proposed to grant political power only in connection with effectual securities for the Protestant constitution in church and state but now, securities were not even hinted at He wished to see real distinct securities proposed, before he would consent to give any vote in favour of these claims He denied that any inference could be drawn from the example of other countries, except this, that the Roman Catholic religion, in its natural state, was not a religion favourable to good government in any country

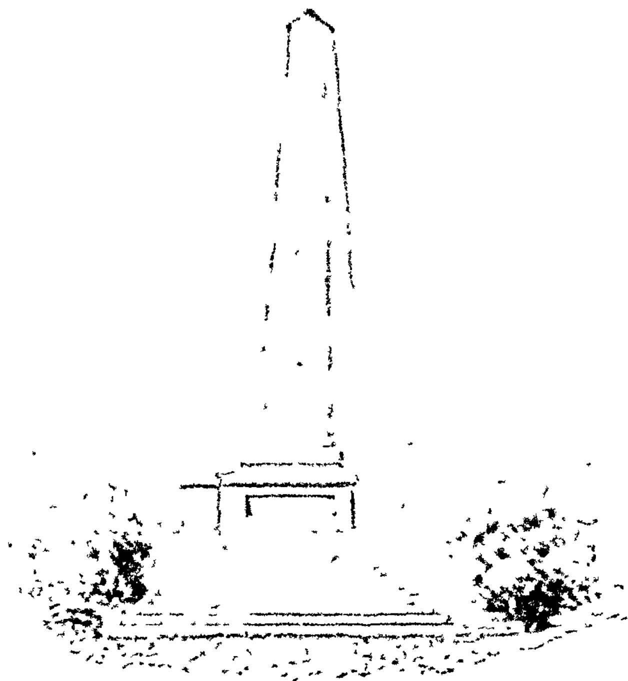
"He begged their lordships to observe, that, in the very countries of Europe where the sovereigns possessed great power, the governments were under the necessity of calling in the aid of the Pope to govern their subjects, either through the means of a concordat, or some treaty granted by His Holiness, by which they obtained that authority which it was necessary for a government to possess over the clergy of the country Now, it was utterly impossible for the government of this country to enter into any arrangement of that kind

"He did not mean to say that there was no other arrangement by which his Majesty might have the power of appointing the bishops in Ireland, and of controlling and superintending the intercourse between them and the see of Rome, but in his opinion it was utterly impossible, under the present constitution of the country, to make any arrangement with the Pope as prevailed in foreign states The discussion of the question, he thought, would lead to no practical result, and would tend only to disturb the public mind

"From 1781 to 1791, although many momentous questions had been agitated in Ireland, the Roman Catholic question was never heard of So little indeed had it been heard of, that his noble friend, who sat near him, had brought into the House of Commons a bill respecting the Roman Catholics, and it was a fact that the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was never consulted respecting it, and indeed knew nothing of it, till it was before the House, so little did the Catholic question at that time disturb the public mind He did not, however, expect that such a state of tranquillity would again occur,

but it would be well to allow the public mind to rest, and in the end it might be possible to do something, for he was most desirous of seeing the subject brought to an amicable conclusion."

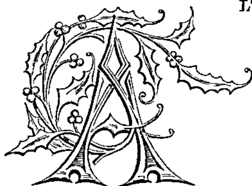
The motion was lost, but from the "conciliatory tone" of the Duke of Wellington, the friends of emancipation inferred that their wishes in future would not receive so uncompromising an opposition as they had hitherto sustained.



COLUMN IN THE PHOENIX PARK, DUBLIN.

CHAPTER XI

The Catholic Question—The Duke and Dr Curtis—The Duke urges Emancipation upon the King—The Catholic Emancipation Bill brought forward in the House of Lords—Carried—The Duke's Duel with the Earl of Winchelsea—Death of the Earl of Liverpool—Appointment of the Duke to be Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports



LTHOUGH ambiguity of expression is common to diplomatists and statesmen, because while it is supposed to pledge them to nothing, it yet opens a door to inferences in their favour, according to the degree in which their supposed sentiments correspond with those of the public, there is often nothing more unfortunate in its results than equivocation—tampering with a great question in a double sense The Duke of Wellington probably obtained a slight accession of popularity by his conciliatory speech in the early part of the session of *1828*, but this very circumstance only *contributed to* embarrass his position, and to render a regression unavoidable

The Irish Roman Catholics formed into an "Association" under Daniel O'Connell, an eloquent barrister of the Romish persuasion, an unscrupulous but uncompromising "patriot," was acquiring every day great strength Daring in its demands at all times, it now, upon the faith of the Premier's speech, exceeded its previous audacity, and was raising up in Ireland a power which threatened to imperil the peace of the United Kingdom Indeed, a revolution seemed inevitable Emancipation was declared by Dr Curtis, the titular Catholic Primate of Ireland, to afford the only means of establishing

concord; and as the Doctor had held a high office in the University of Salamanca when the Duke commanded in Spain, and was supposed to have rendered important services to the army, he availed himself of the intimacy established between the Duke and himself to write to the Duke upon the subject. The Duke's answer was as follows:—

"My dear Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy."

Dr. Curtis considered this letter—in the face of its plain language—to involve an admission that the Duke was favourable to the Catholic claims. The Catholic Association adopted the same view; and Dr. Curtis, after replying to the Duke, and declaring it to be perfectly impossible to bury the question in oblivion, sent a copy of the document to the Marquis of Anglesey, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Anglesey, taking the same view with the Catholic Association and Dr. Curtis, wrote an answer to Dr. Curtis expressing sentiments so decidedly favourable to the Catholics and to agitation, that the Duke of Wellington immediately recommended the King to remove him from his office.

The recal of Lord Anglesey increased the irritation of the Roman Catholics. It was denounced by the Association as "monstrously absurd;" and the Duke of Wellington was termed a "self-convicted madman," and the "insane pilot who continued to direct our almost tottering State." Its effect upon the Tories was to inspire them with the most complete confidence in the Duke as the champion of Protestantism.

With the close of the session of Parliament, the discussions regarding Catholic Emancipation lulled, and the general impression seemed to be that whenever the subject should again be forced upon

the legislature, the Government would be found inflexible in its determination to oppose the claims of the Papists.

It needeth not to tell the reader that the leading feature in the military policy of the Duke of Wellington was the profound secresy with which he matured his plans and combinations, and the promptitude with which he carried them into execution when all the necessary preparations were complete. Oporto, Torres Vedras, Burgos, and Vittoria are identified with this peculiar system of secresy of arrangement and rapidity of consummation The British public were now to be astounded with the operation of this system in civil polity, and to witness, in one who was regarded as the impersonation of firmness and fixity of opinion, a complete abandonment of his supposed principles upon the most exciting question of modern times. Some apprehension had been raised by a speech from Mr. Dawson, the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, who, at a public dinner in Ireland, talked in a way to justify the most sanguine hopes of the Roman Catholics. Not long afterwards Mr. Peel himself resigned the representation of Oxford University. In the meanwhile it seems that the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel—the latter probably influenced by the former—had addressed themselves to the King, representing that Ireland was on the verge of civil war,[1] agitated as that country was by the Catholic Association, and that the only chance of averting so direful a calamity lay in "emancipation." The King is understood to have been at first exceedingly averse to yield an inch—he pleaded his coronation-oath—and the Chancellor, the keeper of the royal conscience, could

[1] There are no class of men who entertain so great an abhorrence of war of any kind, as those who have seen it under its most frightful forms. For this reason, military governors and statesmen have always been remarkable for a pacific policy. The Duke of Wellington, unrivalled in the field, confident in himself and his armies, would at all times have strained a point to avert hostilities with other nations But, of all wars, he most dreaded a civil war, such as at this time threatened the country. Speaking on this very subject, at a later period, he said:—

"I am one of those who have, probably, passed a longer period of my life engaged in war, than most men, and principally in civil war, and I must say this, that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I was attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say, there is nothing which destroys property, eats up prosperity by the roots, and demoralises the character, to the degree that civil war does. In such a crisis, the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father, servant betrays master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation Yet, my Lords, this is the resource to which we must have looked—these are the means which we must have applied—to put an end to this state of things, if we had not made the option of bringing forward the measures for which, I say, I am responsible. But let us look a little further. If civil war is so bad, when it is occasioned by resistance to the Government—if it is so bad in the case I have stated, and so much to be avoided—how much more is it to be avoided when we are to arm the people, in order that we may conquer one part of them by exciting the other part against them!"

not show his Majesty a pathway out of his difficulty. At length, after repeated interviews, in which the Duke exhibited a characteristic obstinacy, the Duke and Mr. Peel tendered their resignations. The King's scruples at once vanished. Growing prematurely old and indolent, George IV. could not look forward to the worry and vexation which would inevitably follow, upon a recal of the Whigs, without horror;—he was equally alarmed at the prospect of a rebellion from the inflexibility of the ultra Tories; further, he believed that the danger must be imminent which led the Duke and the illustrious commoner to push matters to the extremity of a menaced resignation.

"The speech from the throne, on the re-assembling of Parliament on the 4th of February, 1829, contained the first authoritative announcement of the forthcoming measure. It recommended the subject for consideration. In the course of the debate on the Address, the Duke of Wellington announced that the Government were prepared to propose a measure for the emancipation of the Catholics; an announcement which could scarcely be said to have taken either the Parliament or the public by surprise, but the truth of which could scarcely be believed till it issued from the lips of one who seldom spoke in vain. Its effect on the Tory section of both Houses was maddening. Men in whom a few fixed ideas had superseded even the faculty of reasoning, looked upon the proposed act of grace as a positive injury to themselves. Not only did it 'undermine the bulwarks of Protestantism;' it also robbed them of their own peculiar objects of hatred and vengeance. With politicians of the Perceval and Eldon school, persecution or reprobation of the Roman Catholics was the be-all and the end-all of their thoughts and of their political system; take away the power of doing so, and they lost the sole object of their mundane existence. That the measure must be carried, all men at once perceived. The King sanctioned it; the 'great Captain' proposed it; the leading civilian of the Tory party in the Lower House was prepared to endorse it; the Whigs, however anxious to see their rivals out of power, could not but accept it. Thus, in the eyes of the political heirs of Spencer Perceval, the Constitution was gone for ever.[1] There still remained, however, one

[1] The perpetual cry that the Constitution was *gone* was always a source of amusement to George Canning, when it was urged by the enemies of Emancipation. On one occasion he compared the vitality of the British Constitution to that of the dog of old Mother Hubbard in the nursery tale:—

"She went to the baker's
To buy him some bread,

sweet revenge They could attack and vilify the men who were thus making a sacrifice of their most cherished opinions and associations, in order to save the State from threatened convulsion And this part of their public duty they performed to admiration Never was Minister so assailed in this country As for the Duke, it had been better for him that he were Bonaparte himself, for the vocabulary of abuse against that provoking personage was comparatively limited The pens and tongues that for fourteen years and more had been employed in lauding him as the hero of heroes, were now with as much activity and a fresher motive engaged in heaping on the illustrious saviour of his country every epithet of contumely which insulted honour and virtue can apply to the traitor The Duke of Wellington was on a tripod of which each support was a treachery He was a traitor to the Protestant cause, a traitor, and a furtive one to boot to the Whigs, who had been working at this question with exemplary Quixotism and great political fame for near a quarter of a century, and who now saw the Duke's sword wreathed with their coveted laurels, a traitor, above all, to the memory of Canning who had been 'hunted to death,' only a year or so before, because *he* had wished to free the Catholics, and the Duke had passed the *mot d ordre* that the work, at all events should not be done by him who had his heart in it, but, if done at all, be effected by a cold State policy and a calculating expediency There were the two devoted statesmen, the heath on fire all around them, and, not only the prey of their enraged associates here, but assured, on the very highest clerical authority, that their fate was a matter of certainty hereafter The Duke bore it all with his constitutional imperturbability, so long as the attacks were of a purely public and political nature Perhaps his chief annoyance arose from the pertinacity with which his opponents forced him, night after night, to make premature speeches on the proposed measure, ere it came in a formal way before the House, for this guerilla warfare interfered with his ideas of regularity and discipline, but all the rest he despised, as indeed he could well afford to do, being sure of the rectitude of his own motives

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And when she came back
The dog was dead!
She went to the undertaker s
To buy him a coffin
And when she came back
The dog was laughing!

Such said Canning would be the fate of our Constitution Catholic Emancipation or any other popular measure might kill it but as sure as fate the next day we should find it laughing

Catholic Association having dissolved itself,

"At length, the he purpose of Ministers, and the bill having co
better to facilitate th fell to the Duke of Wellington to propose it
up to the Lords, it speech on the occasion, as well as some previo
that assembly. His, as a clear and unvarnished exposition of t
ones, was masterly ich had led to the conduct of the Governme
reasons of State whi Every argument that could be advanced,
and which justified it ced, short of mere fanaticism, was thoroug
that had been advan in short, the Duke now came out in quite a ne
canvassed and met; the popular sense of the term, he never was a
light. An orator, in en; but as an exponent, in language clear a
never could have be nest capacity,' of the plain common-sense vie
forcible 'to the mea the question, he stood alone. In this respe
he himself took of peaking was unique. In fact, he had but o
indeed, his public s his auditory and the public—the absolute nece
thing to impress on hich could not longer be delayed, and for whic
sity of a concession no substitute."[1]
there appeared to be any speeches made by the Duke of Wellingto

From the very m he passage of the Catholic Bill through it
in the course of t ne of which speeches he defended the measu
various stages, in so lf, it is not necessary to quote more than th
and in others hims n reference to his own conduct, he said, on th
following extracts:— 9.—
10th of February, 18 declared my earnest wish to see the Roma

"I have repeated tled. I believe nothing could ever have bee
Catholic question se rit than my expression of that wish; and is it
more distinct or expl that the person entertaining it should avail him
a matter of surprise unity of proposing the adoption of that which,
self of the first oppor e declared himself anxiously to wish? On this
over and over again, had long ago made up my mind, as a member
particular question, I e a particular course. It may be thought
of this house, to ta taste; but, for many years, I have acted upon
peculiar as a matter o er to vote for the affirmation of this question
the determination ne acting as a Government, should propose it to
until the Government noble relation (Lord Longford) knows, that
the legislature. My 10, the several successive governments of this
ever since the year 18 med upon a principle which prevented their
country have been fo Government, the adoption of any measure of
ever proposing, as a e Catholics. In order to the formation of a
relief in regard to th as a Government, could propose this measure,
cabinet which, acting lace, necessary to obtain the consent of that
it was, in the first p

[1] "Illustrated London News."

individual, the most interested by his station, his duty, and the most sacred of all obligations, of any individual in the empire It was necessary, I say, that I should obtain the consent of that individual, before the members of the Government could consider the question as a Government one Now, under such circumstances as these, would it have been proper in me to have breathed a syllable on the subject until I had obtained the consent of the illustrious personage to whom I have alluded?[1] I call upon my noble relative to answer this question, if he can, in the negative I beg of my noble relative to ask himself this question, whether I was wrong in having kept secret my views, since the month of July or August, not talking to any man upon the subject, until I had the consent of that exalted personage, to form a government upon the principle of taking the question to which I have alluded into consideration? My noble relative ought to place himself in my situation—he ought to see what was expected of me, and then, instead of blaming me for acting as I have done, he would see that if I had acted otherwise, I should have been highly blameable

"When the question had been decided—when I received the permission, so as to be enabled to make the declaration—on not having made which, alone the accusation of surprise can be founded—the opening of the session was so near that it was impossible to make known what had occurred earlier, or in any other manner than by the speech from the throne"

And upon the 4th of April, 1829, the Duke, in allusion to the imputed danger to the Protestant Church in conceding the Catholic claims, said

"It has been repeatedly assumed by many of your lordships, in the course of the discussion, but particularly by the right reverend prelates who have spoken, that the Church of Ireland (or, as I have recently been reminded, the Church of England in Ireland) is in danger I call on those who apprehend that danger to state clearly whether that danger, on this particular occasion, is more to be expected as resulting from legislation or from violence If they say it is resulting from legislation, I answer that their apprehensions are puerile It is impossible to suppose that a small number of persons admitted into this house, and a small number admitted into the other house, while we have a Protestant Sovereign upon the throne, should be productive of legislative danger to the Church of England in Ireland I beg to observe, with respect to the point relating to the union of the two countries, that a fundamental article of the Union

[1] Lord Longford had accused him of concealment

is the junction of the two churches, called the United Churches of England and Ireland. It is impossible, therefore, that any mischief can occur to the Church of Ireland without a breach in the union of the two countries. There is another point to which I beg leave to advert for a moment. Although it is true that we do admit into Parliament members of the Roman Catholic persuasion, yet, at the same time, by another measure brought forward with it, and on which we equally rely, we propose regulations which will have the effect of destroying the influence of the Catholic priesthood in the election of members of Parliament. We have carefully examined the measure, and do expect that it will give additional security to all the interests of the State."

Few public measures, perhaps, have been more productive of personal hostilities than was the bill for the removal of the Catholic

LORD WINCHELSEA.

disabilities. The Duke met every opposition in the most uncompromising form. He dismissed the Attorney-General, Sir Charles Wetherall. He told Marshal Beresford, who wished to be excused voting on the question, that he was at perfect liberty to maintain his

own opinion, but that, as Master General of the Ordnance, he must support his Majesty's Government. Lord Winchelsea having said that the Duke, "under the cloak of some coloured show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carried on insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State," the Duke called him out. His Grace was attended by Sir Henry Hardinge, and Lord Winchelsea by the Earl of Falmouth. The Duke fired and missed his adversary—Lord Winchelsea fired in the air, and then withdrew his insulting language.[1]

The bill was read a third time on the 10th of April, and received the royal assent on the 13th of the same month. It was a strong proof of the immense personal influence of the Duke in the House of Peers, that, in the summer of 1828, that House had declared by a majority of 45 that emancipation was too manifestly a breach of the Constitution to be even discussed, and in the spring of 1829 it declared by a majority of 105 that the Bill was altogether consistent with the Constitution, and if it did no good, would at least do no harm to the Protestant Church!

The Earl of Liverpool, after a lingering illness, died on the 4th of December, 1828. On the 1st of January, the King conferred the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports upon the Duke of Wellington.

The nature and duties of this office are very little known. When the newspapers occasionally spoke of the Duke having gone to Walmer on business connected with his office, the natural impression was that he was merely obliged to go through some form or other that was necessary to his enjoyment of a sinecure. This was not the case, the duties attaching to the office being very onerous and varied in their nature.

[1] In an imaginary conversation, in the "United Service Magazine" of the time, the following anecdote is related:—

"*Hector.* Apropos of pistols—what do you think? Our warlike Premier and his Secretary-at-War could not muster a case of pistols between them. Sir H. was at length accommodated with a pair by a high military official, himself the last man in England to use them wantonly.

"*Miles.* More ominous of peace than pugnacity; another proof that our 'occupation's gone.'

"*Hector.* I understand an amusing episode occurred to vary the tragical tendency of the *rencontre*. Dr Hume was privately engaged by Sir Henry Hardinge to attend him to the field. The Doctor felt uneasy, and, with a very laudable feeling, secretly informed the Duke of Wellington that *Sir Henry* was going to fight a duel. His Grace kept his countenance and his counsel, and Dr H. was much edified on seeing the Duke himself take his ground as *Premier* in both senses!

"*Brace.* Ha, ha! Excellent!

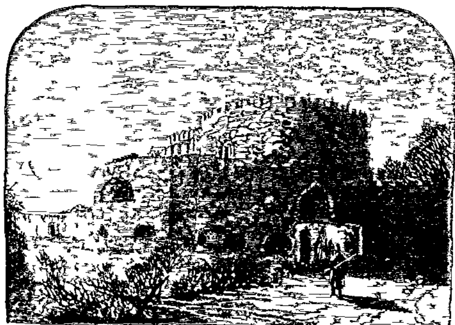
"*Miles.* Happily the affair has terminated without serious consequences; but the Duke, amidst his schemes of financial economy, must not overlook, in his own person, *and as a public duty*, the *economy of life*: enough that the nation needs no further proof of his double qualification, '*tam Marti quam Mercurio*.'"

As originally constituted, the Lord Wardenship of the Cinque Ports was a kind of *imperium in imperio.* Originally established by the Conqueror for the consolidation of his power on the coast, the privileges and powers of the office have become modified, to suit the altered state of society and of government. The jurisdiction of this officer extends over a wide range of coast; from beyond Margate, in Kent, to Seaford, in Sussex, and the portion embraced by it is that at which a foreign enemy might be expected to attempt a landing. Anciently the Lord Warden combined various offices, of which the remains are to be traced in the duties of the modern functionary. He was, for the district he commanded, similar to a sheriff of a county, a lord-lieutenant of a county, a Custos Rotulorum, and an admiral, but with an authority greater than that wielded by any admiral of the fleet of the present day, because more irresponsible and self-dependent. The modern Lord Warden retains many of the powers and privileges of his predecessors, but shorn of their formidable character. The Lord Warden, as Constable of Dover Castle, is the person to whom writs are directed from the superior courts touching persons living within his jurisdiction. He is, thus, a kind of sheriff. On receiving these writs, he makes out his warrant, which is executed by an officer called a "bodar," who, by the way, is (or till recently was), also the person to execute writs out of the local or district court of Hastings. The Lord Warden's under-sheriff is the clerk of Dover Castle, where there is a prison for debtors, in the custody of the constable. In former days there were held sundry courts of adjudication, at which the Lord Warden presided, the rest of the court being composed of the mayors of the towns included in the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, the bailiffs, and sundry inhabitants summoned as "jurats." In modern days the number of these courts is reduced, but there still remains the "Court of Brotherhood" and the "Court of Guestling," which, however, are only rarely held. The same functionaries constitute the court in each case; so that the administration of justice becomes as close and compact an affair as the Ecclesiastical Courts themselves. The object of assembling these courts was to fulfil a part of the duties imposed by the original charter, that of furnishing ships to the crown. This, of course, has long since become obsolete; but the Courts of "Brotherhood" and of "Guestling" are held prior to each coronation, for the purpose of making arrangements as to the "Barons" of the Cinque ports, in respect of their right to hold the canopy over the King's head on occasion of that ceremony. It fell twice to the lot of the Duke of Wellington to preside at these courts called for coronation purposes,

first on occasion of the coronation of William IV, and the second time on that of our most gracious Sovereign

Of course the functions and jurisdiction of the Lord Warden and the special privileges of the Cinque Ports have been much abridged, more especially by the Municipal Corporation Reform Act, the object being to assimilate those privileges with the general municipal constitution of the empire But no attempt was made to interfere with what remained of the jurisdiction of the Lord Warden as Admiral of the Coast This jurisdiction embraces many subjects usually confined to the municipality, but, on the other hand, the mayors of some of the towns are *ex officio* members of the courts held for the purpose of performing these functions The principal is the 'Court of Lode Manage at which pilots are licensed, and all complaints heard of misconduct or inefficiency, and other duties are performed connected with the local government of those ports in all that relates to their ancient character or their maritime affairs

Attached to the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports is Walmer Castle, an ancient building which holds a middle place between the ancient and modern fortifications It is coeval with Deal Castle of the time of Henry VIII with Sandown Castle they form a defence for the Kentish coast between Sandwich and Dover



WALMERCASTLE—NIGHT WATCH

CHAPTER XII.

The Duke and the Press—Parliamentary Session of 1830—The National Distress—The Duke on the Corn-laws, Currency, &c.—Death of George IV.—Succession of William IV.—Revolution in France, Belgium, and Poland.—The Regency Question in England.—The Civil List.—Resignation of Ministers.

UPPORTED by the Commons, and governing the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal, the Duke had three estates of the realm at his command. If the old Tories had forsaken the "traitor," the Whigs had given him their adhesion, and he thus stood in a position scarcely less commanding than that enjoyed by William Pitt in his palmiest days. But there was another "estate" which the Duke of Wellington had not yet bent to his will. The "fourth"—the mighty press—disallowed his strength. The ardent friends of liberty extenuated his apparent apostasy from his own party, because it had served the cause of religious toleration, and because they hoped that he would extend the principle of tergiversation and become a convert to all the views of Whigs and Radicals;[1] but the advocates of the interests of the Protestant Church—or rather the representatives of the High Church party—were beyond measure indignant at his

[1] *Radical*, a term first applied to Hunt, and other Reformers, who sought to *uproot* the system of Parliamentary Representation. Of late years, the word has been erroneously applied to the members of the Free-trade party, the financial economists, and others, who oppose themselves to those enactments of the legislature which promote taxation and curtail popular freedom. The term is now as ill used as those of Whig and Tory.

desertion of their cause The *Morning Journal*, a paper of uncompromising hostility to the Catholics, expressed the anger of the Tories in the most violent language It charged the Duke with "despicable cant and affected moderation"—with a want of mercy, compassion, and of those more kindly and tender sympathies which distinguish the heart of a man from that of a proud dictator and tyrant It imputed to him gross treachery, or arrant cowardice and artifice united

The Duke had never held the newspaper press in much respect The information which it conveyed to the public during the Peninsular War, although of the deepest interest to the British community, was offensive to him, because the same information reached the enemy whom it was of importance to keep in ignorance of the operations of the English camp and the disposition of the troops Moreover, the press libelled him without mercy, giving publication to the grossest falsehoods, and assigning the worst motives to those acts which proved to be the result of the most consummate judgment, the most profound forethought, and the purest patriotism But he took no steps to procure the punishment of the libellers He despised, or affected to despise them—he found a safety-valve for his wrath in calling them "rascally," "licentious," and so forth, and upon one occasion he wrote to Sir Henry Wellesley, "What can be done with such libels and such people, excepting to despise them, and continuing one's road without noticing them?" It had been well for his renown if he had continued this lofty policy, leaving to time the assertion of truth and the confusion of his maligners

Whether yielding to the advice of his colleagues in the Cabinet and the law officers of the Crown, or acting from his own spontaneous will, the Duke caused Mr Alexander, the editor of the *Morning Journal*, to be prosecuted for his libels, and the result was the punishment of that gentleman with fines and imprisonment

These prosecutions created a strong feeling of disgust and dislike throughout the country They aggravated the hostility of the Tories and did not please the Liberals, Sir James Scarlett, the Attorney-General, was a Whig, and lost ground with his friends and the public for acting "under a Tory ministry governing on Whig principles" Much discussion arose in Parliament respecting the prosecutions, and Sir Charles Wetherall, who had refused to defend Mr Alexander on the score of the excited state of his own feelings against the Government, moved for copies of the proceedings on the *ex officio* informations against Mr Alexander, as a peg whereon to hang severe animadversions on the tyrannical conduct of the Duke Sir Charles

denounced him as an imperious and ambitious minister, and declared that nothing so odious and oppressive had been heard of since the days of the Star Chamber. But these parliamentary discussions did not disturb the imperturbability of the noble Duke. He allowed them to pass as "the idle wind" which he "respected not."

A busy and a fertile session was that of 1830. The distresses of the country; the Corn-laws; the expense of public (and especially military) establishments; the shipping interest; the state of the law as regarded capital punishment in cases of forgery, and the punishment of libel; the civil disabilities of the Jews, and parliamentary reform—were the subjects of numerous motions, bills, and debates. To several of these the Duke of Wellington was compelled by his position to speak — the rather that he was continually, by implication, placed upon his defence. Upon the subject of the manufacturing distress he spoke at great length. To the arguments in favour of an extended currency, he replied that the sole object of that expedient was to cause an unlimited creation of paper currency[1] by individuals—and thus to give them the means of lending capital to speculators and bringing the country to the verge of ruin. He was of opinion that the (so called) equitable adjustments would soon annul the advantage obtained from an adherence to the principles of justice and good faith. He ascribed to the competition of machinery and the universal application of steam the decrease in the demand for labour, and finally he showed that the reports of national distress had been exaggerated. This last observation entailed upon the Duke some severe strictures, which, at a later period (February 25, 1830), he thus met :—

"Among other topics of accusation, I have been arraigned for my assertion on the first day of the session, that the distress of the country was not of that magnitude which some persons have affirmed. The noble lord (Stanhope) is quite at liberty to indulge in such invectives if it pleases him to do so, but if he supposes I do not feel for the distresses of the people, he is utterly mistaken, as I can sincerely aver that I have as strong sympathies on the subject as any noble member of this house. But I am resolved to tell plainly and honestly what I think, quite regardless of the odium I may incur from those whose prejudices my candour and sincerity may offend. I am here to speak the truth, and not to flatter the prejudices and prepossessions

[1] The Duke of Wellington, like many other men, believed that his *forte* lay in the management of public finances. He considered that he had attained a sufficient mastery of the subject to qualify him peculiarly for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. In May, 1829, he made a speech (for which see Appendix) on the subject of a metallic currency, which showed, at least, that he had carefully studied the subject.

of any man In speaking the truth, I shall utter it in the language that truth itself most naturally suggests

* * * * * *

"I request your lordships to look at the state of the savings banks A measure was some time back adopted to prevent the investment of money in those banks beyond a certain amount for each person, in order that the parties not entitled to it should not derive the advantage which is intended for the poorer classes Large sums were drawn out of those banks soon after, but they have since revived in some degree Whence has the money come? From the lower classes This cannot be considered as a proof of general distress Your lordships ought likewise not to omit from your consideration the increased traffic carried on on the railroads and canals in the country The noble earl (Roseberry) has told your lordships that I have availed myself of the increased traffic upon the roads and canals by merchants and manufacturers—in despair seeking a market—in order to represent the country in a state of prosperity, whereas it is an additional symptom of distress My Lords, I said that this traffic had been increasing for years, and that it had, in some cases, doubled in ten years In one of the recent discussions in this House, upon the currency, the noble marquis opposite (the Marquis of Lansdowne) very truly remarked, that a large quantity of currency might be found in a country in which there should be little riches and prosperity, and that the facility and rapidity of the circulation of the currency were signs of the prosperity of a country rather than the quantity of that currency I entirely concur in the truth and justice of this observation But I would beg to ask the noble marquis whether it is possible that transactions can increase and multiply as they have done in this country, in the last few years, without giving fresh scope for the circulation of the currency of the country, fresh employment for labour, and occasioning, in some degree, the augmentation of general prosperity?"

In the same speech, the Duke said of the CORN LAWS that they "worked well," and "he was convinced they could not be repealed without injury to the country —a statement to be forgotten by those who venerate consistency and admire the Duke of Wellington, because, like others, upon other subjects, the assertion only tended to show that his political opinions were inconsiderately adopted, to be easily abandoned if circumstances favoured a change in the law

The endeavours of the advocates of cheap government and light taxation to reduce the public expenditure were repelled by the Duke, on the ground of the reduction of our military establishments having

been carried to the utmost lengths consistent with the national safety. The attempt to legislate for the poor, he met by a reference to the state of the country. His Grace contended that it was an important, difficult, and complicated subject, and could not be entered upon hastily, nor until the country was restored to a state of complete prosperity.

On the 26th of June, 1830, GEORGE IV. breathed his last, after suffering much anguish for two months, which appeared to have arisen from ossification of the heart. He was somewhat lamented as a Sovereign, though little respected as a man. His adherence to his father's patriotic resistance to Napoleon, and the grandeur of his

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

ideas in respect to matters of national display, had given him a certain amount of popularity, which was not entirely neutralised by his notorious disregard of the moralities of life, his severe habits of exclusion from the sight of his people, his conduct towards his wife, and his assent to the emancipation of the Catholics. Even on these last points he had defenders. The circumstance of his marriage to a

woman he disliked from the moment he looked upon her, naturally tainted his whole existence, and palliated the treatment to which he had subjected her The retired life he had led arose from constitutional indolence, and a reluctance to exhibit his person, which, from early habits of dissipation, had long ceased to typify the "mould of form" His concession to the Catholics was excused by some persons as the result of ministerial coercion, and accepted by others as the fruit of an honest conviction Upon the whole, however, the public was not thrown into a violent state of grief upon the occurrence of an event for which frequent bulletins and the cessation of public business by the King had, in a measure, prepared them

It was said at the time, and has not since been contradicted, that GEORGE IV never forgave the Duke of Wellington for compelling his assent to the Catholic Relief Bill, and that latterly a great deal of coolness had marked the royal reception of the warrior statesman Nevertheless the Duke could not fail to be personally concerned at the death of the King His Majesty's bounty, in the conferment of honours, had been "boundless as the sea" He had, as Prince Regent, manifested a lively interest in the success of the Duke's military operations, sustaining him at home against a world of enmity and obloquy, even to the extent of forfeiting the support of the party (the Whigs) to which the Prince had been attached from his first entrance into public life, and from which he had derived great assistance and sympathy in his quarrels with his father, the investigation of his debts, &c And after the wars, the Prince—and then the King—had covered the Duke with the highest marks of gratitude and admiration The recollection of these favours made its impression upon his Grace, and accordingly, when addressing the House of Lords a few days subsequently, the Duke passed a proper eulogium upon the deceased monarch, carefully eschewing all those points upon which any difference of opinion could arise He praised the high attainments and polished manners of George IV, his knowledge and talent, his patronage of the arts, and his firm conduct during the war with France

George IV dying without surviving issue, he was succeeded by his brother William, Duke of Clarence Parliament was therefore dissolved as a matter of course, and a new Parliament summoned to meet in the beginning of November

In the month of July of this year a new Revolution broke out in France The government of Louis XVIII, restored in 1815, had been distinguished by all the vices and follies of priestly Bourbonism Upon the death of the King, the Comte d'Artois ascended the throne

as Charles X., and continued to reign, influenced by the Jesuits, and the exclusive policy of Monsieur de Polignac. From one piece of tyranny to another the Bourbons blundered on, until, making an effort to trample upon the press, the spirit of the Parisians was aroused. A violent insurrection immediately broke out—the Bourbons were hurled from the throne—and Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Orléans, was raised to the monarchy by the title of the King of the French. This revolt was not confined in its influence to France. Belgium, by a similar effort, at once renounced the authority of Holland; some of the German States endeavoured to achieve an independence, and Poland once more sought to cast off the yoke of Russia.

The struggle of Continental Europe to emancipate itself from arbitrary government attracted attention in England, and awakened the large towns to a sense of their unrepresented condition. "Parliamentary Reform" now became the cry of the people as the only panacea for all the evils which afflicted the State, and as the country was the scene of a general election, every advantage was taken of the popular excitement to procure the return of Liberal members. A breach had taken place between the Government and the Whigs immediately before the dissolution of Parliament, upon the subject of the establishment of a Regency in case of the demise of the Crown while the Princess Victoria, the presumptive heiress, continued a minor. Deprived, therefore, of the Whig support which the Wellington ministry had played off against the Tories, and hopelessly severed from the latter by the Act of Emancipation, the Government had the satisfaction to see their steady adherents ousted from very many of the seats they had occupied, by virtue of the influence of opinion and public approbation. Nevertheless, when the King met the new Parliament on the 2nd of November, a bold face was put upon matters by the Duke of Wellington. It was announced that the riots which disturbed the country should be put down by the authority of the law, and all measures of Parliamentary Reform resisted to the utmost.

On the 9th of November, the King and Queen were to have been present at a banquet in the City, upon the occasion of the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor. Information, however, having reached the Ministry that large bodies of people intended to assemble with the intention, it was believed, of offering an outrage to the person of the Sovereign and the Duke of Wellington, the latter advised the King to decline accepting the Lord Mayor's invitation. Acting upon this counsel, the King did not go, and great dissatisfaction and

disappointment were the consequence Nothing more was needed to complete the unpopularity of the Duke He had now lost another ingredient in ministerial strength—the sympathy of "the City"—and exposed himself to the intense ridicule of the press Of this the Whigs took the fullest possible advantage When the question of the settlement of the Civil List for the new reign came before the House of Commons, Sir Henry Parnell moved that the subject be referred to a Select Committee The motion was opposed by Ministers, who were left in a minority of 29, several of the old Tory party voting against them On the same day—15th November—a proposition for Parliamentary Reform, emanating from Mr Brougham, was to be brought to a division, and, as Ministers expected a defeat, they at once resigned their offices, and Earl Grey was sent for by the King to form a Ministry

Under this Administration the Duke of Wellington held no office The command of the army was given to Lord Hill

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reform question—The Ministerial Bill defeated in Committee—Parliament dissolves—Re-assembles—New Bill introduced—Passes in the Commons—Is resisted by the Duke in the House of Lords—The Duke's speeches.

EARL GREY was one of the earliest and stoutest champions of Reform in the Representation. In his youth he had been celebrated as a declaimer in the House of Commons against close boroughs and a limited franchise;—advanced in life, he clung tenaciously to his early principles. He accepted the office of Prime Minister upon the understanding that "Reform" should be made a Cabinet question, and the King assented to the arrangement. The times were favourable to success, and the only difficulty of Ministers—and a great difficulty it was—lay in determining the extent of the franchise, and settling the places which should possess, or cease to enjoy, the advantage of representation. The country was in a state of ferment. Meetings were everywhere held, and encouraged by the example of the nations of the continent, they sought by their resolutions to extend and strengthen the democratic features of the constitution. It was more difficult to restrain public impatience than to find an assent to the general principles of Reform. Petitions poured in from every part of the United Kingdom, and political associations were formed under the name of "Unions" for the purpose of acting on the public mind, and pressing on the Ministry.

On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell brought forward the ministerial plan of Parliamentary Reform. His lordship was not in the Cabinet, but the duty was intrusted to him because of the

influence of his name and character, and because he had, on many occasions, made motions for partial changes in the existing state of the representation The proposition was warmly supported by the Liberal party, though many did not consider that it went far enough It passed a first reading without a division Upon the second reading Ministers had a majority of *one* The next step was to carry the Bill into Committee Here it was met by an amendment from General Gascoyne, which placed Ministers in a minority, and upon a later day they were defeated in an attempt to carry the Ordnance estimates Under these circumstances, Lord Grey advised the King to dissolve Parliament, and to take the sense of the country upon the expediency of working out changes in the representation The King yielded—Parliament dissolved—and the new Parliament assembled on the 14th of June

The dissolution of Parliament was celebrated in London and most of the great towns with illuminations, and the populace demonstrated their love of freedom of opinion by breaking the windows of all those peers and commoners who had expressed sentiments unfavourable to the Reform Bill Apsley House was peculiarly favoured with the wrath of the London mob Almost every pane bore evidence of the tyranny of the multitude The Duke bore the infliction calmly, and in immediately causing his windows to be protected by iron blinds, he at once provided his mansion with a defence against future attacks, and presented the public with a permanent monument of his opinion of the instability of popular favour

Soon after the re assembling of Parliament, a new bill for the reform of the representation was brought in It passed, after much animated discussion, by a majority of 136 on the second reading, and of 109 in committee Read a first time in the House of Lords, the opposition of that body was reserved for the second reading, when the bill was thrown out by a majority of forty one This led to tremendous tumults all over the country—at Bristol, Derby, Nottingham, and elsewhere

The Duke of Wellington gave to Parliamentary Reform strenuous opposition In respect to this measure, his Grace observed a rigid consistency He made several speeches on the subject at different times He had resisted reform as a Minister—he resisted it because it was calculated to damage the constitution of Parliament There was no country in the universe in which so much happiness so much prosperity, and so much comfort were diffused among all the various classes of society, none in which so many and such large properties, both public and private, were to be found as in England "Such

was the condition of this country under that system which was now so greatly condemned. We enjoyed under that system the largest commerce and the most flourishing colonies in the world. There was not a position in Europe in any degree important for military purposes, or advantageous for trade, which was not under our control, or within our reach. All those great and numerous advantages we possessed under the existing system; but it would be impossible that we should any longer retain them if we once established a wild democracy, a complete democratic assemblage under the name of a House of Commons." Upon another occasion his Grace came out even more emphatically.

"It is far from my wish to impute to the noble Earl (Grey) or his colleagues any desire to introduce revolutionary measures into Parliament; but I must say this, that having looked at the measure which has been brought into the other House of Parliament, under their auspices, I cannot but consider that it alters every interest existing in the country—that in consequence of its operation, no interest will remain on the footing on which it now stands, and that this alteration must lead to a total alteration of men—of men entrusted with the confidence of Parliament; I am of opinion that this alteration must have a serious effect on the public interests—an effect which, I confess, I cannot look at without the most serious apprehension. I do not charge the most noble Earl and his colleagues with a desire to overturn the institutions of the country; but I cannot look at the alterations proposed by the bill, without seeing that those alterations must be followed by a total change of men, and likewise by a total change of the whole system of government. Why, I ask, for what reason, is all this to be done? I will not now enter into the question of what is the opinion of the other House of Parliament; but I will say again, as I have said before in the presence of your lordships, that I see no reason whatever for your altering the constitution of Parliament.

"It is my opinion that Parliament has well served the country, and that it deserves well of the country for a variety of measures which it has produced, particularly of late years. I see no reason for the measure now proposed, except to gratify certain individuals in the country. It is possible that a large number, nay even a majority of individuals, in this country may be desirous of this change; but I see no reason, excepting that, for this measure being introduced or adopted.

"While I thus declare my sentiments, I beg your lordships to believe that I feel no interest in this question, excepting that which I have in common with every individual in the country. I possess no

influence or interest of the description which will be betrayed by the measure now proposed I am an individual who has served his Majesty for now, I am sorry to say, half a century, I have been in his Majesty's service for forty-five years—for thirty eventful years of that period I have served his Majesty in situations of trust and confidence, in the command of his armies, in embassies, and in his councils, and the experience which I have acquired in the situations in which I have served his Majesty, enables me and imposes upon me the duty, to say, that I cannot look at this measure without the most serious apprehensions, that, from the period of its adoption, *we shall date the downfall of our constitution*"

Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 20th of October, and in the course of his speech his Majesty sufficiently admitted his views regarding reform by stating that the consideration of Parliament would be called to the question on the opening of the session, and that it was his Majesty's unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as might be found necessary for securing to his people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the state, were essential to the support of our free constitution

On the 6th of December the Houses again met for the despatch of business, and the King again urged the speedy settlement of the Reform question The Ministerial bill, somewhat altered from the former, was immediately introduced to the House of Commons, and the second reading being carried without difficulty, the Parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays It re assembled on the 17th of January, and from that time until the 23rd of March the discussions in committee were carried on At the latter date the bill passed by a majority of 116 But the battle had still to be fought in the House of Peers, and here it again encountered a firm opposition, *notwithstanding that intimidation was employed out of doors by the* press, and in the Lower House, the lords being threatened with an indefinite increase to their number It was even said that Lord Grey had received the King's authority for an augmentation of the number of peers Without resorting to this extremity, however, even if Lord Grey had really possessed the power imputed to him the second reading was carried in the Upper House by a majority of nine Early in the month of May the House went into committee upon the bill, and upon a motion that the disfranchising clauses should be postponed to the enfranchising clauses, Ministers were left in a minority of *thirty five*

Immediately upon the division being announced, Earl Grey

hastened to the King, and offered his Majesty the alternative of creating a batch of peers large enough to give Ministers a preponderating influence in the House, or to accept their resignation. The King decided upon the latter. Lord Grey then resigned, and the King sent for Lord Lyndhurst, to advise upon the best course to be adopted; and Lord Lyndhurst recommended his Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington.

Since the days of Lord George Gordon—or the periods when an invasion was apprehended—London had not been the scene of so much excitement as distinguished it upon the news of the retirement of the Whigs, and the recall of the Duke. The question in every man's mouth was—"Can any Government stand that does not give to the people a full and complete reform in the representation?" It needed "no ghost come from his grave" to answer that; the very streets teemed with indications of the public mind, and symbols of the people's resolution. "Coming events cast their shadows before," and spared all doubts as to what would be the final issue of the Duke's exertions. Here might be seen a fellow selling gross caricatures of the King; there stood a vendor of ballads in which the weakness of "Billy Barlow" and the schemes of the "German Frau" (by which the Queen was indicated) were sung to filthy tunes. Here you were invited to a meeting at the Crown and Anchor, under the auspices of Sir Francis Burdett, Hume, and O'Connell; there you were solicited to sign an address to the Sovereign, imploring him to recall Lords Grey and Brougham. This wall blazed with placards calling on his Majesty to restore his Ministers, or summon the Duke of Sussex;—that caricatured the Duke of Wellington, or reminded the country of his declaration against all reform. Numbers of houses exhibited handbills, in which the owners or occupants vowed they would pay no taxes until the Reform Bill had become the law of the land. Some displayed banners with revolutionary devices; others announced the sale of the "whole stock of trade as the day approached when all security of property under a military government would be at an end." The newspaper offices were crowded long before the hour of publication, and the items of intelligence which they occasionally exhibited on large placards were received by the attendant concourse with shouts or yells, according as they announced pleasurable or disagreeable rumours. The omnibuses which bore the names of "William the Fourth" or "Queen Adelaide" were at once daubed over with black paint, or disfigured with paper patches. The "King's Head" public-houses reversed their signs, or substituted a periwigged gentleman, whom they called "the Chancellor." The

wax work establishment in Fleet street presented a figure of the Duke at the window, with the kingly crown on his head, and "no reform" labelled on his breast Beside him stood the effigy of a lord spiritual in the act of preaching those words "unmusical to Volscian ears" You did not meet a man but anxiety sat on his brow and determination glistened in his eye The commotion extended to the theatres Dowton, at the "Queen's," was called on by the pit to alter the name of the house At Covent Garden, Young played "Hamlet," and when he told the players to "reform it altogether," the house literally shook with the thunders of the audience At the Coburg they acted "Tom Thumb," and drew broad comparisons between the uxorious Arthur, the tyrannical Dollalolla, and the mighty Thumb, and certain existing but unpopular personages of rank These were the hourly indications of the popular disposition, these were the rumblings of the volcano, which needed but the signal to vomit its destroying lava, and scatter dismay around As, however, all great public movements must be directed by a head, the excited body had decided on no particular plan of action until the House of Commons, by an affirmative vote, on a motion of Lord Ebrington's, gave evidence of its intention to stop the supplies Then men walked with a firmer step, and less fevered brow Lord Milton set the example of refusing to pay the tax gatherer The people, obeying the signal from the unknown placarders, ran to the Bank for gold [1] The Birmingham Political Union mustered in all their strength, entered protests and resolutions on their records, and prepared for a mighty struggle with the 'avowed enemies of the people' Many families left town—bishops were hissed during divine service—men wore their hats in church, but no violence was offered to a single Tory, nor any outrages committed which could serve to separate the cause of the mob from that of the judicious part of the community Every individual, in short, seemed to say—"Let us reserve our anger until Royalty and the Tories have consummated their schemes for the destruction of our liberties" At this crisis the Grey Ministry was restored, and the people breathed again

The Houses of Parliament adjourned until the 17th of May, at the instance of Earl Grey, to give time for the re-construction of the Cabinet, and the arrangement of future measures On the resumption of business, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst gave, in the House of Lords, full explanations regarding their attempt to form

[1] Some of the placards ran thus —
'To stop the Duke,
Go for Gold!'

a new Ministry, and which had made them, during a whole week, the chosen objects of declamatory vituperation.

"When his Majesty," said his Grace, "found that he could not consistently with his duty to the state, follow the advice of his confidential servants, so little communication had he with public men other than his responsible advisers, that he had recourse to a nobleman whose judicial functions took him almost out of the line of politics, to inquire whether means existed, and what means, of forming an Administration on the principle of carrying into execution an extensive reform. That nobleman then communicated to me the difficulties in which his Majesty was placed, in order to ascertain how far it was in my power to assist in extricating him from it. With this view, I thought it my duty to institute similar inquiries of others, the rather as I was myself as unprepared as his Majesty, for the advice which his Ministers had tendered, and from the consequences which had ensued from its being rejected. On inquiry I found that there was a large number of most influential persons not indisposed to support a Government formed to aid his Majesty in resisting the advice tendered him by his late Ministers. Under this conviction I attended his Majesty; and my advice to him was, not that he should appoint me his Minister, but certain members of the other House of Parliament. So far from seeking for office for myself, I merely named those persons whom I thought best qualified for his service; adding, that, for my own part, whether I was in office or out of office, he and those persons might depend upon my most strenuous support. The object of this advice and tender of assistance was to enable his Majesty to form an Administration upon the principle of resisting the advice which he had just rejected. These are the first steps of the transaction, and I believe they show, that, if ever there was an instance in which the King acted with honesty and fairness towards his servants, and if ever there was an instance in which public men, opposed to those servants, kept aloof from intrigue, and from the adoption of all means except the most honourable, in promoting their own views of the public weal, this was that individual instance; and I will add with reference to myself, that these transactions show that, so far from being actuated by those motives of personal aggrandisement, with which I have been charged by persons of high station in another place, my object was, that, others should occupy a post of honour, and that, for myself, I was willing to serve in any capacity, or without any official capacity, so as to enable the Crown to carry on the Government. And here I beg your lordships to examine a little the nature of the advice which his

Majesty had rejected, and which I considered it my duty to assist him by every means in my power to resist effectually Ministers found, in the course of last session, that a large majority of your lordships were opposed to the principles of the Reform Bill What should be the ordinary course of proceeding under such circumstances? Why, either to abandon the measure altogether, or make such alterations in it as might render it palatable to the majority of its opponents But was this the course pursued by the noble earl? So far from it, he emphatically declared that he would not consent to the producing of a measure of less efficiency than that which your lordships had disapproved of, and, in point of fact, the noble earl has brought in a bill stronger, and, I do not hesitate to say, worse than the obnoxious measure which you so emphatically rejected, and which he could and can hope to force through this house only by an arbitrary and a most unconstitutional creation of peers If any man will maintain that this is a legal and constitutional line of proceeding, I can only say that my notions of what is legal and what is constitutional are, and I trust always will be, very different, that if the advice were to be adopted, it would place it in the power of a minister to carry any measure he pleased, and by what means he pleased, with impunity, and that, from that moment, the constitution of this country and this house would be at an end In such a case, I repeat, the object and power of this house would be at an end, its deliberative character totally destroyed, and, as a consequence, it would not possess the means of arriving at an honest decision upon any public question And allow me to observe, that, in my opinion, a threat to carry into execution such an unconstitutional mode of adding to the numbers of supporters of a particular minister in this house, providing it has the effect of inducing a number of your lordships to abstain either altogether from attending their duties here, or from offering a decided and uncompromising opposition to a measure which they honestly believe to be mischievous in its tendency—the threat is as bad, in point of fact, as the execution Such a threat is tantamount to forcing the decisions of this house, when it is plain that a majority is decidedly indisposed to adopt the measure which the utterer of the threat may persuade himself would be beneficial to the country It is true that many well disposed persons may be induced by it to adopt a middle course, under a persuasion that they thereby avert the greater evil of a creation of some fifty or a hundred peers, or, perhaps, many may be induced by it to adopt the obnoxious proposition of the noble earl, were it only to save his Majesty himself from the painful consequences of either rejecting or

adopting the counsel of his responsible advisers. But is this free and independent deliberation? Is not an unbiassed decision, under such influences, wholly impracticable? Therefore I was anxious to assist my Sovereign in rejecting such dangerous counsel; and I do not hesitate to add, that he, who would not have acted as I did, would be a party to destroy the legislative independence and constitutional utility of the House of Lords. His Majesty insisted that whoever should undertake the management of affairs should do so on an understanding of carrying an 'extensive reform'—(I quote his Majesty's own words)—'in the representation of the people in Parliament.' Now I always have been and still am of opinion that no measure of reform is necessary, and that the measure before the house was calculated to injure, if not destroy, the monarchical institutions of this country; but I stated on the last occasion when I addressed your lordships on the subject, that though this was my own conviction, I should endeavour, as the principle of the bill had obtained the sanction of a numerical majority, honestly and fairly, in committee, to make such amendments as would enable the Government to meet, and, if possible, overcome the difficulties and extraordinary circumstances which the bill must, in my mind, give rise to. Gladly would I reject it altogether in its present shape. But that was not the question between me and my Sovereign. I was called upon by his Majesty not to act upon my own particular views of reform, but to assist him in resisting the adoption of an advice which would overthrow the House of Lords and the monarchy, and in carrying an extensive measure of parliamentary reform through this house, without having recourse to the unconstitutional exercise of the prerogative suggested by his late advisers. It therefore became a question what parts of the bill might be retained with comparative safety, and which this house might rationally expect would, when sent down to the House of Commons, receive the sanction of that branch of the legislature.

"It was under these circumstances and upon this understanding that I consented to give my assistance to his Majesty to form an Administration. I know many are of opinion that I should have acted a more prudent part, and one more worthy of a man who kept ulterior considerations in view, and who, mindful of his former opinions and pledges against reform, looked only at consistency, if, in regarding nothing but personal considerations, I had refused to have anything to do with the formation of a Government bound to undertake an extensive measure of reform. But were our positions similar? Such persons were, and are, responsible only to themselves, and for them-

selves, I was called on to rescue my Sovereign from the embarrassment in which he was placed by his own servants When his Majesty did me the honour of commanding my aid to enable him to resist a most pernicious counsel, if I had answered, 'I see the difficulties of your Majesty's situation, but I cannot afford you any assistance, because I have, in my place in Parliament, expressed strong opinions against a measure to which your Majesty is understood to be friendly,' I should have been ashamed to show my face in the streets No, I adopted the course which I am sure would have been that of the veriest enemy of the bill, I endeavoured to assist the King in the distressing circumstances in which he was pleased to call for my advice I repeat, that the question which I was called on, by the King, to consider, was not the practicability of forming a Ministry on my own personal views of reform, but to enable him to resist the creation of a multitude of peers for a most unconstitutional and dangerous purpose, and the consideration uppermost in my mind was, how far the recommendation in his Majesty's Speech from the throne in June, 1831, could be acted on without danger to this House or to the monarchy In that speech the King recommended the question of reform to your attention, 'confident that in any measures you might propose for its adjustment, you will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people are equally secured' Who that heard that speech could ever have anticipated the proposition of a measure, or an advice in relation to that measure, which annihilated the independent authority of one of the branches of the legislature? The number of peers whom it would be necessary to create, to carry the Reform Bill as it now stands, would, at the lowest calculation, amount to a hundred, and surely any man who foretold that the measure referred to in that speech put into the mouth of his Majesty was one which would require such an immense augmentation of the peerage, would have been considered as dreaming of things impracticable When I first heard that Ministers had such a proceeding in contemplation, I treated the rumour as an absurdity I believed not that a Minister could be found wicked enough to propose such a measure Many know well that I have ever denounced it as an impossibility, and while no man entertains a more deep sense of the constitutional right of the Crown to create peers, under certain circumstances, I hold it would be an unjust and unconstitutional exercise of that prerogative to create a body of peers for the purpose of carrying some measure obnoxious to the House of

Lords at large. It was to enable the Crown to resist the application for so unconstitutional an exercise of prerogative, that I consented to assist in forming an Administration on the principles I have stated. When, however, I found, from the tone and result of the discussion which took place in the other House of Parliament on the resignation of Ministers, and from the opinion of many leading men in the House of Commons, who were strenuously averse to a creation of peers, that no Government could hope to gain the confidence of that House which did not undertake to carry through a reform as extensive and efficient as that now on the table, I had to inform his Majesty that it was not in my power to fulfil the important commission with which he had honoured me."

Lord Lyndhurst confirmed his Grace's statement, so far as con-

LORD LYNDHURST.

cerned his lordship's connection with the negotiation, which seems to have been extremely slight.

The Earls of Mansfield, Carnarvon, and Winchelsea, the Marquis of Salisbury, and other peers, declared, that though they had in no

way been connected with the transactions which had been explained, the conduct of the Duke of Wellington had been high minded and disinterested, and not the less so for having submitted, without reply, to the unmeasured calumny and misrepresentation heaped upon him daily, rather than impede the formation of a government. He had been hunted down day after day, because he had dared, forsooth, to become Minister, when it turned out, in point of fact, that he had neither accepted nor sought office, though it was within his reach The Earl of Haddington said that he had never been a partisan of the Duke As far as there had been an opposition to his Grace, he might be said to have belonged to it, and he had never formed any connection with him But he felt he should be acting a base part, if he did not state in the face of their lordships and the country, however such a declaration might expose him to obloquy and abuse, that his Grace was entitled to the gratitude of their lordships for doing what he had done [1]

The Reform Bill was ultimately carried, through the absence, from the final debate in the House of Lords, of many of those peers who were particularly hostile to its provisions Rather than resort to the dangerous and unpalatable extremity of creating a number of new peers, whose votes would have insured a triumph to the bill, the King caused a circular to be addressed to the "Non Contents" on the second reading, requesting them to absent themselves from the division in committee

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington, however applauded by those who agreed in opinion with him, will hardly bear the test of a critical examination by an impartial posterity It was in the first place inconsistent with his previous course in respect to the Emancipation Bill, and, in the second, would have been liable to the same charge of tergiversation had Sir Robert (late Mr) Peel succumbed to the argument that a renegade policy was justifiable, if agreeable to the wishes of the King [2] Upon the subject of the Catholic claims,

[1] "Annals of Parliament," 1832

[2] Sir Robert Peel stated that, on the day on which resignation of Ministers had been accepted, Lord Lyndhurst had called upon him, and stated to him, not that his Majesty had applied to him to form an Administration, but that his Majesty had selected him as a former Chancellor and as being by his judicial character, removed from the vortex of politics, to confer with him upon the present state of affairs His lordship then asked him whether he felt it would be in his power to enter into his Majesty's service at the present moment?—stating that his Majesty felt embarrassed by the unexpected resignation of Ministers upon his refusal to create Peers, and that the only other person to whom he had made this communication was the Duke of Wellington who was willing to render any assistance in his power to his Majesty that the noble Duke did not wish to take office, but that he would take and

the Duke of Wellington had at least the defence of always having been obscure. He had never, it is true, directly supported them, neither had he opposed them. His tone was uniform—he wished to see the question "settled;" but it was utterly inexplicable how, with this wish on record, he should have refused to act under Mr. Canning, whose only crime, so far as the Duke's public declaration went, was, that he was favourable to the removal of the Catholic disabilities. With respect to Parliamentary reform, the Duke, true to his attachment to the landed aristocracy, had always declared himself the enemy of any change in the representation that should lead to an infusion of popular elements into the House of Commons. But, bearing in mind that he dreaded a civil war, and had yielded to the Irish to avert such a calamity, it is inexplicable that he should have resisted a measure which appeared to all reasonable men of the time the only safeguard against an English rebellion. The readiness to give way at the last extremity, because the King wished it, may have been honourable to the loyalty of the Duke; but loyalty thus interpreted was clearly liable to degenerate into a servile deference to monarchical tyranny. There could be little ground to hope for the integrity of a Constitution under a Minister who was at every moment ready to set aside his well-considered opinions in order to carry out the wishes of a King under every variety of shape. It is well, perhaps, for the reputation of the Duke of Wellington, and the cause of civil freedom, that he never again had an opportunity of governing England on principles—or rather on a plan—so entirely detrimental to the interests of society.

During the remainder of the session of 1832, the Duke of Wellington frequently spoke in the House of Lords, always in opposition to the Grey ministry. He found fault with its government of Ireland—protested strongly against the absence of coercive measures, calculated, as he thought, to preserve the peace by preventing large assemblages of lawless men—insisted upon the necessity of conciliating the Protestants, and of placing the education of the people under the

serve in any, if it were for the benefit of his Majesty. Although no formal communications had been made to him, yet, as he knew not the use of reserves, he still thought it right to state that the question was put to him, whether or not he would accept what in political life was usually called the highest object of ambition. It was notified to him that the acceptance of office must be with the clear understanding that his Majesty's declaration with respect to reform should be carried into effect, and that the condition of the acceptance of office should be, the carrying through an extensive reform. He replied to Lord Lyndhurst upon the impulse of the moment; but not less, also, upon the impulse of feelings which it would be impossible for the authority or the example of any man, or any set of men, to weaken, and on which no reasoning could produce a contrary decision—that it would be utterly impossible for him to accept office.

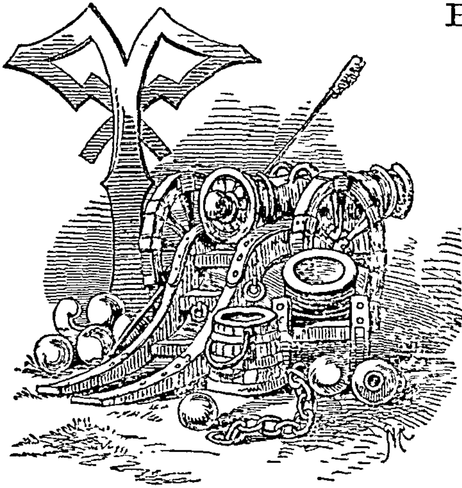
authority of the Church His Grace further opposed himself to the extension of the town franchise to the Roman Catholics as fraught with danger to the Protestant Church, he denounced the reductions in public expenditure effected by Earl Grey as detrimental to the country, and he declared against the policy of the Government, in regard to Portugal, which, at that moment, was a prey to factions, and to the usurpation of Don Miguel, to the exclusion of his niece, the daughter of the Emperor of Brazil

Perhaps at no period of the Duke of Wellington's career was he so thoroughly unpopular as in the year 1832 The public had come to identify him with the cause of despotism, and, if the truth be told, the acrimonious activity of his opposition to a Ministry which did not in all essentials differ materially from his own, contributed largely to justify the unfavourable estimate formed of his liberality

The excessive unpopularity of the Duke of Wellington at this juncture, may be inferred from the fact that when he visited the Tower on the 18th of June, 1832, he was insulted and roughly treated by the mob, and would scarcely have reached his home in safety, had not some soldiers and gentlemen placed themselves around his horse and escorted him to Apsley House, where another party self embodied, and armed with sticks, attended in the neighbourhood, during the Waterloo Banquet, for his Grace's protection To one of these latter gentlemen, Mr Reynard of Kensington, the Duke wrote a letter of acknowledgment, on the 22nd of June, 1832

CHAPTER XIV.

The Session of 1833—The Duke's opinions on various questions—His views of Principle and Expediency—The Duke elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in 1834—Resignation of Lord Melbourne—Sir R. Peel forms a Ministry—It is soon broken up—The Whigs recalled—Death of William the Fourth.



HE year 1833 found the Duke of Wellington still in opposition to the Whigs. The subjects brought upon the tapis afforded large ground for discussion, because they involved principles and interests of an antagonistic character, and the Duke was not slow to avail himself of all the opportunities which offered for the expression of sentiment adverse to the powers that were. The civil war in Portugal arising out of the rival pretensions of Don Miguel and the Infanta Isabella had enlisted the services of a number of Englishmen of desperate fortunes, and of officers, naval and military, who desired occupation and distinction. Their valour and perseverance had tended to prolong the war until it had become a source of commercial and political inconvenience; and, therefore, at the opening of the session of 1833, the King was made by Ministers to say that he was anxious to put an end to the "civil war." The Duke of Wellington seized the occasion for charging its continuance upon the Whigs, who had suffered his Majesty's subjects to embark in the contest. His Grace called the war "revolutionary," and was unsparing in his censures of the "bands of adventurers, collected in various quarters, and paid by God knows who," who kept alive the feud.

As if repentant of his desertion of the Protestant party in carrying Emancipation, the Duke of Wellington, often, in the session of 1833, said a good word for it, proclaiming the Protestants of Ireland the friends of order in Ireland,[1] and declaring it to be "our duty in every case to do all we can to promote the Protestant religion, not only on account of the political relations between the religion of the Church of England and the Government, but because its doctrines are the purest, and its system the best, that can be offered to a people"[2] Irish "agitation" he truly called a conspiracy of priests and demagogues to obtain their purpose by force and menace, and he set his face against any reduction of the number of Protestant Irish bishops

To the Game-laws his Grace opposed himself because they tended to the increase of poaching He was unfriendly to the abolition of slave-labour in the colonies, on the ground of the doubtfulness of the slave's becoming a free labourer for hire, and he feared that the depression of the West India colonies, through the subtraction of negro labour, would lead to the introduction into England of foreign slave grown sugar The renewal of the charter of the East India Company for twenty years coming on for discussion in the session of '33, the Duke readily bore testimony to the excellence of the gubernatorial system of that company, but was favourable to the abolition of the monopoly of the trade with China Upon the discussion of the Jewish disabilities, his Grace vehemently opposed the admission of Jews to seats in Parliament He deemed it indispensable that, in a Christian legislature none but Christians should be permitted to sit—a doctrine which he maintained to the last hour of his existence

Upon several other subjects the Duke of Wellington delivered himself with his accustomed earnestness, and on the 19th of July 1833, enunciated a doctrine which deserves to be particularly noted, as furnishing a key to many of his political acts —

"*If the world were governed by principles, nothing would be more easy than to conduct even the greatest affairs, but in all circumstances the duty of a wise man is, to choose the lesser of any two difficulties which beset him*"

The death of Lord Grenville, on the 12th of January, 1834, left vacant the Chancellorship of Oxford University On the 29th of the same month the Duke of Wellington was unanimously elected his successor, and the ceremony of his Grace's installation took place on the 9th of June following The "Oxford Herald" of the

[1] Speech of 5th July, 1833 [2] Speech of 19th July, 1833

time supplied an account of the ceremonial, of which the annexed may be accepted as an abridgment:—

THE INSTALLATION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"The company began to arrive in Oxford on Saturday, and in the evening Christ Church Meadow was filled, when the last boat-race for the season took place on the Isis. In the evening of Saturday, the Meadow and the Wide Walk had a very gay appearance. Amongst the company we observed numerous fashionable strangers.

"From an early hour on Monday morning carriages posted in from all parts of the country with scarcely any intermission. Ten minutes before four in the afternoon, the Chancellor entered Oxford in his open travelling carriage, and, by his express desire, was unattended by any procession. Several of the younger members of the University rode by the side of the carriage. At the gate of University College his Grace was received by the Vice-Chancellor, and conducted to the lodging where his Grace resided during his stay. As soon as the arrival of the Chancellor was known, the University bells (St. Mary's) began ringing, and they were responded to by all the other bells of the University and City; and a flag was hoisted on the old tower of Carfax Church.

"After putting on the plain academic gown of a nobleman, and a velvet cap with a large gold tassel, his Grace paid a complimentary visit of etiquette to the Duke of Cumberland (who had recently arrived), at Christ Church, and then returned to University College.

"Early in the morning of Tuesday, a considerable number of persons began to collect near the gate of University College, in order to obtain a view of the noblemen and doctors as they went to meet the Chancellor in the College Hall, previous to the procession to the Theatre. Soon after ten o'clock, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland arrived, attended by General Sir John Slade, and was received at the gate by two of the Senior Fellows of the College, and conducted to the Hall. His Royal Highness did not walk to the Theatre, but went in his carriage a few minutes before the procession left the College. The street now presented a very animated appearance. The windows were filled with elegantly-dressed ladies; many persons had taken their station on the roofs of Queen's, All Souls', St. Mary's, and the temporary gallery which had been erected at the end of the Church—anxious to obtain a sight of the great hero.

"The struggles at the doors of the Theatre, for admission, were terrific Of the difficulties and dangers of admission into the area—the place appointed for the Masters of Arts, Bachelors of Civil Law, and strangers—we give the following account, written by a gentleman who experienced them —The pressure was tremendous before the inner entrances were opened, but it became, if possible, still worse afterwards The tide of Masters of Arts and strangers rushed in a direct line through the gate with such velocity as to force many of them off their feet, some of them fell, and were trodden upon by their successors, in spite of all the efforts which every gentleman felt himself bound to make, to prevent another receiving injury The lateral pressure was, however, the most dangerous, as I can testify, from having experienced it It became, within a few seconds after the gates were opened, so severe, that the iron railing near the schools, was absolutely forced down, and those who were nearest to it were thrown along with it upon the ground Severe contusions were received Several gentlemen had their coats ripped up from the tail to the cape by catching the iron front of the palisades, others endured the same misfortune, owing to the determination of their friends to stick close, at all hazard, to their skirts Gowns were shivered into fragments, and if it could be possible that there could be any freshmen Masters of Arts, several of them would have achieved the honourable distinction of walking with as ragged a gown as ever flickered on the back of a veteran academician The university cap, in a crowd, is almost as easily managed as that useful abomination a crush hat, but caps were slit on this occasion into fractions infinitesimally small, and as to hats, they were not only a nuisance in themselves, but they were also the cause of a nuisance to every unfortunate wight brought in contact with them After emerging from a very dark passage, I came into the full blaze of beauty by which the Theatre itself was illuminated I have seen two coronations, but the spectacle on these occasions is frittered into parts, or, to borrow a phrase from Shakspeare, 'sawn into quantities,' so that at one glance you cannot command a view of the whole Here the reverse was the case As soon as you entered the Theatre, there was a prospect almost too dazzling to be looked upon Around you and above you, to the right and to the left, were crowds of beauties, who compelled you, in spite of your Christianity, to think of the houris of Mahomet's paradise Look where you would, you encountered the glances of their bright eyes, and in those glances were all 'the mind, the music breathing from the face' which youthful poets, forgetful of reality, too often indulge their fancy in

describing. I believe that you are already aware that, during the *encænia*, the rising semicircle of the theatre is reserved for the noblemen and the doctors, and that immediately behind them are placed the ladies of peers and the different members of their families. The gallery immediately facing this semicircle was reserved for ladies who, though equally respectable in the eyes of society, are not so in those of the Heralds' College. With these ladies, by the regulations of the University, it was forbidden that any male animals, whether of the gown or of the town, should intermix. The practical effect of this regulation—absurd as it appears in principle—was admirable. You had all the colours of the rainbow, and a few more, presented to you in close contact, amid a profusion of feathers and flowers.

"The crowd every moment became more dense, more pressing, and more importunate. Everybody pushed in who had tickets, and the consequence was, that the pressure became dreadful. After the Masters of Arts and strangers had wedged themselves into a compact mass, the Undergraduates and Bachelors of Arts were admitted into the upper galleries, and then came

> "Tumult and Confusion, all embroiled,
> And Clamour, with a thousand various mouths."

"After they had filled the gallery, and settled themselves in their seats, an unanimous cry arose among them for three cheers for the Duke of Wellington. They were given with hearty vociferation. Then there was a short pause, and again another cheer for the Chancellor of the University. The name of Mr. Dyce, one of the Proctors, was then mentioned, on which was heard—

> "On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
> A dismal universal hiss, the sound
> Of universal scorn—"

which in both universities is certain to be the meed of any Proctor who unflinchingly performs the duty of his office. Previous to the entry of the Chancellor, the names of the King and Queen were shouted by the Undergraduates, and the approbation of these names was shown by tremendous cheering from all parts of the theatre. When Earl Grey was named, the hissing and groaning were universal. The Lord Chancellor found a few friends; cheers and hisses were intermingled, but the latter much preponderated. The names of Lord Eldon and Lord Hill were received with thunders of applause; but when an undergraduate exclaimed 'The Bishops,' the cheering was 'universal, deafening, and almost appalling.' When Lord Wynford entered the theatre, he was received with great applause, as

was also Lord Lyndhurst On the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland, who, not having a degree, did not walk in the procession, no dissentient voice was raised against his Royal Highness, on the contrary, he and his suite were received with loud cheers, and 'one cheer more' was afterwards given for him as Chancellor of the University of Dublin His Royal Highness was in the dress of a Colonel of the 15th Hussars

"Soon after eleven o'clock, Professor Crotch announced upon the organ the approach of the Chancellor, with the procession from the Hall of University College The Duke appeared in excellent health, and the enthusiastic reception he met with on his entering the theatre appeared to restore his step to all the elasticity of youth

COSTUME OF THE DUKE AS CHANCELLOR.

He was dressed in a black coat, across which he wore his blue riband, as Knight of the Garter, and over which was his magnificent academic robe of black silk and gold fringe

"In the procession were the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Eldon, Lord Montagu, Lord Apsley, Lord Hill, Lord Mahon, Sir G. Murray, Sir H. Hardinge, Sir T. Acland, Sir R. Inglis, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Fane, Mr. Hastie, Sir C. Wetherell, the Heads of Houses and Canons of Christ Church, the other resident doctors, and eleven members of the episcopal bench, among whom were the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh. In the seats behind those who formed the procession were the Princess Lieven, the Marchioness ot Salisbury, the Countess of Clanwilliam, the Countess Brownlow and her daughters, the Ladies Herbert, Lady S. Cust, Lady Montagu and her three daughters, Lady Granville Somerset, Lady Popham, Mademoiselle d'Este, and a long list of other illustrious and fashionable personages.

"*When the cheering had subsided, the Duke of Wellington, as* Chancellor, opened the business of the Convocation in a short Latin speech, by stating that it was convened to confer the degree of Doctor of Law, *honoris causâ*, upon certain noblemen and gentlemen.

"After the Chancellor had gone through the list once, he went through it a second time, and after each name, on proposing the admission, said: *Placetne vobis, Domini Doctores? Placetne vobis Magistri?* The Convocation replied with one voice—*Placet.* The Duke then turned round, and with a voice half aside, said, 'Now, I shall get on.' This declaration created considerable laughter. This ceremony having been gone through, Dr. Phillimore, as Professor of Civil Law, proceeded to present to the Chancellor and Proctors—whom he styled *Doctissimi Cancellarii et Vos egregii Procuratores*—the incepting doctors. In the eulogium which he passed upon them in the Latin language, he said that twenty years had now elapsed since he had had the honour and gratification of seeing in the University a similar assemblage of noble and distinguished individuals. On that occasion he had presented to the University as honorary doctors the illustrious heroes who had visited the country with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Intense as his delight was on that occasion, it wanted one circumstance to render it complete—the presence of the greatest commander of them all, our own countryman, the Duke of Wellington. After alluding to the merits of the late Chancellor, Lord Grenville, who had added lustre to the course of study adopted at the University, by pursuing the same course after he had left the University to mingle in the world; and after stating that the noble lord had found consolation in extreme old age in those literary acquirements which had furnished him so many triumphs, and his country benefits in manhood, he proceeded

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to observe, that on the death of that great and good man it became the duty of the University to select out of the noble and distinguished individuals whom it had reared in its bosom, a worthy successor to that noble lord Merit, he said, was not of one class There were different roads to the temple of fame, and different men must distinguish themselves in different ways One man made his way to eminence by literature, another by arts, another by arms Of this latter class none were more illustrious than the noble Duke now their Chancellor Witness his triumphs in India, Portugal, and Spain, his victories at Salamanca, on the Pyrenees, and at Toulouse, and, above all, his liberation of Europe on the bloody field of Waterloo After dwelling some time on these topics, and praising the firmness which his Grace had always evinced in the management not only of the military, but of civil affairs, he concluded this part of the subject by affirming that the University had done itself the greatest honour by selecting the Duke of Wellington as its Chancellor The learned Doctor then proceeded to compliment the different individuals whom he had to present as doctors The Doctor passed over the different names in the list of honorary doctors without any comment, until he came to that of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, to whom he paid a most elegant, and elaborate, and well deserved tribute of applause He spoke of him as *nobilissimus et fortissimus*, as a nobleman to whom the University was bound to pay the highest respect, not only on account of his high rank and ancient blood, but also on his own merits, and his close connection with the Duke of Wellington He had been educated in military lore under the Duke's own eye from his earliest youth—*Tibi fuit, Dux invicte* (great cheering), *comes et minister*—he joined in all the labours, and shared in all the glories of his great leader, and was present at the battle of Waterloo,—*ubi, ut videtis* (pointing to the mutilated arm of Lord F Somerset), *gravia vulnera perpessus est* This annunciation produced the loudest cheering—indeed, none was more loud, save that bestowed on the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Winchelsea, who, next to the Chancellor, were the great favourites of the day

"After the new made Doctors had all taken their seats in the rising semicircle, amidst the cheers of the audience, the public orator proceeded to the 'Creweian Oration' This address contained nearly the same topics as those to which Dr Phillimore alluded There were several elegant and most appropriate compliments to the Chancellor, an eulogium of the Royal Family, addressed to the Duke of Cumberland, and a just panegyric on the Church of England and its bishops After this oration was concluded, the Latin poem, which

gained the Chancellor's prize this year, was recited by the author, Mr. Arthur Kensington, a Scholar of Trinity College, the subject of which was, '*Cicero ab exilio redux Romam ingreditur.*' It was received with great and merited applause. Then Mr. G. Anstice, B.A., late student of Christ Church, and afterwards Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London, recited his English essay. At its close, the Chancellor, with great emphasis, pronounced the words, '*Dissolvimus hanc Convocationem.*' At two o'clock the Theatre was nearly cleared of its visitors.

"The Duke was followed in the same manner in which he came to the Theatre. The procession attended him to University College, where those who composed it, after taking leave of his Grace, separated for the colleges to which they belonged or were invited, and to the different hotels and lodging-houses. Shortly afterwards his Grace made several calls at the Colleges.

"Dr. Crotch's oratorio, which was 'The Captivity of Judah,' was performed, and full justice was done to its merits by the performers engaged. His Grace was present, and received repeated and enthusiastic cheering. After the conclusion of the oratorio, the assembly called for 'God save the King.'

"In the evening a distinguished party was entertained by the Vice-Chancellor, in the hall of University College. The hall was brilliantly illuminated on the occasion, and the rich uniforms worn by many of the distinguished guests, mingled with the scarlet gowns of the Doctors, and the dress robes of the young noblemen resident in the University, produced a most splendid and imposing effect.

"*Wednesday.*—This morning the noblemen and gentlemen forming the procession assembled in the rooms in the Clarendon, and at about a quarter past eleven thence proceeded with the Chancellor to the Theatre. Previous to the entry of the procession, the younger members of the University again amused themselves by calling out different names for cheering or hissing. The 'King and Queen' were again loudly cheered; but the 'King's Ministers' were hissed as much as any opposition men could desire, so were also 'Lord Grey, Lord Brougham, and Lord Durham,' when named separately. The Duke of Sussex had also his full share of sibilation. Some one called out the name of 'Dr. Chafy, Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,' and it was most loudly hissed. There were cries of 'Down with the present Administration,' and shouts for 'The Wellington Administration.' 'The House of Lords' was received with a thundering cheer, and 'The Commons' with a groan. 'The House of Commons as it was' met with a cheering which might almost

have startled from their graves the defunct boroughs of Gatton and Old Sarum Great cheering occurred when the names of 'Sir J Graham and Mr Stanley' were mentioned 'Mr Sewell' was equally cheered 'The Bishops' again elicited thunders of applause There were calls for the 'Gower street Company and Stinkomalee'* 'The Admission of Dissenters' was received with a cry of scorn, and 'Their Non admission,' with tremendous applause There were many other names given, and various eccentric exclamations, all of which showed the general feeling of the University, at least of its more juvenile members

"On the entry of the Chancellor, the applause was unbounded, and 'Wellington and Waterloo' resounded through the Theatre In the procession were all the recently made Doctors in their robes After the Chancellor had opened the Convocation, he named the noblemen and gentlemen upon whom it was proposed to confer the honorary degree of D C L

"Dr Phillimore, Regius Professor of Civil Law, then addressed the Chancellor in Latin He said, that illustrious as the individuals were whom he had presented to the Chancellor's notice yesterday, as candidates for the degree of Doctor in Civil Law, the list of the names which he had that day to present to him was equally distinguished, for it contained the names of men of high rank and ancient blood, of high civil and military attainments, and of the most irreproachable lives and characters There was a circumstance which would make them delight the more, in that list, and that was, as indeed everybody knew, the parties mentioned in it were most of them Cambridge men (*Cheers*) He would select as the first name deserving of his praise, that of John Singleton Copley, late Lord High Chancellor, and now Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who, imbued with the same discipline as their own in the sister University, had raised himself by his eloquence, his talents, and his general kind and courteous demeanour, not only to a place in all their hearts, but also in rank and honours, which scarcely conferred more distinction upon him than he reflected back again upon them (*Cheers for Lord Lyndhurst*) There was also present another ornament of the legal profession, who had now retired from the bench to enjoy in the privacy of domestic life that repose which he had so honourably deserved by a long life of public activity (*Cheers for Lord Wynford*) There was also present one of the invincible Duke's companions in arms, whose coolness in danger and gallantry in battle were known to no man better than they were to the gallant Chancellor As one

* An offensive epithet applied by the *John Bull* newspaper to the London University

of the liberators of Europe, he was entitled to every distinction which this University could confer upon him. (*Cheers for Sir H. Vivian.*) After paying a similar compliment to Lord A. Hill, who was also loudly cheered, the learned Professor proceeded to declare the pleasure which he derived in having to present to the University as a Doctor of Civil Law the Viscount Encombe, the only grandson of their old and venerated High Steward, the Earl of Eldon. (*Cheers for Lord Eldon.*) There was also in the same list the name of Lord Stuart de Rothsay, whose skill in diplomacy, and whose tact in bringing arduous negotiations to a happy and successful close was admitted by all Europe. (*Cheers for Lord Stuart de Rothsay.*) There was also a general officer in the Russian service, who had a right to expect this honour at their hands, for he had followed the French army with his victorious countrymen from the flames of Moscow up to the period when the Russian standard was all but planted on the walls of Paris. (*Cheers.*) After indulging in a similar strain of compliment for some time upon the other individuals contained in his list, but without entering into any particular description of their peculiar merits, he concluded by presenting each of them severally to the Chancellor.

"All of them were loudly cheered on mounting into the Doctors' Gallery.

"After the degrees had been conferred, Keble's 'Installation Ode' was performed, the music of which was performed by Professor Crotch, which was much admired and applauded.

"After the 'Ode' was performed, Mr. R. Scott, B.A., student of Christ Church, recited his Chancellor's Latin Prize Essay, '*De Provinciarum Romanorum administrandarum Ratione,*' which was very much applauded.

"Mr Joseph Arnould, Scholar of Wadham, recited his English poem, 'The Hospice of St. Bernard,' which was also a Chancellor's prize.

"It is a production of considerable merit, and contained many passages of a very feeling and highly imaginative character, the concluding lines of which are as follows:—

> "Lo, Gaul's great Emperor leads his knightly peers;
> Hushed is their iron tramp, and moonbeams dim
> Show'r on each ghastly brow and mail-clad limb.
> He, too, is there, who, slain on victory's day,
> Beside their altar sleeps, the young Desaix;
> And there his Chief, whose name of terror spread
> Wide o'er the world, and shook mankind with dread,
> Curbs his proud steed, and waves his warriors on
> To Piedmont's vales, 'yet bright with Lodi's sun;'

Unlike the despot lord of after days,
Youth on his cheek, and ardour in his gaze;
E'en now his spirit, from the fields of fight,
The shout of triumph hears, the rush of flight,
As from Marengo's plain the invading horde
Flies the keen vengeance of his conquering sword.
Changed is his brow; what loftier visions roll,
What dreams of Empire crowd upon his soul!
Lo! prostrate nations tremble at his sway,
Kings quail before him, thrones in dust decay;
Dominion crowns what conquest had begun,
And Fortune, smiling on her favourite son,
Wreathes round his tyrant brow the glittering toy—
Her fatal dower, that shines but to destroy.
If, in that hour of pride and fervid youth,
Such were his dreams, mankind has mourn'd their truth,
O'er seas of blood his sun of glory rose,
And sunk at length, 'mid tempest, to repose,
When, on that field where last the eagle soar'd,
War's mightier master wielded Britain's sword,
And the dark soul a world could scarce subdue,
Bent to thy genius—*Chief of Waterloo!*"

"The two concluding couplets were no sooner pronounced than all the persons in the Theatre, with the exception of the individual alluded to by the poet, rose, and a series of cheers, of the most deafening description, were sent forth by the whole assembly, which lasted at least for seven or eight minutes, and were accompanied by an equal general waving of hats and handkerchiefs; in fact, the Duke of Wellington was never greeted in the whole of his career with more zealous manifestations of popularity than he received on this present occasion in the city of Oxford.

"When Mr. Arnould had concluded his poem, five addresses to the Duke were pronounced from the rostra.

"Between two and three o'clock the Convocation was dissolved 'God save the King' was called for and played, and as the procession went out, the undergraduates as before selected their favourites, and bestowed on them loud testimonials of their approbation."

The session of 1834 was distinguished equally with its immediate predecessors by the Duke of Wellington's hostility to the Grey ministry. At the opening of Parliament upon the motion of the Address in answer to the Speech, the Duke attacked the Government, objecting to the whole of its foreign policy, and finding fault with many of its domestic measures. On one point only were they heartily agreed. The Duke quite concurred in the address of the House of Commons, declaratory of its determination to maintain the connection between Ireland and Great Britain

unimpaired and undisturbed in spite of the efforts of O'Connell and his "tail" to bring about a repeal of the union.

The Irish Church question, which now agitated the country, was as difficult to deal with in the Cabinet as out of doors. A motion of Mr. Ward's, for the reduction of the Irish Church establishment, produced a schism in the Ministry. The point at issue was the appropriation of the Church revenues. The division led to the resignation of Lord Ripon, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Stanley, and Sir James Graham. Various disputes upon other matters connected with the management of Ireland took place, leading ultimately to the retirement of Earl Grey; and, at a subsequent period, Viscount

EARL GREY.

Melbourne, who had become Prime Minister on Earl Grey's resignation, found it necessary to resign. During this brief administration, the English Protestant Church was assailed in a variety of forms—the Dissenters claiming the privilege of taking degrees at the universities —motions also being made for the abolition of church-rates, the

commutation of tithes, and the exclusion of bishops from Parliament None of these schemes succeeded—the Lords, among whom the Duke of Wellington was conspicuous, opposing them earnestly Sundry bills to perfect the plan of reform, and a bill for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews, were likewise lost in the House of Lords through the strenuous opposition of the Peers, who acted with the Duke of Wellington

Upon the resignation of Lord Melbourne—which was in a measure enforced, because the King would not accept of Lord John Russell as leader in the House of Commons upon the transfer of Lord Althorp to the Upper House (owing to the death of his father Earl Spencer) nor allow of Lord Brougham continuing Lord Chancellor,[1]—the Duke of Wellington was sent for

Gathering experience from his former failures, the Duke declined to take the Premiership, and advised the King to send for Sir Robert Peel, who was then in Italy with his family—the Duke undertaking to hold the seals of three Secretaries of State until Sir Robert should arrive The advice was adopted, and Sir Robert summoned to the royal presence He came—constructed a government composed entirely of Conservatives, the Duke of Wellington taking the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Sir Robert then dissolved Parliament

Sir Robert Peel, addressing the constituency of Tamworth, gave them to understand that though he did not approve of the Reform Bill, he was bound to respect it now that it had become the law of the land, but that he should oppose further changes founded on the plea of merely extending the principles of the bill His course of policy, in fact, might be summed up in one word, "resistance" The Whigs had gradually yielded so much to the Radical reformers, that there really seemed to be no limit to the changes which the latter sought to introduce Too weak to oppose them, Lord Melbourne sought to secure their support by continual concession, until these democrats, finding their power increase, and justly measuring the strength of Ministers, grew exorbitant in their demands, and treated with marked contempt a government which had become the instrument of their will

On the assembling of the new Parliament, it was found that the

[1] This Peer once remarkable for the useful exercise of his eloquence and his industry on behalf of the people had become a little eccentric since his elevation to the Peerage Paying a visit to Scotland in the autumn of 1834 he made speeches wherever he could find hearers sometimes going to the lengths of ultra-Radicalism sometimes speaking Conservative sentiments, and occasionally violating decency, in speaking in an offensively familiar tone of the King

number of Conservatives had increased by one hundred. The people, alarmed at the innovations of the Catholics and Radicals, freely gave

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

their support to a minister who consulted the interests of the upper and the middle classes, and who boldly announced his refusal to live in "a vortex of agitation by adopting every popular impression of the day."[1]

The confidence, however, in the Peel Administration, generated by the returns at the general election, was not destined to endure after the struggle of parties had commenced in the two Houses. Feeble in authority, the Whigs, uniting with the Radicals, were potent in opposition; and although they had not as ministers the support of Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, and others, who had previously seceded, they found them useful allies against the ultra Conservatives.

Upon the very first question, the choice of a Speaker, the Peel

[1] Address of Sir R. Peel to the Tamworth electors, in 1834.

ministry was left in a minority, Mr Abercromby, the Whig nominee, obtaining the chair by a majority of ten against Sir Charles Manners Sutton, who had held the office of Speaker for eighteen years To the Address, in answer to the Speech, an amendment was moved, which led to a violent and protracted debate This amendment pledged the Government to a well considered and effective reform in Parliament, to the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies, to the establishment of a "vigilant popular" control over municipal corporations, the removal of the grievances of Protestant dissenters, the correction of abuses in the Irish Church, and an admission of the needlessness of the late dissolution of Parliament And this amendment was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of seven Subsequently, the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry to an embassy to St Petersburg was opposed so forcibly as to lead Lord Londonderry to decline the appointment

After skirmishing through the first half of the month of March with these and other small measures, the Opposition brought forward the question of the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Church in Ireland This was the grand *cheval de bataille*, held in reserve only until other movements had been tried and failed The Whigs and Radicals were well aware that Sir Robert Peel was determined never to concede the application of the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to purposes other than those of the Protestant religion They therefore brought forward a resolution applying the surplus to the education of all classes A protracted debate ensued upon the question, and upon every division the Whigs had a majority—the same result attending the discussion of the resolution in committee Hereupon Sir Robert Peel resigned—and with him, of course, went the Duke of Wellington Lord Melbourne was recalled by the King, and the Whigs again stepped into power and place

From this time onwards, the Duke of Wellington ceased to take a prominent share in the civil government of the country Neither inclined to arrest the progress of wholesome change, nor to aid in sweeping away the ancient institutions of the country, he confined himself, in his place in the House of Lords, to a calm and temperate examination of all the principal measures that came before it—giving his support when he conscientiously believed the case to deserve it, and offering his protest when he discerned danger in assent In a speech made in July, 1835, we find him maintaining the subscription to the "Thirty nine Articles' as a test of the Protestantism of individuals matriculated at Oxford, and defending the test as rendered necessary by toleration And in the same year he complained of the

depression of the Irish clergy by the Melbourne Administration, in the extinction of the property in Ireland allotted to the payment of the clergy. In June, 1836, he contended for the reservation by the legislature of the power of revising Railway Acts, if they should be found fraught with injustice to the landed proprietors. In August of the same year, his Grace defended himself from the imputation of violently opposing Lord Melbourne's government. He had always opposed—when he had opposed at all—with moderation, and he read the Premier a lesson upon his taunting the Conservatives with not having addressed the King with a view to obtain the removal of the Whigs. "I would take the liberty," said the Duke, "to recommend the noble viscount to consider himself not as the minister of a democratic body in another place; but as the minister of a sovereign in a limited monarchy, in a country great in point of extent, great in its possessions, and in the various interests which it comprises; and that, considering these circumstances, he should in future concoct such measures as he has reason to think may pass with the approval and suit the general interests of all—meet the good-will of all—and not of one particular party in one particular place."

The year 1837 was memorable for the operations of a "British Legion" in Spain. Divided by civil contests, one party in Spain contending for the interests of the Queen, and another for Don Carlos, a pretender to the succession, the country saw some ten thousand Englishmen range themselves under General De Lacy Evans as volunteers in the cause of the Queen. The Government of Great Britain, to aid the project, suspended the Foreign Enlistment Act by an order in Council, and countenanced the co-operation of a British fleet and some hundreds of marines with General Evans's force. The subject of course came before Parliament, and the Duke of Wellington protested altogether against the intervention, and severely (but not unjustly) criticised the discipline and strategy of the commander of the legion. His Grace was likewise found occasionally animadverting upon the conduct of the Government towards the Protestants of Ireland.

KING WILLIAM IV. died in the month of June, 1837. The Duke of Wellington, glad of the opportunity of passing a eulogium upon the deceased monarch, and of justifying his own loyalty, thus spoke in the House of Lords on the 22nd of June:—

"I have served his late Majesty in the highest situations; I have been in his councils as well as the noble viscount (Melbourne). I, indeed, did not serve him so long as the noble viscount, or even under any such prosperous circumstances as the noble viscount; but I have

had opportunities of witnessing, under all these circumstances, the personal advantages of character so ably described by the noble viscount. It has fallen to my lot to serve his Majesty at different periods, and in different capacities; and while I had the happiness of doing so upon all those occasions, I have witnessed not

WILLIAM IV.

only all the virtues ascribed to him but likewise a firmness, a discretion, a candour, a justice, and a spirit of conciliation towards others—a respect for all. Probably there never was a sovereign, who, in such circumstances, and encompassed by so many difficulties, more successfully met them than he did upon every occasion on which he had to engage them. I was induced to serve his Majesty, not only from my sense of duty—not alone from the feeling that the Sovereign of this country has the right to command my services in any situation in which it might be considered that I might be of use—but from a feeling of gratitude to his Majesty for favours, for personal

distinctions conferred upon me, notwithstanding that I had been unfortunately in the position of opposing myself to his Majesty's views and intentions, when he was employed in a high situation under Government,[1] and in consequence of which he had to resign that great office which he must, beyond all others, have been most anxious to retain. Notwithstanding that, my lords, he employed me in his service; and he, as a sovereign, manifested towards me a kindness, condescension, and favour, which, so long as I live, I never can forget. I considered myself, then, not only bound by duty, and the sense I felt of gratitude to all the sovereigns of this country, under whom I had lived, but more especially towards his late Majesty, to relieve him from every difficulty I could, under any circumstances."

[1] William IV., when Duke of Clarence, was under the necessity of resigning the office of Lord High Admiral, while the Duke of Wellington was Premier.

CHAPTER XV

Accession of Queen Victoria.

HAD WILLIAM IV—weak as he was—been succeeded by either of his surviving brothers, his demise would have given occasion for a greater display of public grief than was manifested upon an event which was to be followed by the accession of a Queen History and tradition had combined to associate so much of the glory and happiness of this country with the rule of a female sovereign, that the lamentations for a monarch who had given his assent to the Reform Bill were speedily converted into rejoicings that the country was now to be ruled by a lady whose education had prepared her for the responsible task of government, and who was believed to cherish those principles under which England had attained a high pitch of moral greatness The proverb, that "when women reign, men govern," gave assurance to the British community that, in Queen Victoria we should behold the revival of all that political good fortune which had distinguished the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne, and an improvement in the domestic tone of society which had become somewhat impaired under the Regency, and had scarcely recovered itself even under the admirable example of Queen Adelaide—the consort of William IV

The hopes of the nation received a striking confirmation at the very commencement of the reign When one hundred peers and princes of the Privy Council assembled to sign the *Act of Allegiance*, the Queen made a declaration of her attachment to the Constitution in these words—

"Educated in England under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

In delivering this declaration the Queen displayed extraordinary self-possession. Her dignified composure and the firmness of her voice impressed all who heard it with a deep sense of the latent grandeur of a character which time and circumstances were afterwards so beautifully and healthfully to develop.

Her Majesty made no change in her Ministry; formed an excellent household, and drew around her, in the privacy of life, all those men who were most distinguished by their worth and ability; and those members of the female aristocracy who were most conspicuous for their exemplary domestic conduct and familiarity with Court usages. A modest diffidence was the striking characteristic of the commencement of a reign which has continued to shed lustre on Great Britain, and diffuse universal happiness.

It was wise of her Majesty to retain Lord Melbourne. No British statesman ever possessed the art of simplifying the duties of Government in so happy a degree, or of conveying instruction to a monarch in so agreeable a form. An elegant scholar, a wit, and a man of pleasure, Lord Melbourne, while he satisfied expectation in the House of Lords, never gave himself more trouble than was absolutely necessary. He sometimes treated grave subjects with an almost unpardonable *nonchalance*, and often carried the *laissez aller* to a point which exposed him, personally, to a charge of indolence, and risked the position and influence of his Ministry; but this very indifference was of advantage to the Queen, because it pleasantly initiated her Majesty into the science of rule, and rendered her subsequent path easy. Any other Minister would probably have alarmed the royal mind, or made those duties irksome which should at all times be a source of pleasure to a sovereign, and of benefit to a nation.[1]

[1] "I happen to know that it is her Majesty's opinion, that the noble Viscount (Melbourne) has rendered her Majesty the greatest possible service, by making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the Constitution, independently of the performance of his duty as the servant of her Majesty's Crown; teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country."—*Speech of the Duke of Wellington, August 24th,* 1841.

Amongst the individuals whom her Majesty delighted to honour was the Duke of Wellington A frequent guest at the Palace, his Grace was constantly consulted by the Queen, and it is not too much to say that the wisdom and sagacity of the venerable warrior and statesman, combined with the gentleness of a father towards a beloved child, made the deepest impression on the ductile mind and affectionate heart of the youthful monarch, and secured to his Grace a lasting and truly enviable regard and attachment[1]

The Duke of Wellington was, of course, much in the habit of meeting Lord Melbourne on equal and friendly terms in the presence of the Queen, but it had no effect upon the political opinions of his Grace He continued to express himself frankly in the House of Lords respecting all measures to which he could not give a cordial and ready support, and was uncompromising in his opposition to principles which threatened an extension of popular power, or damage to the interests of the Irish Protestants

Queen Victoria was crowned with much pomp in the summer of 1838 A circumstance of great interest occurred in connection with the event, which brought out the generous character of the people of England and the high chivalry of the Duke of Wellington in vivid and agreeable colours

The personage selected by the King of the French to represent France at the coronation was Marshal Soult, the ancient antagonist of Wellington The reception of this officer was enthusiastic The people recognised in him the symbol of bravery and military skill They forgot the cruelties and barbarities which had marked the earlier part of his career in Portugal they remembered only the indomitable perseverance of his resistance to Wellington in the Pyrenees and the

[1] The following circumstance was related by Major Cumming Bruce at the Conservative dinner given to him and Mr M Kenzie Jun, of Scatwell at Forres, in September, 1837 Major Cumming Bruce said he rose, ' not only to tell a tale but to crave a bumper The circumstance alluded to by the Chairman was not a tale, but a *fact* Lord Melbourne the Prime Minister in the course of his official duty, lately waited upon the Queen at Windsor After the business was concluded the noble lord said there was a subject which he felt called upon to press upon her Majesty s attention It was whether there was any individual for whom her Majesty entertained such a preference that she might wish to have associated with her in the cares of that sovereignty with which Providence had blessed her The Queen no doubt felt a little surprised at the quest on she requested to know if it was as a Minister of the Crown and as a matter of State policy, that he asked the question, for if it was she would endeavour to give him an answer His lordship replied, that under no other circumstances would he have presumed to put such a question to her Majesty 'Then ' said the Queen there is one individual for whom I entertain a decided preference and that individual is the Duke of Wellington Gentlemen added Major Cumming Bruce ' I leave you to figure the length of Lord Melbourne s face on receiving this answer For the correctness of the statement I give the guarantee of my name

south of France—the homage which he had paid to the British troops on the field of Waterloo, when he assured the Emperor that they never would give way,—and the amenities which had marked his intercourse with the Duke when Minister of War under Louis XVIII. All classes, from royalty downwards, vied with each other in paying respect to the venerable Marshal; and the Duke of Wellington, with genuine magnanimity and generosity, waved his own claims upon popular attention that a larger share of homage might be offered to the illustrious Frenchman. Grand reviews, dinners by wealthy corporations, fêtes of all kinds, were given in the Marshal's honour; and he was invited to make a tour to Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, at each of which places he was received with enthusiasm. At the grand dinner given by the London Corporation, the Duke of Wellington was present, and the toast of the evening having comprehended the two distinguished soldiers, they severally returned thanks in the following terms:—

"The Duke of Wellington said he entertained a high sense of the honour of being associated with so illustrious an individual as him whose name had been given in company with his own on the present occasion. He was glad to find that the merits and services of that illustrious stranger had been properly appreciated by the people of this country. (*Cheers.*) And he had no doubt that he, on his part, must fully appreciate the cordial feelings which had been manifested towards him, not only on the present occasion, but whenever he had presented himself to the public. He (the Duke of Wellington) was delighted that the King of the French had chosen so distinguished an individual to represent him on the occasion of the coronation of our Queen.

"The Duke of Dalmatia then proceeded, amidst reiterated cheers, to address the company in the French language. He spoke with great feeling, but not with a powerful voice. He commenced by observing that the expressions used by the Duke of Wellington had entered into his very heart. Never had there lived a nobler-minded, a braver, or a more honourable man than that illustrious general. (*Cheers*). The French nation had learned to estimate the worth of the English army: its valour was known and appreciated all over Europe. Now, however, they had no further resort to arms. Between France and England there should now exist a perpetual peace. (The illustrious Duke laid an emphasis upon the words '*alliance perpetuelle,*' which brought down a thunder of applause). Unanimity shall now pervade their councils. After some further observations, the noble Duke, alluding, as we imagined, to the hospitality

with which he was at that moment treated, in company with the Duke of Wellington, said that he hoped yet, one of these days, to take his revenge (*'revanche'*) of the noble Duke in France. The illustrious and gallant Duke sat down, after drinking 'The health of the British army, and more particularly its great General, the Duke of Wellington' (*Applause*)."

Several of the most distinguished of the British generals who had fought against Marshal Soult had the honour of being introduced to him. Foremost among them was Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief. It is related that when they came into contact, Soult extended his hand, and exclaimed, jocosely "*Ah, je vous rencontre enfin! moi qui ai couru si long tems après vous!*" alluding, of course, to the pursuit of Hill from Madrid to Alba de Tormes, after our failure at Burgos.

Soult returned to France at the close of July, leaving a favourable impression of his *bonhommie*,[1] and justifying a belief in the good

[1] The following anecdotes are derived from newspapers published in July, 1838 —

"SOULT AND ALLAN CUNNINGHAM —Allan Cunningham was introduced to Marshal Soult, and as the interview was interesting, the reader, we should suppose, will be the reverse of displeased to peruse a hurried note of it, given as nearly as possible in his own words — 'I saw him at his residence at Portland House; he received me kindly, took me by the hand, placed me on a sofa beside him, and said he was indebted to his friend the Baron de P , for making us acquainted. I said I had desired to see a man of great and strong talent by nature, and not by Act of Parliament, that I had long admired him for his generous tribute to the memory of Sir John Moore, and looked upon him as one of the noblest-minded of our foes' He smiled at this, and turning to me, said, 'Foe! I never was your foe, at least in the coarse sense of the word I was taught to respect you in the sternest of all schools, the battle field; and it was only yesterday I told your young Queen that Britain and France had tried the sword long enough to each other's harm, and should now try what friendship could do, and thus ensure the peace of Europe.' I bowed and replied, 'Marshal, you are still in the field; you have won other countries by the sword, and now you come to conquer us by courtesy' As I said this, he pressed my knee gently with his hand, and made some allusion to poetry. He is a noble martial-featured man, tall, too, and vigorous, and I thought of Austerlitz and many a bloody field as he shook hands with me at parting But we are not to part yet, he has sent me a card for his great ball of this evening (6th July), when I will again see, I feel assured, the same simple, easy, courteous man I found during the interview I have attempted to describe'"—*Dumfries Courier.*

"When Marshal Soult was at Manchester, a working man in a cotton manufactory there, wished exceedingly to shake hands with the Marshal His wish was readily gratified, when he explained his motive. He had been in the Rifle Brigade all the Peninsular War, and had fired at Soult THIRTY times, but failed At Toulouse, he fired twenty times at the Marshal, with the same result The Marshal again shook him by the hand, saying that he was a good soldier, and had done his best to serve his country."

"MARSHAL SOULT AND CAPTAIN MANBY —(From a Correspondent)—At an interview which Marshal Soult granted to Captain Manby on Friday last, for the purpose of requesting his Excellency to take charge of a memorial to his sovereign, the King of the French, to sanction and encourage an international negotiation with the maritime nations of the world, and enter into a comprehensive treaty of mutual alliances for the preservation of life, and the protection of

understanding which was to mark the intercourse of France with England during the reign of Louis Philippe.

The bearing of the Duke of Wellington towards the Duke of Dalmatia exceedingly gratified the English people, and materially contributed to the restoration of that popularity which his Grace had formerly enjoyed, but which his civil government from 1829 to 1835, and his previous conduct in regard to Queen Caroline, had tended to damage. One of the most violent of the radical prints said:—

"Passing over his civil services with this brief allusion, we shall conclude by noticing the latest public scene of his life. He defeated Marshal Soult in the Peninsula and in France—he has embraced him in London. Herein he gained the greatest of his victories—a victory over the prejudices of his life and his party. He never appeared more illustrious in the eyes of his countrymen than when, forgetting all ancient rivalries, and spurning all the low *croaking* seductions of low party malice, he gave a cordial and an affectionate welcome to the man who, next to himself, is the greatest soldier alive."

The year 1839 was remarkable for public demonstrations of the regard in which the Duke of Wellington was held by his countrymen. In the month of August a banquet was given to him at Dover, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at which no less than two thousand persons were present. On this occasion Lord Brougham, who, since his loss of the Chancellorship, had gradually seceded from his old friends and began to play the courtier, was entrusted with the duty of proposing the health of the Duke of Wellington. His lordship treated the trust as a high compliment, because it inferred that no differences of political opinion were able to stifle the natural feelings of civilised statesmen so as to prevent them cherishing "boundless gratitude for boundless merit." After dwelling upon

property (to the rightful owners), on whatever shore the misfortune of shipwreck may happen; also providing warm clothing and temporary comfort to the sailor after he is saved from shipwreck, and assisting him to his home, to whatever country he may belong; to which the Marshal was thus pleased to express himself:—'I am most happy to take by the hand the man whose name is so universally honoured for his noble and generous philanthropy, and to assure him that, on my return to Paris, I will immediately attend to his request, and press the subject on his Majesty's earnest attention.'"

"MARSHAL SOULT AND THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.—The veteran Marshal Soult, prior to his recent departure from this country, caused a letter, with his signature attached thereto, to be forwarded to the Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, at Scotland Yard, in which communication the distinguished foreigner alluded to expressed his high satisfaction at the excellent conduct and good order of every member of the Force, by whom he had on so many occasions, during his sojourn in London, and in his visits to other places in the environs thereof, been attended."

this topic—the impossibility of forgetting in the spirit of party the services rendered by "one transcendant genius in peace and in war,"—Lord Brougham gave vent to his admiration in an apostrophe which is remembered as one of the most brilliant oratorical efforts of the age. He "invoked both hemispheres" to witness that Wel-

LORD BROUGHAM.

lington "never advanced but to be victorious—never retreated but to eclipse the glory of his advance, by the yet harder task of unwearied patience, indomitable to lassitude, the inexhaustible resources of transcendant skill showing the wonders, the marvels of a moral courage never yet subdued." "Despising all who thwarted him," said Lord Brougham, "with ill-considered advice—neglecting all hostility, as he knew it to be groundless—laughing to scorn reviling enemies, jealous competitors, lukewarm friends, ay, hardest of all, to *neglect despising* even a fickle public, he cast his eye forwards as a man might, to a time when that momentary fickleness of the people would pass away, knowing that, in the end, the people were always just to merit."

The Duke's reply was simple and modest—involving little else than an affirmative of those propositions which referred to the necessity of putting aside party politics and opinions to carry on the public service to the greatest point of advantage to the public interest.

In this year, the Duke of Wellington narrowly escaped again becoming a Minister of the Crown. Upon the opening of Parliament, he spoke to the Address in a conciliatory tone, only dwelling in a tone of animadversion upon the favour shown to Chartists in allowing large assemblies of those democrats, and deprecating the continuance of rebellion in Canada. Upon a motion of Lord Brougham's regarding the Corn-laws, his Grace upheld those laws as essential to the improvement of agriculture—he maintained that the price of corn would be raised by their repeal—and upon being charged by Lord Radnor with the advocacy of monopoly, and with not assisting the farmers and labourers, he answered emphatically and in his accustomed straightforward manner—

"My Lords, I know nothing about landlords, farmers, or labourers, when I am advocating a legislative question of a public nature in this House. I have nothing to say to them any further than as their interests are identified with those of the community at large. I beg the noble lord to understand, when I come to this House, I come here upon the public interest. I have no more to say to landlords, farmers, or labourers, than the noble earl himself; and I am thoroughly convinced there is not a noble friend near me who does not look at this question solely on public grounds, and those which he conceives it to be for the interest of the country to take."

When a motion was brought forward by Lord Roden for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, the Duke of Wellington gave it his support; and he likewise spoke upon the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill, when it went into committee in the House of Lords.

The subject of the emancipation of the negro apprentices in Jamaica having come before the House of Commons, with some notice of the violent scenes which had been enacted in that colony, a bill was brought in for suspending the constitution of Jamaica. Sir Robert Peel and his party opposed the bill vehemently, and ultimately Ministers only carried it by a majority of five. Upon this the Ministry resigned.

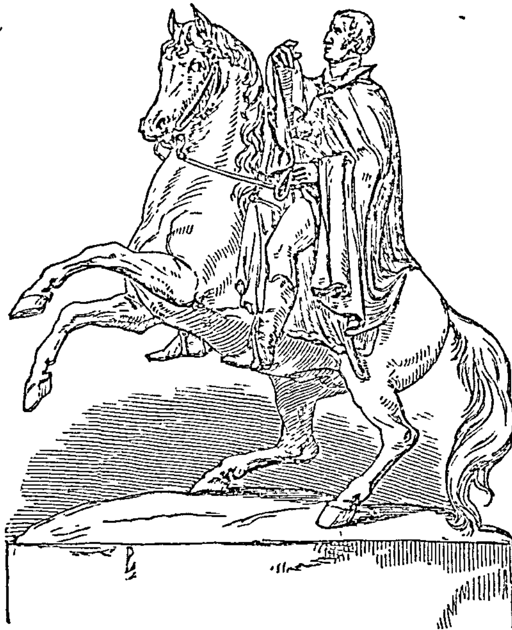
The Queen, upon receiving the resignation of Lord Melbourne, sent for the Duke of Wellington. His Grace, as before, referred her Majesty to Sir Robert Peel, and Sir Robert Peel immediately endeavoured to form a government. In this he was frustrated. Sir Robert

considered it indispensable that the ladies of the Queen's household should be connected only with those persons who held political opinions in common with himself He accordingly proposed to her Majesty to remove the ladies of her bed chamber This the Queen decidedly refused to do—declaring the course proposed to be contrary to usage, and repugnant to her feelings—and Sir Robert at once resigned into her Majesty's hands the trust committed to him The Duke of Wellington appears to have quite entered into Sir Robert Peel s feelings on the subject His Grace said very distinctly, when explaining his own share in the Ministerial negotiation, that he deemed it essential that the Minister should possess the entire con fidence of her Majesty, and, with that view, should exercise the usual control permitted to the Minister by the Sovereign in the construction of the household "The public,' he said, "would not believe that the Queen held no political conversation with the ladies of her household, and that political influence was not exercised by them particularly, considering who the persons were who held those situations He had a somewhat strong opinion on the subject He had himself filled the office of the noble viscount, and had felt the inconvenience of an anomalous influence, not exercised perhaps by ladies, but exerted by persons about the court, and that simply in conversation"

After the resumption of power by the Melbourne Cabinet, the Duke of Wellington during the remainder of the session addressed the House of Lords on several questions of importance—the affairs of Canada—the Ballot—the Portuguese slave trade—a reform in the postage system To the ballot he was naturally opposed, as an "un English" measure He supported a bill for the introduction of the penny postage, because the country looked for the establishment of a low and uniform rate, but his Grace did not believe that it would tend to an increase in the correspondence of the country, and he thought that the sacrifice of revenue would be considerable The Duke rested his belief in the little effect which a reduction of postage would have upon general correspondence on his experience in the army, where, in a Highland regiment, in the course of six or seven months, only sixty three or sixty four letters were written"—most infelicitous data as the result established The Duke forgot that in Highland regiments few men could read and write and that a great many had left their families without writing, or intending to communicate with them He argued from the ignorance and circumstances of one class of the community against the intelligence and activity of other classes, and did not seem to take into account that the extension of

the facilities of correspondence would give an impetus to education. To the bill for the suppression of the Portuguese slave trade, the Duke was so earnestly opposed, that he entered several protests against it as it passed through the House. The foundation of his opposition was, that the right of enforcing the due observance of the treaties entered into with Portugal for the suppression of the trade did not lie within the province of Parliament, but was the proper office of the Executive Government.

Parliament having been prorogued, the Duke proceeded as usual to pass the autumn at Walmer Castle. While here, on the 20th of November, he was suddenly taken ill, and great apprehensions were for some time entertained for the safety of his life. It seems that he had been out hunting, and the fatigue was greater than he was capable of enduring, for he had been restricting his diet with great severity in order to get rid of a cold. When, therefore, he returned home to dinner, he fainted from inanition. Sir Astley Cooper and Dr. Hume—two of the most eminent physicians of the day—were immediately in attendance, and remained with the Duke a week, at the end of which time he had recovered his strength.



STATUE AT EDINBURGH.

If the Duke had valued popularity, this attack of illness would have gratified him exceedingly from the test it supplied of the esteem in which he was now generally held. Upon his return to town, his

appearance was greeted with marked expressions of congratulation, not merely by his friends and political opponents, but by the crowds assembled round the gates of the palace when he attended a Privy Council.

Another strong proof of the restored popularity of the Duke of Wellington was presented this year in Edinburgh. A public meeting was held on the 23rd of November, to set on foot a subscription for erecting a national testimonial to his Grace in the Scottish capital. Men of all classes of the community, and of all shades of politics, attended and subscribed.[1]

[1] This national testimonial took the form of a splendid equestrian statue, but thirteen years elapsed before it was finished and inaugurated.

"This great work, which is from the hand of Mr. John Steel, is colossal in dimensions, measuring nearly fourteen feet in height, and, together with the pedestal, which is of Aberdeen granite, rising from the ground about twenty-six feet. The bronze weighs nearly twelve tons It derives additional interest from its being the first bronze statue ever cast in Scotland Unlike most other bronze statues, in this the different parts are not rivetted together, but *fused*—an improvement attended by considerable labour and difficulty. The horse is here in high action. The only parts which touch the pedestal are the hind feet and the tail; and, accordingly, in order to preserve the balance, great skill was required in apportioning exactly to each part its proper weight of metal. The only other equestrian statue in a similar posture is that of Peter the Great at St Petersburgh, where the difficulty is chiefly overcome by the not very appropriate introduction of a serpent, upon which the horse is trampling, and which not only strengthens the hind legs, but projects very far behind, and serves as a balance The statue represents the Duke mounted on his charger, and issuing orders, the reins lie loose on the neck of his plunging steed, in one hand he holds them and his plumed hat, and with the other points commandingly to a distant part of the field"

CHAPTER XVI.

The Session of 1840—The Duke on the religion of Prince Albert—The Affghanistan Campaign—The Navy—Libels on the Proceedings of the House of Commons—The Marriage of the Queen—The Whig Ministry resigns, in 1841—The Duke as an orator.

PUBLIC man can hardly be said to have a private life—least of all can one who has for forty years filled a space in the world's thought expect to escape general observation. He may shelter himself behind a barricade of punctilio—may coldly and sternly repel the advances of strangers,—avoid sympathy with the popular emotion of the hour—and even seclude himself from the gaze of the multitude. Still he must continue to be an object of powerful interest, and to find his simplest acts scanned by those who have learnt to regard him as the property of the nation.

Such was the fate of the Duke of Wellington. From 1840 to the end of his life he was "the observed of all observers." His habits were noted; his movements watched; his words treasured. Every one made an effort to see him in his usual haunts—the Park and the House of Lords,—and no country cousins visiting London returned home satisfied if they had not obtained a glimpse of the great Duke of Wellington.

With all that concerns his private life—using the term simply in contradistinction to the public duties which devolved upon him—we shall treat in a future chapter. The conduct of the Duke in Parliament must, for the present, engage our care. He had by habitual attention to the claims upon his presence as a peer, and the share which he took in all great questions, acquired in the House an

influence worthy of his military renown, and no matters of importance could be discussed without the questions being asked in ten thousand places, "What does the Duke say?—what does the Duke think of it?"

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament on the 16th of January, 1840, was rendered peculiarly interesting by the announcement that her Majesty was about to ally herself in marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, the Queen's cousin The character of the young Prince offered a guarantee of her Majesty's happiness, and all classes received the intimation with satisfaction

Perhaps no one in the realm more sincerely rejoiced at the prospect of an accession to the Queen's felicity than the Duke of Wellington He concurred most cordially in the expression of congratulation to her Majesty on an event calculated to promote her comfort True, however, to his attachment to the Protestant Church, and rigidly insisting on an adherence to the forms which afforded at least a nominal protection to the interests of the Establishment in its connection with the Crown, the Duke contended that the public had a right to know something more than the mere name of the Prince whom her Majesty intended to espouse His Grace remarked that the precedent of the reign of George III had been followed in the announcement excepting in one respect, and that was that the Prince was a Protestant He did not doubt—indeed he knew—that the Prince was a Protestant, and of a Protestant family But he maintained that as it was necessary by law that he should be of that persuasion, an official declaration to that effect should have been made by the Government He ascribed the omission of the declaration to a fear of the Catholic party in Ireland, who seemed to be exerting themselves to inspire England with "terror," and he called upon the House to require a formal announcement of Prince Albert's religion

The next occasion upon which the Duke of Wellington spake in 1840 was when the House of Lords was called upon to approve of an expedition into Affghanistan It appears that the Governments of England and India had had some reason to believe that Russia was intriguing at the Court of Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Cabul, to acquire certain commercial and political advantages, including the right of trafficking upon the Indus, with the ultimate view of obtaining a footing in India To check those designs, Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, acting in concert with the Government at home, determined upon replacing upon the *musnud* or throne of

Cabul an exiled King, Shah Soojah by name, who had for some years been a refugee in the British territory. Anticipating serious opposition, or, at all events, contemplating the importance of surrounding the restored King with a British army who should hold possession of Affghanistan, Lord Auckland dispatched fifteen thousand men of all arms to Cabul, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane, an old Peninsula officer, having under his command as Generals of Division, Sir Willoughby Cotton, Major-Generals Sale, Willshire, Nott, and others. The army marched down the left bank of the Indus, crossed at Sukkur, moved through Upper Scinde and the Bolan Pass, captured Candahar, took Ghuznee by storm, and entered Cabul in triumph. The whole affair was well conducted, and the storming of Ghuznee was attended by severe loss, for the leading troops were engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the Affghans, under the gateway which it had become necessary to blow in, owing to the absence of siege guns.

These operations elicited the warm approbation of the Duke of Wellington. He claimed the right of judging of such operations upon the strength of his own personal experience, and declared that he had never known an occasion on which the duty of a Government was performed on a larger scale—on which a more adequate provision was made for all contingencies and various events which could occur; and he said of the officers engaged, that there were no men in the service who deserved a higher degree of approbation for the manner in which, on all occasions, they had discharged their duty. In no instance that the Duke had ever heard of had such services been performed in a manner better calculated to deserve and secure the approbation of the House of Lords and the country.

In the same month (February), the Duke of Wellington opposed himself to the propagation of the Socialism which was making some way in the counties of Wiltshire and Hampshire, and which he denominated a "mischievous and demoralising" system; and circumstances having subsequently arisen to afford occasion for his speaking of the British navy, he delivered himself of the following eulogium:—

"I know a great deal of the gentlemen of that profession, and for my own part I have always had, and still have, the greatest and highest respect for them, and the very utmost confidence in them. I have always endeavoured to emulate their services in the service in which I have myself been engaged; and I am sure that in nothing have I endeavoured to emulate them in a greater degree than in that confidence which they feel not only in themselves and in the officers

of their own ranks, but in all officers and troops under their command"

The generous way in which the Duke of Wellington invariably spoke of the conduct of the officers of the army of whom he had known anything was not by any means the least remarkable feature of his speeches in Parliament He seemed, as we shall afterwards see, always glad of an opportunity of bearing tribute to professional worth The proceedings of Lord Seaton (Sir John Colborne, of the 52nd), when Governor of the Canadas, having come under review, the Duke said (March 27, 1840) —

"I had the honour of being connected with the noble and gallant lord in service at an early period of his life, and I must declare that, at all times, and under all circumstances, he gave that promise of prudence, zeal, devotion, and ability, which he has so nobly fulfilled in his services to his Sovereign and his country during the recent proceedings in Canada I entirely agree in all that has been said respecting the conduct of my noble and gallant friend in remaining, under all circumstances, at his post, and in taking command of the troops, although it was not thought expedient by the Government to place him again in the government of the provinces"

In this year, a question of very material import arose, which created a great deal of excitement from the extraordinary legal proceedings which followed upon it It seems that for some four or five years previously certain persons had been in the habit of bringing actions against the Messrs Hansard, the authorised publishers of the debates in the Houses of Parliament, for libels contained in the reports of those debates, and that the defence of the Messrs Hansard that they were publishers "by authority" of the language used by the highest judicial tribunal in the land was of no effect At length, the Messrs Hansard appealed to the House of Commons The House, by a vote, declared that any proceedings taken against persons for simply publishing its proceedings would be guilty of a breach of privilege Nevertheless, one Stockdale, a publisher, who had often fallen under the animadversion of the House of Commons for the character of his publications, continued to persecute the Hansards, and ultimately, obtaining damages, called upon the sheriffs to levy execution upon the goods of the defendants The sheriffs obeyed the writ of the Court The House of Commons, in vindication of its privilege, committed the sheriffs to prison, and likewise the attorney who acted for Stockdale The press and the public took up the subject with great warmth, and between an anxiety to protect the

characters of private individuals, and to uphold the majesty and independence of the Courts of Law, and a desire to maintain inviolate the freedom of Parliamentary discussion, much wordy strife arose. At length Lord John Russell brought in a bill enabling Parliament to give summary protection to persons employed in the publication of its proceedings. The subject was fervidly debated, especially by the ablest lawyers on both sides, and ultimately the bill passed by a large majority. When the bill went to the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington, after some observations, said—

"I remember reading with great satisfaction the history of a great case, which was pleaded and argued at considerable length, some years ago, in this country—I mean the case of the 'King *v.* Peltier,' in the Court of King's Bench. That was the case of an action brought against an obscure individual, for a libel which he had published upon the sovereign of a neighbouring country, with whom we were in a state of peace and amity. Now, I ask your lordships whether, supposing, in the course of the late Polish revolution, the libels, some of which we have seen printed in this country, and others which we have heard spoken of in the other, and, I believe, in this House of Parliament, reviling, in the strongest terms, the sovereign of Russia, had been stated in the petitions, or in the proceedings of the House of Commons, and had been printed, published, and sold by its authority; I ask your lordships whether such a proceeding would not have been calculated to disturb the peace of this country, and of the world at large? In short, I ask your lordships whether it is desirable that there should be an opportunity of publishing and selling, on the part of the two Houses of Parliament, libels against the sovereigns of all the foreign powers in Europe? My lords, I am one of those who consider that the greatest political interest of this country is, to remain at peace and amity with all the nations of the world. I am for avoiding even the cause of war, and of giving offence to any one, and of seeking a quarrel, either by abuse, or by that description of language which is found in these libels. I am against insulting the feelings of any sovereign, at whom individuals may have taken offence, and against whom they may seek to publish libels under the sanction of Parliament. Let them state what they please in their private capacity, and let them be answerable for it individually, as Peltier was. What I want is, that Parliament should not, by the combined privilege of publication and sale, run the risk of involving the country in the consequences of a discussion of such subjects, and in all the mischiefs and inconveniences which might arise from it."

It would have been manifestly impossible to make exceptions in favour of any particular class of individuals in the heat of parliamentary discussion If foreign sovereigns were to be protected simply because they were prone to take offence at a degree of freedom intolerable in their own country, every individual in the United Kingdom would have had a good right to complain of a disregard of the integrity of private character Why should the enormities of a tyrant escape the strictures of the senators of a free country, and the comparative peccadilloes of an humble trader be visited with unlimited reprehension? By a happy and a wise provision of the Legislature, the British Courts of Law afford the same protection to a foreign despot against the licence of the British press as a subject of the English Crown enjoys, and no great monarch—whether Emperor of all the Russias or Ruler of France—could desire more Foreign Governments should be taught to distinguish between the commentaries of private individuals contributing to a newspaper, or members of Parliament speaking to a question before the House, and the language of a Minister embodying the sentiments of a Government or the nation at large The anxiety of the Duke of Wellington to guard against a war was natural—and peculiarly commendable—in a great soldier who had seen so much of its actual horrors and subsequent evils, but his Grace, in the ardour of his pacific sentiments, *lost sight at once of the danger of checking freedom of discussion, and* of the panoply of defence supplied to the foreign potentate in the British Courts of Justice

Excepting the misunderstanding which had arisen with China owing to the sudden seizure and confiscation of large quantities of opium belonging to British merchants, and the arrest and imprisonment of the representatives of the British Crown and the superintendents of the trade with China, no subject of any material importance drew out the Duke of Wellington during the session of 1840 He said a few words on the 30th of June on the great utility of the Canadian colonies to Great Britain, on the 30th of July he maintained that religious education in England should be provided out of the funds of the Church, and on the 4th of August that oaths were necessary in Courts of Justice to establish the truth, which is the foundation of all truth, but no other record of his addresses to the House of Lords—if any were made—is to be found in the Parliamentary annals of the year

Her Majesty was married to Prince Albert in February, 1840 The Duke of Wellington was present, but it would appear from the evidence of spectators on the occasion that Time and a life of labour

and anxious care were beginning to display their effects upon his person. The papers of the day state that—

"The Duke, who looked infirm, and did not move with his usual alacrity, was the only individual whom the spectators stood up to honour and to cheer. He bowed calmly in reply, but seemed, we are sorry to say, sinking under the weight of honours and of years."

The shell was wearing out, but the spirit of the venerable warrior retained all its pristine force, and he continued for twelve years later to astonish his peers and fellow-subjects by the vigour of his intellect and the hardiness of his frame.

Lord Melbourne's Government had for some time previous to this time began to experience the consequences of the lassitude of its chief. Making no effort to maintain power by realising the expectations of its liberal supporters—content to carry measures by insignificant majorities, which minorities, in other days, would have construed into "want of confidence" votes—enduring defeats with placidity—and exposed to much ridicule and contempt out of doors,—the Melbourne Government, after a sickly existence of ten years' duration, dissolved in 1841, and her Majesty entrusted the office of Prime Minister to Sir Robert Peel. There was no question now of Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Bedchamber. Sir Robert felt himself sufficiently strong to defy back-stairs influence, and the country had become too weary of the effete Whigs to view with regret the accession to authority of one who had shown, on former occasions, that he was not disinclined to bend to the necessities of the hour, and carry popular measures.

The Duke of Wellington accepted a seat in the Cabinet without office. He was found to be a sound and able adviser, capable of safely guiding others in their political career, if not always successful in his own personal experiments in the science of government.

The authoritative influence which the Duke had acquired in the House of Lords—even to the extent of holding the proxies of a great many peers—was of infinite utility to Sir Robert Peel. Whoever might be in power, his Grace confessedly "led" the peers, and his habit of mastering and addressing himself to every subject that came prominently before the House acquired for him the reputation of an orator.

True eloquence has been defined, the faculty of enunciating the truth in the most simple and striking manner. This, however, is not the ordinary acceptation of the term. With the multitude, eloquence

can only co exist with efflorescence of style, brilliancy of phrase, smoothly rounded passages, an affluence of trope and metaphor, and copiousness of illustration Those Englishmen will enjoy the highest rank in history as orators who were most remarkable for the length and grandeur of their harangues Burke, who spoke for hours, adorning his speeches with classical quotations and gorgeous imagery, Mackintosh, who delivered sententious essays, garnished with rhetorical ornament, Sheridan, whose apostrophes resembled the rushing of a current vivid with the flashes of phosphoric light, Brougham, who mingled terse and vigorous passages, with elaborate platitudes springing from a mental prodigality which knew not how to economise,—these, and others of lesser note, earned the title of orators, and will be cited in after ages as the only true disciples of the schools of eloquence founded by Cicero and Demosthenes But those who yield nothing to appeals to the fancy—who have disciplined their minds to accept only the rays of truth transmitted through the simplest and clearest medium—will give a preference to the practical speaker who discards every decoration as an interference with fidelity, or as an artifice only fit to cover sophistry or conceal intrinsic weakness

The Duke of Wellington was of the latter class of orators His speeches were rough hewn from the block of his sagacity and experience, and his auditory forgot their roughness and unpolished aspect in their deep sense of the value of the quarry His strong *morale*—his love of truth—his contempt for all the redundancies and super fluities which encumbered a case—his faculty of discovering and ruthlessly exposing a fallacy—his exactitude of description—his care in calling things by their right names—his admiration of the Consti tution—and his profound veneration for monarchical power—imparted a weight to his speeches which no florid or merely graceful oratory could counterbalance Examples of this will be found in many of the passages quoted in foregoing pages, and in those that may be given hereafter They will not serve as models, because there will be one essential ingredient wanting in those who may attempt to copy the Duke s phraseology and manner—the influence of name and station That which came from him with sledge hammer force, and was accepted with unexampled deference by the

Brave Peers of England—
The pillars of the State

would be accounted mere impertinence in one who had no other claim to be heard than high lineage, a college education, and a careful study

of the public questions of the day, could confer. Mr. Francis, in his "Orators of the Age," (1846) has well put the causes of the Duke's influence:—

"Being obliged to speak, he says no more than the occasion absolutely requires. He gives utterance to the real sentiments of his mind, the unbiassed conclusions suggested by a cool head and an almost unparalleled experience. You can see at once that this is done without effort, and, above all, without any desire for effect. It is a labour of duty, not of love. It is not sought by him, yet he is ready when called on. Having said his say, he seems relieved of an unpleasant load, and sits down abruptly as he rose, indifferent whether what he has delivered has pleased or displeased his audience. These, it is quite unnecessary to say, are not the characteristics of professed orators. Yet the Duke will produce, on the floor of the House of Lords perchance, a more permanent effect, than the most ingenious and eloquent of them all.

"The agencies by which his influence works on the legislature and the public are of a far higher order. Look at the moral weight he brings with him. With a reputation already historical, what man of the day, be he even the greatest, can command the respect which his mere presence inspires? It may seem a trifle, but it is one pregnant with deep meaning, that the only individual in this country, except the members of the royal family, to whom all men, the highest and the lowest, uncover themselves on the public highway, is the Duke of Wellington. If the vulgar, the indifferent, the triflers, the ignorant, pay this homage to him where no homage is due to any man, shall not the same sentiment prevail within the walls of the House of Lords, among those whose privileges and social pre-eminence rest upon hereditary gratitude?

"The Duke of Wellington, in his place in the House of Lords, stands apart from, and above, all the other peers. There may be men of more ancient lineage; there are certainly men of more commanding and brilliant talents of the sort that captivate an assembly, whether composed of the high or the low: but he transcends them all in the possession of that power which is created by a voluntary intellectual submission. Plain, unpretending, venerable, as he is, he seems encircled by an atmosphere of glory. All physical defects, all the infirmities of age, are lost in the light of his great fame. He seems already to belong to the past, and to speak with its authority. Often oracular in his denunciations and in his decisions, strange to say, those who hear him seem to believe that he is so.

"And it is not among pigmies that he is thus morally a giant.

The deference and respect paid to the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords come from men of the highest order of minds Neither political differences nor personal vanities interpose any obstacle to its free expression Powerful and successful orators and statesmen, aristocratic demagogues, grave lawyers and erratic lawgivers, whatever may be their mutual jealousies or their customary arrogance, all yield at once to his moral supremacy The man of the present day who stands next to him in extent, if not the quality of his fame, he who is distinguished among his contemporaries not more for his parliamentary and political successes than for his mental and moral insubordination,—he, too, ostentatiously proclaims himself the devoted admirer and follower of the Duke of Wellington The homage is too universal not to be sincere

"It is this moral weight or influence that gives to the public speaking of the Duke of Wellington its chief characteristics He can speak with an authority which no other man would dare to assume, and which, if assumed by any other man, would not be submitted to For the same reason he can dispense with all the explanation and apology which so often render the speeches of other men ridiculous He has no need of a hypocritical humility, or an affected desire of abstinence from that great necessity of politicians—speech making He knows both that he is expected to speak, and that what he has to say will be held to be of value He knows that no decision will be come to till he has been heard, and that the chances are in favour of his opinion prevailing even with those opposed to him, unless the current of political feeling should happen at the time to run very strongly indeed These incumbrances of ordinary speakers being cast aside, the Duke can afford to run at once full tilt at the real question in dispute To see him stripping the subject of all extraneous and unnecessary adjuncts, until he exposes it to his hearers in its real and natural proportions, is a very rich treat He scents a fallacy afar off and hunts it down at once without mercy He has certain constitutional principles which with him are real standards He measures propositions or opinions by these standards, and as they come up to the mark or fall short of it, so are they accepted or disposed of Sometimes, but rarely, he carries this inflexible system too far, and has afterwards to retract, but it is remarkable for a man who has wielded such authority, who has been accustomed to implicit deference for so many years, and whose mental organisation is so stern and steadfast, how few prejudices he has Even these will always yield to necessity, often to reason If he be sometimes dogmatical, the fault is less his than of those who lead

him into this natural error, when their respect deters them from even reminding him that he is fallible.

"Self-reliance and singleness of purpose induce in him vigour of thought and simplicity of diction. This simplicity, which is not confined to the language only, but extends to the operation of the mind, is unique. You meet nothing like it in any other man now prominently before the public. There is a vigorous economy of both thoughts and words. As a speaker and as a general, the Duke equally disencumbers himself of unnecessary agents. He is as little fond of rhetorical flourishes or declamatory arts as he was of useless troops. Every word does its work. Simple, sound, sterling Saxon, he seems to choose by instinct, as hitting hardest with least show. Sometimes this self-reliance and simplicity degenerate into an abruptness almost rude. Then the simplicity would almost appear affected, but that the Duke is wholly incapable of that culpable weakness.

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"With all his apparent simplicity and rigidity, no man more thoroughly keeps pace with his age than the Duke of Wellington. He unites great shrewdness of perception and readiness of observation, with a disposition steadfastly to adhere to what is, rather than to yield to what has not been tried. If he rarely rejects a theory, he as rarely adopts one, because it is new. He is not fond of theories, except those which the past and the experience of long practice have sanctioned. He individualises everything as much as he can. He prefers a small benefit, that is specific and real, to the most magnificent promises. The chief characteristic of his mind is common sense; but it is of a very uncommon sort. It becomes a kind of practical philosophy. He requires so much per cent. deposit for every share in the joint-stock of modern wisdom. Perhaps he sometimes pushes these peculiarities too far. The prejudices of so powerful a man may sometimes become a great national obstruction. But, on the other hand, it is well that there should be some men of fixed ideas, to prevent the moral world flying off out of its appointed orbit.

"It is the moral influence of the Duke of Wellington, and the position in the country which his great services have secured for him, that render him so influential a speaker in the House of Lords. It is felt that his speeches are not merely made for a party purpose, but that they embody the experience of a life. His sincerity, and the reliance you have on his sagacity, compensate for the absence of those graces of style and manner, and that choice of language, which

are expected from a public speaker He usually sits in a state of abstraction,—his arms folded, his head sunk on his breast, his legs stretched out he seems to be asleep [1] But in a very few moments, he shows that he has not been an inattentive observer of the debate He suddenly starts up, advances (sometimes with faltering steps, from his advanced age) to the table, and, without preface or preliminary statement, dashes at once at the real question in dispute The keenness with which he detects it, and the perseverance of his pursuit, are remarkable proofs of the unimpaired vigour of his understanding Even with all the physical feebleness which might be expected at his years, he entirely fills the House while he speaks His utterance is very indistinct, yet by a strong effort of the will he makes himself clearly heard and understood, even though to do so he may have to repeat whole portions of sentences Not a point of the discourse escapes him, and the most vigorous debater often finds the weakness of his argument, however cleverly masked, suddenly detected and exposed Some of the short, terse, pointed sentences, fall with a force on the House the more remarkable for the contrast of the matter with the manner The speeches as a whole, though always extremely brief in comparison with those of more elaborate debaters, strike the hearer with surprise for their sustained tone, the consistency of their argument, and a kind of natural symmetry, the necessary consequence of their being the sincere and spontaneous development of a strong mind and a determined purpose"

The occasions on which the Duke of Wellington held it his duty to speak in his place in Parliament in 1841, were neither numerous nor exciting His speeches were rather incidental than directed to the accomplishment of any piece of State policy He offered opinions but did not employ his eloquence to carry public measures For instance, with reference to some French naval proceedings in South America and the Pacific, he referred to the importance of our preserving a good understanding with France, he praised the capture of St Jean d'Acre in Syria (upon the occasion of a misunderstanding with the Egyptian Pacha) as the greatest deed of modern times—almost the only instance on record of ships of war alone capturing a fort, he expressed his disapprobation of Australian commissions, protested against the evils of reducing warlike

[1] We have seen a very beautiful statuette in Parian porcelain, executed by Mr Forrester, and published by Messrs Sharpus of Cockspur Street, Charing Cross—representing the Duke in the attitude here described. It is one of the very few statuettes which can be confidently accepted for its fidelity

establishments, especially illustrating them by the state of British affairs in China; denounced Irish Poor-law commissioners for failing to do their duty in terms of the Irish Poor-law Bill; upheld the Corn-laws, as calculated to support the agriculture of England, and render her independent of other nations; and disputed their connection with the increase in the imports of cotton, which he rather ascribed to the operation of steam machinery.

The expedition to Affghanistan, alluded to in the narrative of the affairs of 1839, after completing its objects, endured a horrible fate in the annihilation of the entire force by the Affghans and the mountain tribes, in 1841. An insurrection, it appears, took place, and, in an unguarded moment, the British force was surprised and blockaded; and upon its subsequent permitted evacuation of Cabul, in the depth of winter, it fell a prey to the vengeance and treachery of the Affghans.

Before the news of the massacre had reached England, the Duke of Wellington was consulted, as to the propriety of occupying the country, and he then took a view of the position of the British troops, and drew up the following paper:—

"It is impossible to read the letter from Mr. Macnaghten to the Secretary to the Government in India, without being sensible of the precarious and dangerous position of our affairs in Central Asia.

"Mr. Macnaghten complains of reports against the King, Shah Soojah Khan, and his Government, as libels.

"Of these we can know nothing; but I am convinced that no complaints or libels can be so strong as the facts stated by Mr. Macnaghten in this letter.

"It appears that when Mr. Macnaghten heard of the first symptoms and first acts of this rebellion, he prevailed upon the King to send a message to the rebels, inviting them to return to their allegiance.

"The selection of the person sent is curious—Humaya Khan, the Governor of Cabul. 'His mission failed, of course,' says Mr. Macnaghten, 'because Humaya Khan was the chief instigator of the rebellion!'

"We know in this country something of the customs of those countries—of the meaning of some of the native expressions in this letter. It appears that there are four thanahs, or posts, between Cabul and Gundamuck. A thanah is either a permanent or a temporary post, to guard a road or district of importance. We have seen who the person was selected to induce the rebels to submit; let us now see who were the persons appointed to take charge of those

thanahs or posts in the disturbed country—those named in the subsequent part of the despatch as the very men who were the leaders in the rebellion, in the attack, and destruction, and murder of the East India Company's officers and troops! No libels can state facts against the Affghan Government stronger than these

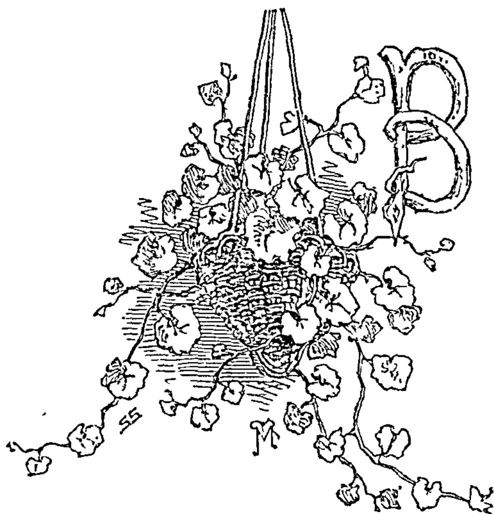
"But Mr Macnaghten has discovered that the Company's troops are not sufficiently active personally, nor are they sufficiently well armed for the war in Affghanistan Very possibly an Affghan will run over his native hills faster than an Englishman or a Hindoo But we have carried on war in hill countries, as well in Hindostan and the Deccan as in the Spanish Peninsula, and I never heard that our troops were not equal, as well in personal activity as by their arms, to contend with and overcome any natives of hills whatever Mr Macnaghten ought to have learnt by this time that hill countries are not conquered, and their inhabitants kept in subjection, solely by running up the hills and firing at long distances The whole of a hill country, of which it is necessary to keep possession, particularly for the communication of the army, should be occupied by sufficient bodies of troops, well supplied, and capable of maintaining themselves, and not only not a Ghilzye, or insurgent, should be able to run up and down hills, but not a cat or a goat, except under the fire of those occupying the hills This is the mode of carrying on the war, and not by hiring Affghans, with long matchlocks, to protect and defend the communications of the British army

Shah Soojah Khan may have in his service any troops that he and Mr Macnaghten please, but if the troops in the East India Company are not able, armed and equipped as they are, to perform the service required of them in Central Asia, I protest against their being left in Affghanistan It will not do to raise, pay, and discipline matchlock men, in order to protect the British troops and their communications, discovered by Mr Macnaghten to be no longer able to protect themselves

"WELLINGTON"

CHAPTER XVII.

The Duke resumes the command of the Army—Sessions of 1843 and 1844—Opinions on the conquest of Scinde and the recall of Lord Ellenborough—Equestrian statues of the Duke raised in the City of London and at Glasgow—The Queen visits the Duke at Strathfieldsaye—The Duke's letters—Accident to the Duke.



UT few periods of the eventful life of the Duke of Wellington were less distinguished by activity than the two or three years which followed immediately upon the resumption of office by Sir Robert Peel.

A violent agitation had commenced in Manchester against the Corn Laws. Associations were formed all over the country, and especially in London and the manufacturing districts, for the express purpose of getting rid of those laws. Considerable sums of money were subscribed by opulent traders and manufacturers for the perfect organisation of an active enmity to "Protection;" and the agitation assumed a more formidable character than any Catholic Association had done, because it was directed by strong-minded men of business habits, who found disciples in every man and woman in the country who was not a grower of corn. The arguments of the leaders of the Corn Law agitation, advanced in newspapers expressly established under the auspices of the League, and in speeches from the platform of every hall and large theatre in the United Kingdom, were for the most part irrefragable, and had begun to operate upon the mind of Sir

Robert Peel Impressed with a belief, often expressed, of the importance of maintaining the laws intact, the Duke held aloof from the discussion of the subject with his colleagues, and hence we rarely find him taking a prominent part in public affairs during the year 1842 In fact, excepting when he supported the Income Tax established by Sir Robert Peel, his Grace did not speak in the House of Lords more than two or three times during the session

There was another motive for this abstinence from any very active participation in the affairs of the country The Duke, owing to the illness of Lord Hill, had resumed the office of Commander in Chief of the army

Lord Hill died in November, 1842 From what has been said[1] of the attachment with which he inspired the men and officers of the British army, it may readily be conceived that Lord Hill's death was productive of poignant regret He had carried into the chief command all the estimable qualities which endeared him to his subordinates and comrades in the field, and was as watchful of the honour and interests of the army during peace, as he had been solicitous of its glory and renown in the excitement and dangers of war

The manner in which the Duke of Wellington exercised the proud command which now again devolved upon him, and which he held uninterruptedly to the last hour of his life, is treated of in a later chapter There is no doubt that his official employment influenced his tone, and gave additional prominence to his position in the House of Lords in 1843, for we find him frequently addressing the House in the trenchant style of the military absolutist

"The Government of Lord Melbourne," said he, "carried on war all over the world with a peace establishment That is exactly what *we (Sir Robert Peel s Government) do not* "

Regarding the China war, his Grace reminded the House that he was the only person among the Peers who had defended the local officers

"I said that the war was a just and necessary war I will go further, and say if it had been otherwise—if it had been a war solely on account of the robbery of the opium—if her Majesty's servants were engaged in that war, and if their interests and honour were involved in it, I should have considered it my duty to make every effort for carrying it on with success "

In a passing allusion to the Indian army, a part of which had been

[1] See Volume I pages 130 and 338

absent in Affghanistan, upon a retributive campaign, the Duke emphatically said—

"All do their duty—all are animated by the true feelings of soldiers."

And in reference to certain large and tumultuous assemblages in Ireland, held for the purpose of procuring a repeal of the Union, the Duke—who frequently spoke against these "monster" meetings and their object—announced, with pleasurable confidence, that—

"Everything that could be done had been done in order to enable the Government to preserve the peace of the country, and to meet all misfortunes and consequences which might result from the violence of the passions of those men who unfortunately guide the multitude in Ireland."

We pass to the year 1844. Affairs in India occupied more than ordinary attention in the House of Lords during this year. The Ameers of Scinde having, according to the opinion of Lord Ellenborough (Governor-General in 1842), betrayed the interests of the Anglo-Indian Government during the expedition to Affghanistan, Major-General Sir Charles Napier was directed to demand satisfaction, and, failing to obtain it, he attacked the Ameers, who had assembled a large army at Meance, on the heights of Dubba and at Hyderabad, defeating them in every case, and bringing the whole principality of Scinde under British domination. This proceeding was held by the friends of the Ameers, and others who examined the political merits of the matter with an impartial eye, to have been at least premature, if not altogether unjustifiable; and papers were called for in Parliament to enable the Legislature to judge of the question. In the meanwhile the Court of Directors of the East India Company, incensed at the conduct of Lord Ellenborough—who had, moreover, throughout his tenure of the government of India, treated the Directors, his "honourable masters," in a *haut en bas* fashion—recalled the Governor-General from his post, and conferred the important trust on Sir Henry Hardinge. The whole subject coming before Parliament, the Duke of Wellington bore a high tribute to the military proceedings of Sir Charles Napier. "I must say, my Lords," exclaimed his Grace, "that after giving the fullest consideration to these operations (in Scinde) I have never known an instance of an officer who has shown in a higher degree that he possesses all the qualifications to enable him to conduct great operations. He has maintained the utmost discretion and prudence in the formation of his plans, the utmost activity in all the preparations to ensure his

success, and, finally, the utmost zeal, gallantry, and science, in carrying them into execution"

The recal of Lord Ellenborough, for whom the Duke had long entertained a personal friendship, and who had been a member of the Government under the Duke's and Sir Robert Peel's administration, was regarded by the Duke as an act of "*indiscretion*" on the part of the East India Company His Grace did not doubt their power, but he questioned the prudence of their acting in so serious a matter without consulting the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India He contended that the Directors could not have been aware of the secret instructions sent out to Lord Ellenborough, and, for all they knew, they might be imposing upon him a severe penalty for simply carrying out instructions

The Duke's friendship had more influence than his judgment in the examination he bestowed upon the subject of the recal, and it is now matter of notoriety that his Grace lived to consider Lord Ellenborough (who was elevated to an Earldom, by way of a salve, on his return to England,) a most indiscreet and intemperate ruler He, who in his Parliamentary speeches the Duke was accustomed to allude to as his "noble friend," degenerated into "the noble lord behind" him, and it is certain that the Conservatives, who held power until 1846, and afterwards resumed the reins of office in 1852, evinced no desire to accept Lord Ellenborough, once the strongest of their party, as a colleague

On the evening of the 14th of February (1844), the Duke had another of those attacks to which reference has been already made Returning to Apsley House from his afternoon ride, he was observed to fall down upon the neck of his horse, just as he had reached his own door Two gentlemen passing ran to his assistance, and he was conveyed in their arms into Apsley House, in a state of total unconsciousness

On the 18th of June, 1844, the equestrian statue of his Grace the Duke of Wellington, for which the sum of 9000*l* had been subscribed by the citizens of London (the metal, valued at 1500*l*, having been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer),[1] was inaugurated Its execution had been entrusted to Sir Francis Chantrey (the most distinguished British sculptor of the age) in the year 1839, and was to have been completed and fixed by 1843 Chantrey dying after the model had been prepared, the work was completed by his assistant, Mr Weeks, under the direction of the executors The inauguration took place upon the occasion of the King of Saxony's visit to the

[1] The metal was composed of guns taken from the French in the Duke's campaigns

City. The statue was placed in front of the Royal Exchange, facing the west. It had been Sir Francis Chantrey's wish that the statue should face the south, in order that it might have had the advantage of the sun; and to attain this object the more completely, the upper storey of the Mansion-house had been removed. The committee, however, came to the resolution that as the front of the Royal Exchange faced the west, it would be preposterous to turn the face of the statue away from that direction, and they accordingly came to the unanimous conclusion that the Duke should front Cheapside. The statue is handsome, and may, perhaps, be considered the very best of the equestrians that adorns the British metropolis. The horse is correctly, gracefully, and at the same time boldly formed; the attitude of rest in which it stands being well qualified by the appearance of life and animal energy in the swollen veins, the distended nostrils, and the flowing mane of the horse.[1] The portrait of the Duke is admirable, while his position on the horse is as easy and unembarrassed as the absence of stirrups renders possible. The least satisfactory part of the work is the indefinite character of the costume, which is neither quite antique nor quite modern. At the inauguration some thousands of persons assembled; and Mr. R. L. Jones

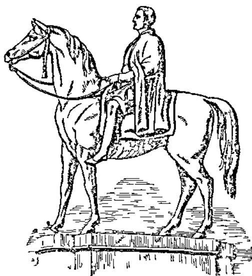
[1] As to the quiescent attitude of the horse in this, and two other equestrian statues by the same sculptor, some revelations occur in Jones's "Recollections of Chantrey," which are worth quoting. The passage runs as follows:—

"When George IV. was sitting to Chantrey, he required the sculptor to give him an idea of an equestrian statue to commemorate him, which Chantrey accomplished at a succeeding interview by placing in the Sovereign's hand a number of small equestrian figures, drawn carefully on thick paper, and resembling, in number and material, a pack of cards. These sketches pleased the King very much, who turned them over and over, expressing his surprise that such a variety could be produced; and, after a thousand fluctuations of opinion—sometimes for a prancing steed, sometimes a trotter, then for a neighing or starting charger—his Majesty at length resolved on a horse standing still, as the most dignified for a king. Chantrey probably led to this, as he was decidedly in favour of the four legs being on the ground. He had a quiet and convincing manner of satisfying persons of the propriety of that, which, from reflection, he judged to be preferable. Chantrey's friend, Lord Egremont, was of the same opinion; for, in writing to the sculptor, he said, 'I am glad your horse is not walking off his pedestal, which looks more like a donkey than a sensible horse.' Chantrey wished, in this instance, for a quiet or standing horse; but he determined, if he ever executed another portrait, to represent the horse in the act of pawing, not from the conviction of its being a better attitude, but for the sake of variety, and to convince the public that he could do one as well as the other; for, whenever his works were censured, it always was for heaviness or want of action, which is rather surprising considering the energetic and speaking statue of Grattan."

"Man proposes—but—"—we all know the rest. The next equestrian statue which Chantrey undertook was that for the City of London, now in question, and he still stuck to the quiet horse. Mr. Jones, in his little *brochure* already referred to, states, on the authority of Mr. Cunningham, that the Duke once went to see this equestrian statue (previous to its being sent out to India), when he remarked:—"A very fine horse;" after a pause, "a very fine statue;" and again, after another pause, "and a very extraordinary man!"

addressed the spectators. He did not descant upon a theme so familiar to the public as the transcendant merits of the Duke,—he rather referred to the claims his Grace had established upon the gratitude of the citizens of London, by promoting the improvements and embellishments which the visitors to our great city look at with wonder; and it was this feeling of thankfulness to which they were determined to give effect in a way which posterity would be well able to appreciate, and would leave an example worthy of imitation. Mr. Jones added a fact not generally known: that it was the first equestrian bronze statue which ever had been raised during the life of the person represented.

The statue is 14 feet in height from the foot of the horse to the top of the head of the Duke; and it rests upon a granite pedestal also 14 feet high.



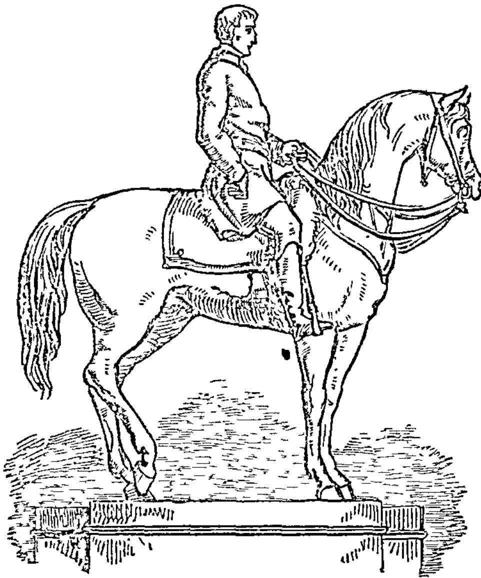
STATUE IN FRONT OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

Singularly enough, in the same year an equestrian statue of the Duke was erected in Glasgow. It originated "in a resolution passed at an influential public meeting, in the spring of 1840; and within a few months the subscriptions amounted to nearly 10,000*l.* A deputation of the subscribers then waited upon the Duke of Wellington, at Apsley House, and communicated their intention to his Grace." In this case the artist employed was not an Englishman; and, pending the deliberations upon the subject, Chantrey appears to have become early aware of that fact, and writes, under date May 19, 1840, to Miss Moore—"Tell papa that the Duke has discovered that in

England, or even in Scotland, no artist can be found worthy of the Glasgow commission: that it must be offered to Thorwaldsen of Rome. If Thorwaldsen should not be able to cast it, what then? *No matter!*"

As to the appointment of Thorwaldsen, however, the English sculptor was mistaken—a *French* artist was resorted to. On the 30th of November, 1841, the acting committee resolved to nominate Charles, Baron Marochetti, of Vaux, in the Department of Seine-et-Oise, in France, as the artist to design and erect the statue, with the illustrative bas-reliefs on the pedestal, representing the battles of Assaye and Waterloo. The inauguration took place on the 8th of October, 1844, in presence of the Lord Provost, Sir Neil Douglas, Commander of the Forces, &c.

In this statue, also, the horse is quiescent, the moment being that when, as if having just come to a state of repose, he seems as if listening to some distant sound.



THE STATUE AT GLASGOW.

The head is that of an Arab, with the broad forehead and wide nostrils, and is standing with fore foot a little in advance, in an easy posture, the reins lying slack. The position of the Duke is that of a General reviewing his troops. The likeness is taken when the Duke was in the prime of life, the hero being dressed in the frock coat of a Field Marshal, with his different orders. The bas-reliefs on the south and north sides of the pedestal represent the first and last

victories of the Duke, namely, that of Assaye, fought on the 23rd of September, 1803, and Waterloo, 18th of June, 1815 Two small bas reliefs on the east and west ends of the pedestal represent the soldier's return, and the soldier at the plough after all his labours, and after having saved his country from the inroad of the foe

On the 20th of January, 1845, the Duke of Wellington had an opportunity of displaying his "dutiful hospitality" to his Sovereign and her amiable consort at his modest abode at Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire Her Majesty and the Prince remained the usual time prescribed by etiquette for royal visits to illustrious subjects Three days were thus consumed—the first in arrival—the second in repose—the third in departure The reception of the Queen throughout the county was joyous in the extreme, and the Duke exercised the grateful office of host in a manner peculiarly his own Five apartments were assigned to the Royal party, and people of the first consideration in the county were invited to the banquets upon the first and second days After dinner, upon the 20th, the Queen sat in the library, and was much interested in the very remarkable and numerous collection of old and modern prints which were hung all over the walls On the following day, the Duke, after escorting the Prince Consort and some friends upon a shooting excursion, in which the venerable chief himself brought down several head of game—conducted her Majesty to the residence of Sir John Cope, Brownhill House—a place remarkable for its unique antiquity The house was designed for Prince Henry, the son of James I On the following day the royal party returned to Windsor

A more exact account of the royal visit to Strathfieldsaye might have been given than is extant in the papers of the day had the Duke of Wellington followed the example of other members of the aristocracy, and admitted the reporters of the London press to any part of the sanctuary But his Grace, apart from his general aversion to hold communication with the "gentlemen of the press," deemed it unbecoming in him to allow the royal privacy to be, as he considered it would, rudely disturbed To an application from a reporter for admission, he delivered the following characteristic reply —

"Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr ———, and begs to say that he does not see what his house at Strathfieldsaye has to do with the public press"

The terms of this note are rude enough in all conscience, and it is to be regretted that they were *habitual* Probably no man

wrote a greater number of notes than the Duke. His politeness induced him to reply to all letters that were addressed to him; and as the tone of the replies was uniform, the recipients were accustomed to send copies of them to the newspapers for the amusement of the public. Sometimes the notes were written by Mr. Greville, the Duke's secretary, who had learnt to imitate his writing as well as his style; but the holders—many of whom wrote for the mere purpose of obtaining an autograph reply—believed the notes of Mr. Greville to be the *bonâ fide* productions of the Duke, and were punished for the trouble they gave in the deception innocently enough practised upon them. Some of the notes addressed to the Duke were absurd and impertinent, and deserved the check conveyed in the reply; but more frequently they were penned in ignorance of the character of the Duke, and in a spirit of good faith. A few of these will serve to illustrate at once the nature of the applications with which his Grace was pestered, and the manner in which he disposed of them.

The following appeared in the "Banner of Ulster." It was addressed to a gentleman residing near Belfast, who at the time of its receipt was not a little annoyed at the curt phraseology of his illustrious correspondent:—

TO FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"May it please your Grace,—I have taken the liberty of requesting your opinion,—Was 'Napoleon' guilty or not of the murder of his prisoners at Jaffa, and if there is any military law or circumstance that would justify the deed?

"Yours respectfully,

"J. H."

REPLY.

"F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. H. He has also received Mr. H.'s letter, and begs leave to inform him he is not the historian of the wars of the French Republic in Egypt and Syria."

A letter addressed to the Duke with a printed circular proposed the establishment of a Trade Society on a new plan. The Duke replied:—

"F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. ———. He has received his letter and the enclosed. The Duke begs leave to decline to have any relation with the committee

of the ——— He may give his money in charity, but he will not become in any manner responsible for the distribution of money received "

A tradesman wrote requesting payment of an account of the Marquis of Douro's, then on the continent He received the annexed answer —

"F M the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr G The Duke is not the collector of the Marquis of Douro's debts "

During a mania for the establishment of joint stock railway companies, the Duke was asked for the use of his name as a patron or committee man His Grace answered —

"F M the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments He begs to decline allowing the use of his name, or giving his opinion of the proposed line of railway, of which he knows nothing "

Innumerable applications were made to the Duke to become a subscriber to books, or to allow of their being dedicated to him, but to all he wrote —

"The Duke begs to decline to give his name as a subscriber to the book in question, but if he learns that it is a good book, he may become a purchaser "

Books were habitually refused acceptance at Apsley House A literary gentleman had recommended to the Duke the perusal of a work recently published, and was requested to send it This he did several times, and as often was it refused acceptance Seeing the Duke a few weeks afterwards, he referred to the subject, whereupon the Duke observed —"If I were to take in all the trash sent to me, I might furnish a store room as large as the British Museum " After writing a few words, he added —"Stick that on the outside, and I'll get it " This was his own name and address, written by himself So to ensure delivery, it was necessary to have his own endorsement

A meeting had been held in Edinburgh to vote an address to the House of Lords Mr C——, the chairman, who was entrusted with its despatch to the Duke, took the opportunity of expressing his pleasure at hearing of the Duke's convalescence, for his Grace had been ill Here is the reply to Mr C——

"F M the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to

Mr. C. The D. returns thanks for Mr. C.'s good wishes. The Duke will not long be convalescent or in existence, if he is to undertake to manage the whole business of the presentation of petitions from every village in the country from Johnny Groat's House to the Land's End. The Duke begs leave to decline to present to the House of Lords petitions from individuals of whom, or from communities of which, he has no knowledge. The Duke begs leave to return the petition."

One more. The Duke had been applied to by a person to recommend him for some office.

"London, 184—.

"F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. M'D——. The Duke cannot recommend him to the office, for he knows nothing of him or his family. The Duke's leisure ought not to be wasted by having to peruse such applications."

All these are in sufficiently bad taste, and from the frequency of their appearance they conveyed an idea to the public mind that the Duke was habitually *brusque*—and perhaps the conclusion had some justification in fact. The only excuse that can be offered for the discourtesy of the notes lies in the necessity his Grace was under of repelling intrusion, and of checking the practice of making public his communications. If, thought he, people merely want an autograph, they shall have one which it will give them very little pleasure to exhibit. It would perhaps have been better had he left unanswered all that could not be acknowledged civilly at least.

Returning to the course of our biography, we find that, in the year 1845, a circumstance occurred of material interest in connection with the Duke, because, while it showed on how slight a contingency the life of the greatest man of the age depended, it established his sense of duty to the public, and his care for the welfare of individuals. We quote from a newspaper of the day:—

ACCIDENT TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"The Duke of Wellington attended on Saturday (4th May, 1845) at the Marlborough Street Police Court, for the purpose of preferring a charge of furious driving, whereby his life was endangered, against Henry Woods, driver of one of the carriers' carts. To prevent inconvenience to his Grace from the crowd which his appearance would attract to this court, the summons was so arranged as to take precedence of the night charges. At half-past eleven o'clock his

Grace, accompanied by Lord Charles Fitzroy Somerset and Mr Mayne, entered the court His Grace having been sworn, said—I was walking, on Tuesday last, between two and three o'clock, in Park Lane, on the left-hand side, going out of Piccadilly, and when near the Duchess of Gloucester's house, a very heavy four-wheeled cart passed me I endeavoured to cross the lane, to get to the pavement on the other side, under the protection of this heavy cart, I got as far as the right hand wheel of the cart, keeping the cart at my left hand, when I found myself struck on the shoulder, and knocked forward It was a severe blow, and I found it had been given by another cart, the driver of which did not attempt to give me warning by calling out, until he had struck me I did not fall, if I had, I must have been under the wheels of both carts Now, I have no further complaint to make against the man at the bar who drove the cart, than that he was going at such a monstrous pace that he had no control over his horse, indeed, he came along so fast, that he got the whole length of Park Lane without my having perceived him, and the pace he was going at was such, that it was impossible he could stop his horse This is my complaint, and I bring it forward on public grounds, because I think it is not right that carriages should go along in the public streets at this great rate The cart by which I was struck was a heavy, tilted cart, the driver was under the tilt My groom was behind with my horses, and I called him and desired him to follow the cart My groom trotted as hard as he could, but was unable to overtake the cart until he got as far as South Strand This will prove the rapid pace at which the driver of the cart was going

"The defendant said he was truly sorry at what had occurred, but he declared the whole circumstance was accidental He saw a gentleman about to cross the road, and he called out to warn him, but he was not aware that he had touched any one He was not going at very great speed, for his horse was an old one, and could not accomplish more than seven miles an hour, and at the time when he passed his Grace, he was going up hill His attention was directed to the vehicles in the carriage-road, and this prevented his noticing what was doing on the foot path

"Mr Hardwick Had you kept your eyes directed as you ought, not only to avoid carriages but foot passengers, the circumstance would not have occurred The reason you have given for not seeing his Grace is no excuse for your conduct

"The Duke of Wellington There was plenty of room to have passed, without running against me

"Mr. Hall, No. 12, Park Lane, said he saw his Grace attempting to cross the lane at the time that a carrier's cart, which was going at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour, was coming down the lane. Thinking, from the way the man was driving, that his Grace would be knocked down, he ran to the door, and saw the cart strike his Grace on the shoulder. Had his Grace but turned round sharply, the cart must have been over his feet. The pace the man was driving at was not more than seven miles an hour. He was driving negligently rather than furiously.

"Mr. Hardwick: Had he kept a proper look-out, he must have seen his Grace?

"Witness: Certainly. He was going up hill, and could have stopped the horse easier than if he was going down hill.

"Mr. Hardwick: Did you hear the man call out?

"Witness: No, I did not.

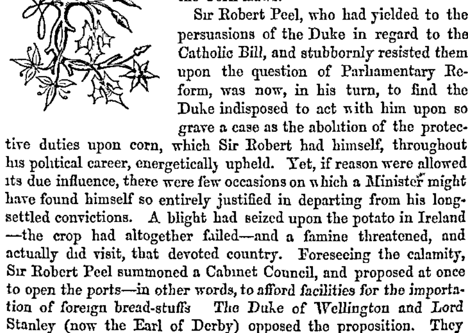
"In defence, the man repeated that he was exceedingly sorry for what had occurred.

"Mr. Hardwick: It appears from the evidence that you were driving, if not at a furious, still at a rapid rate; but as you were going up hill at the time, had you used the ordinary precautions in driving along the public street, and if you had proper command over your horse, this accident could not have occurred. A witness has described your careless mode of driving at the time, by saying you were neither looking to the right hand nor to the left; and the whole evidence goes to prove that your mode of driving was reckless and careless, exhibiting a perfect indifference to the life and limbs of foot-passengers. This case I shall deal with as a case of assault. You have committed several serious offences: first, furious driving; next, endangering life and limb; and, lastly, committing an assault, for running against the person and striking that person with the cart, is as much an assault as if the blow were given by hand. For the assault, which is clearly proved, you will pay a fine of 4*l.*, or one month's imprisonment.

"The defendant was then locked up."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sir Robert Peel and the Corn-Laws—The Duke's resistance—Resignation of the Peel Ministry—And their resumption of office on the failure of Lord John Russell to form a Government—The Duke gives way—The Corn Laws repealed—Erection of the statue on the Triumphal Arch at Hyde Park Corner—Resignation of Sir Robert Peel—Lord John Russell forms a Government—The Duke on our National Defences



IGHTEEN hundred and forty-six is a memorable year in the annals of the British *Parliament, as the epoch of the greatest* change ever effected in the commercial policy of the country. Succumbing to the pressure of events, the Minister surrendered the Corn Laws.

Sir Robert Peel, who had yielded to the persuasions of the Duke in regard to the Catholic Bill, and stubbornly resisted them upon the question of Parliamentary Reform, was now, in his turn, to find the Duke indisposed to act with him upon so grave a case as the abolition of the protective duties upon corn, which Sir Robert had himself, throughout his political career, energetically upheld. Yet, if reason were allowed its due influence, there were few occasions on which a Minister might have found himself so entirely justified in departing from his long-settled convictions. A blight had seized upon the potato in Ireland—the crop had altogether failed—and a famine threatened, and actually did visit, that devoted country. Foreseeing the calamity, Sir Robert Peel summoned a Cabinet Council, and proposed at once to open the ports—in other words, to afford *facilities for the importation* of foreign bread-stuffs *The Duke of Wellington and Lord* Stanley (now the Earl of Derby) opposed the proposition. They

denied that the food supplies of Great Britain were insufficient to meet the wants of Ireland; and they dreaded lest a temporary suspension of the Corn Laws should prove the precursor of their total extinction. Sir Robert Peel's arguments and the frightful reports of deficiency and apprehended starvation were disregarded. Sir Robert then took a more decided tone: announced to his colleagues the impression which had been produced on his mind by the writings and harangues of the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and proposed the total repeal of the Corn Law. In the Commons he was sure of a great majority—with the country he was certain of sympathy and popularity—in the Lords he knew that success depended upon the view the Duke of Wellington might take. He earnestly appealed to the veteran Commander. The Duke was obdurate, and Sir Robert Peel resigned in despair, to the great distress of the country.

The Queen sent for Lord John Russell to form a Ministry. His Lordship readily accepted the trust; for he at once perceived how large an accession to the popularity of the Whig party would ensue from the inauguration of the Ministry with a bill for establishing a free trade in corn. Personal differences among the Whigs, however, tore the prize and the honour from his grasp. Earl Grey, to whom the office of Colonial Minister was offered, refused to sit in the same Cabinet with Lord Palmerston, to whom the post of Foreign Secretary had been tendered. Lord John Russell felt that he could not spare either. Earl Grey, by connexion and influence in the House of Lords—the influence which eloquence and mental power, apart from temper and dignity of character, gave—was indispensable to Lord John Russell; and Lord Palmerston had, by common consent, become the only fitting instrument of Whig policy, and the best debater among the Whig leaders of the House of Commons. His tone as Foreign Minister on former occasions had always been high,—it was his duty, as well as his ardent desire, to make the English name respected throughout the world; and all foreign nations felt that while he was at the head of affairs in that department they could not insult Great Britain with impunity.

Lord John Russell, failing to reconcile the differences between Earl Grey and Viscount Palmerston, and seeing the impossibility of constructing a strong Government without the aid of both, surrendered the glory of carrying the repeal of the Corn Laws to his great political rival.

The necessity which the Queen was now under of recalling Sir Robert, and the impossibility which Sir Robert announced of his

carrying on the Government unless he could go before Parliament with a proposal to abolish the Corn Laws, imposed upon the Duke of Wellington the alternative of sacrificing his principles to his loyalty,

LORD PALMERSTON.

or his loyalty to his principles. The chivalry of the Duke took fire at the proposition. Away went the principles—his Grace "resolved to *stand by* his friend!"

Parliament met early in 1846; and the Duke of Wellington, with her Majesty's permission, explained the circumstances of the resignation in the first instance, and the subsequent acceptance of office: "Whatever that measure may be, I say that, situated as I am, my Lords, in this country—highly rewarded as I have been by the Sovereign and the people of England—I could not refuse that Sovereign *to aid her to form a Government when called upon, in* order to enable her Majesty to meet her Parliament, and carry on

the business of the country. *I positively could not refuse to serve the Sovereign when thus called on.*"

Sir Robert Peel lost no time in bringing in his bill. It passed the Commons triumphantly. The scene which ensued upon the second reading is graphically described by a Parliamentary reporter present on the memorable occasion:—

"The debate began on Monday, the 25th May, while the Park guns were still firing to announce the birth of the Princess Helena. The debate was resumed on the following day; and on Thursday night, or rather on Friday morning, their Lordships affirmed the second reading by a majority of forty-seven. The Duke reserved himself for the close of the debate. We well remember the scene. The Duke took his seat at five o'clock on Thursday evening, and sat as if chained to the Treasury Bench until nearly four o'clock the next morning. The galleries were filled with ladies, many of whom sat through the night, and remained until the division. Among those who gave this proof of the interest with which this great historical scene had inspired them, were the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Countess of Wilton, the Countess of Essex, and Viscountess Sidney. A brilliant circle of diplomatists and distinguished foreigners stood at the foot of the throne. The old Duke of Cambridge, who had declared that he would not support the bill, and that he should not vote at all, was going from one cross-bench to the other, attracting attention by his audible remarks and by his rather violent *bonhommie.* The debate flagged: there remained no one but the Duke to speak whom the assemblage cared to hear. All eyes were turned to this wonderful old man, who seemed to despise fatigue, and to be superior to the ordinary wants of humanity. He sat, rigid and immovable, with his hat over his eyes, paying the most strict and conscientious attention to everything that was said. About half-past three in the morning he arose. A strange emotion rendered his utterance thick and indistinct, and even seemed to give incoherence to his remarks. There were, indeed, passages which made his friends exchange glances, in which they seemed to ask each other whether it was fatigue, or the growing infirmities of age, or the excitement of that memorable night, that had thrown the Duke's mind off its balance. Perhaps these were the passages in the speech (for there were many) which did not reach the reporters' gallery; for the reported speech, although it bears traces of deep feeling, and is not without a noble pathos, contains nothing to explain the misgivings and apprehensions of his audience.

"He began by expressing the regret with which he found himself

in a hostile position to those with whom he had been constantly in the habit of acting in political life 'I am aware,' he said, 'I address your Lordships with all your prejudices against me,' a painful thing for a man to say who had been so loved, so looked up to so honoured, and so trusted Shaken by emotion, and almost inaudible from his agitation, the Duke was then heard to say —'I never had any claim to the confidence that your Lordships have placed in me But I will not omit even on this night—possibly the last on which I shall ever *venture to address to you my advice—I will not omit to counsel* you as to the vote you should give on this occasion' The Duke proceeded, to the astonishment of the Peers, to introduce, in what they considered an unconstitutional manner, a name which it is contrary to the rules of Parliament to claim upon the side of the person who speaks 'This measure has come up, recommended by the Commons *We also know that this measure has been recommended by the Crown*' Murmurs, such as the great Field Marshal never heard before in the House of Peers, here went round the House at this unconstitutional mention of the name of the Sovereign But their Lordships, in one of the most memorable sentences ever addressed to them, were soon to see, that if the Duke had violated an order of their Lordships' House, he had but assumed a privilege which great men sometimes claim when they break some rule of etiquette to save an institution 'My Lords,' he continued, 'the House of Lords can do nothing without the two other branches of the Legislature *Separately from the Crown and the House of Commons you can do nothing And if you break your connexion* WITH BOTH, *you will put an end to the functions of the House of Lords*' The Protectionist Peers despised the counsel A merry laugh went round the House It is well the deriders were not in a majority on the division, or the House of Peers would by this time have paid a bitter penalty for scorning the sagacity of their illustrious adviser

"*The Duke's speech on this occasion has been well described as a* conflict between the habitual prejudices of his associations and his recognition of a great necessity—as a conflict between the unwilling sense of a growing and the innate devotion to a prescriptive power Not a word did the Duke waste upon the merits of the bill or its possible operation The Corn law was an untenable line of fortification, which must be given up He could not save the Corn law, and the Queen had claimed his services, and called upon him, by his fidelity to the throne, to assist in carrying on the business of her Government 'I did think, my Lords, that the formation of a Government in which her Majesty would have confidence was of

greater importance than any opinion of any individual upon the Corn-law or any other law.' And then the Duke warned their lordships as to the possible consequences of rejecting the bill. His speech made a great impression, and the result was a majority of forty-seven in favour of the second reading. The doors of their Lordships' House were surrounded by members of the House of Commons, who were waiting to hear the result. The writer was one of the first to enter when the doors were re-opened, and to hear the result of the division. How quickly the news was carried to all parts of the country by express engines, and what universal joy it gave in our great towns, and in the hives of manufacturing industry, this is not the place to describe.

"The House divided at half-past four. The Duke was one of the last to leave. It was broad daylight when, on this memorable May morning, the Duke left the House where, amid much mortification, and the severance of so many political and personal ties of association, he had so nobly served his country. A small crowd had collected in Palace-yard, early as was the hour, and as soon as the Duke made his appearance they began to cheer. 'God bless you, Duke,' loudly and fervently exclaimed one mechanic; who, early as it was, was going to his morning toil. The Duke's horse began to prance at the cheers of the crowd, and the Duke promptly caused silence by exclaiming 'For Heaven's sake, people, let me get on my horse!' It was now five o'clock, and the Duke rode off to St. James's Park. As he passed through the Horse Guards, and received the salute of the sentinel on duty, was it then given him to know that he had just secured the accomplishment of a legislative change, which was destined to work a striking improvement in the position and means of the private soldier, and that, ere long, the military, in the words of Sir James Graham, would 'know the reason why?'

"From this moment the Duke may be said to have retired from political strife. His share in the repeal of the Corn-laws cast a halo round his political career, like some glorious sunset which bathes the western sky with golden splendour."

Although the Duke of Wellington had thus contributed to the establishment of Free-trade in corn, he had acted so entirely without reference to his political convictions, that he continued for a long time to feel nervously anxious about the operation of the measure. At first he may have experienced some visitations of conscience, but as he beheld the gradual development of a system which essentially increased the comforts of the poor man, without inflicting material injury upon the landed interest, he became reconciled to his own act,

and frequently admitted that it imparted serenity to the close of his life

In the month of October, 1845, the colossal equestrian bronze statue of the Duke, which had been subscribed for by the nation as a memorial of his military greatness, was erected over the triumphal arch at Hyde Park corner A great difference of opinion existed as to the merit of the design and the suitableness of the site, but the present locality was at length determined on, partly because the statue was rendered a prominent object for a mile or two around, and partly on account of its vicinity to the Duke's own residence The inauguration of the statue was not accompanied by any ceremonial, but the work and its site were for some time a standing jest with the satirists of the day, with what good reason it were difficult to say Of the magnitude of the memorial and the labour attendant upon its construction by Mr Wyatt, the sculptor, an idea may be gathered from the following detail —The cost of the statue was upwards of 30 000*l*

The quantity of plaster used for this purpose amounted in weight to 160 tons, nor need this excite surprise, when we consider that the statue is nearly thirty feet high, and more than twenty five feet long, indeed the largest in Europe, and only comparable with the gigantic productions of the ancient Egyptian and Hindoo chisels The total quantity of the metal used in the construction has been sixty five tons, the statue itself weighing thirty five tons It was not produced as a whole, but in six separate castings, which were afterwards rivetted together The body of the horse was cast in two pieces, and the carcase thus formed easily contained eight persons, a series of friends to this amount having dined with the artist in this singular dining room, fourteen ladies, on one occasion, having taken refreshment together in the same place The head of the Duke was cast from an English nine pounder brass gun that was taken in the battle of Waterloo, and there are in other parts of the statue five tons of metal from other guns, French as well as English After the modelling was completed, and the moulds prepared, considerable anxiety and attention was still imposed upon the ingenious sculptor The metal was fused in a furnace specially constructed, and the heat imparted was so great that the brick work vitrified and ran in masses This inconvenience, however, was in a great measure obviated by substituting brick of fire proof manufacture, but even these became soft and ductile The moulds also were obliged to be carefully dried, and the place of casting rammed down as hard as possible, for the heated metal coming in contact with any moisture, or inter-

rupted by rarified air, would have destroyed the labour of months by the consequent explosion. The charger is a faithful model of the Duke of Wellington's favourite horse, "Copenhagen," alluded to in an earlier part of this volume. It represents him in his younger days, and the attitude is perfectly characteristic of the man. He is arrayed in a military surtout, over which is thrown his cloak. A

STATUE AT HYDE PARK CORNER.

sword is buckled around his waist, and whilst he holds the horse's reins in one hand, he extends his right, in which is a telescope, as if directing some military movement. Every care was taken to preserve correctness of detail in the appointments of the horse and its distinguished rider.

Sir Robert Peel's government did not long survive the extinction of the Corn Laws and his other admirable measures of commercial policy. The state of affairs in Ireland having rendered it necessary for the Conservative Ministry to bring in a bill for the protection of life, the Irish interpreted it into an excuse for interfering with the free exercise of opinion. The Whigs adopted the same view, and opposed the bill pertinaciously. Sir Robert Peel, nevertheless, carried it into the House of Lords, where, however, it was defeated by a considerable majority. Sir Robert then finally resigned, and Lord John Russell was appointed Premier.

During the ensuing year, nothing transpired to bring the Duke of Wellington prominently before the public. He was occasionally found addressing the House of Lords on passing subjects, but his time for the most part was divided between the Horse Guards and the pleasures of social intercourse.

In 1847, a pamphlet appeared from the pen of the Prince de Joinville, one of the sons of Louis Philippe, the King of the French. It discussed in free and confident terms the feasibility of an invasion of England by France, pointing out all the weak points of our coast, measuring the amount of our naval force, and hinting the advantages which might accrue to the French, in the event of a war, from a descent upon Great Britain.

Such a pamphlet, widely disseminated by means of translation and press discussion, was eminently calculated to alarm the populace of Great Britain, and a question arose as to the propriety of leaving England in so defenceless a state. Louis Philippe had shown, in reference to the marriage of his son the Duc de Montpensier to the Infanta of Spain, that he was not above a paltry juggle, and might one day revive the old animosities between Great Britain and France, when, in all human probability, an attempt would be made upon the British shores. Discussions grew warm upon the subject, when, towards the close of 1847, it suddenly transpired that the Duke of Wellington had for a long time been alive to the importance of fortifying the coasts, and had endeavoured to urge successive governments to go to the country for the means requisite to render us invulnerable. Upon this momentous question, his Grace, in January, 1847, addressed Major General Sir John Burgoyne, the Inspector-General of Fortifications, a confidential letter, which, however, found its way into the public prints through the active agency of female hands. Sir John had given the letter to be copied by one of the female members of his family, and a Lady S——, more curious than sagacious, transcribed it from the copy for transfer to her album!

In this letter the Duke took a clear view of the defenceless state of England in regard to the number of troops employed at home, pointing out that 65,000 men at least would be required as garrisons for half a dozen of our principal dockyards and naval arsenals, whereas we had but 5000 troops! He urged the importance of embodying the militia, and strengthening the belt of the country with fortifications, and he stated with bitter regret that he had "for years" unavailingly drawn the attention of different Administrations, at different times, to the dangerous position in which he considered

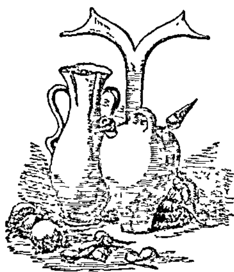
England to stand. "If it be true," wrote the old soldier, "that the exertions of the fleet are not sufficient to provide for our defence, *we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.*" He added emphatically—

"I am bordering on seventy-seven years of age passed in honour! I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert."

Sentiments thus expressed, finding publicity soon after circulation had been given to the Prince de Joinville's pamphlet, could not fail to produce a powerful effect in the country. The opinions of the Duke were caught up and echoed throughout the length and breadth of the land, and the Minister, yielding to the popular will, soon came before Parliament with a declaration of the necessity of taking steps to place the national defences upon a firm and extensive basis. The principle was generally admitted excepting by the ultra-Liberals, or Free-trade members, who, having exhausted the popularity they had acquired by procuring the destruction of the Corn Laws, were now seeking a new source of public admiration in their attempts to check expenditure. In their eyes England was sufficiently protected in *the folly of war.* Nations had learnt the value of peace through the agency of Free-trade, and there could not, they maintained, be any occasion to spend the public money in preparing against a chimera. But these feeble arguments were met by the more cogent reasoning founded on a knowledge of mankind. While the passions of jealousy, envy, covetousness, revenge, and so forth, animate the human heart, men will make war upon each other, and it therefore behoves nations to maintain such an attitude of calm and inoffensive defiance as may deter their neighbours from wanton aggression. The wisest writers had held, in all times, that the way to preserve peace was to be prepared for war, and this doctrine was now to be practically enforced in England. Circumstances, however, occurred to cause at least a suspension of the measures the Minister was desirous of carrying for the defence of the nation. France was suddenly (February, 1848), plunged into a new revolution, and the Prince, from whose warlike ambition everything was to be apprehended, lost for the time the power of doing either political good or political evil.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Chartists—Monster Meeting on Kennington Common—London in "a state of siege"—The Duke's military dispositions—The Chartist Meeting dissolves peaceably—Presentation of the Chartist Petition in the House of Commons.



HERE is a strange affinity between the groans of poverty and the outpourings of political discontent. When wages are reduced, and the population finds itself suddenly disproportioned to the means available for its employment or support, the indigent labourer casts about him for the cause of his immediate distress, that he may seek some little consolation in anathemas. A bad harvest affords a pretext for quarrelling with the operation of Free-trade, through which more corn leaves the country than ever comes into it. The suspension of work at mills and factories supplies a reason for quarrelling with the manufacturer for creating an excess of supply, and so glutting the foreign markets; while the diminution of wages by master manufacturers revives the hostility to machinery and its ingenious inventors. These ebullitions of anger, however, are not found to improve the condition of the sufferer—he may have hit upon the true reason for the state of almost mendicancy in which he finds himself; but inasmuch as the discovery of the disease does not suggest a prompt remedy, he is glad to find some fresh and tangible ground of discontent. In this frame of mind he is an admirable subject for the demagogue—an

apt tool for the designing politician who seeks to magnify the strength of his individual cause by a display of the misery, and a direction of the clamour of myriads. He points out to them that their privations are traceable to other causes than those they have supposed. He tells them that their destitution is the result of excessive taxation; that excessive taxation arises from imperfect representation; that imperfect representation can only be remedied by an extension of the franchise, vote by ballot, and annual Parliaments; and that these remedies can be forced upon Parliament, the Crown, and the aristocracy, by a magnificent demonstration of physical and moral force;—in other words, a monster crowd pregnant with the ingredients of extreme mischief, so low in their condition, that every revolution of Fortune's wheel must carry them upwards. The distressed and dissatisfied multitude imbibe the word of comfort poured into their willing ears by the designing orator, and declare their readiness to obey his every command. They admit the force of his reasoning, and recognise his fitness to lead them to "victory or death."

This is the picture of a periodical occurrence of which modern history presents multitudinous examples. But if the unemployed, the poor, and the discontented fall an easy prey to the restless political agitator, when the state of domestic trade has prepared them for his evil counsels, how much more facile is their capture when revolution has stalked over the length and breadth of the vast continent of Europe, and the foreign workman has asserted the *dignity* of labour by violently destroying thrones, and revelling in idleness and vicious indulgence at the expense of the state! *Then* the wily demagogue points to the *noble* example set the English citizen by his contemporary artisan, and asks him whether, with the certainty of commanding the sympathy of the foreigner, he will continue an ignoble slave?—whether, with the power of grasping a pike or an old musket, he will fear a rencontre with the batons of policemen and the bayonets of the Guards, when the valiant assertion of his *rights* may ensure their prompt possession? The poor mechanic, inspired by the glowing effusions of the self-styled patriot, answers in the negative. He does not fear; he will not flinch; he is ready for anything; he will pull down the Throne, upset the Legislature, set the gutters running with blood, and vindicate the rights of the labourer in the name of Liberty!

He is taken at his word. The day for the great deed is named and arrives; the thousands assemble, and the representatives of thousands more join them from all parts of the country. Their

hearts swell, their words are big, their resolutions unshaken The order for the movement is given A Commissioner of Police speaks in the name of the law, and, *presto!* the whole assemblage is dispersed, without a broken pate or a broken pane, to meditate on the exceeding folly of leaving work and suspending business to rely on wild demagogues, instead of placing a dependence on the wisdom and integrity and constitutional purposes of Parliament

The extraordinary and most unexpected revolution which took place in France early in 1848, upsetting the Orleans dynasty, was followed by similar great movements in Prussia, Austria, and the lower German States, having been preceded by violent insurrections in Italy, all having for their apparent object the extension of the liberty of the subject Such a convulsion could not be entirely without its effects in Great Britain, where, unhappily, the embers of public discontent are constantly kept alive either by the depressed state of trade, the ambition of political aspirants, or the untiring displays of the Catholic leaders in Ireland However, the large share of national liberty enjoyed by Englishmen, and the dreadful example before their eyes of the consequences of a violent assault upon established institutions, kept us free from any furious outbreak simultaneously with the outrages perpetrated on the Continent[1]

[1] A brilliant picture of the contrast between England and the Continent at this juncture was drawn by the eloquent Macaulay when he lately met his constituents at Edinburgh — 'Never said he "since the origin of our race have there been five years more fertile in great events or five years which have left behind them more useful lessons We have lived many lives in that time The revolutions of ages have been compressed into a few months France Germany, Hungary and Italy—what a history has theirs been! When we met here last, there was the outward show of tranquillity, and few even of the wisest knew what wild passions what wild theories were fermenting under that pacific exterior Obstinate resistance to all reasonable reform—resistance prolonged but one day behind the time—gave the signal for the explosion. In an instant, from the borders of Russia to the Atlantic Ocean everything was confusion and terror The streets of the greatest capitals in Europe were piled with barricades and streaming with civil blood The house of Orleans fled from France the Pope fled from Rome, the Emperor of Austria was not safe in Vienna, popular institutions were thrown down at Florence, popular institutions were thrown down at Naples With one democratic convention sitting at Berlin and with another democratic convention sitting at Frankfort you remember, I am sure, well how soon the wisest and the most honest friends of reform—those men who were most inclined to look with indulgence on the excesses inseparable from the vindication of public liberty by physical force—began to doubt and despair of the prospects of mankind You remember how all animosities national religious and social were brought forth together with the political animosities You remember how with the hatred of discontented subjects to their governments were mingled the hatred of nation to nation and of class to class In truth for myself I stood aghast and naturally of a sanguine disposition—naturally disposed to look with hope to the progress of mankind,—I did for one moment doubt whether the course of mankind was not to be turned back, and whether we were not to pass in one generation from the civilisation of the nineteenth century to the barbarism of the fifth. I remembered that

But Ireland saw her opportunity, and the Chartists of our own country did not conceal from themselves that they, too, might strike

Adam Smith and that Gibbon had told us that there would never again be a destruction of civilisation by barbarians. The flood, they said, would no more return to cover the earth; and they seemed to reason justly; for they compared the immense strength of the civilised part of the world with the weakness of that part which remained savage, and asked from whence were to come those Huns, and from whence were to come those Vandals, who were again to destroy civilisation? Alas! It did not occur to them that civilisation itself might engender the barbarians who should destroy it—it did not occur to them that, in the very heart of great capitals, in the very neighbourhood of splendid palaces, and churches, and theatres, and libraries, and museums, vice, and ignorance, and misery might produce a race of Huns fiercer than those who marched under Attila, and Vandals more bent on destruction than those who followed Genseric. Such was the danger. It passed by—civilisation was saved; but at what a price? The tide of feeling turned. It ebbed almost as fast as it had risen. Impudent and obstinate opposition to reasonable demands had brought on anarchy; and as soon as men saw the evils of anarchy they fled back in terror to crouch under despotism! To the dominion of mobs armed with pikes succeeded the sterner and more lasting dominion of disciplined armies. The papacy rose again from its abasement—rose more intolerant and more insolent than before—intolerant and insolent as in the days of Hildebrand—intolerant and insolent to a degree that dismayed and disappointed those who had fondly cherished the hope that its spirit had been mitigated by the lapse of years, and by the progress of knowledge. Through all that vast region where, little more than seven years ago, we looked in vain for any stable authority, we now look as vainly for any trace of constitutional freedom. And we, in the meantime, have been exempt from both the casualties which have wrought ruin on all around us. The madness of 1848 did not subvert our throne. The reaction which followed has not touched our liberties. And why was this? Why has our country, with all the ten plagues raging around, been another land of Goshen? Everywhere else the thunder and the fire have been running along the ground—a very grievous storm—a storm such as the like has not been known on earth—and yet everything is tranquil here. And then, again, thick night, and darkness which might be felt; and yet light has been in all our dwellings. We owe this, under the blessing of God, to a wise and noble constitution, the work of many generations, and of great men. Let us profit by the lesson which we have received, and let us thank God that we profit by the experience of others, and not by our own. Let us prove that constitution—let us purify it—let us amend it; but let us not destroy it. Let us shun extremes, not only because each extreme is in itself a positive evil, but also because it has been proved to us by experience that each extreme necessarily engenders its opposite. If we love civil and religious freedom, let us in every day of danger uphold law and order; if we are zealous for law and order, let us prize, as the best security of law and order, our civil and religious freedom. Yes, gentlemen, the reason that our liberties remain in the midst of the general servitude, that the Habeas Corpus Act has never been suspended, that the press is free, that we have the liberty of association, that our representative system stands in all its strength, is this—that in the year of revolution we stood firmly by government in its peril. And, if I may be asked why we stood by the government in its peril, when all around us were pulling governments down, I answer, that it was because we knew our government was a good government; that its faults admitted of peaceable and legal remedies, and that it had never been inflexible in opposition to our just demands; that we had obtained concessions from it of inestimable value, not by the beating of the drum, not by the ringing of the tocsin, not by the tearing up of the pavements of streets, not by breaking open the gunners' shops in search for arms—but by the mere force of reason and public opinion. And, gentlemen, pre-eminent among these pacific victories of reason and public opinion, the recollection of which chiefly, I believe, carried us safely through the year of revolution, and through the year of counter-revolution, I would place two great reforms—inseparably

a blow while yet Europe was in a state of fermentation A very few weeks of haranguing—a very few days devoted to organisation—and they might march to the House of Commons and awe it by numbers into an adoption of the six points of their new Magna Charta They did *not want exactly to imitate the French, for the* sufficiently good reason that the majority of the British nation were against them, or did not understand them, or were at all events too much attached to the Throne and the Constitution to suffer the one to be disturbed, or the other to be violated But they felt that they might take advantage of the alarm produced by events abroad, and hoped to wring from the Government, by mere force of demonstration, what they could not expect would be conceded when tranquillity had been restored, and England invested with fresh moral strength through her singular immunity from all political disturbance

Accordingly it was determined that, on the 10th of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty eight, the Chartists in all parts of the United Kingdom should send delegates to London, armed with authority to go up to the House of Commons, and bear with them a petition signed by upwards of five millions of her Majesty's subjects—or, we should say, bearing five millions of signatures—how obtained or how far representing honest opinion, is beyond our province to inquire A Central London Committee, styling itself the *National* Convention, was to be the focus towards which all the country delegates were to tend, and this mighty Convention was to dictate the *modus operandi* upon the day in question And if words could be taken as the earnest of men's purposes, a terrible day it was to be!

At one of the preliminary meetings, Mr G M Reynolds, an *indifferent author of* penny serial publications, declared himself a Republican A Mr Ernest Jones, a Yorkshire delegate, intimated that his constituents were *ready to fight* A Mr Hitchin, from Wigan, said that his friends were for resorting *to physical force at once* A Mr H Smith, from Liverpool, avowed the resolution of the Liverpudlians to obtain the Charter at the *point of the bayonet* The Edinburgh folks, according to one Mr Cumming, were prepared *to go to the field* Mr Aston was *for fighting* for the Charter, and Reynolds, the chieftain aforesaid, looked upon a "*few drops of blood*

associated one with the memory of an illustrious man who is now beyond the reach of envy and the other as closely associated with the name of another illustrious man who is still and I hope will long be living to be a mark for detraction I speak of the great commercial reform of 1846—the work of Sir R Peel—and of the Reform Bill of 1832 brought in by Lord John Russell.

as nothing in the scale." A very ugly man, named M'Carthy, the representative of peaceful Ireland, talked of *rifle-clubs*, and of the readiness of forty thousand Irishmen in London *to avenge their brethren* in Ireland. Mr. Cuffey, a gentleman even less favoured by nature than M'Carthy, "should take the rejection of the petition as a declaration of war, and the Executive, Feargus O'Connor and Co., would then lead us to liberty *or death!*" More of this fustian was uttered at divers meetings, and lustily cheered by the parties present. Nor were there wanting men who, like Jack Cade of old, avowed their antipathy to the aristocracy, and their resolution to pull them down.

> "We will not leave one lord, one gentleman;
> Spare none but such as go in clouted shoon,
> For they are thrifty, honest men."

All these sanguinary and revolutionary resolutions being duly reported in the public papers, it is not to be wondered at that the City of London, which is a good enough city in itself, peaceable and laborious, and full of people who have toiled hard to acquire a little property, and who give bread to thousands upon thousands of industrious men and women,—we say, it is not to be wondered at that the City of London should have become very much alarmed, and looked imploringly towards the Government for protection from the consequences which it feared must ensue from the congregation of myriads of fierce and desperate men. It was not that London does not contain within its bosom many hundreds of thinking artisans, who believe that the six points of the Charter might be conceded without damage to the Crown or Constitution, but they think that all those points may be achieved, as other great points have been achieved, without resorting to such an illegal and unconstitutional proceeding as the coercing the legislature, alarming a million of honest citizens, their wives and children, and causing a total suspension of labour. Well, they, the artisans, and a multitude of other craftsmen, and people of no craft at all, but who live upon their possessions in lands, houses, the Funds, and the fruits of vast fortunes and plantations abroad and at home, looked to the Government in their extremity, and gave Ministers ample assurance that their efforts to preserve the public peace should receive a hearty co-operation.

The appeal was promptly answered. A proclamation went forth declaring the intended meeting illegal, and warning all well-disposed persons against attending it.

This proclamation was altogether disregarded by the *National*

Convention, who announced, at their head-quarters, and at an interview with the Secretary of State, and in Parliament, by their representative, Mr. O'Connor, that the meeting *would* take place, and that the Chartists *would* walk in procession to Westminster to deliver the petition.

The gauntlet was now thrown down, the Government took it up, and in a most commendable spirit proceeded to put London in a state of defence. In this important duty, Ministers had the benefit of the advice and assistance of Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, who, generally loth to "interfere" in matters of government, had a particular "stomach to the present deed." Like the old war-horse, which

> "at the trumpet's sound,
> Erects his mane, and neighs, and paws the ground,"

the Duke flew to his maps of London, called his staff around him, and had soon chalked out a plan of defence which would have defied the united armies of Repeal Ireland and Chartist England.[1] Troops

[1] Mr. Richard Oastler has published the following account of an interview he once had with the Duke It shows that the Duke was always disinclined to employ physical force against the people, but if their objects were calculated to injure the Crown, or upset the government, or disturb the peace, he had no alternative.—

RICHARD OASTLER'S INTERVIEW WITH THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

That I knew the Duke of Wellington; have often been admitted to his presence, enjoyed the high honour of free conversation and correspondence with him, is now most gratifying I cannot describe him in the field or in the cabinet. I have not seen him there I can tell of him at home, in private, there I have seen him.

To the late Thomas Thornhill, Esq, I was indebted for an introduction to the Duke of Wellington, through the Duke of Rutland I had been talking with my old master on public matters He thought my observations worthy of notice—asked me if I wished to see (among other notables) the Duke of Wellington His Grace, of all others, was the man whom I longed to see

It was during the summer of 1832, when, with a letter of introduction from the Duke of Rutland, I called at Apsley House In a few minutes the servant returned, saying, "The Duke of Wellington desires his compliments to you, and will be happy to see you to-morrow at eleven o'clock."

Twenty years have elapsed since then. I have not, however, forgotten what I felt at the prospect of meeting, face to face, with the greatest man of the age Five minutes before the appointed time, I knocked at the door of Apsley House I was shown into a room looking into the garden at the corner of the park. In this apartment were glass cases filled with a superb service of china, the gift, as I was informed, of the King of Saxony. On each piece the Duke was represented in one of his military exploits I was struck with the beauty of these different works of art, but I was chiefly intent upon the approaching interview.

I had, before then, talked with many noblemen and statesmen. I am not noted for bashfulness, nevertheless, on that occasion, I felt as I had never felt before. My veneration for the Duke of Wellington was excessive. I naturally wished to obtain a favourable hearing, and was concocting a few sentences of introduction, anticipating a very formal reception, when, as

were sent for from the several counties. The 17th, the heroes of Hindostan, Khelat, and Ghuznee; the 62nd, who fought at Nive, the Peninsula, and Sobraon; the 63rd, the Guards, the Dragoons,

the clock was striking eleven, I heard behind me the opening of a door, and a very friendly, but rather a weak voice, saying, "Good morning, Mr. Oastler, will you walk this way?" On turning I saw the opened door; I did not see the Duke; I, however, saw his nose projecting beyond the edge of the door, and was sure that it was the Duke of Wellington. There was a door into each room, the thickness of the wall separating them. His Grace, standing in that space, smiling, said—"Walk forward, sir." I asked, "Allow me to shut the doors?" "Oh, no, sir, walk forward; I'll close the doors," was the Duke's reply.

I was now shut in with the Duke of Wellington. There was no grandeur in this room. It was evidently a place of business. A long table, nearly covered with books, papers, and etters, occupied the middle of the floor. The different documents seemed placed in such exact order, that their owner might have found any one of them, even in the dark. At the end of the table was a sofa, nearly covered with orderly-arranged papers, leaving sufficient space for one person. On that space, at the bidding of the Duke, I sat. His Grace, standing before me, said, "Well, Mr. Oastler, what is it you wish to say to me?" I observed, "It is very strange that I should sit, while the Duke of Wellington stands, and in Apsley House, too!" "Oh!" said his Grace, "if you think so, and if it will please you better, I'll sit." So saying, he took a seat on an easy chair, between the sofa and the fire-place. I was then desired to "proceed." Being strangely affected, with a reception so very different from that anticipated, I expressed my surprise, and craved the Duke's indulgence. Placing his right hand on my right shoulder, his Grace said, "We shall never get on if you are embarrassed. Forget that you are here—fancy yourself talking with one of your neighbours at Fixby, and proceed."

The friendliness of this action, and the encouraging kindness of his words, removed every impediment. I at once entered into familiar conversation. After a few introductory remarks, I said—"There are two great mistakes prevalent in this country—I would rectify them."—"What are they?" asked the Duke.—"One, that the aristocracy imagine the working people wish to deprive them of their rank and property."—"That's true." said his Grace, "they do."—"By no means, my Lord Duke," I rejoined; "not any man knows the working men of England better than myself; I can assure you there never was a greater mistake; all that the working men want is to be enabled, by honest industry, to provide for themselves and their families."—"I rejoice to hear you say so," answered the Duke; "every honest, industrious working man has a just claim to that reward for his labour."—"I expected to hear that sentiment from your Grace, notwithstanding the next mistake which it is my object to rectify."—"What is that?"—"The working people are, by their enemies and yours, taught to believe that your Grace wishes to feed them with bullets and steel."—"Are they?" exclaimed the Duke.—"They are, your Grace. Is your Grace thus inclined? I do not believe it."—The Duke, with serious emotion, said, "I am the last man to wish for war. I have gained all that the sword can give, the Crown excepted; and it is my *duty* to *serve* the Crown."—"May I tell the people so?"—"Certainly. Tell them I hate war—that I shall be the last man to recommend the sword."

During that interview his Grace listened with the kindest attention to my remarks. At its close the Duke gave me his hand (how I felt at that moment I will not just now describe)—thanked me, and desired me to call again for a longer interview next day.

In a short while I returned to Huddersfield, met thousands of the people at an out-door assembly, and told them all that the Duke of Wellington had told me. Oh! how they cheered!————But the Liberals—the Whigs of Huddersfield—were angry. Never could they forgive me for having obtained the cheers of the people for one whom they had taught their dupes to execrate—his Grace the Duke of Wellington. R. O.

Bolling Hall, Bradford, Yorkshire.

the Marines, were summoned to march to town two days before the intended congregation, and their respective billets and rendezvous duly settled Meanwhile, the Bank of England (rioters always rush to the great depositories of gold) was prudently fortified, and cover for infantry, in the shape of sand bags and loop-holed boards, disposed along the parapet and at the angles Revolving *chevaux de frise* were placed over the gates of Somerset House Additional locks, bolts, and bars were attached to the gates of the Mint, the Tower, the Admiralty, and all the other great public buildings The war steamers, well armed, were placed at different points of the Kent and Essex coast, in a state of preparation, to move up to town with additional troops and stores Arms of all kinds and abundance of ammunition were conveyed into the different public offices, the clerks, porters, servants, &c, were sworn in as special constables, and so vested with authority to resist the onslaught of the expected enemy The commissioners of police received instructions to distribute their force in such a manner that the first attacks should be borne by them, the troops, who were to lie in ambush, only coming up as a *corps de reserve* in case of extreme necessity

This was of itself a formidable array to oppose to a body of men unskilled in the art of war, and unprovided with the means of making a dangerous attack, excepting by plundering gunsmiths and iron mongers' shops, and arming themselves with fowling pieces, pitchforks, etc But it did not amount to half what was yet to be done Full of loyalty and valour, inspired by a strong attach ment to *dulce domum*, anxious to make some figure upon the eventful day, and deter the audacious Chartists from attacks on private property, thousands of noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, attorneys, tradespeople, clerks, servants, draymen, coalwhippers, and men of no particular calling, rushed to the police offices, and caused themselves to be sworn in as special constables The magistrates had so many oaths to administer that they got heartily sick of the formula, and found, in the irksomeness of the duty, a new motive for detesting Chartists and all other disturbers of public order The demand for truncheons became so great that the turneries at the dockyards could not manufacture them fast enough Sunday, the 9th of April, the precursor of the great day of physical demonstration, arrived The Queen and Royal Family had left London for Osborne House, Isle of Wight, on the previous Saturday The royal example was now followed by numerous respectable but timid individuals Locking up the cellars, the wardrobes, and the store rooms, and taking the keys with them, responsible housekeepers evacuated the

devoted city, and confided the care of their property to trustworthy domestics; while they, with anxious hearts, and ears pricked up, awaited the booming of the cannon which should proclaim the commencement of the strife and the peril of their worldly goods. It was a curious illustration of the superior value attaching to existence. As *Mrs. Hardcastle* says in the play, "Take all we have, but spare our lives."

The scared heads of families having abdicated and fled, the provisional governments of the several domiciles deemed they could not do better than pass the Sabbath in reconnoitring the town, and observing the character of the Duke of Wellington's preparations. Accordingly, after service, the streets swarmed with curious groups of lacqueys and *femmes de chambre*, while the tigers, the pages, and sundry little girls, daughters of small green-grocers and indefatigable laundresses, kept possession of the deserted mansions.

The night before "the siege" was passed in a state of oscillation between hope and fear. The middle classes were watchful and wakeful; they knew not what the morrow might produce. Bankers prepared themselves for a stubborn resistance to the attacks upon the iron chest. Bakers saw in imagination the violent mis-appropriation of countless four-pound loaves. Mechanics pledged soldiers, in suburban beer-shops, in a fraternal spirit; and the soldiers pledged the mechanics, when the beer was drank, and the mechanics had paid for it, that "soldiers were but soldiers, and must obey orders, whatever their feelings might be." Special constables hung together for company's sake, forming a sort of mutual assurance society for the protection of life. They sat grandly and gloomily, speaking in short disjointed sentences, and ever and anon reminding each other that England expected every man to do his duty, and that as far as they were personally and individually concerned, the expectation should not be disappointed. Here and there, in dark alleys and dim recesses, under archways, and on the kerb-stones of broad suburban roads, groups of boys and men, whose occupations no one would have been bold enough to define, discoursed cheerfully upon the prospects of the morrow; and a quick-eared passenger might occasionally detect that cant phrases, having reference to the operation of pick-pockets and burglars, formed the staple of the conversation of the innocent assemblage. At length the mantle of night pressed heavily upon the multitude, affecting alike the garrison and the citizens; and the murmur of street gossip died away into deep silence, as each boozy idler, impoverished by moistening his superficial patriotism, staggered homewards.

The eventful day was ushered in by a beautiful dawn, and the prevalence of a westerly wind tempted people to say—"Dear me, this is quite a holiday! What a very warm spring!" Opinion was somewhat divided as to the advantage of fine weather upon such an occasion Opinion, however, could not alter the fact There was Phœbus, all smiles and glitter, treating the day as the peculiar property of holiday people, and holding out the greatest possible encouragement to her Majesty's subjects to quit their dwellings and see "the fun" which political favour had provided for them! The troops were marched at daybreak from their several bivouacs, and by ten o'clock it would have puzzled a conjuror to say where one of the seven thousand was to be found The Duke had carried his science of ambushing his men to the highest point of military perfection It was only by excoriating their noses between the iron bars of the gates that the people could detect the bear skin caps of the Coldstreams at Somerset House The Park gates were kept closed, and the strong garrison at Buckingham Palace was lodged in the riding school and the mews, unseen by a single idler Now and then, at the window of a house on the Surrey side of Blackfriars' Bridge, the blue coat of the armed pensioner might be observed, and at the Admiralty eastern gate the flitting of a marine sentinel gave token that there was a stout garrison within that venerable and stately building

If the troops were *perdu*, however, not equally screened from public view was the force under Colonel Rowan and Mr Mayne Formidable bodies of the police filled the interior area of Trafalgar square Large detachments occupied the southern sides of the bridges, and Kennington Common, which was to be the rendezvous of the Chartists, actually swarmed with the "Peelers,' pedestrian and equestrian

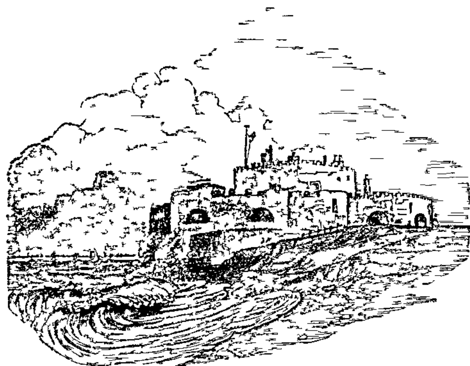
The plan of defence by the police force was this —An advanced post of 500 men, was placed at Ball's livery stables, Kennington, concealed from view, but ready to act at a moment s notice, if required The main strength of the force, amounting to 2290 men, was concentrated on the bridges 500 at Westminster, 500 at Hungerford, 500 at Waterloo, and 500 at Blackfriars Bridge At the last-mentioned bridge a large body of the City police were also posted on the Middlesex side of the river In Palace Yard there was a reserve of 545 men, in Great George street, of 445, in Trafalgar square, of 690, and at the Prince's mews, of 40,—making a total of 1680 men The number of police of all ranks in position was 3970 The Thames division was disposed in ten boats, placed at the bridges and at Whitehall stairs

But it was in the arrangement of the military and artillery forces, and the special constabulary, that the skill of the Duke of Wellington —now for the first time engaged in defending an unprotected town— was seen. There were 400 of the pensioners at Battersea Bridge; 500 at Vauxhall; 200 or 300 at the Pantechnicon; and a detachment at Blackfriars, so placed in the houses on each side of Chatham-place that their fire would command the passage of the bridge. The whole number out amounted to 1500 men. The 62nd and 17th regiments of infantry were stationed at Milbank Penitentiary; a battalion of the Guards occupied the new Houses of Parliament, and another was posted at Charing-cross; a body of infantry was placed in some houses which command Westminster Bridge; and the rest of the troops of the line, amounting in all to 8000, were stationed at the different public offices and in other positions extending to the City and Tower, which had been carefully selected, as affording facilities for military operations, should these become unavoidable. A strong detachment of Life Guards was placed under the command of General Brotherton, at Blackfriars' Bridge; and another detachment occupied a position on the Surrey side of Westminster Bridge. There was also an advanced post of cavalry close to Kennington Common. The 12th Light Dragoons occupied Chelsea; and another cavalry regiment was stationed at the Regent's Park barracks. There were twelve pieces of artillery at the Royal Mews, along with 500 infantry; and thirty pieces of artillery had been brought up to the Tower, with their waggons and the proper complement of artillery-men. On the river three steamers had notice to convey 1200 troops from the dockyard at Deptford to any point where their presence might be required. There were also pieces of artillery placed in the neighbourhood of Westminster Bridge, ready to do deadly service, if required.

From two o'clock, when the bridges were closed up, to prevent the meeting, as it dispersed, from pouring down tumultuous masses of the people upon the northern side of the river, the streets were patrolled by the mounted police from Vauxhall Bridge to Temple Bar.

Happily for the deluded people who assembled at Kennington, the fear inspired by the "Old Duke's" preparations deterred them from coming into collision with the troops. At the instance of the inspectors of police the meeting dissolved; and the monster petition was carried to the House of Commons in a cab, and presented by Mr. Feargus O'Connor, M.P. for Nottingham. The signatures to the petition were said to exceed five millions and a-half; but when they

came to be examined, it was found that great numbers were purely nonsensical The names of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other men of rank and station, had been inserted innumerable times! Mr. Feargus O'Connor's eccentricity in this matter, followed by a course at once mischievous and absurd, eventuated in a mental hallucination, which, three years subsequently, led to the permanent confinement of the unfortunate gentleman



SANDOWN CASTLE

CHAPTER XX.

The French Revolution—The Death of Sir R. Peel—The Great Exhibition—Prince Louis Napoleon—The Embodiment of the Militia—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Tributes—Appointments consequent on his Death—Public Funeral.

AFTER several sanguinary struggles in the streets of Paris, arising out of the attempts of various clubs and associations to establish a government upon the extravagant principles which found favour in the days of Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, the French succeeded in converting a mild monarchy into a despotic republic, of which Prince Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the Emperor, was elected President. During this period, and for some time subsequently, the relations of the British with the French cabinet became difficult to manage. No one saw this more readily than the Duke of Wellington, and, as became him, he guarded the British Ministry against the consequences of their not appearing to be supported by public opinion. He met every movement of the Opposition in a conciliatory spirit, always pointing to the importance of domestic tranquillity, as affording England the best means of giving aid in maintaining the peace of Europe.

In the course of 1849, the Duke found occasion to justify and to laud the conduct of the Marquis of Dalhousie in conducting a war against the Sikhs, which eventuated in the annexation of the Punjaub to the British dominions in India. The only instances in which his Grace appeared to act with the Opposition was against the Railways Abandonment Bill, and the Pilotage Bill. He was of opinion that

the first would, in effect, repeal the vast number of Acts of Parliament which had been passed during the last few sessions, which involved the outlay of millions of money and the interest of millions of persons! and that it would wipe away the whole of the property which had been invested on the faith of those Acts of Parliament And in respect to the Pilotage Bill, he said, speaking as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, that it was calculated to put down the fellowship of the pilots, who had hitherto contributed to the safety and usefulness of our navigation

In 1850 the Duke of Wellington experienced a shock in the sudden and accidental death of Sir Robert Peel, who was thrown from his horse in the Park It is said to this hour, in many quarters, that the Duke of Wellington had very little real regard for Sir Robert Peel, that the pliancy of the distinguished commoner on one occasion his firmness upon others, opposition to the Duke's wishes, and his plebeian origin, had combined to close the avenues to the Duke's heart against him The Duke regarded him only as a necessity Be this as it may, it seems impossible that his Grace should have been long associated in public life, and especially in office, with Sir Robert, giving him his confidence the while, without entertaining some respect for his character, and we do not therefore, wonder that, when the death of Sir Robert Peel was alluded to in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington should have been deeply affected, and almost incapable of joining in the testimonies freely offered by Lords Lansdowne, Stanley, and Brougham, to the virtues of the deceased statesman When the Duke rose to take his share in the mournful ceremony, his feelings so overcame him that it was some time ere he could acquire the command of speech He at length said, after a great effort at articulation —"My Lords, I rise to give expression to the satisfaction with which I have heard this conversation on the part of your lordships, both on the part of those noble lords who were opposed to Sir Robert Peel during the whole course of their political lives and on the part of those noble friends of mine who have been opposed to him only lately Your lordships must all feel the high and honourable character of the late Sir Robert Peel I was long connected with him in public life We were both in the councils of our Sovereign together, and I had long the honour to enjoy his private friendship In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel, I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service In the whole course of my communication with him, I never knew an instance in which he did

not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the smallest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not firmly believe to be the fact. My Lords, I could not let this conversation close without stating that which I believe to have been the strongest characteristic feature of his character. I again repeat to you, my Lords, my satisfaction at hearing the sentiments of regret which you have expressed for his loss." This speech produced a marked sensation amongst the Peers.

The British public gave itself up in 1851 to a long holiday. It was the year of the "Great Exhibition" *par excellence*. All the nations of the earth sent tribute to England in the shape of the fruits of ingenuity or the wondrous products of nature. The highest imaginable compliment was paid to this country in the recognition by the rest of the world of her right to offer herself as the temporary emporium of the results of the industry of the universe—the point of rendezvous of delegates from the inhabitants of all parts of the globe. From the Queen of England, down to the poorest and humblest of her subjects, every one made a point of visiting, as often as their circumstances would admit, the glorious Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. Among the most frequent visitors to this enchanting repository of wealth, and abode of good taste, was the Duke of Wellington. He seemed to take the most lively interest in the various departments of manufacture, and was himself no less an object of the curiosity and affectionate solicitude of the people. "When," said the Reverend Dr. Emerton, of Hanwell, in an eloquent and impressive funeral sermon preached at Ealing, "I saw the Duke of Wellington moving through the Palace of Industry that was lately erected in the metropolis—which men of all nations viewed with admiration and delight—and the dense crowds making way at his approach, I could not help regarding him as the presiding genius of that Temple of Peace which seemed erected for his especial glorification. It is, at least, certain that without the blessing of the long peace which his victories had secured, such a building would have been raised in vain; his presence there was hailed by men of all the nations which he had delivered from bondage—and those who might have, years gone by, regarded him as an enemy, looked upon him with veneration and delight." Upon the opening of the Crystal Palace—the 1st of May, 1851—his own birth-day, and the first anniversary of the birth of Prince Arthur, to whom he had stood sponsor [1]—the

[1] There is a charming picture by Winterhalter (of which an exquisite engraving has been published, by P. and D. Colnaghi, of Pall Mall East), representing the Duke, in his military uniform, presenting a cadeau to the infant Prince, who, with outstretched arms, is supported by her Majesty. Prince Albert is in the background, with head averted, looking at the

Duke was seen parading the platform of the marvellous edifice in company with the Marquis of Anglesey, and the appearance of the veteran chieftains, arm in arm, excited deep interest and lively emotion. Everybody "unbonnetted" to them as they passed, and "God bless your Grace!" proceeded from more than one honest heart and mouth as the Duke was seen by some country stranger for the first time. Amongst the little incidents, preparatory to the opening of the Crystal Palace, may be mentioned as singular and apposite, that, while the Duke was observing the process of unpacking some cases, intended for the French department of *argenterie*, statuettes in silver of the Duke himself and Napoleon Bonaparte were disclosed.

As the time approached for the French National Assembly to arrange for the election of a President of the Republic, in succession to Prince Louis Napoleon, whose term of office was expiring, that Prince, determining to anticipate the decision, procured with an unparalleled degree of secrecy and promptitude, the fealty of the troops in and about Paris, and upon the plea of crushing conspiracies levelled at the liberties and happiness of the country, he trampled those liberties under foot, and, in a few hours, established a fierce military despotism. France, crouching and terrified, yielded without striking a blow, and the people awaited the moment (which has since arrived) when the Prince, scorning the mockery of a Republic, should take upon himself the monarchical authority and procure the revival of the Empire. Fearful lest the army, which had thus aided Louis Napoleon in his crusade against political freedom, should demand, as the recompense of its devotion, that it be led across the Channel, the British Ministry prepared to enroll the militia. Lord John Russell's plan, however, for this wholesome measure appeared so very defective that, upon an amendment by Lord Palmerston, the Militia Bill was thrown out, and Lord John Russell and his colleagues resigned in disgust. They were succeeded by the Earl of Derby and the Conservatives, who deriving experience from the failure of the Whigs, brought in a bill of a different complexion, which the country at once accepted. When the bill went up to the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington gave it a cordial support. His Grace at length beheld the first great step to the realisation of the projects on which his mind had long dwelt.[1] It was universally admitted that he never

Crystal Palace. The group has evidently been suggested by the study of some picture of the Adoration of the Magi.

[1] In his admirable letter to Sir John Burgoyne on the national defences (see Appendix) the Duke of Wellington had laid great stress on the importance of a Militia.

spoke better than on this occasion—he had rarely, indeed, spoken so well. His heart was in the cause. His speech, said the *United Service Gazette*, "might be registered as the most striking proof of the constancy of that pure patriotism, which, since he first embraced the profession of arms, had been the most distinguishing trait in the illustrious Duke's career." He said—

"I am certainly the last man to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or with undisciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to do. But we must look a little at the state in which we stand at the present moment. This country is at peace with the whole world, except in certain parts, or on the frontiers of its own distant dominions, with which operations of war are carried on by means of our peace establishment. You are now providing for a peace establishment; you are at peace with the whole world; you are providing for a peace establishment. I say that peace establishment ought to have been effectually provided for long ago. If it had been, we should not have needed now to be told, as we have been by the noble marquis, about the number of days and weeks it will take to train the militia recruits; or about the futility of expecting anything to the purpose from troops with their three weeks' or their six weeks', or what time it may be, training. We have never, up to this moment, maintained a proper peace establishment—that's the real truth; and we are now in that position in which we find ourselves forced to form a peace establishment such as this country requires. I tell you, for the last ten years you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty of your stations in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time; such has been the state of your peace establishment for the last ten years. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of this peace establishment; you have now a war at the Cape, still continuing, which you carry on with your peace establishment; yet on that peace establishment, I tell you, you have not more men than are enough to relieve the sentries at the different stations in all parts of the world, and to relieve the different regiments in the tropics and elsewhere, after services there—of how long do you suppose?—of, in some [illegible]

twenty-five years, in none less than ten years, and, after which, you give them five years at home, nominally—for it is only nominally in a great many cases There were, for instance, the last troops who were sent out to the Cape, instead of keeping them five years at home, after their long service abroad, I was obliged to send them out after they had only been sixteen months at home My Lords, I tell you you have never had a proper peace establishment all this time We are still at peace with all the world, let us, then, have a peace establishment—our constitutional peace establishment, and when you have got that, see what you will do next The noble marquis, my noble friend, if he will allow me so to call him, says he thinks he should prefer an army of reserve An army of reserve! What is an army of reserve? Is it an army to cost less than 40*l* each man all round? If he thinks that possible, I tell him that we can have no such thing But what I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. When we have got that, then you may do what you please The noble marquis says, very truly, that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 150,000 militiamen won't be fit for service in six months, or twelve months, or eighteen months, but I say they'll be fit, at all events, for some service, and certainly they'll enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service, and in time they will themselves become fit for service In the last war we had in service several regiments of English militia, and they were in as high a state of discipline, and as fit for service as any men I ever saw in my life It was quite impossible to have a body of troops in higher order, or in higher discipline, or more fit for discipline than these bodies of British militia were, at the commencement of the present century, up to 1810, they were as fine corps as ever were seen, and, I say, no doubt, these bodies of 50,000 or 80,000 men, whatever the number may be, will be so too, in the course of time Everything has its beginning, and this is a commencement You must make a beginning here, and see that it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments The armies of England, who have served the country so well,—are your lordships so mistaken as to suppose that they were ever composed of more than one third of real British subjects—of natives of this island? No such thing Look at the East Indies Not more than one-third of the soldiers there are British subjects Look at the Peninsula, not one-third of the men employed there were ever British soldiers Yet I beg your lordships to observe what services those soldiers performed They fought great battles against the finest troops in the

world; they went prepared to face everything—ay, and to be successful against everything, or this country would not have borne with them. Not one-third of those armies were British troops, but they were brave troops, and not merely brave—for I believe every man is brave — but well-organised troops. Take the battle of Waterloo—look at the number of British troops at that battle. I can tell your lordships that in that battle there were sixteen battalions of Hanoverian militia, just formed, under the command of the late Hanoverian Ambassador here—Count Kielmansegge, who behaved most admirably—and there were many other foreign troops who nobly aided us in that battle, avowedly the battle of giants—whose operations helped to bring about the victory, which was followed by the peace of Europe, that has now lasted for thirty-six or thirty-seven years. I say that however much I admire highly-disciplined troops, and most especially British disciplined troops, I tell you you must not suppose that others cannot become so too; and no doubt if you begin with the formation of Corps under this Act of Parliament, they will in time become what their predecessors in the militia were; and if ever they do become what the former militia were, you may rely on it they will perform all the services they may be required to perform. I recommend you to adopt this measure as the commencement of a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force; it will not be, at first, or for some time, everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army."

With one trivial exception, this was the last speech ever made by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords. *Finis coronat opus.* It was worthy to be the last: the subject and the manner were in perfect harmony, and the Duke was equal to the occasion.

Parliament was dissolved in July, 1852, and the Duke of Wellington, after a short stay in London, proceeded, as usual, to his marine residence, Walmer Castle.

The autumn had scarcely set in, when, upon the evening of the 14th of September, a rumour ran through London, which an affectionate people were indisposed to credit—that the Duke of Wellington was dead!

"There are few persons of any reflection in England who have not frequently—perhaps continually—speculated on such an event. The solemn announcement—'Death of the Duke of Wellington,' accom-

panied with the usual signs of national respect and concern, has long been as familiar to the British imagination as the inscriptions we have read a thousand times on the walls of our churches The gap that the Duke would leave in our councils or our arms—the universal solicitude that would surround his death-bed—the grief and dismay all would feel should he die at some crisis of national peril—and the magnificence of the obsequies with which England would carry to the grave the noblest of her sons, were thoughts that have occurred over and over again, not only to us, but to our fathers, and to multitudes who have long since themselves been gathered to the grave Eighteen years previously it was commonly said that the work of the Peninsula was beginning to tell on that iron frame, and subsequently to that, men had predicted—till they were wearied or ashamed of predicting—that each Waterloo banquet would prove the last Of late years, increasing infirmities—manifest, though energetically resisted—the treacherous ear, the struggling utterance, and the tottering step, all told their tale, and suggested even a fear that the greatest man of his age might live to illustrate the decay from which no greatness is secure Yet the event, so long in sight as it were, came upon the public by surprise "[1]

And there were few persons disposed at first entirely to believe in its occurrence But with the morning of the 15th September all doubt evaporated The Duke had died at Walmer, after a succession of convulsive fits Several versions of the circumstances attending the event found their way into the papers, but when the painful excitement attending the national calamity had somewhat subsided, and time had been allowed to collect details, the following appeared to comprehend *the entire truth of the melancholy story* —

The health of his Grace had been unusually good for some days, and on Monday, the 13th September, it was remarked that he took a longer walk than usual through the grounds attached to the Castle During his walk he entered the stables, and made several inquiries of his groom in reference to his stud

On Monday evening the Duke addressed a note to the Countess of Westmoreland, promising to meet her ladyship on her arrival at Dover at six o'clock on Tuesday evening

On Monday evening the Duke dined with Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley His Grace was in good spirits during dinner, and was observed to eat rather heartily His food consisted of mock turtle soup, turbot, and venison While at table, the Duke's vivacity of manner was such as to call forth a congratulatory remark from his

[1] The *Times*, September 16th, 1852

LAST MOMENTS OF THE DUKE.

son and daughter-in-law. His Grace retired to rest on Monday night shortly after ten o'clock.

It had been customary for the Duke's valet, Kendall, to call his Grace about six o'clock every morning. On Tuesday morning, Kendall, on knocking at his Grace's door a quarter of an hour after the usual time, did not receive the customary response. After waiting a few moments, he fancied he heard a strange kind of noise in the Duke's apartment. On opening the door, the Duke appeared to recognise him as usual, and did not complain of illness. Kendall, however, soon observed that his Grace was restless and uncomfortable; and, in a few moments, the fact of the noble Duke's illness was made apparent by his Grace exclaiming, somewhat abruptly, "Send for Mr. Hulke." A messenger was instantly despatched to the residence of Mr. Hulke, a medical resident in the town of Deal, who has been accustomed to attend the Duke when at Walmer. Mr. Hulke arrived at the castle at twenty minutes to eight o'clock. The Duke was then reclining on his bed, and on his introduction, his Grace entered into conversation with him in a perfectly calm and collected manner, observing that he was suffering from an affection of the chest and stomach. The doctor prescribed forthwith, and informed Lord Charles Wellesley that he did not consider there were any dangerous symptoms in his Grace's condition; adding, that he had seen him much worse on former occasions. Mr. Hulke was then particularly alluding to an attack of a similar description years since.

Mr. Hulke left the castle for Deal at eight o'clock, and he had not been at home more than a quarter of an hour, when a second messenger arrived with the information that the Duke had been seized with what was described as an epileptic fit. On this occasion Mr. Hulke was accompanied by Dr. M'Arthur of Walmer, and Mr. Hulke, jun. They found that the Duke had been seized with a fit of the nature described, and that his servants had already adopted some remedial measures, by the application of mustard poultices. The medical gentlemen adopted every remedy that science could suggest, but the attack failed to yield to their professional skill. His Grace, from the moment he was seized with the fit, became speechless; but by gestures he appeared to desire a removal to a bed-chair, in which he was placed in a sitting posture, and so he continued until twenty minutes past three o'clock, when he expired as quietly as if falling into a slumber. There was present at this solemn moment Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, the three medical gentlemen, Mr. Collins, the house-steward, and Kendall, his Grace's valet.

On no one occasion since the death of Lord Nelson, if we except, perhaps, that of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, has public grief manifested itself in a more striking and extensive form. Every newspaper in the United Kingdom came out in a deep mourning edge, and continued to wear the emblem of sorrow for several days. Numerous shops were closed; bells tolled; the flags of vessels in the river were mounted half-mast high; places of public entertainment shut their doors; and thousands of people, requiring no other signal than their own hearts suggested, put on "the trappings and the suits of woe." Memoirs of the Duke which had been prepared in anticipation of the calamity, filled hundreds of columns of the public papers, or came forth in every form that could be calculated to suit the immediate demand. The volumes of Maxwell, which still encumbered the shelves of booksellers; the "Lives" which only extended to the battle of Waterloo, and had long been consigned to back warehouses as "dead stock," were restored to the light; and these, with a great number of impromptu biographies, found an immediate demand. Pictures [1] and busts, so varied in their resemblances that

[1] Speaking from a perfect familiarity with the lineaments of the illustrious Duke, we should say that, unquestionably, the best likeness of him, when in the vigour of manhood, is that taken from the picture of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and commonly called the Arbuthnot portrait, because it was painted for the Duke's friend, the Hon Mr Arbuthnot. Of resemblances in later life, the daguerreotype representing him in an evening dress, and Mr Black's *excellent portrait, published by Ackermann, the latter an improvement upon the daguerreotype*, are the most to be commended Count D'Orsay sketched the Duke in profile, in an evening dress, and the Duke is said to have rather liked the picture, because it "made him look like a gentleman" As a likeness, however, the picture is very faulty. The portrait painted by Lawrence for Mr. Arbuthnot, in 1816, is a half-length, representing the Duke in a military cloak, with the right hand thrown across to the left shoulder. This has been repeatedly engraved: in mezzotint, by Cousins and Jackson, in line, by Dean Taylor and by Charles Smith; and in smaller sizes, in mezzotint, by M'Innes, Burgess, and others

"This last was the favourite portrait with the Duke, and we (*Illustrated News*) think not without reason, for the expression is very pleasing, combining manliness with delicacy and refinement of sentiment It may be mentioned that the Great Commander, though never betraying a particle of personal vanity in the little sense, was proud of the estimation in which he was held both by the public, and a numerous circle whom he honoured with his friendship, and a very common mode of marking his esteem was the presentation of a print of himself, generally the Arbuthnot one, with his autograph affixed, and in a plain little maplewood frame This, for instance, was his usual *souvenir* to the hundreds of brides whom he has 'given away,' and, probably, the most gratifying testimonial he could bestow. Only a few days before his death, he gave one of these modest keepsakes to an individual of illustrious rank. It happened that, in September last, the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, on their return from England to the Continent, paid a visit to the Duke at Walmer, when, in the course of conversation, the Duchess asked 'the Duke' which of the many portraits existing of him he considered the best The latter immediately pointed to the little maple frame hanging from the wall, in which was a print of the 'Arbuthnot picture,' and announced his preference for it. Upon the Duchess remarking that she would send to London for a copy, 'the Duke,' with his usual gallantry, declared she need not do so; and, taking the print down from the nail whereon it

such of the public as had never seen the Duke were puzzled which to select as the most faithful resemblance, filled the windows of publishers, print-sellers, and porcelain-venders; autographs were up at an enormous premium, and whether they were the *boná-fide* caligraphy of the Duke, or the spurious productions of Mr. Greville, his secretary, they commanded equally good prices.

At the moment of the melancholy occurrence the Queen and Prince Albert were at Balmoral, in Scotland. It is hardly necessary to say that the intelligence was received by the illustrious personages with deep and unaffected concern. The sincere devotion of the Duke of Wellington to his sovereign, the paternal care (if the term may not inappropriately be used) with which his Grace had watched over the welfare and upheld the glory of the monarch, the friendly interest with which he had inspired the Queen (manifested in all the more private relations of court life), rendered his sudden departure a subject of the most acute sorrow, in which all the younger members of the royal family completely shared. The Earl of Derby, Prime Minister, hastened to Balmoral immediately after the event, and within five days of the Great Duke's death the subjoined letter appeared in the public prints:—

"BALMORAL, *September 20th*, 1852.

"SIR,—Her Majesty received with the deepest grief, on Thursday last, the afflicting intelligence of the sudden death of his Grace the late Duke of Wellington.

"Although the Queen could not for a moment doubt, but that the voice of the country would be unanimous upon the subject of the honours to be paid to the memory of the greatest man of the age, her Majesty considered it due to the feelings of his Grace's surviving

hung, begged her to accept it, which she did. No sooner had his visitors left the room, however, than the Duke took thought of the blank space which he had made on his wall, and also the absence of his portrait from the line of Prime Wardens, Pitt, and others, which he had arranged thereon, and, with his usual love of order, promptly set about refilling it. The very next morning a note reached Messrs. Graves & Co., in the Duke's hand—'F. M.'s compts.,' &c.—requesting that they would, with as little delay as possible, procure for him a copy of the Arbuthnot portrait, framed in maplewood, and forward it to Apsley House, whence it would be transmitted to Walmer. No time was lost in putting into execution his Grace's order, and a message was sent to the steward, at Apsley House, announcing that the print framed, would be ready for delivery on the following day. In the mean time, four days only after the first note, came another from the Duke, dated '7th Sept., 1852,' in which he referred to the order already given, and 'begged to know if it had been received, and what progress had been made in the execution thereof?' The print, framed as ordered, crossed his second note on the road, and was hung up by the Duke in the place of the former one, only one little week before he died."

relatives, that no step should be taken, even in his honour, without their previous concurrence, and, accordingly, on the same evening, in obedience to her Majesty's commands, I wrote to Lord Charles Wellesley, (the present Duke having not then returned to England), to ascertain whether the late Duke had left any directions, or whether his family desired to express any wish upon the subject, and suggesting the course which appeared to her Majesty best calculated to give effect to the expressions of those feelings in which the nation, as one man, will sympathise with her Majesty

"Having this day received letters from the present Duke and his brother, to the effect that the late Duke has left no directions on the subject, and placing themselves wholly in her Majesty's hands, I hasten to relieve the public anxiety, by signifying to you, for general information, the commands which I have received from her Majesty

"The great space which the name of the Duke of Wellington has filled in the history of the last fifty years, his brilliant achievements in the field, his high mental qualities, his long and faithful services to the Crown, his untiring devotion to the interests of his country, constitute claims upon the gratitude of the nation, which a public funeral, though it cannot satisfy, at least may serve to recognise

"Her Majesty is well aware that, as in the case of Lord Nelson, she might, of her own authority, have given immediate orders for this public mark of veneration for the memory of the illustrious Duke, and has no doubt but that Parliament and the country would cordially have approved the step But, her Majesty, anxious that this tribute of gratitude and of sorrow should be deprived of nothing which could invest it with a thoroughly national character—anxious that the greatest possible number of her subjects should have an opportunity of joining it, is anxious, above all, that such honours should not appear to emanate from the Crown alone, and that the two Houses of Parliament should have an opportunity, by their previous sanction, of stamping the proposed ceremony with increased solemnity, and of associating themselves with her Majesty in paying honour to the memory of one whom no Englishman can name without pride and sorrow

"The body of the Duke of Wellington will, therefore, remain, with the concurrence of the family, under proper guardianship, until the Queen shall have received the formal approval of Parliament of the course which it will be the duty of her Majesty's servants to submit to both Houses upon their reassembling

"As soon as possible after that approval shall have been obtained,

it is her Majesty's wish, should no unforeseen impediment arise, that the mortal remains of the late illustrious and venerated Commander-in-Chief should, at the public expense, and with all the solemnity due to the greatness of the occasion, be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, there to rest by the side of Nelson—the greatest military by the side of the greatest naval chief who ever reflected lustre upon the annals of England.

"I have the honour to be

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"DERBY."

"RIGHT HON. S. H. WALPOLE, M.P."

The "proper guardianship" here alluded to was that which the Rifle Brigade—of which the Duke had been Colonel-in-Chief—could effectually afford. Suitably enclosed in a magnificent coffin, the body for some time lay in the little room in which the Duke expired; and sentinels kept anxious watch over the incomparable Field-Marshal's remains. Samuel Lover, the Irish poet, beautifully described the scene in these lines:—

"THE FLAG IS HALF-MAST-HIGH.

"A GUARD of honour keeps its watch in Walmer's ancient hall,
And sad and silent is the ward beside the Marshal's pall:
The measured tread beside the dead, through echoing space may tell
How solemnly the round is paced by lonely sentinel;
But in the guard-room, down below, a war-worn vet'ran grey,
Recounts with pride THE HERO'S deeds, thro' many a glorious day:
How, 'neath the red-cross flag, he made the foes of Britain fly—
'Though now for him,' the vet'ran said, 'that flag is half-mast-high.'

"And truly may the soldier say HIS presence ever gave
Assurance to the most assured, and bravery to the brave.
His prudence-tempered valour—his eagle-sighted skill,
And calm resolves, the measure of a hero went to fill.
Fair Fortune flew before him—'twas conquest where he came,
For Victory wove her chaplet in the magic of his name;
But while his name thus gilds the past, the present wakes a sigh,
To see his flag of glory now—but drooping half-mast-high.

"In many a by-gone battle, beneath an Indian sun,
That flag was borne in triumph o'er the sanguine plains he won;
Where'er that flag he planted, it impregnable became,
As Torres Vedras' heights have told in glittering steel and flame.
'Twas then to wild Ambition's Chief he flung the gauntlet down,
And from his giant grasp retrieved the ancient Spanish crown;
He drove him o'er the Pyrenees with Vict'ry's swelling cry,
Before the red-cross flag—that now is drooping half-mast-high.

"And when once more from Elba's shore the Giant Chief broke loose,
And startled nations waken'd from the calm of hollow truce,
In foremost post the British host soon sprang to arms again,
And Fate, in final balance, held the world's two foremost men.
The chieftains twain might ne'er again have need for aught to do,
So, once for all, we won the fall at glorious Waterloo.
The work was done, and Wellington his saviour-sword laid by,
And now, in grief, to mourn our chief, our flag is half-mast-high."

These are touching verses, worthy of the poet and his theme. Innumerable pens started up to render similar homage to the Duke's great merits in prose and verse; but scarcely any were equal to the occasion. Certainly none approached in brilliancy and *correctness* the following vigorous lines by Mr. Archer Polson:—

"WELLINGTON!

"From where the Scheldt with sluggish tide bathes Holland's oozy shore,
From where the palm-tree topes make glad the plains of far Mysore,
From Tagus' amber waters bright, renown'd in classic song,
From sunny hills where Douro rolls his laughing waves along,
From battle fields of old Romance in high heroic Spain,
From Belgium's fertile soil where late nodded the golden grain—
From every land his victor sword redeem'd from tyrant's sway
Will rise on high the wailing cry—Our hero's pass'd away!

"Soldier unmatch'd! unequall'd Chief! how shall thy praise be sung,
Whose glorious deeds so long have been familiar to each tongue?
Whose courage, wisdom, patriot worth to none have been unknown—
From the reaper in the harvest-field to the monarch on the throne.
Honour'd not only for the hand that bore the conqu'ring sword,
But honour'd for the voice that spake high truths at Council board—
Honour'd for that in Senate-hall thy course was firm and true,
As that ye broke the tyrant's yoke at blood stain'd Waterloo!

"Not soon shall that appalling time by mankind be forgot,
When slavish chain and slavish toil seem'd Europe's fated lot;
When, from bleak Bothnia's ice-bound waves to Nilus' sandy flood,
Stretch'd far the fell dominion of the dark man of blood,
When Prussia wept her humbled state, and Hapsburg's eagle lay
With talon clipp'd and wounded wing, the foul oppressor's prey,
When Russia bent the minion knee, Italia hugg'd her chain,
And plundering hordes made desolate the vineyard hills of Spain!

"Who shall forget how English tongues—and that on English ground!—
To counsel base *submission to the Anarch then were found*—
How lying prophets raised the voice foretelling England's fall,
And the triumph over king and laws of the Moloch of the Gaul
And who the rapture will forget reviving Europe knew,
When the war-note of defiance loud, inspiring England blew,
Sending o'er Biscay's restless seas her sons to gather fame,
And add new laurels to the wreath that circled Wellesley's name!

"Ho! Children of rich Beira, none more than ye can tell
What memories with Roliça, with Vimiero dwell!
How the lines of Torres Vedras, by soldier-wisdom plann'd,
Kept back the surging tide of Gauls would desolate your land!
How fierce the conflict raged for long, how wild the war-cries rung,
When Britain fought for Portugal Busaco's heights among,
And, fighting, how she conquer'd, and how Braganza's lord
To the throne of great Sebastian by WELLESLEY was restored!

"Speak we of Talavera, of Roderick's iron town,
Of Badajoz from mountain steep that looks so grimly down,
Salamanca's learned cloister, on Tormes' grassy shore,
Castile's once gorgeous capital—though gorgeous now no more—
Sebastian's fortress frowning on Guipuscoa's bay,
Vittoria, hidden deep among the hills of wild Biscay—
Can we but with a patriot pride pronounce each well-known name,
For each to lasting time is link'd with WELLESLEY's warrior fame?

"Yet not for fame the hero fought—to 'liberate,' not 'defy,'
To burst the bonds of nations thrall'd—*this* was his purpose high;
To hound the proud oppressor back, give freedom to the world,
For this was WELLESLEY's sword unsheath'd and England's flag unfurl'd;
For this, through Pyrenean glen, did he our arms advance,
Till our meteor standard waved once more on sunny plains of France,
For this from Adour's purple stream he made his terrors known
To Aquitania's capital—grey pride of the Garonne!

Ay! praise like this is no mean praise, yet praise that is thy due!
'Twas no vain lust of glory fired thy soul at Waterloo—
Gave thee heroic calmness in that terrific hour,
When British courage *almost* quail'd beneath the iron shower;
And British soldiers, all unused to yield them or to fly,
Believed no other course was theirs than gallantly to die!
In that dread hour within thy breast *one* single thought arose—
How by a glorious victory to give the world repose!

"Oh, blessing to thy country! oh, honour to thy race!
From Britain's heart the thoughts of thee no time shall e'er efface;
And when again dark clouds arise and boding tempests gloom,
We'll sigh to think how thou art held within the narrow tomb!
But thy spirit shall be with us—though danger's direst form
May threat us, as it did before, with anarchy's wild storm,
We'll nerve us for the battle, to our standards we'll be true—
One war-cry shall be WELLINGTON—the other, WATERLOO!"

While the remains of the Duke of Wellington lay at Walmer, and the public funeral was preparing, all the arrangements for filling the various offices vacated by his Grace were considered, and as rapidly as circumstances would allow, the vacancies were filled up. The office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was given to Lord Derby; the Constableship of the Tower to Viscount Combermere; the Colonelcy of the Rifle Brigade and the Grenadier Guards devolved

on Prince Albert, and that of the Coldstream Guards on the Duke of Cambridge. The members of the Trinity House elected Prince Albert their Master; the University of Oxford installed the Earl of Derby in the Chancellorship. To the Marquis of Londonderry the Queen gave the vacant Garter. Thus all reasonable expectations were satisfied; and the two oldest soldiers who had served under the Duke of Wellington received a mark of the approbation and good-will of the Sovereign.

Regarding the probable succession to the command-in-chief, much speculation went abroad. It was believed in some quarters that the highest personage in the nation entertained a wish to confide this trust to the Prince Consort or to the Duke of Cambridge; and the idea was not without advocates; for the position of the illustrious

LORD HARDINGE.

princes rendered them independent of the Cabinet and parliamentary influences which had, in other days, been perniciously exercised at the

Horse-Guards. Very many of the officers of the army desired to see the mantle of the Duke fall upon the shoulders of his distinguished friend, secretary, and faithful companion-in-arms, Lord Fitzroy Somerset; and some few pointed to the claims which seniority and rank gave to the Marquis of Anglesey. But the critical state of the country, in reference to the position of foreign powers; the necessity for a firm mind and a vigorous hand at the Horse-Guards, at a time when it was of the last importance that the science of war and the devices of armament should be placed upon a level with the improvements made in foreign countries; induced the advisers of the Queen to recommend that her choice should fall upon the most capable soldier in the kingdom. Her Majesty, with a degree of wisdom and self-denial worthy of the lofty patriotism of the Sovereign, at once conferred the responsible office upon Lord Hardinge; and the army gratefully accepted the new chief, whose renown in the field was only equalled by the talent, courage, and industry he had manifested in all the civil offices it had been his fortune to fill. On the 22nd of September the following General Orders were issued:—

MOURNING FOR THE ARMY.—GENERAL ORDERS.

"HORSE-GUARDS, *September 22nd*, 1852.

"The Adjutant-General has received her Majesty's most gracious commands to issue the following General Orders to the army:—

"1. The Queen feels assured that the army will participate in the deep grief with which her Majesty has received the intelligence of the irreparable loss sustained by herself and by the country, in the sudden death of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington.

"In him her Majesty has to deplore a firm supporter of her throne, a faithful, wise, and devoted counsellor, and a valued and honoured friend.

"In him the army will lament the loss of a Commander-in-Chief unequalled for the brilliancy, the magnitude, and the success of his military achievements; but hardly less distinguished for the indefatigable and earnest zeal with which, in time of peace, he laboured to maintain the efficiency and promote the interests of that army which he had often led to victory.

"The discipline which he exacted from others, as the main foundation of the military character, he sternly imposed upon himself; and the Queen desires to impress upon the army, that the greatest Commander whom England ever saw has left an example for the

imitation of every soldier, in taking as his guiding principle in every relation of life an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty.

"It is her Majesty's command that this General Order shall be inserted in the Order-books, and read at the head of every regiment in her Majesty's service

"2 The Queen does not require that the officers of the army should wear any other mourning with their uniforms, on the present melancholy occasion, than black crape over the ornamental part of the cap or hat, the sword knot, and on the left arm, with the following exceptions, viz —

"Officers on duty are to wear black gloves, black crape over the ornamental part of the cap or hat, the sword knot and on the left arm, the sash covered with black crape, and a black crape scarf over the right shoulder

"The drums of regiments are to be covered with black, and black crape is to be hung from the pike of the colour staff of infantry, and from the standard staff and trumpets of Cavalry

"3 The Queen has been most graciously pleased, under the present afflicting circumstances, to direct that Lieutenant-General Viscount Hardinge, G C B, shall be placed on the Staff of her Majesty's army, and that all matters respecting her Majesty's military service, which have heretofore been transacted by his Grace the late Com mander in Chief, shall henceforth be performed by Lieutenant-General Viscount Hardinge, G C B

"By her Majesty's command,

"G Brown,

'Adjutant-General

GENERAL ORDER.

'Horse Guards *September* 23*rd* 1852

"In obedience to her Majesty's most gracious commands, Lieu tenant General Viscount Hardinge assumes the command of her Majesty's army, and all matters relating to her Majesty's military service which have heretofore been performed by his Grace the late Commander in Chief, will henceforth be transacted by his Lordship

"He confidently hopes that, in the performance of the duties entrusted to him by her Majesty's favour, he will receive the assist ance and support of the general and other officers of the army, and be enabled to maintain its discipline and high character by a continuance of those services which have identified the British army with the honour, power, and prosperity of their country

"The Queen having, in the General Order to the army of yesterday's date, expressed her Majesty's sentiments on the irreparable loss sustained by her Majesty, the country, and the army, in the sudden death of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, Viscount Hardinge presumes only on this occasion to give utterance to his devoted attachment to the memory of 'the greatest Commander whom England ever saw,' and whose whole life has afforded the brightest example by which a British army can be guided in the performance of its duties.

"By command of the Right Honourable

"Lieutenant-General Viscount Hardinge,

"Commanding-in-Chief.

"G. Brown,

"Adjutant-General."

Lord Fitzroy Somerset was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in the room of Lord Hardinge—who had held the office since the accession of Earl Derby to the Premiership—and Lord Fitzroy was also raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Raglan.

Parliament met early in the month of November, 1852, and gave a formal assent to the public funeral of the Duke of Wellington,[1] which took place upon the 18th of the same month. Within the memory of man no ceremonial has produced so great a commotion in London as that which attended the funeral obsequies of the mighty chief. It was not merely that the pageant was, according to the public programmes, to rival the gorgeous scenes peculiar to coronations—it was not simply an interest of curiosity that caused vast multitudes to throng the metropolis, and seek advantageous points of view;—a profound respect for the memory of the departed warrior supplied an honourable motive to the humblest individuals to endeavour to be present on the occasion, while all who enjoyed the advantages of high rank and station claimed and obtained the privilege of either accompanying the remains to the tomb, or assisting at the last offices in St. Paul's Cathedral. Nor was the enthusiasm limited to the inhabitants of Great Britain. All the foreign Powers deemed it becoming in them to mark their sense of the universal loss by the performance of funeral ceremonies in the principal churches of their respective capitals, and—with the melancholy exception

[1] Mr. Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an admirable speech on the occasion of proposing that the nation should bear the cost of the funeral. It will be found in the Appendix.

of Austria—to despatch delegates to England to represent them upon the occasion.[1] Belgium sent her royal Princes—Spain, Portugal,

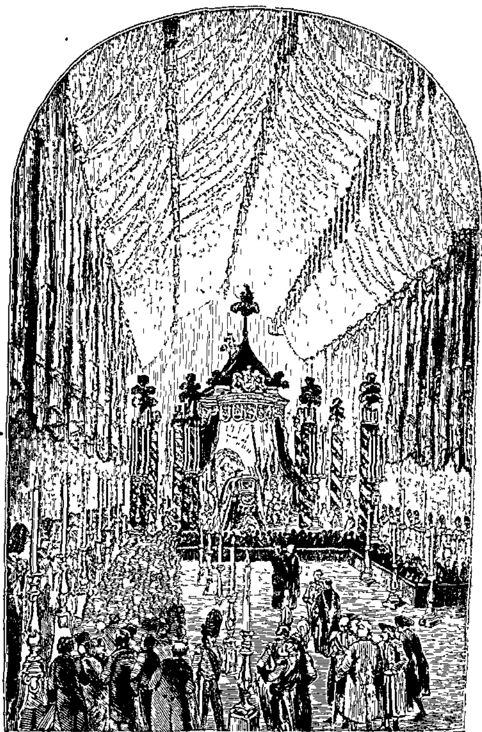
[1] The omission of the Austrian Government to send a representative elicited the following observations from the *United Service Gazette* The Marshal alluded to is Haynau, who some months ago came to England, and on being recognised on his visit to the brewery of Messrs Barclay, Perkins, & Co, was assaulted by the draymen —

"THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT —With mingled emotions of pity and contempt we record that Austria sent no representative to follow the remains of the Duke of Wellington One of her Marshals, who rivalled the most sanguinary Generals of uncivilised warfare in his cruelties to women, pays a visit to this country, a number of honest draymen, hearing that he has profaned the locality of their occupation with his footsteps, seize their cart-whips and ruthlessly offer a retributive violence to the foreign visitor He is protected by the police, and is watched and guarded with care until his exit from England has been secured. His government, ignorant as it always has been of the laws and institutions which guarantee our freedom, demand extrajudicial vengeance upon the brewer's people It is impossible to afford it—it is impossible even to recognise the outrage, excepting through the ordinary agency of the law, which demands the identification of offenders—and Austria forthwith becomes sullen and savage She declares that the uniform of the Empire has been insulted, and charges upon a whole country the rude vindictiveness of a fragment of the most ignorant part of its population She offers every possible annoyance to English travellers for months together, and when the occasion arises for putting an end to the quarrel—the reciprocity of which is all on her side—she studiously neglects it Many a hostile hand has been shaken over the grave—the very situation is suggestive of the mortality of human enmity, but Austria is angry to the last

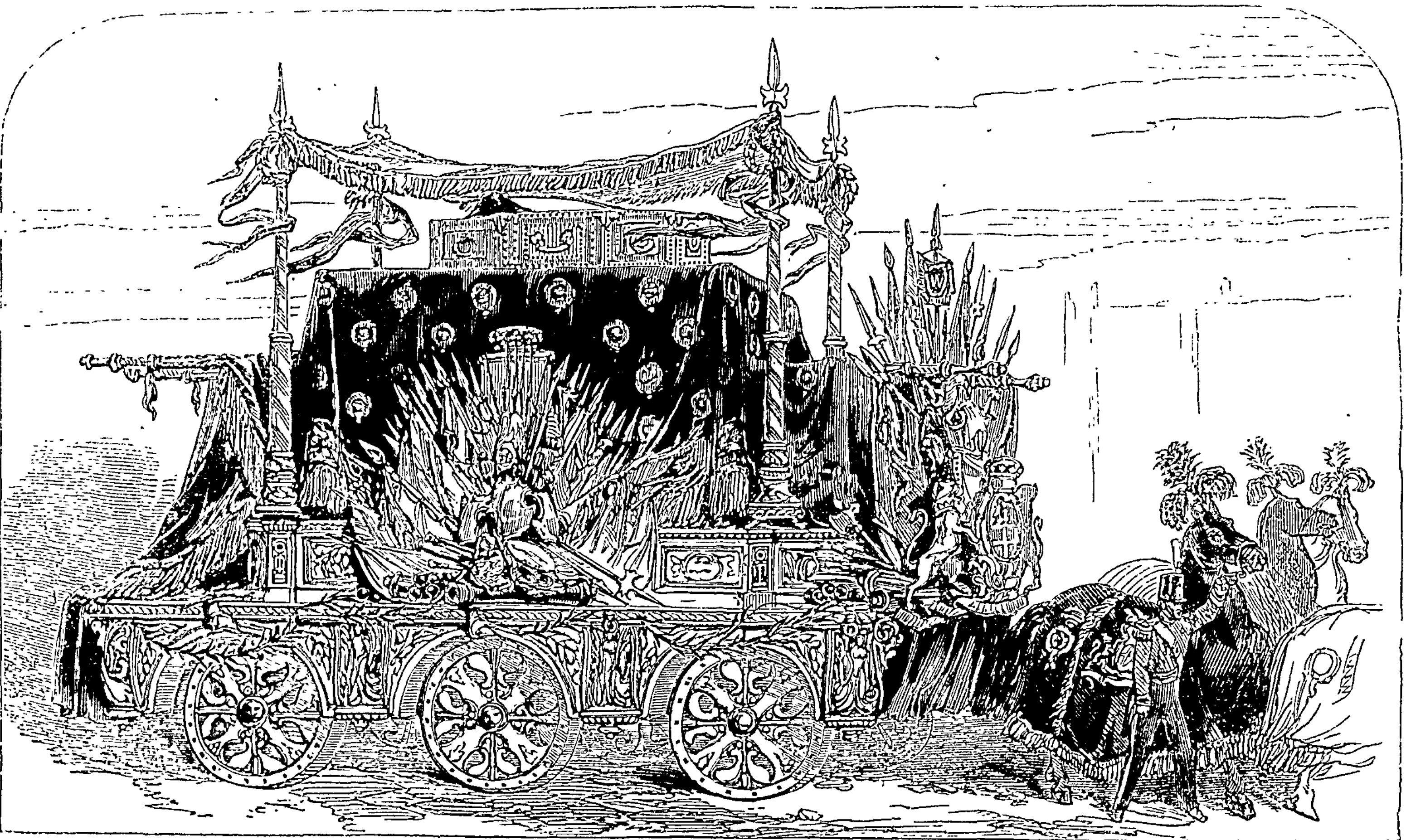
"We do not care—Austria is the loser She has disgraced her army and herself Wellington was an Austrian Field Marshal—an Austrian regiment took its name from Wellington It was in Austria that the Duke was appointed to command in chief the armies raised to resist Napoleon in 1815 Covered as he was with orders, he was not the least proud of that of Maria Theresa To deny, then, to this great Austrian leader the simple tribute which every foreign nation hastened to pay, was an outrage upon decency—an obliviousness of what was due to the dignity of the army of the empire and the grandeur of the house of Hapsburg It was an error of the most grievously stupid character, and stamps with utter Vandalism a nation which has never shown itself mighty in arms, since, in its scarcely less barbarian infancy, it devastated Italy The Attilas and Alarics of old were not greater ruffians than the Haynaus and Gorgeys of modern times, and the Emperor of Austria, in sanctioning the outrages of the Marshal against the Hungarians, and in refusing a tribute to the highest character of military and political virtue, has established that he is enamoured of the ruthless systems of war which have covered the memories of the Kings of the Goths and Huns with eternal infamy"

It is only fair to the Austrian Government to state, that though it would not send a representative to England, the memory of the Duke was much honoured in the capital of the Austrian dominions —

"VIENNA, OCT 1 —HOMAGE TO THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON —The Emperor was unwilling to leave his capital again before paying his tribute to the *manes* of the Great Duke, whom the great grandfather of Francis Joseph, in common with the potentates of Europe, delighted to honour When it became known that funeral honours would be paid to the Duke of Wellington, Austrian Field Marshal, and Grand Cross of Maria Theresa, a great crowd assembled to witness the proceedings The whole of the garrison turned out with muffled drums and the other insignia of mourning, and in addition to the usual crape on the arm, it was remarked that the flags of the lancers and the regimental banners were trimmed with black crape The Emperor appeared also in mourning, and his Majesty gave express orders for the observance of the same military ceremonial in all the chief towns of the empire When



LYING-IN STATE.



FUNERAL CAR.

Russia, Prussia,[1] Sweden—her oldest Generals and their chosen staff—and even France gracefully recognised the merits of the noble old soldier by commanding the presence of her Ambassador at the service in the cathedral.

The Duke's body lay in state in the hall of Chelsea Hospital for six days, and was visited by many thousands, preparatory to its removal to the Horse Guards, where the funeral procession was to commence.

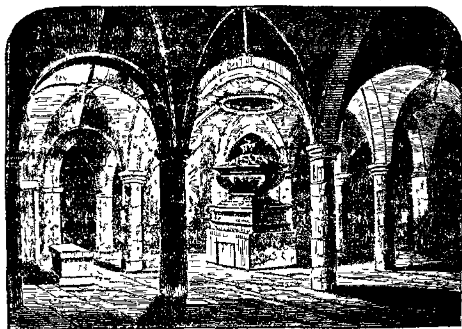
The weather had been unusually bad for many weeks preceding the day appointed for the funeral rites—but, as if to favour the occasion, the sun came out with great brilliancy on the morning of the 18th of November, and continued to cast its rays upon the metropolis until the ceremonial had completely terminated! During the whole of the previous week, the most extraordinary preparations had been made along the whole line of route for affording the public a perfect view of the pageant. Scaffoldings were erected in front of the houses—every window—every nook—every house-top—every inch of pavement was occupied by a dense but orderly crowd, exceeding—by the best computation—two millions of human beings. And the most perfect contentment was afforded by the magnificent spectacle. The people felt that justice had been done to the remains and the memory of their lost and long-loved hero. Two entire regiments of the Line, a battalion of the Royal Marines, the Household troops, cavalry, and infantry, squadrons and detachments from every regiment in the United Kingdom, a representative from every corps in the British army, seventeen guns, with an appropriate number of gunners and officers from the Horse and Foot Artillery—Chelsea pensioners—staff officers bearing banners or escorting the Duke's insignia of office—formed a most imposing military array, admirably ordered and commanded by the Duke of Cambridge. The "people" of London had never before beheld the Line or the Artillery—the real field strength of the British army—and they now saw how fully those branches of the service merited all the eulogy that had ever been bestowed upon them. Following the troops were, in their carriages, the Ministers, great officers of State, numerous generals who had served under the Duke, the Speaker, the Lord Chancellor, Bishops, representatives of all the great corporations; and, crowning the whole, by the

the dead march was played, and the defile over, the twelve batteries discharged their farewell, and volleys from the walls of the city responded to the mournful salute over the imaginary bier. Lord Westmoreland and a brilliant assemblage of officers were in immediate attendance upon the Emperor."

[1] See Appendix for the opinions formed by the Prussians of the British army.

magnificent compliment involved, came his Royal Highness Prince Albert, in whose train also were the carriages of her Majesty the Queen. Never was British subject so honoured!—never was earthly honour so well deserved! The car, which bore the remains of the Duke, was a superb structure, as well adapted to the occasion as time and the conditions imposed by the necessity for its passing beneath the low arch of Temple Bar would allow.

At St. Paul's Cathedral upwards of ten thousand privileged persons had assembled to render final homage to the manes of the Duke. When all had taken their places, including those who had formed the procession, the coffin was removed from the car. "And thus, with the hoarse roar of the multitude without, as they saw their last of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, with the grand and touching service of our church *sounding solemnly through the arched dome and aisles of the*



THE CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S.

noble church, with the glistening eye and hushed breath of many a gallant as well as of many a gentle soul in that vast multitude—with the bell tolling solemnly the knell of the departed, taken up by the voice of the distant cannon, amid the quiet waving of bannerol and flag, surrounded by all the greatness of the land—with all the pomp and glories of heraldic achievement, escutcheon and device—his body was borne up St. Paul's. At 1 40 the coffin was slid off the moveable

carriage in which it had been conveyed up the nave, to the frame in the centre of the area under the dome, which was placed almost directly over the tomb of Nelson, which lies in the crypt below. The Marshal's hat and sword of the deceased were removed from the coffin, and in their place a ducal coronet, on a velvet cushion, was substituted.

"The foreign Marshals and Generals stood at the head of the coffin; at the south side of it stood his Royal Highness Prince Albert, with his baton of Field-Marshal in his hand, and attired in full uniform, standing a little in advance of a numerous staff of officers. At each side of the coffin were British Generals, who had acted as pall-bearers. After the psalm and anthem, the Dean read with great solemnity and impressiveness the lesson, 1 Cor. xv., 20, which was followed by the *Nunc Dimittis*, and a dirge, with the following words set to music by Mr. Goss:—

> "And the King said to all the people that were with him, Rend your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn. And the King himself followed the bier.
>
> "And they buried him. And the King lifted up his voice and wept at the grave, and all the people wept.
>
> "And the King said unto his servants, Know ye not that there is a Prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

And now came the roll of muffled drums, and the wailing notes of horn and cornet, and the coffin slowly sank into the crypt amid the awful strains of Handel's "Dead March." The ducal crown disappeared with its gorgeous support, and in the centre of the group of generals and nobles was left a dark chasm, into which every eye glanced sadly down, and all knew indeed that a prince and a great man had that day gone from Israel. The remaining portions of the funeral service were then performed. The congregation were requested to join in the responses to the Lord's Prayer, and the effect of many thousand voices in deep emotion, repeating the words after the full enunciation of the Dean, was intensely affecting.

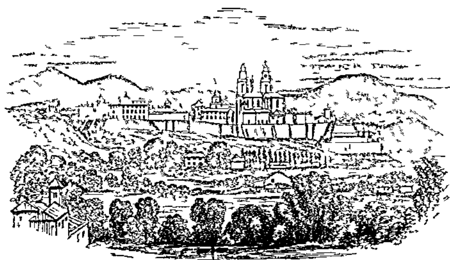
> "His body is buried in peace,
> But his name liveth evermore,"

from Handel's funeral anthem, was then most effectively performed by the choir. And then Garter King at Arms, standing over the vault, proclaimed the titles and orders of the deceased, "whom Heaven was pleased to take from us."

Then the late Duke's Comptroller having broken in pieces his staff of office in the household, handed it to the Garter King at Arms,

who cast the fragments into the vault. The choir and chorus sang the hymn, 'Sleepers, awake!' and the Bishop of London, standing by the side of the Lord Chancellor, pronounced the blessing, which concluded the ceremony."

And thus was buried, with all state and honour, the great Duke of Wellington.



PAMPELUNA.

CHAPTER XXI.

Character of the Duke of Wellington.

EW public men have presented greater facilities to the biographer for the formation of an estimate of their character than Arthur, the first Duke of Wellington.

Living from a very early period of his remarkable career in the presence of his countrymen, constantly committing his sentiments to paper, or giving them utterance in the Houses of Parliament; cherishing no *arrières pensées,* and squaring his conduct with his declared opinions, his heart was bared to the most minute inspection. To say that no faults were disclosed by the exposure, were to predicate of the Duke that he was raised above humanity. He undoubtedly had failings in common with the rest of mankind, but they were almost lost to ordinary perception in the presence of the numerous virtues which adorned his existence, and which, more than his successes, raised him to the unexampled pre-eminence he enjoyed for nearly half a century.

The quality, perhaps, which Englishmen value the most in public characters is Honesty, and with this quality the Duke of Wellington was singularly endowed. Receiving the pay of his Sovereign at a very early period of his life, he conceived that it became him to earn it conscientiously, and this principle led him to regard everything in life as subservient to his " duty " to the State. Duty was his pole-star. Under its guiding influences he endured privation and mortification with cheerfulness; prompted by its suggestions he

ventured upon great enterprises, yielding to its irresistible claims he forsook friends, abjured political associates, put aside prejudices and prepossessions, and incurred obloquy and insult But the all absorbing principle of action seldom led him wrong Happily for the interests of this great country, whose devoted servant he took pride in proclaiming himself, his perception of what was right and proper, in many varieties of circumstance, was almost invariably correct His acuteness enabled him to discern what he ought to do and his sense of duty supported him in its accomplishment, or in the attempt at its accomplishment, however formidable the obstacles which presented themselves to the undertaking Nothing personal, selfish, nor sinister would turn him from the path to the right Whatever he designed to effect, when exercising military command abroad, he "laid it justly and timed it seasonably, and thus won security and dispatch"

But this rigid honesty of purpose did not simply characterise the government of his conduct in relation to the Sovereign and the country by whom he was trusted It was the ruling principle of his life, in relation to all classes of his fellow creatures, and fortunately he found that perfect integrity in his general public dealings was quite compatible with the allegiance he delighted to pay to his employers In the rectitude of his heart, he repudiated the distinction which professed politicians have ofttimes endeavoured to establish between public and private virtue What was morally wrong he could not think was politically right Thus, although numerous writers on international law have contended for the principle of making war support war, and, confounding the ambition or indis cretion of the governors of a country with its helpless inhabitants, have justified the appropriation of the property of the people, the Duke of Wellington from the first hour when, as Colonel Wellesley, he commanded at Seringapatam, down to his entry into Toulouse, never would sanction the slightest infringement of private rights He felt, and often said, that the security of the British rule, and the friendliness of its reception, depended upon the impression entertained of our justness and morality It jumped with his notions of justice that nothing should be taken from unarmed people unless due equivalent was tendered, and he found his justification of this policy not alone in the applause of his own conscience, but in the good will which it generated

So little is known of the early characteristics of the Duke of Wellington—for none of the contemporaries of his youth survive—that it is difficult to say how much of the inflexibility which distin

guished him in military and political life was constitutional, and how much the result of self-discipline. By those who served under him in the Peninsula he was generally accounted cold and impassive, but his immediate friends usually found him gay and animated, addicted to lively pursuits, fond of the chase and of female society; and a hundred examples are extant of the activity of his benevolence. Probably something may be allowed to the faculty of self-command, and much to the convictions of necessity. Discerning what was essential in the situations in which he was placed, he steeled himself against all suggestions which might interfere with his designs, and practised a sternness of manner which ultimately, for a long time at least, became habitual.

In his management of the heterogeneous, ill-organised, and undisciplined army committed to his care in 1809, and which carried him through six years of unparalleled difficulty, this sternness of carriage, accompanied by brevity of speech and occasional severity of tone, became almost indispensable. His quick apprehension had satisfied him, while yet a regimental officer, that too much freedom with the British soldier was inconsistent with order and discipline. He saw that it was only by distance and reserve that authority could be habitually maintained; and thus, when he came to exercise supreme command, he folded himself in an austerity which forbade the approach of familiarity from any quarter. Associating this coldness of demeanour with a rigid exaction of obedience to his orders, and the maintenance of a profound silence regarding his plans up to the very moment when their execution became expedient, the Duke acquired a reputation for frigidity and severity, and those who could not comprehend his motives of action, or estimate the perfect adaptation of his reserve to the men he commanded, and the circumstances in which he was placed, drew unfavourable comparisons between their situation and that of the French soldiery who enjoyed the smiles, the *bonhommie* and *camaraderie* of Napoleon. Yet a study of the admirable despatches and orders of the Duke of Wellington—of which a few very slight examples have been given in the earlier pages of this memoir—will show how entirely he was animated by the finest dictates of human nature—how completely his studied severity was subordinate to his noble impulses. If he rigidly enforced discipline among his followers, it was to prevent rapine; if his troops endured suffering, it was in spite of his strenuous exertions to prevent it; and if he appeared to treat human ills lightly, it was because he felt that it was folly to be troubled by disappointments when they could be recovered, or to grieve over those which could not. Carefully

calculating the effect of his planned operations, he was naturally irritated if they were thwarted by misconception or disobedience. He could forgive the former, but he allowed no wilful infringement of his orders to pass with impunity. As he had habitually rendered obedience to his superiors, even when his judgment rebelled against their measures, so did he enforce it when time and fortune had placed him at the head of armies; and it is a remarkable proof of the wonderful prescience with which he was gifted, that any unauthorised departure from his instructions was attended by a heavy loss of human life, and failure of the objects he had in view.

As the Duke had found the British army in the field equal to all that he required at its hands, he was entirely averse to any alterations in its composition, or to the laws by which it was governed when the great European contest was at an end. He was accustomed to believe in what he saw was good, and had no taste for experiments which promised to make the good better. "Let well alone" was his axiom. Thus he was opposed to a reduction in the term of service, because he had great faith in old soldiers. He could not perceive the advantage of abolishing corporal punishment in the army at the instance of clamorous humanity-mongers. There was much to be said in favour of that form of chastisement. It operated as a public example; it was summary, and did not interfere for any injurious length of time with the public service. Solitary confinement removed a soldier from his duty, and cast an extra burden upon the well-conducted men, beside that it was an impracticable punishment on the line of march. To the ignorant and illiterate man a brief confinement was no penalty; to the intelligent soldier it far transcended in cruelty the infliction of the lash. But public opinion was too strong for the Duke; and he yielded to a compromise. The maximum of corporal punishment was reduced to fifty lashes. In the matter of costume and equipment the Duke was inflexible. He had won battles with ill-clad and heavily-laden soldiers, and was therefore indisposed to see the clothing improved, or the burdens reduced. He told Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, in reply to some suggestions to change a part of the dress of the 33rd regiment, of which the Duke was Colonel, that it had gone on very well for twenty years as it was, and he did not know where changes would stop if once commenced. So of the knapsack. When new projects, calculated to diminish the annoyances of the soldier were submitted, the official answer was, that "the knapsack question had been exhausted." All this conveyed an impression that the Duke was insensible to the sufferings of the troops; and the idea of his pro-

sumed apathy received a confirmation from his refusal to encourage applications for a medal commemorative of service in the Peninsula. But the inference on this head was unfair. The Duke did not ask for medals for his troops (excepting in the case of the battle of Waterloo) because, in the first place, he believed that the value of those distinctions would be deteriorated by their becoming too general—an idea also cherished by the Duke of York; and, in the second place, because, when he was called upon to move in the matter, he felt he was no longer in the position, relatively to the applicants, which would have justified the procedure. It was not "his duty." In reply to a memorial from the captains and subalterns of the army, his Grace dwelt strongly upon this point. He told them that when commanding the army in the field it was "his duty" faithfully to report the services of officers; and it was "the duty of the Government to settle whether any and what reward should be conferred. When commanded by the Sovereign to recommend corps, battalions, and officers for honorary distinctions, he obeyed those orders and performed all those duties;" but excepting when so ordered, he did not consider it "any part of his duty" to interfere in the matter. These were his very words.

In the sense in which "serious people" would apply the term, the Duke was not, perhaps, a strictly pious man; but if conclusions are to be drawn from the actions, rather than the expressions, of a human being, he was by no means insensible to the beauty and importance of religion.[1] He obeyed the Christian precepts in the relations of life, — he was assiduous in his attendance at Divine Service; and he always evinced a laudable anxiety that the soldiery should have the assistance of chaplains of orthodox principles and exemplary conduct.[2]

[1] See a Clergyman's estimate of the Duke's character in the Appendix.

[2] In a despatch addressed to Lieutenant-General Calvert, the Adjutant-General, dated Cartaxo, 6th of February, 1811, the Duke wrote for good army chaplains, and said—

"I am very anxious upon this subject, not only from the desire which every man must have that so many persons as there are in this army should have the advantage of religious instruction, but from a knowledge that it is the greatest support and aid to military discipline and order."

And again, speaking of the spread of Methodism in the army, and of the Methodist meetings which were taking place in the regiments, his Grace wrote—

"Here, and in similar circumstances, we want the assistance of a respectable clergyman. By his personal influence and advice, and by that of true religion, he would moderate the zeal and enthusiasm of the gentlemen, and would prevent these meetings from being mischievous, if he did not prevail upon them to discontinue them entirely. This is the only mode, in my opinion, in which we can touch these meetings. The meeting of soldiers in their cantonments to sing psalms, or hear a sermon read by one of their comrades, is, in the abstract, perfectly innocent; and it is a better way of spending their time than many

The condition of the British soldier has been amazingly improved since the war. The hope of reward has been substituted for the fear of punishment, as a stimulus to conduct. Diminished service, comfortable barracks, good-conduct pay and medals, gratuities, pensions, and annuities, facilities of colonial settlement, and a preference over other civilians in selection for employment after discharge, are among the benefits conferred upon the troops since 1815. It may be that the Duke of Wellington did not originate any of these measures—he may not have considered it to come within the scope of his duty to do so. As Commander-in-Chief, however, he must have been consulted by the Secretary at War and the War Minister; and had he not consented to the improvements it is doubtful whether etiquette would have *allowed of their adoption. Hence, to the Duke belongs a large* portion of the merit of having ameliorated the condition of the English soldier.

In the disposal of his patronage the Duke of Wellington was just, —and more than this, he recommended justice to others.[1] There was scarcely one officer who served under him, and remained in the army

others to which they are addicted; but it may become otherwise; and yet, till the abuse has made some progress, the commanding officer would have no knowledge of it, nor could he interfere. Even at last *his interference must be guided by discretion, otherwise he will* do more harm than good; and it can in no case be so effectual as that of a respectable clergyman."

[1] A recent writer says:—"The Duke would not do an unjust act to please his own sovereign. George IV. said to him one day, 'Arthur, the —— regiment is vacant, gazette Lord ——.'

"'Impossible, and please your Majesty; there are officers who have served the country for many years whose turn comes first.'

"'Never mind, Arthur, gazette Lord ——.'

"The Duke came up to town, and gazetted Sir Ronald Fergusson. He was then all powerful in the cabinet as well as in the army, and the King, whose character the Duke well *understood, was obliged to take the matter with as good a grace as he was able*

"An officer in the army, still alive, expressing his wonder that the Duke should lend his papers to such a radical as the present Sir William Napier, to assist him in composing his admirable history of the Peninsular War, he replied, 'And what if he is a Radical; he will tell the truth, and that is all I care about'"

The annexed, among many other letters, present undeniable proofs of the spirit of justice which animated the Duke.—

"TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CLOSE.

"CAMP, *3rd July*, 1803.

"In exercising the power given me by government, in regard to the subsidiary force at Poonah, I shall consider it a duty, and it certainly is my inclination, to select those officers for the situations which are to be filled, who may be agreeable to you The gentleman you now have recommended to me is one for whom I have a respect, and in whose advancement and welfare I am materially interested, as he has been frequently recommended to me in the strongest terms by his relation, General Mackenzie, a very old friend of mine.

"But both you and I, my dear Colonel, must attend to claims of a superior nature to these

long enough to be eligible for responsible command, who did not receive some token of the Duke's approbation. They were either appointed colonels of regiments, or governors of colonies, or commanders of districts, divisions, or branches of the army in India, or good-service pensions were granted to them. Where disappointment was experienced, it resulted from the absence of the Duke's opportunities to serve them. If officers and soldiers did well, who so ready to laud them in the House of Lords as the Duke?—making amends by the warmth of his commendations as a peer for the brevity of his approbations as a general in the field. If ill, or erring from misconception, who so prompt to vindicate them to the country?

brought forward, either in consequence of our private feelings of friendship or of recommendation. Of this nature are the claims founded upon service.

* * * * * * *

Mr. Gilmour has done all the duty of the staff-surgeon greatly to my satisfaction and the general good; and when the subsidiary force comes to be established at Poonah, I think that I could not disappoint the expectation which he has had a right to form, that he should be its permanent staff-surgeon, without doing him great injustice, and in his person violating a principle which ought always to guide those who have the disposal of military patronage, viz., that those who do the duty of the army, ought to be promoted, and also enjoy its benefits and advantages."

"TO GENERAL ——, IN THE SERVICE OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

"PARIS, 2*nd December*, 1814.

"I did not recommend you to the King of Spain for promotion, not from any doubt of your zeal and gallantry in his Majesty's service and cause, of which I had witnessed so many instances, but from having known that you had not made the military profession your study, and from having observed that you paid but little attention to the discipline and good order of the troops, which are those qualities of which his Majesty's troops are much in want.

"If I had now anything to say to the Spanish army (excepting in the interest I feel for its honour), I should consider it my duty for the same reasons still to be silent regarding your promotion. Zeal and gallantry are indispensable qualities for an officer, and you possess both, and activity and intelligence to an extraordinary and exemplary degree; but it is my opinion—and I have always acted upon that opinion—that an officer appointed to command others should have other qualities; and I cannot with propriety recommend for promotion one who, in my opinion, does not possess them.

"In regard to your complaint that your name was not mentioned in my despatches, it appears extraordinary, as you are aware that you happened not to fill any responsible situation in the army. It is certainly true that your conduct was most gallant upon both these occasions that you mention; but it is impossible for me to report the name of every individual who puts himself at the head of the troops."

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL DARLING.

"BRUXELLES, 2*nd May*, 1815.

"I have nothing to say to any appointment to the staff of this army of any rank.

"However flattered I may be, and however I may applaud the desire of an officer to serve under my command in the field, it is impossible for me to recommend officers for employment with whose merits I am not acquainted, in preference to those to whose services I am so much indebted, particularly if the latter desire to serve again. But, as I before stated, I have no choice; and I beg you to apply in the quarter in which you will certainly succeed, without reference to my wishes, whenever there shall be a command vacant for you, which there is not at present."

The 14th Light Dragoons, from some misapprehension of an order given at the battle of Chillianwallah, in the Punjaub, had given way to a momentary panic, and obloquy was cast upon that distinguished regiment by some ill-informed persons The noble Duke took an opportunity of extenuating their temporary retreat He did so in these words —"My Lords, it is impossible to describe to you the variety of circumstances which may occasion mistake or disarrangement during an engagement, in the operations of any particular force at any particular moment An inquiry into these circumstances has been instituted, and I have seen the report of that inquiry It happens that these cavalry had to conduct their operations over a country much broken by ravines and rough jungles, which rendered it impossible for the troops to move in their usual regular order It happened that the officer commanding the brigade of which this corps formed a part, was wounded in the head during the advance, and was obliged *to quit the field* The officer next *in command being at a* distance from the spot, was not aware that his commanding officer was obliged to withdraw from the field Under these circumstances, *the word of* command *was given by some person not authorised*, and of whom no trace can be found, and some confusion took place, which from the crowd, and the circumstances of the moment, could not easily be remedied But it was removed at last, and all were got in order, and the corps successfully performed its duty, as I and other noble lords around me have seen them perform it on other occasions My Lords, these things may happen to any troops, but we whose fortune it has been to see similar engagements in the field, feel what must be felt by all your lordships—that the character of a corps must not be taken from them from scraps in the newspapers, but the facts must be sought in the report of the Commander in Chief, and in the inquiry made by the proper parties—an inquiry very different to that made by the publishers of newspapers The order was made, and it needs no one to be informed that a movement in retreat is not a movement in advance, but your lordships may be convinced, as I myself am, that the movement in retreat was *one of those accidents which must occur occasionally, and that the* corps to which it happened are as worthy of confidence then as they have been since, as they were before, and as I hope they always will be."

Upon a previous occasion the Duke earnestly defended the 62nd Foot from a similar charge of panic The regiment had got into momentary disorder at the battle of Ferozeshah

Major-General Sir Harry Smith, an old officer, formerly in the

Rifles, held the government of the Cape of Good Hope for five or six years. A war broke out with the Kaffirs, and was prolonged beyond the expected term. The impatience of the public at length broke out in animadversions upon Sir Harry's capacity for command in irregular and savage warfare; and the subject was alluded to in a debate in the House, in an Address in answer to the Royal Speech. The Duke seized the occasion of pronouncing in favour of Sir Harry's tactics with more than wonted energy of manner. "Sir Harry Smith," he said, "is an officer who, from his high reputation in the service, ought not to require any commendation from me; but having filled a high command in several important military operations long before carried on under his direction, and having now been recalled by her Majesty's Government, it is but justice to him to say that I, who am his commanding officer, though at a great distance, entirely approve of all his operations, of the orders which he has given to his troops, and of the arrangements which he has made for their success. * * * My firm belief is, that everything has been done by the commanding general of the forces and the other officers, in order to carry into execution the instructions of her Majesty's Government."

To the sons of deserving old officers the Duke was kind and considerate, and gave away many commissions to orphans and others upon the simple plea that their fathers had done their duty to the State.[1]

[1] The following letter lately appeared in an Irish newspaper, the *Saunders's News-Letter*:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'SAUNDERS'S NEWS-LETTER.'

"SIR,—As anecdotes characteristic of the late Duke of Wellington may not be unacceptable to your readers, now that the earthly remains of that truly great and illustrious man are about to be laid in the grave, may I beg leave to give you one on which you may place every reliance, being myself the recipient of the noble Duke's impartial, generous, and most kind dispensation of the patronage of the army. Having claims on the country for services rendered in the 'field'—having a large family then to provide for, and not having then at my disposal what would purchase an ensigncy for my son, then a young gentleman about eighteen years old, I memorialised his Grace on behalf of my son for an ensigncy without purchase, merely stating the services, the age of the young gentleman, education, &c., and forwarded it by post. I did not even get it handed in by any [illegible], [illegible] in power, but simply relied on its merits, and confiding it to the [illegible] and generosity of his Grace's character. The memorial lay over for some time, and all hope of any good result was nearly abandoned, when one day a person paid me a visit, and among other subjects, mentioned 'that the commanding officer of — Regiment, [illegible] in which I resided, had been making some searching enquiries as to the [illegible] of my family, and the good character of the young gentleman mentioned [illegible] which being answered most satisfactorily, with, indeed, [illegible] that the young gentleman was a Roman Catholic, the report [illegible] and in about twelve months after [illegible] an ensigncy without purchase, and [illegible]

Although some hundreds of general orders and instructions emanated from the Duke's pen, many of them embracing very small matters, but all conducive to the general interest of discipline, he never worried the troops with needless reproofs and injunctions. He cared nothing for a man's dress—he never fretted himself about the length of a beard or a whisker, or the number of buttons upon a coat—he knew exactly where to draw the line between the trivialities which occupied the thoughts of the martinet and the minute points which affected the economy of an army Certainly no army could be in a worse state of discipline than was the British army when the Duke succeeded to the Peninsular command; and as certainly there never was an army in a finer and more efficient condition than ours at the moment of the Duke's death It is quite true that, in his later days, he committed the principal part of his duties of the command-in chief to his Military Secretary and the Adjutant General, but they had served long enough under him to become so inoculated with his system and familiar with his thoughts, that all went on as if he were still the active head of military affairs

The ' Despatches " of the Duke of Wellington, published some years since, after careful collation, by Colonel Gurwood, the Duke's esquire, are the most remarkable compositions of the kind extant As contributions to history—indeed no correct history of the time could be written without access to them—as vindications of the reputation of the Duke, to the extent not only of making clear what was doubtful, but of giving to all the finer points of his character a remarkable salience—as guides to future commanders—they are of incalculable value No man in the universe could form an approach to an estimate of the Duke's true worth until these extraordinary "Despatches" were made public Mr Charles Phillips, once a celebrated barrister, now honourably and faithfully holding the scales of justice as a Commissioner of the Metropolitan Insolvent Court, speaking of them, says—

" To what are we to attribute prosperity so unparalleled ?—to merit or to fortune ? Most strange to say, this seemingly self answering question has been asked! But let the darkest bigot to the creed of

Irishman and a Roman Catholic a compliment of 450*l*, the regulation price for an ensigncy Mine is not a single instance of his Grace s impartiality and justice in the dispensation of the patronage of the army, but now that obloquy has been attempted to be cast upon the memory of the late illustrious Duke of Wellington, and that the country is mourning over his bier, I may be allowed to drop on his tomb the only tribute in my power to pay his memory—a grateful tear "Your obedient servant,

" *November 4th*, 185* "An Old Campaigner.'

[This letter is duly authenticated.]

chance open his marvellous 'Despatches,' and be satisfied. He may there read the solution of his mystery. He will there find it was not on the battle-field alone this great commander gained his victories. It was over the map, and in the tent, at midnight. It was in the careful retrospect of past campaigns, studious of experience. It was in the profound reflection, 'looking before and after' —in a sagacity almost instinctive—in a prescience all but inspired—in the vigilance that never slumbered—the science that never erred —the cautious, well-digested, deeply-pondered purpose, slow in formation, but, once formed, inflexible. These were the *chances* which enslaved renown — these were the *accidents* which fettered fortune. All extraordinary as these 'Despatches' are, perhaps the most curious feature they present is the immediate and immutable maturity of character. Instant, yet permanent—of a moment's growth, yet made of adamant. Time has not touched it. What he was at Seringapatam—such was he at Waterloo,—and what he was at Waterloo, he is at this very moment. The first of these 'Despatches' dated in 1800, from the camp at Currah, exhibits him precisely as he appears through twelve volumes, down to the last at Paris! * * * * Almost every man imagines that he knows the Duke of Wellington, because of those exploits which have become as household words amongst us. But no man can be said to know him truly who has not pored and pondered over these 'Despatches.' Lucid, eloquent, copious, and condensed, they take their stand beside the immortal Commentaries. They must ever remain, at once, the army's marvel, and of the gifted author the most enduring monument. The records of his glory, they are also the revelations of the qualities which ensured it."

How far these sentiments are also those of the writer of this biography may be inferred from the fact that, twelve years since, he took the pains to offer a small abridgment of them to the officers of the Indian army, which he deemed it necessary to preface in the words given below.

"When the editor of the following compilation first resolved upon offering the army an abridgment of the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, he entertained an idea that he would find in that remarkable work innumerable detached opinions, isolated aphorisms, and incidental sentiments, which of themselves would constitute a work of reference of great utility to military men. It was scarcely to be supposed—the Duke's position, his power and right to dictate, his means of acquiring information, and the voluminousness of the despatches considered—that in a work comprising twelve volumes,

of upwards of six hundred pages each, his Grace should seldom be found expressing opinions upon general subjects, or proposing rules for the government of others, that, in a word, his numerous letters should prove to be merely suggested by the circumstances which immediately engaged his attention, and to be limited, almost entirely, ito the subject which originated them But such is nevertheless the fact No man of his station seems less to have purposed to dress himself 'in an opinion of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit,' than the Duke of Wellington A man of business—and a modest man to boot—he appears rather to have offered suggestions and to have dictated a course of proceeding adapted to a peculiar exigency, than to have laid down rules of conduct for general evidence on all occasions His sentiments are more to be inferred than positively cited His mind is fixed on the object immediately before him, and if he does happen to enlarge upon it in his 'Despatches,' it is obviously because he apprehended a recurrence, during the prosecution of the campaign in which he is directly engaged, of the circumstances which elicit his remonstrances The Duke never seems to have dreamed, that the words which flowed from his pen, would have been treasured in after years as pearls of inestimable price he apparently wrote with no other view than to get the business in which he was engaged, effectively, expeditiously, economically, and honourably performed

"These characteristics of the Duke's Despatches have rendered the editor's task in selecting a sufficiency to constitute a hand book, or volume of reference, one of difficulty and delicacy He has found only *precedents* where he expected to have discovered *laws*, and in the absence of aphorisms and comprehensive opinions, which would have been accepted as oracles by every British soldier, he has been obliged to choose portions of remarkable despatches, leaving it to the intelligent military reader to apply the general principles which governed the Duke, to such circumstances and situations of a similar character as he may happen to be placed in Thus, if the possessor of the '*Manual*,' is not able to say, 'I will do so and so, because the Duke of Wellington says it is the proper course to pursue,' he can at least quote his Grace's proceedings on a *parallel occasion* and take them, *safely take them*, as the best guide of his own immediate conduct

"With these brief observations, the editor humbly submits this compilation (which, as involving the careful perusal of the whole of the 'Despatches' has literally been a delightful task,) to the patronage of his friends, the officers of the Indian army

"It would perhaps have been appropriate to have introduced it by a

sketch of the career of the soldier to whom the army is indebted for the words of wisdom to be found in each page; but apart from a consideration of the difficulty of compressing such a sketch within reasonable limits without injustice to the mighty subject, it has occurred to the editor, that the '*Manual*' itself supplies evidence enough of the character of the Duke's mind, and the qualities of his heart, to render the preparation of a brief history in this place, altogether supererogatory. If one of the purposes with which we study the records of the past be to possess ourselves of ample and unerring guides for the future, the reader will have no difficulty in adopting and applying, as occasion offers, the sentiments of the greatest captain of the age, because his Grace's professional advancement and extraordinary success, were the consequence of the combination of military virtue herein developed. His 'Despatches' are a monument of SAGACITY, DEVOTEDNESS, PATIENCE, OBEDIENCE, DECISION, HUMANITY, TEMPERANCE, MODESTY, JUSTICE, COURAGE, FIRMNESS, and PURE PATRIOTISM, for which we may seek in vain in the annals of our own or any other country."

The Duke of Wellington did not die ejaculating "My country—save my country, Heaven!"—but no one who has attentively followed him in his civil and military career can hesitate to believe that he was an ardent patriot from the bottom of his heart—alive to the honour and the interests of Great Britain—fighting for them—suffering for them—and perpetually meditating their preservation or advancement. England has already placed him above Chatham. America compared him to her Washington. "The two men," writes Mr. Rush, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's, "were still alike in truthfulness and honesty; alike in straightforward conduct and perpetual honour, that ever rose above intrigue, all selfishness, and little jealousies; all thought of small ambitions, or playing a small game under any circumstances; alike in that wisdom in vast affairs, which looks at men as they are and events as they exist, with no misleading thoughts to mistake either in planning and executing momentous measures; alike in that enduring resolution, those self-relying resources of inborn and well-trained virtue, bravery, and patriotism, which never think of yielding; but going on amidst misrepresentations and difficulties, no matter how many or stubborn or complicated, that overset the weak and vacillating, but which the intrinsically strong heed not, but turn to final success and glory, in fighting great battles and undergoing other great trials, whether for a country or to found a country; those were the grand qualities that Wellington and Washington possessed in common. The former

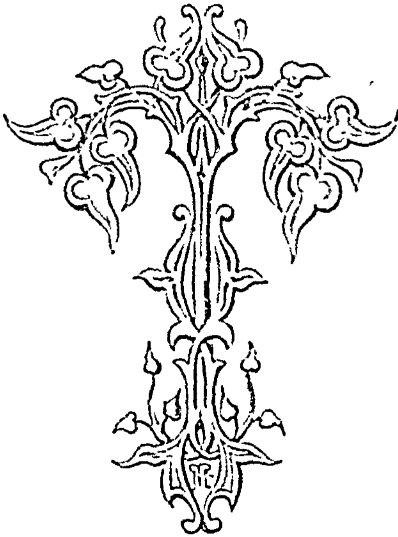
served Britain as she was—the latter made America what she has become, and what she is to be"

We can add but little to this in attempting an estimate of the character of the illustrious individual whose life we have endeavoured to pourtray, and that little is to be found charmingly expressed in an extract from a drama lately quoted by Lord Ellesmere A monk is speaking of Gonzalvo di Cordova, the Spanish prototype of Wellington—

"He died
As he had lived, his country's boast and pride—
Statesman and warrior, who, with patient toil,
Scant and exhausted legions taught to foil
Skill, valour, numbers One who never sought
A selfish glory from the fields he fought,
Lived, breathed and felt but for his country s weal
Her power to 'stablish, and her wounds to heal
The dread of France, when France was most the dread

CHAPTER XXII.

Habits of the Duke of Wellington.



HE habits of the Duke of Wellington, formed in the camp, and originating in those public demands upon his time and energies to which he held it obligatory upon him to yield, were preserved to the last hour of his existence; and had, in all probability, a material influence in the preservation of his health and the prolongation of his days. No change of circumstances induced a change of usage. The simplicity of the soldier on the field of fight adhered to the recognised chief of the British aristocracy when time and circumstance placed every imaginable luxury within his reach.

His bed was narrow and more simple than that of a subaltern. The bedstead of iron without canopy of any kind—the bed a simple mattress covered with a wash-leather sheet—to which, when he felt cold, he added a blanket,—a hard pillow, also enclosed in wash-leather,—constituted the couch to which the venerable man retired at a late hour and quitted with the early dawn. After a healthy and invigorating shower-bath, in which he invariably indulged, he would perform his own toilet without the aid of a valet, always shaving himself, for his hand was steady, if not strong. The toilet was simple and uniform. In winter a black or blue frock and dark grey or black trowsers—in summer the same frock and white trowsers, and always a white stock confined by a steel buckle. After dressing, the

Duke would read or write before he proceeded to breakfast, and how much he read—how much he wrote! His various offices, and his duty as a peer, entailed upon him the necessity of perusing many voluminous

THE DUKE'S ROOM AT WALMER

documents, and he not unfrequently pored, conscientiously, over every line of the Blue Books, which were printed by order of Parliament At a very late period of his life he went through the whole of the Report, comprising some hundreds of pages, on the constitution of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Then the newspapers amused him If he continued to hold their opinions in undeserved contempt, he was not indifferent to the news they contained To the advertisements of new objects and inventions he paid particular attention, and would often go and see, and possibly purchase, some modern piece of ingenuity

Breakfast dismissed—and it was always of the simplest character—the Duke would go forth to ride or walk or pay a visit to some valued friend If he rode, he was attended by a single groom, the man who enjoyed the melancholy honour of leading his master's old horse at the funeral In the afternoon, the Duke, when commanding in chief, and residing in town, would go to the Horse-Guards and remain for an hour or so, handing to Lord Fitzroy Somerset the name of some officer on whom he wanted to confer a colonelcy or a colonial or district command After dinner, at which he generally

ate heartily, rarely touching wine or spirits, the Duke, if any question of interest or importance was coming on, would wend his way to the House of Lords, where he was always received with marked respect; or the Opera offered him attractions, although he had become latterly very deaf indeed. The cheerful scene—the certainty of meeting some one whose society he relished—the "duty" to the public of countenancing by his presence any great and well-conducted establishment—all supplied motives for the visits to her Majesty's Theatre. In the "season," the Duke of Wellington continually honoured the parties of the nobility with his presence. It was a strong proof of his great strength, and his zest for social intercourse, that he was often, on the same night, at two or three different *réunions*.

Before the Duke had lost his hearing, and while the Ancient Concerts were yet in vogue, his passion for music, which he inherited from his father, was allowed full latitude. He preferred "massive harmony" as developed in the works of Handel; and when, as a director of the Ancient Concerts, he had the selection of the programme, he invariably chose the productions of the great choral masters. This was in complete harmony with the grandeur of his mind. His niece, the Countess of Westmoreland, had a fine taste for music, and her husband, long known as the accomplished Lord Burghersh, was a composer of no mean taste and ability. The Duke was always interested in his works and a constant attendant at the Countess's *soirées musicales*. The Royal Academy engaged a large share of the Duke's countenance. He generally subscribed 200*l*. per annum to the institution, and his purse was always open to distressed musicians. And "although it may have been supposed that the Duke would only have given his name as a director or patron of the Ancient Concerts, Sir Henry Bishop, the conductor, states that he never knew any director of that institution (which, unfortunately, no longer exists), or of any other musical societies with which Sir Henry has been connected, who gave more thorough business-like attention to the whole matter. Whatever the Duke undertook, having undertaken it, he seemed, however it might be thought out of his own immediate sphere, to think that it was his 'duty' (and that was the great idea always before him) to carry it out to the fullest extent of his abilities. His correspondence and 'programmes,' which he corrected and altered with his own hand, are singularly clear and specific in the directions for his night, each of the directors having in turn the selection of the music and of the chief singers for the eight concerts. The Duke's night was generally one of the most expensive of the series. The directors laid down

rules for their guidance as to the outlay, but the Duke's first remark to Sir Henry Bishop used to be, 'I must have a good concert' When Sir Henry gently hinted at times that his Grace was exceeding the prescribed limits, the Duke would reply, 'Never mind the expense—I will pay the difference' It is stated that if the amount of excess thus incurred by the Duke had been charged, it would be no inconsiderable sum The punctuality of his Grace in his attendance was very remarkable It was customary for each director to give a dinner to his brother directors prior to the concert, to these dinners the conductor was invited The first time Sir Henry (then Mr Bishop) dined at Apsley House, in the evening of the concert, he kept looking at his watch after the dinner, anxious not to be over time for the departure to the Hanover square Rooms The Duke looked at Sir Henry Bishop, and asked if it were time to go Sir Henry replied, 'There is yet a quarter of an hour to spare' 'Very well,' rejoined his Grace, 'remember, Mr Bishop, we are under your orders' Sir Henry was conversing with Lord Ellenborough, and the Duke got into earnest conversation with a noble director, when suddenly his Grace broke off and turned round to the conductor and said 'It is time' Sir Henry looked at his watch, and found the quarter of an hour had elapsed to a second, a fact which the Duke was conscious of without reference to a time piece, and in the midst of talking!"

And this brings us to a feature in the Duke's character which occupies nearly the highest place among the Christian virtues—his charity With him, particularly, the word had a large signification He gave freely—but his right hand knew not the actions of the left He abhorred ostentatious benevolence, and if he did not positively enjoin silence he distributed aid in such a way that it was always inferred he did not desire publicity He loved "to do good by stealth," and did not care "to find it fame" His generosity caused him to be victimised occasionally by misrepresentation, but he rather preferred being swindled to magnifying the importance of his bounty by too minute an inquiry into the justice of its application Nor was the Duke's charity confined to his pecuniary '*largesse*,'—he employed it, in its largest and noblest sense, to "cover a multitude of sins' He reproved gently and sorrowfully—endeavoured to find excuses for the erring—and never allowed himself to repeat the evil words which found currency at the expense of others Look at his Despatches and Orders The name of every man whom the Duke found occasion to praise is given at full length, the name of every object of reprehension is carefully concealed from public view Was

cannot have forgotten that, as Colonel Wellesley, he adopted the son of the hostile brigand, Doondia Waugh, and, when he quitted India, left seven hundred pounds behind him for the boy's benefit.

In all the minor affairs of life the Duke of Wellington was remarkable for his precision and exactitude. If he gave an order he required its literal fulfilment, and would get "terribly angry" if he had frequent occasion to repeat his injunctions. Still there was kindness in all that he did. The anecdotes which follow show that he had a will of his own, and a method in all matters of personal concern:—

"Sir William Allan, some years ago, painted two pictures of the 'Battle of Waterloo;' the point of view of one being taken from the British lines; that of the other from the French lines. The Duke purchased one of these pictures after seeing it at the Exhibition; we rather think the last-mentioned, in which the figure of Bonaparte is prominent. He remarked at the time of it, 'Good! very good! not too much smoke." An amusing anecdote is related of this transaction, and upon the authority of the artist himself, against whom it certainly 'tells' a little.

"After the picture had become the property of the Duke, the artist was instructed to call at the Horse-Guards on a certain day, to receive payment. Punctual to the hour appointed, Sir William met his Grace, who proceeded to count out the price of the picture, when the artist suggested that, to save the time of one whose every hour was devoted to his duty, a cheque might be given on the Duke's bankers. No answer was vouchsafed, however, and Sir William, naturally supposing that his modest hint might not have been heard,

Pointing at what was evidently a bust of the Duke himself, the boy said it was most like his schoolmaster. The Duke laughed heartily, and said, "Oh, indeed, well he is a very good man of his sort" After this the Duke said, "Come now, we will go to dinner, I have ordered an early dinner, as I suppose you dine early at school" "We dine at one o'clock, sir," said the boy. "A very good hour," rejoined his Grace, "I did so when I was at school." The Duke and young Kendall sat down to dinner alone, *to the surprise of the valet*, who was told by the Duke that the bell would ring when his attendance was required. Having said grace, the Duke observed to his young guest, "I shall have several things brought to table, and I shall help you to a little of each, as I know little boys like to taste all they see" At table his Grace conversed in the most kind and encouraging manner to the boy, and, the repast being ended, shook him by the hand and dismissed him with the words, "Be a good boy, do your duty; now you may go to your father." About four years after this unique dinner, the Duke was detained on the South Eastern Railway some two hours, when he wished to attend a meeting of the Privy Council The Duke was highly displeased with the Directors Mr Macgregor, the Banker of Liverpool, was then Chairman of the line, and he was waited upon by command of the Duke. Not a word more was heard of the delay, but almost immediately afterwards young Kendall quitted Hayes, and was a clerk in Mr. Macgregor's bank at Liverpool He now fills a situation in the Ordnance department of Ireland. The Duke evidently never lost sight of him

repeated it:—'Perhaps your Grace would give me a cheque on your bankers; it would save you the trouble of counting notes.' This time the old hero had heard, and whether irritated at being stopped in the middle of his enumeration, or speaking his real sentiments, we know not, but turning half round, he replied, with rather a peculiar expression of voice and countenance—'And do you suppose I would allow Coutts's people to know what a fool I had been?'"

The unmistakeable military character of the Duke is evident in the notices placed by his orders on many of the doors of Walmer Castle, "Shut this door;" although it may be added that he never addressed a request to any of his personal attendants without saying, "If you please," do this or that. A still more kindly and considerate memorial of his Grace might be seen upon his table in the shape of a number of small slips of paper, on which were printed, "Avoid to impose upon others the care of original papers which you wish to preserve." It is well known that the applications to the late Duke for advice and assistance were extremely numerous, and in many cases testimonials and original documents were enclosed by the applicants, which the Duke, after making a memorandum of, invariably returned, accompanied by one of these significant cautionary notices.

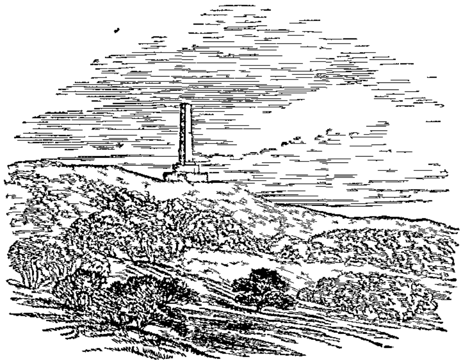
About the year 1845, the Messrs. Nicoll had an unexpected visit in Regent-street from the Duke, who said, the moment he arrived, "I have seen the Prince (meaning Prince Albert) wear one of your new kind of coats." This garment they had then recently introduced to the public under the new and now universally popular name of "Paletôt." All the various advantages of the paletôt were instantly perceived by the Duke, who became from that time a ready and warm patron of the firm. The chief puzzle of the Messrs. Nicoll was to give his Grace all the pocket-room he wanted,—in fact, the linings of all his coats were completely studded with pockets. Two resembled the hare-pockets of a shooting-coat. "They must be long and strong. I've many papers to carry in them," was his expression. Now, although they represented that the main features of the invention would be thus removed, viz., its lightness and elasticity, the only reply received was, "*It is my wish—it is my wish.*"

So attached was the Duke to precision in all things, that when sitting to an artist he was always solicitous about the *exactitude* of the likeness; and he has been known to take the compasses from a

sculptor, and ascertain the precise proportions of his own features, and then compare them with the clay representative

The Duke was naturally very frequently solicited to sit for his bust or his picture, and though he had as little vanity as may fall to the lot of a civilised being he good naturedly yielded, if the party to be obliged was worthy of the compliment The public claims upon him in this respect were numerous Every town in the slightest degree connected with him, or in a condition to render honour to his Grace, sought his effigy in one shape or another, and some, either deficient of the means to render him honour, or preferring that his greatness should be perpetuated by columns visible from a distance commemo rated his services in obelisks Thus there is an obelisk in Trim the borough he represented when the Hon Arthur Wesley

There is a similar edifice at Wellington, in Somerset which may be discerned *at a very considerable distance, from the elevated* position which it occupies



OBELISK AT WELLINGTON SOMERSETSHIRE

Ireland long entertained an idea that the Duke of Wellington cherished no love for his native country This arose perhaps from his disinclination to visit Ireland when ' duty did not call him

there; and from some expressions which he occasionally dropped regarding the outrageous conduct of the ultras of both of the violent parties in the country, when he was Secretary for Ireland. His anxiety for the settlement of the Catholic question, and for the due execution of the Poor Law, must have convinced impartial men that the belief in his antipathy was ill founded; and it is quite certain that within a year of his death he uttered sentiments which could only have proceeded from a true Milesian[1]:—

Whatever the received opinion may have been touching the Duke's affection for Ireland, there is little question of the respect in which Ireland held her hero; for Moore beautifully sang his praises,[2] and the people of Dublin, as well as those of Trim, raised a column in his honour.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the monuments raised to this

[1] The following letter appeared in the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* with reference to the alleged denial of the late Duke of Wellington of his country:—

"IRELAND AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

"SIR,—Having, since the death of the lamented hero, whose remains are as yet untombed, seen it frequently stated that the late Duke of Wellington never acknowledged Ireland as his country, I have been somewhat struck by the fact that none of the journals have referred back to the proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Belfast, which took place so recently as the early part of this month, ere the Duke of Wellington had breathed his last, for a contradiction of the statement. Mr. Holden, the eminent sewed muslin manufacturer, having, in the statistical section of the Association, read a paper on the progress of the sewed muslin manufacture in Ireland, a discussion ensued, during which Mr. Holden stated that in the course of 1851, whilst examining the products of Irish industry at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, his Grace expressed to him (Mr. Holden) his great satisfaction at their excellence, and added,—'This is the only way by which *our* country can be restored to its proper position.' I write from recollection, but the exact words were at the time reported in the Belfast *Northern Whig*, in the London *Morning Post*, and, if I mistake not, also in some of your Dublin contemporaries. Trusting that this explanation will be sufficient to set the question at rest, and show that the Duke had no hesitation in acknowledging his country,

"I have the honour to remain,

"JOHN MILLER GRANT.

"52, *Westland-row, Dublin.*"

[2] "While History's Muse the memorial was keeping
Of all that the dark hand of destiny weaves,
Beside her the Genius of Erin stood weeping,
For hers was the story that blotted the leaves.
But oh! how the tear in her eyelids grew bright
When, after whole pages of sorrow and shame,
She saw History write
With a pencil of light,
Which illumed the whole volume, her Wellington's name

great man's memory It will be sufficient to say that in the selection of localities for effigies in his honour, the Tower of London, of which he was long the constable, was not omitted

STATUE AT THE TOWER

Yet is not the desire of Great Britain to perpetuate the renown of the incomparable Field Marshal exhausted The receipt of the news of his demise was followed by the declaration of the resolution of various towns—the principal ones in England—to commemorate his vast achievements by more statues, more busts, more columns —all upon a scale of magnificence suitable to their great and interesting object And still more worthily to transmit the mighty name to posterity, and to associate it with high and benevolent purposes, the Queen of these realms sanctioned the circulation of a proposal—which her Majesty at once supported by a subscription of one thousand pounds—that a memorial of the Duke should be established in the form of a school or college bearing the name of "Wellington,' for the gratuitous education of one hundred of the children of impoverished military officers It was estimated that the proper endowment of the college would require an outlay of one hundred thousand pounds, independently of the sum required for the building No better testimony to the ardour with which the country has responded to the

proposition can be supplied than this: within one month of the circulation of the scheme, sixty thousand pounds was subscribed; and while this volume passes through the press, public enthusiasm and attachment are hourly swelling the fund. We hope and believe that the Wellington College will be an honour to the country, and worthily commemorate ARTHUR WELLESLEY, THE GREAT DUKE OF WELLINGTON, of whom it has been justly said, by the powerful diurnal interpreter of British opinion, that "the actions of his life were extraordinary, but his character was equal to his actions. He was the very type and model of an Englishman; and, though men are prone to invest the worthies of former ages with a dignity and merit they commonly withhold from their contemporaries, we can select none from the long array of our captains and our nobles who, taken for all in all, can claim a rivalry with him who is gone from amongst us, an inheritor of imperishable fame."

CHAPTER x x ı

The Titles, Honours, and Descent

HEN the
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and h
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High, B
Prince,
quis of
Douro,
Somerset
T
ley, Pr
Netherla
Rodrigo
in Franc
of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimiero in Po
First Class in Spain, a Privy Councillor, C
British Army, Colonel of the Grenadier G
Brigade, a Field-Marshal of Great Brita
Marshal of Austria, a Marshal of Franc
a Marshal of Spain, a Marshal of Portugal
lands, a Knight of the Garter, a Knight c
of the Golden Fleece, a Knight Grand C
Grand Cross of Hanover, a Knight of th
the Tower and Sword, a Knight of St. F
of the Low Countries, a Knight of C
Sword of Sweden, a Knight of St Andrew
Annunciado of Sardinia, a Knight of th
a Knight of Maria Theresa, a Knight o
Knight of the Crown of Rue of Saxon

Baden, a Knight of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, a Knight of St. Alexander Newsky of Russia, a Knight of St. Hermenegilda of Spain, a Knight of the Red Eagle of Brandenburgh, a Knight of St. Januarius, a Knight of the Golden Lion of Hesse Cassel, a Knight of the Lion of Baden, a Knight of Merit of Wurtemburg, the Lord High Constable of England, the Constable of the Tower, the Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chancellor of the Cinque Ports, Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, Lord Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets, Ranger of St. James's Park, Ranger of Hyde Park, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Commissioner of the Royal Military College, Vice-President of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy, the Master of the Trinity House, a Governor of King's College, a Doctor of Laws, &c."

Never was a British subject so honoured and decorated. Our sovereigns are chary of the distribution of titles and honours, and had the Duke of Wellington's merits resembled those of ordinary generals, the Peerage and Grand Cross of the Bath would probably have been the limits of his elevation. But the Duke's services were universal. Every nation on the face of the earth connected with England by political ties and sympathies had, in one way or another, experienced the benefit of his military skill and his wisdom, and each endeavoured to evince its gratitude by placing him in the highest rank of its nobility. The Duke of Wellington had eight Marshals' Bâtons given to him by the Allied Sovereigns. They may be thus described :—

The Bâton of Portugal is of burnished gold; it is surmounted by a crown, and on a shield are the arms of Portugal.

The Bâton of Prussia is of burnished gold, and is of classic ornamentation; it bears two eagles displayed, holding the sceptre and orb of sovereignty.

The Bâton of England is of gold, and is surmounted with the group of St. George and the Dragon. This bâton is excessively rich in its decoration; and at the end of it is engraven this inscription :—

From his Royal Highness
George Augustus Frederick,
Regent
of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland,
to Arthur, Marquess of Wellington, K.G.,
Field-Marshal of England.
1813.

PLATE I

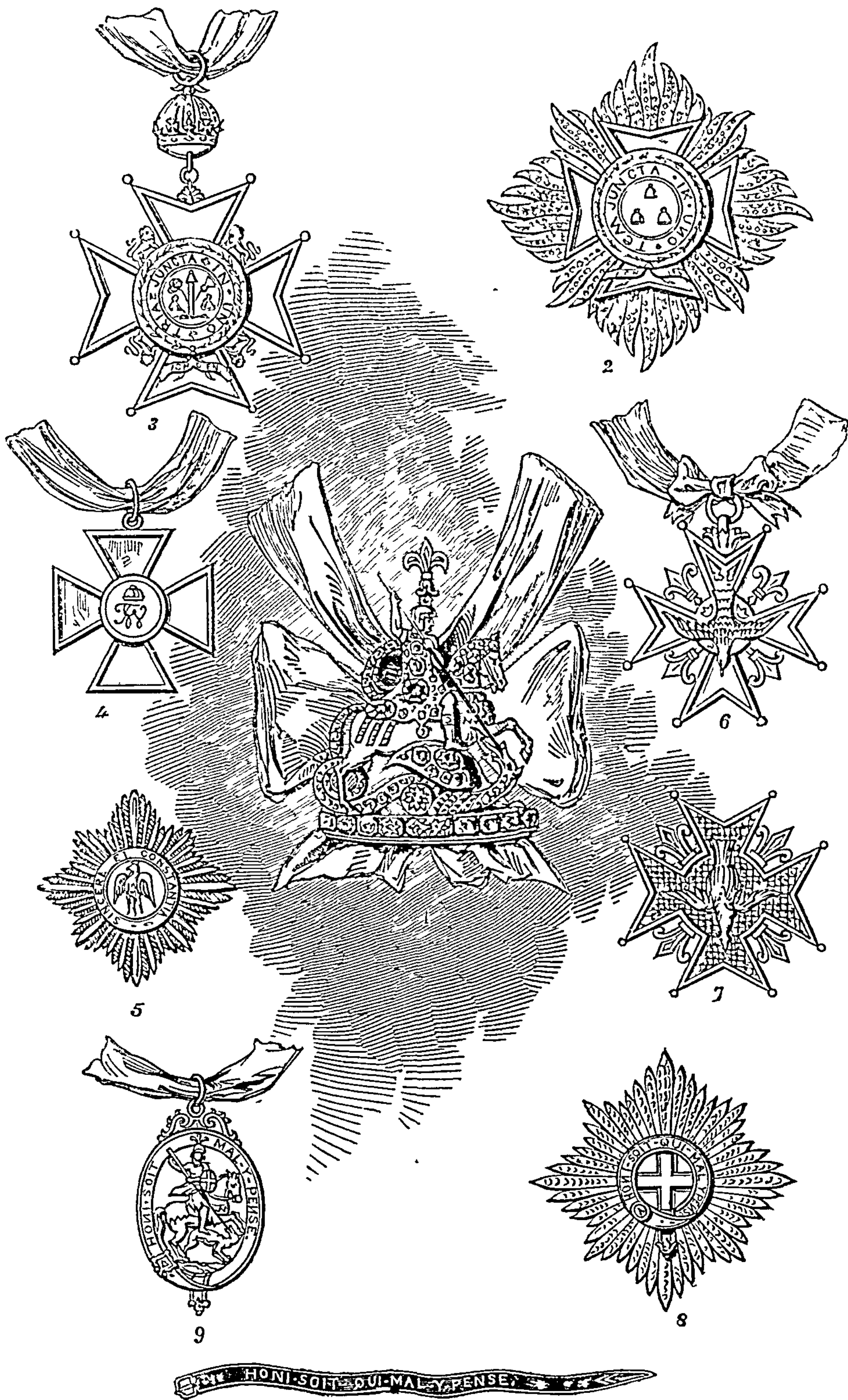
1	The George
2 and 3	Insignia of the Order of the Bath
4 and 5	Order of the Red Eagle of Brandenburgh (Prussia)
6 and 7	Order of the Holy Ghost.
8, 9, and 10	Insignia of the Order of the Garter

PLATE II

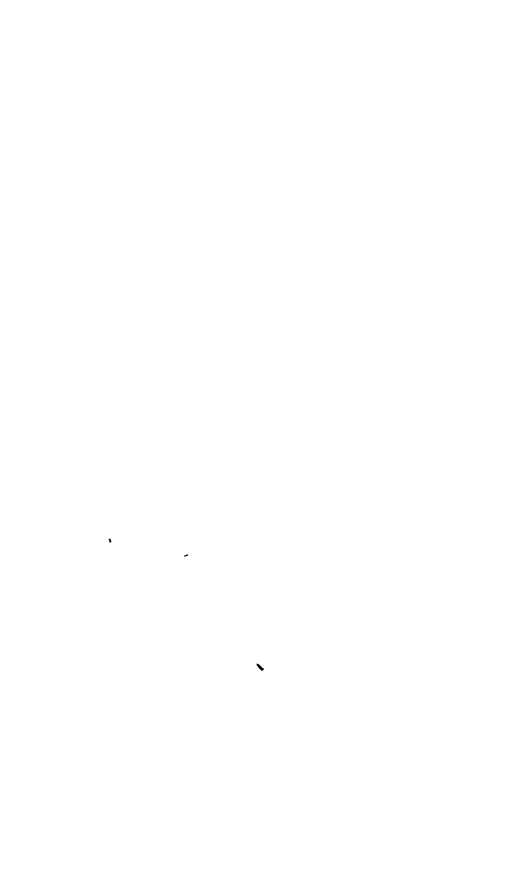
1	Order of the Golden Fleece (Spain)
2 and 3	*Order of St. Januarius (Naples)*
4 and 6	Order of the Elephant (Denmark)
5 and 7	*Supreme Order of the Annonciade*
8 and 9	Order of the Black Eagle (Prussia)

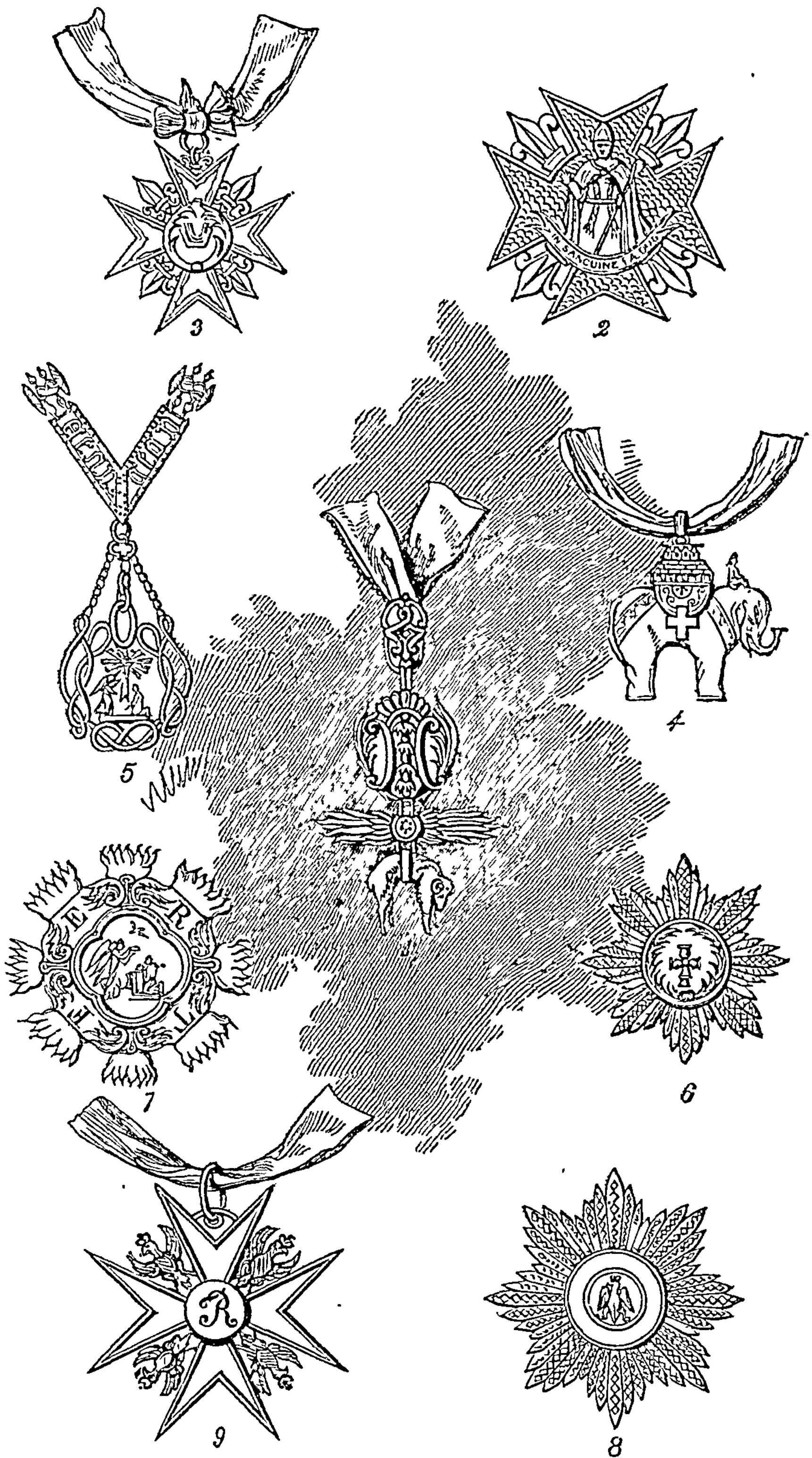
PLATE III

1 and 5	Wurtemburg Order of Military Merit
2 and 3	*Order of the Tower and Sword (Portugal)*
4	Order of the Sword of Sweden
6 and 7	*Order of St. Andrew (Russia)*

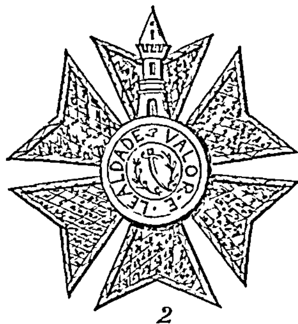


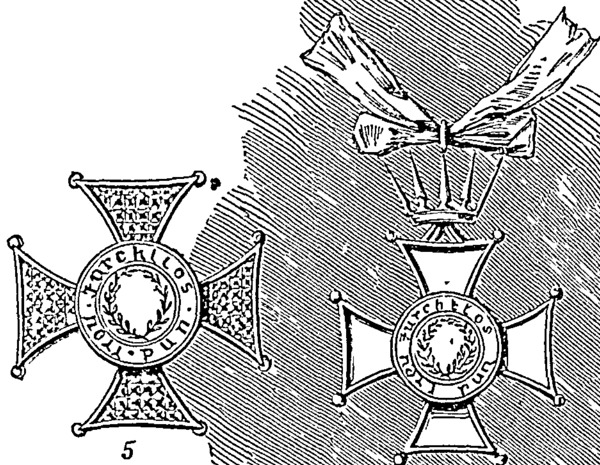
WELLINGTON'S ORDERS AND DECORATIONS.—Plate I.

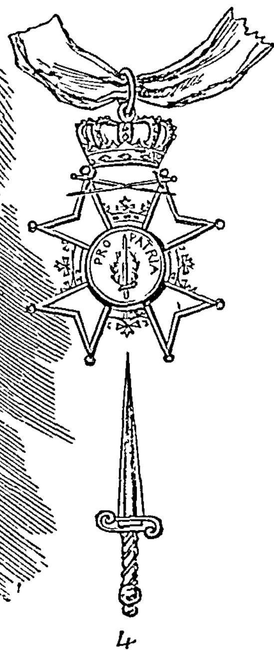




WELLINGTON'S ORDERS AND DECORATIONS.—Plate II.







WELLINGTON'S ORDERS AND DECORATIONS.—Plate III.

The Bâton of the Netherlands. This is one of the simplest, but perhaps the most elegant of the bâtons, the Greek ornaments being introduced very tastefully. The arms of the Netherlands are in the upper division.

The Bâton of Spain. Like that of Portugal, it is crowned; but it is shorter in its proportions. It is of burnished gold, and bears the armorial ensigns of Spain.

The Bâton of Hanover. The crown and ends of the staff are gold; but the chief part of the bâton is covered with crimson velvet, powdered with silver horses—the Hanoverian arms; and a silver horse is placed above the crown.

The Bâton of Austria is of burnished gold, and the wreaths round it are in dead gold. The other portions are extremely plain.

The Bâton of Russia is of gold, and the alternate wreaths of laurel and oak, which twine round it; and the collars round the staff are set with diamonds of great value. The ground is frosted gold.

The various orders worn by the Duke are given in the annexed plates.

By the constitution of England, a Dukedom was the highest honour the Sovereign could bestow, and this enviable dignity was conferred before the Duke had reached the climax of his military renown. There were no decorations left for the hero of "Waterloo"—Wellington had exhausted honour before he met Napoleon face to face, and annihilated his power in one immortal pitched battle!

The birth-place of the Duke of Wellington is, like that of Homer, still a matter in dispute. He believed himself to have seen the light at Dangan Castle, county Meath, and the evidence of the old nurse who attended Lady Mornington upon the occasion would seem to establish that now ruined seat as the locality; but it has been affirmed by more reliable authority that his Grace was born in Merrion Square, Dublin. The nurse, in her evidence (*vide* Vol. I.) before the Committee on the Trim petition which disputed "the Hon. Captain Wesley's" majority, stated that he was born in March. Now it has been made clear that the 1st of May, 1769, was the day on which he was ushered into the world. The fact of his baptism having been registered in Dublin on the 30th of April—apparently *one day before his birth*—raised doubts as to the accuracy of the date of his first appearance; but an intelligent gentleman has been at the trouble to show, through the medium of the public press, that the discrepancy arose from the circumstance of the Irish not having adopted the new style of dating until after the Duke's birth.

Elsewhere (Appendix) is given a curious paper on the Cowley or Colley family, who were ancestors of the Duke of Wellington It would seem, however, from the results of the investigation of a distinguished antiquarian, that his Grace owned royal descent, having come down, in an unbroken line, from the royal house of Plantagenet, and was consequently of kin, though remotely, to Queen Victoria This royal descent has been thus explained —

"Edward I, King of England, had by his Queen, Eleanor of Castile, several children, of whom the eldest son was King Edward II, and the *youngest daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, wife of* Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Constable of England King Edward II, as is of course well known, was direct ancestor of the subsequent Royal Plantagenets, whose eventual heiress, the Princess Elizabeth of York, daughter of King Edward IV, married King Henry VII, and was mother of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, from whom Queen Victoria is eleventh in descent

"Reverting to the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I, and wife of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, we find that she was mother of a daughter, Lady Eleanor de Bohun, who married James, Earl of Ormonde, and was ancestress of the subsequent peers of that illustrious house Pierce, the eighth Earl of Ormonde (sixth in descent from the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet), left, with other issue, a daughter, Lady Ellen Butler, who married Donogh, second Earl of Thomond, and was mother of Lady Margaret O Bryen, wife of Dermod, Lord Inchiquin, and ancestress of the later barons of that title The Hon Mary O'Bryen, daughter of Dermod, fifth Lord Inchiquin, married Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and had by him a daughter, Eleanor Boyle, who became the wife of the Right Hon William Hill, M P, and grandmother of Arthur Hill, first Viscount Dungannon, whose daughter, Anne, Countess of Mornington, was mother of Arthur, first Duke of Wellington, who was, through these descents, nineteenth in a direct unbroken line from King Edward I"

The gentleman who has been at the pains to furnish the foregoing interesting particulars, adds —

"The curious in matters of pedigree may be still further pleased to learn that his Grace was thirty second in a direct descent from Alfred the Great, and twenty fifth from William the Conqueror, his *Grace's* lineage from those famous warriors coming to him through King Edward I, who was great great-great great grandson of the latter, and a descendant in the thirteenth degree of the former"

When the Dukedom was conferred upon his Grace, and the choice

of the locality was left to himself, he selected "Wellington, in Somerset," partly because he was lord of the manor of Wellington, and partly because of its contiguity to "Wesley"—the village which gave the family its name originally. Wellington, on the Devonshire border of Somerset, is an ancient and respectable market-town, and a parish, situate near the Tone, in the hundred of Kingsbury West, in the union of its own name, and on the line of the Great Western Railway. The manor, which appears to be an ancient one, was held by the proud Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded for high treason *temp.* Edward VI. It was previously held by several Bishops; among whom was Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, preceptor to Alfred the Great, who was presented to the manor by that monarch. On Asser's death, the manor was transferred to the Bishop of the newly-erected diocese of Wells, by whose successor it was held in the time of the Domesday survey, in which it is written Walintone.

The town is about half a mile in length, and consists of five streets, respectively named High Street, Fore Street, Mantle Street, South Street, and North Street; the principal one being Fore Street, which contains the Market House, a handsome and commodious modern structure; the upper part appropriated as a Town Hall and Reading Room, and the base to the corn and provision market. The only extensive branch of manufacture carried on at Wellington is that of serges and woollens, steam being now the power principally employed in fabricating these articles.

The parish church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, is a handsome Gothic building, having a nave, chancel, north and south aisles, and two chapels; at the west end is an embattled tower, adorned with pinnacles, having a turret on the south side. In the interior is a beautiful monument to Sir John Popham, who held the high office of Chief Justice of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and James I. The living is a vicarage in the patronage and incumbency of the Rev. W. W. Pulman. In the western portion of the town is a handsome modern church, built chiefly at the expense and endowed by a former patron of the church of St. John the Baptist. Here are, also, places of worship for Independents, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, the Society of Friends, and Plymouth Brethren. In 1604, but rebuilt in 1833, almshouses were founded and endowed by Sir John Popham, who resided at Wellington Court House. Markets are held on Thursdays for corn, and all sorts of provisions; and fairs are holden on the Thursday week before Easter, and on Thursday week before Whitsuntide. The parish contained, at the last census, nearly 7000 inhabitants.

In the civil war, at the period of the memorable siege of Taunton the rebels gained possession of Wellington by stratagem and held out for some time against the King s forces under Sir Richard Grenville

The people of Wellington have not been unmindful of the illus trious hero who has conferred celebrity upon their town A monumental obelisk in honour of the Duke of Wellington was erected in commemoration of the crowning victory he obtained at Waterloo, and in the vicinity of this memorial is annually held a fair on the day of the battle, June 18 From the crest of the hill the eye ranges over a vast extent of rich and varied scenery and on a clear day many a gleaming sail may be descried upon the Bristol Channel On the southern side of the wall is the boundary line of the counties of Devon and Somerset

Since the death of the Duke of Wellington the obelisk has been examined by Mr Paul of Taunton architect and is reported by him to be badly built and so dilapidated as to endanger its stability Some of the plinth has already fallen A subscription has been opened for the repair of the memorial and it is proposed to carry out the original design of placing a bronze statue of the Duke on the top and erecting a building for three military pensioners to take charge of the monument

It has been stated (Vol I) that the Duke of Wellington was married in 1806 (10th of April) to the Hon Catherine Pakenham third daughter of Edward Michael second Lord Longford By her (who was born in 1772, and died in 1831) he had issue—

I Arthur Marquis of Douro who succeeds as second Duke of Wellington His Grace is a Colonel in the army He was born 3d February 1807 and married 19th April 1839 Lady Elizabeth Hay fourth daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale which lady was born 27th September 1820

II *Lord Charles Wellesley M P for* Windsor a Colonel *in the army* born 16th January 1808 married 9th July 1844 Augusta Sophia Anne only child of the Right Hon Henry Manvers Pierrepont brother of Earl Manvers and by her (who was born 30th May 18?0) has had three sons—Arthur born 5th May 1845 died ?th July 1846 Henry born 5th April 1846 Arthur Charles born 15th March 1849 and two daughters to the eldest of whom Victoria Alexandrina her Majesty stood sponsor in person.

His Graces Nephews and Nieces were as follows —

William present Earl of Mornington Lady Mary Charlotte Anne Bagot who died in 1845 Lady Emily Harriet wife of Lord Fitzroy Somerset Lady Priscilla Anne married to the Earl of Westmoreland	Children of Wm Wellesley Pole Third Earl of Mornington

APPENDIX, No I

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS A GENERAL

The Duke of Wellington's campaigns furnish lessons for generals of all nations, but they must always be peculiarly models for British commanders in future continental wars, because he modified and reconciled the great principles of art with the peculiar difficulties which attend generals controlled by politicians, who, depending upon private intrigue, prefer parliamentary to national interests An *English commander must not trust his fortune He dare not risk* much, however conscious he may be of personal resources, when one disaster will be his ruin at home His measures must, therefore, be subordinate to this primary consideration Lord Wellington's caution, springing from that source, has led friends and foes alike into wrong conclusions as to his system of war The French call it want of enterprise, timidity,—the English have denominated it as the Fabian system These are mere phrases His system was the same as that of all great generals He held his army in hand, keeping it, with unmitigated labour, always in a fit state to march or fight, and, thus prepared, he acted indifferently, as occasion offered, on the offensive or defensive, displaying in both a *complete mastery* of his art Sometimes he was indebted to fortune, sometimes to his natural genius, but always to his untiring industry—for he was emphatically a pains taking man

That he was *less vast in his designs, less daring in execution*, neither so rapid nor so original a commander as Napoleon, must be admitted, and being later in the field of glory, it is to be presumed that he learned something of the art from that greatest of all masters, yet something besides the difference of genius must be allowed for the difference of situation Napoleon was never, even in his first

campaign of Italy, so harassed by the French as Wellington was by the English, Spanish, and Portuguese governments. Their systems of war were, however, alike in principle, their operations being necessarily modified by their different political positions. Great bodily exertion, unceasing watchfulness, exact combinations to protect their flanks and communications without scattering their forces—these were common to both. In defence, firm, cool, enduring; in attack, fierce and obstinate; daring when daring was politic, but always operating by the flanks in preference to the front; in these things they were alike, but in following up a victory the English general fell short of the French emperor. The battle of Wellington was the stroke of a battering-ram—down went the wall in ruins. The battle of Napoleon was the swell and dash of a mighty wave, before which the barrier yielded, and the roaring flood poured onwards, covering all. Yet was there nothing of timidity or natural want of enterprise to be discerned in the English general's campaigns. Neither was he of the Fabian school. He recommended that commander's system to the Spaniards, but he did not follow it himself. His military policy more resembled that of Scipio Africanus. Fabius, dreading Hannibal's veterans, red with the blood of four consular armies, hovered on the mountains, refused battle, and to the unmatched skill and valour of the great Carthaginian opposed the almost inexhaustible military resources of Rome. Lord Wellington was never loth to fight where there was any equality of numbers. He landed in Portugal with only 9000 men, with intent to attack Junot, who had 21,000. At Roliça he was the assailant, at Vimiero he was assailed, but he would have changed to the offensive during the battle if others had not interfered. At Oporto he was again the daring and successful assailant. In the Talavera campaign he took the initiatory movement, although in the battle itself he sustained the shock. His campaign of 1810, in Portugal, was entirely defensive, because the Portuguese army was young and untried; but his pursuit of Massena, in 1811, was entirely aggressive, although cautiously so, as well knowing that, in mountain warfare, those who attack labour at a disadvantage. The operations of the following campaign, including the battles of Fuentes D'Oñoro and Albuera, the first siege of Badajos, and the combat of Guinaldo, were of a mixed character; so was the campaign of Salamanca; but the campaign of Vittoria, and that in the south of France, were entirely and eminently offensive. Slight, therefore, is the resemblance to the Fabian warfare. And for the Englishman's hardiness and enterprise bear witness the passage of the Douro at Oporto, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the storming

of Badajos, the surprise of the forts at Mirabete, the march to Vittoria, the passage of the Bidassoa, the victory of the Nivelle, the passage of the Adour below Bayonne, the fight of Orthes, the crowning battle of Toulouse! To say that he committed faults is only to say that he made war, but to deny him the qualities of a great commander is to rail against the clear mid day sun for want of light How few of his combinations failed,—how many battles he fought, victorious in all! Iron hardihood of body, a quick and sure vision, a grasping mind, untiring power of thought and the habit of laborious, minute investigation and arrangement—all these qualities he possessed, and with them that most rare faculty of coming to prompt and sure conclusions on sudden emergencies This is the certain mark of a master spirit in war, without it a commander may be distinguished, he may be a great man, but he cannot be a great captain, when troops nearly alike in arms and knowledge are opposed, the battle generally turns upon the decision of the moment At the Somosierra, Napoleon's sudden, and what to those about him appeared an insensate order, sent the Polish cavalry successfully charging up the mountain, when more studied arrangements, with ten times that force, might have failed At Talavera, if Joseph had not yielded to the imprudent heat of Victor, the fate of the allies would have been sealed At the Coa, Montbrun's refusal to charge with his cavalry saved General Craufurd's division, the loss of which would have gone far towards producing the evacuation of Portugal At Busaco, Massena would not suffer Ney to attack the first day, and thus lost the only favourable opportunity for assailing that formidable position At Fuentes d'Onoro, the same Massena suddenly suspended his attack, when a powerful effort would probably have been decisive At Albuera, Soult's column of attack, instead of pushing forward, halted to fire from the first height they had gained on Beresford's right, which saved that general from an early and total defeat, again, at a later period of that battle, the unpremeditated attack of the fusileers decided the contest At Barossa, General Graham, with a wonderful promptitude, snatched the victory at the very moment when a terrible defeat seemed inevitable At Sabugal, not even the astonishing fighting of the light division could have saved it if General Regnier had possessed this essential quality of a general At El Bodon, Marmont failed to seize the most favourable opportunity which occurred during the whole war for crushing the allies At Orthes, Soult let slip two opportunities of falling upon the allies with advantage, and at Toulouse he failed to crush Beresford At Vimiero, Lord Wellington was debarred by

Burrard from giving a signal illustration of this intuitive generalship; but at Busaco and the heights of San Cristoval, near Salamanca, he suffered Massena and Marmont to commit glaring faults unpunished. On the other hand he has furnished many examples of that successful improvisation in which Napoleon seems to have surpassed all mankind. His sudden retreat from Oropesa across the Tagus, by the bridge of Arzobispo; his passage of the Douro in 1809; his halt at Guinaldo, in the face of Marmont's overwhelming numbers; the battle of Salamanca; his sudden rush with the third division to seize the hill of Armez at Vittoria; his counter-stroke with the sixth division at Sauroren; his battle of the 30th, two days afterwards; his sudden passage of the Gave below Orthes; add to these his wonderful battle of Assaye, and the proofs are complete, that he possesses in an eminent degree that intuitive perception which distinguishes the greatest generals. Fortune, however, always asserts her supremacy in war, and often from a slight mistake such disastrous consequences flow, that in every age and every nation the uncertainty of arms has been proverbial. Napoleon's march upon Madrid, in 1808, before he knew the exact situation of the British army, is an example. By that march he bent his flank to his enemy. Sir John Moore seized the advantage, and though the French emperor repaired the error for the moment by his astonishing march from Madrid to Astorga, the fate of the Peninsula was then decided. If he had not been forced to turn against Moore, Lisbon would have fallen, Portugal could not have been organised for resistance, and the jealousy of the Spaniards would never have suffered Wellington to establish a solid base at Cadiz; that general's after successes would then have been the things that are unborn. It was not so ordained. Wellington was victorious—the great conqueror was overthrown—England stood the most triumphal nation in the world. But with an enormous debt, a dissatisfied people, gaining peace without tranquillity, greatness without intrinsic strength, the present time uneasy, the future dark and threatening, yet she rejoices in the glory of her arms! And it is a stirring sound! War is the condition of this world. From man to the smallest insect all are at strife; and the glory of arms, which cannot be obtained without the exercise of honour, fortitude, courage, obedience, modesty, and temperance, excites the brave man's patriotism, and is a chastening correction for the rich man's pride. It is yet no security for power. Napoleon, the greatest man of whom history makes mention—Napoleon, the most wonderful commander, the most sagacious politician—the most profound statesman—lost by arms Poland, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and France. Fortune,

that name for the unknown combinations of infinite power, was wanting to him, and without her aid the designs of man are as bubbles on a troubled ocean"—*Sir W Napier's History of the Peninsular War*

APPENDIX, No II.

THE FRENCH SOLDIERS

The following sketch of the French troops was penned during the Peninsular war, and serves to show the kind of enemy our troops had to contend with.—

"The French soldiers are quick, and attack with incredible rapidity; they retreat with the same rapidity, return to the charge with no less impetuosity, and as quickly retire again They retain, during their retreat, the greatest composure, and are not disheartened when they lose ground The death of their officers produces no confusion among them. When the commanding officer falls, the next to him assumes the command, and so on in succession The inferior officers are almost all qualified to command The French soldier is accustomed to live in a requisitionary country, sometimes as a prince, sometimes as a *sans culotte* To make him perform his duty well, uniformity in living is not required A strong *esprit de corps* prevails among the French troops In the beginning of the Revolution their bond of union was republican fanaticism, and at the conclusion of it, *la grande nation* Their infantry of the line cannot be compared with the Russians, their cavalry is very inferior to the Hungarians; and their artillery, once the best in Europe, is far from being equal to the Austrians, but their light infantry, or their *tirailleurs*, and their new tactics confound all the principles of war which have prevailed since the time of Frederick the Great Austria has scarcely any light infantry, Russia has about 20,000 In the French armies nearly one third of the infantry are *tirailleurs*. These take their post before the troops of the line, separate into different bodies, unite again and attack, and after being ten times repulsed will attack again In a broken intersected country these *tirailleurs* prepare the way to the French for that victory which the infantry of the line complete The incredible quickness of the French renders this corps the best of its kind in Europe. All the principles of the new French

tactics are calculated for an intersected broken country, as the old tactics were for large plains. The object of the former is to waste the enemy by incessant skirmishes, where he has the folly to repulse the light-heeled Frenchmen with his whole force. These small flying bodies suffer themselves to be driven back the whole day, and towards evening a fresh body appears, and decides the contest. A battle with the French may begin at sun-rise, but it will not be terminated before the evening. The French may be beat the whole day, but at night they will be victors. Every general who does not spare his strength till the evening must, in the end, be defeated by the French. In consequence of the quickness and composure of the French soldiers, they do not readily think of capitulating; and they are able, in a peculiar manner, to extricate themselves from great dangers. We have seen instances where a thousand French soldiers have contended the whole day with a much stronger body, and disappeared at night like a vapour. This is done in the following manner:—The corps when hard pressed, divides itself into two or three bodies, and while one occupies the enemy in an advantageous position, the other remains quiet at some distance. As soon as the first is driven back, they all run with incredible velocity, and in tolerable good order, to the place where the other is at rest. The second knows pretty exactly how long the first was able to make a stand, and rushes with the same impetuosity on the enemy, who find themselves suddenly checked by fresh troops, who must also be repulsed. In the meantime the first body take some rest; and thus they continue to act the whole day, with considerable loss of men, indeed; but when night puts an end to the battle, the corps, at any rate, has not been beaten, and next morning to follow it is useless. Moreau was pursued for some days, in Switzerland, by the Russians; but they were never able to come up with him in his flight. Towards evening he had taken a strong position, and next morning he had disappeared. But this activity must not be confounded with durable strength. The French are the lightest, not the strongest soldiers. The medical establishment of the French army is excellent, and their officers, in general, exceedingly good."—*Military Panorama.*

APPENDIX, No. III.

THE CASUALTIES AT WATERLOO.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY THE TROOPS COMPRISING THE ANGLO-ALLIED ARMY —

	KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
	Officers.	Non commissioned Officers Trumpeters, Drummers, and Privates.	Horses.	Officers	Non commissioned Officers, Trumpeters Drummers, and Privates	Horses	Officers	Non commissioned Officers Trumpeters Drummers, and Privates	Horses
British	83	1334	1319	363	4560	719	10	582	708
King's Ger. Leg	27	335	194	77	932	144	1	217	54
Hanoverians	18	276	—	63	1035	—	3	207	—
Brunswickers	7	147	77	26	430	—	—	50	—
Nassauers	5	249	—	19	370	—	—	—	—
Total	140	2341	1590	548	7327	863	14	1056	762

THE LOSSES OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY IN THE BATTLE WERE AS FOLLOWS —

	KILLED.			WOUNDED.			MISSING.		
	Officers.	Non commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, and Privates	Horses	Officers	Non commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, and Privates.	Horses	Officers	Non commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, and Privates	Horses.
Zeithen's Corps	—	34	18	8	164	21	—	111	2
Puch's ditto	1	36	9	3	192	7	4	100	9
Bulow's ditto	21	1133	259	159	3902	328	35	1127	89
Total	22	1203	286	162	4125	356	39	1354	100

AMOUNT OF THE EFFECTIVE STRENGTH OF THE ANGLO-ALLIED ARMY AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO :—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total No.	Guns.
British	15,181	5,843	2,967	23,991	78
King's German Legion	3,301	1,997	526	5,824	18
Hanoverians	10,258	497	465	11,220	12
Brunswickers	4,586	866	510	5,962	16
Nassauers	2,880	—	—	2,880	—
Dutch-Belgians	13,402	3,205	1,177	17,784	32
Total	49,608	12,402	5,645	67,661	156

APPENDIX, No. IV.

THE DUKE'S THEORY OF A METALLIC CURRENCY.

"The restoration of the currency, my Lords, has, in truth, but little to do with the distress of the country. Since the restoration of the currency, the revenue has risen to the amount which has been stated to your lordships, notwithstanding the repeal of taxes to the amount of 27,000,000*l.* since 1814. The fact is, that at the present moment, the revenue produces, in real currency, much more than it produced when the war was terminated. Is not that circumstance alone, I ask your lordships, a proof of the increasing prosperity of the country? But, my Lords, I did not rest my argument on that fact only. Notwithstanding, there is, at present, much distress, still, in the last year, there was an increase of produce in every branch of manufacture, in every branch of industry, beyond what was apparent in the three preceding years. Under these circumstances, your lordships must ascribe the distress of the country to something else rather than to the alteration of the currency. My opinion is, that the people, during the lengthened war which existed previously to the peace of 1815—during that period, when there was an enormous expenditure—acquired habits which they cannot readily throw aside.

"During that time, any man, of whatever description of credit, could obtain money, or the semblance of money, to carry on any speculation. The people then employed a fictitious wealth; they

proceeded on a system, which could not be continued, without ruining and destroying the country, and that system having been destroyed, that fictitious wealth having been removed, they cannot immediately come down to those quiet habits, which are required from them under that state of things now prevailing in the empire. That, my Lords, is the real cause of the distress under which they are at present suffering. Besides, your lordships will recollect, that the population of the country has enormously increased; and it should also be taken into the calculation, that the power of production by machinery has increased in an incalculable degree. As much can now be produced in one year, as formerly could be produced in five years; and the produce of one year now amounts to more than can be taken off our hands in a year and a half, or even two years. Distress, therefore, has occurred, notwithstanding that the utmost exertions have been made to repel it; and notwithstanding the great and general prosperity of trade throughout the world. My Lords, the plain fact is, that owing to the alterations of trade—a great demand at one time, and a want of demand at another—the manufacturers, and those engaged in commercial pursuits, must sustain considerable distress at different periods. It has been recommended as a remedy, that Government should go back to the system of the circulation of the notes. Now, my Lords, with respect to the one pound bank notes—it will be well to recollect what has been the proceeding of Parliament on that subject. In 1826, Parliament having seen the facility with which speculations could be undertaken by persons possessing no capital, in consequence of the circulation of those one pound bank-notes—looking to the evils that resulted from those speculations, and finding that a great number of banks in the country had failed in consequence of such speculations—thought proper to pass a law to prevent the circulation of this species of paper, after the lapse of three years. A noble lord has said, that this measure of Parliament occasioned the failure of a great number of country bankers. But I beg the noble lord's pardon, he has not stated the fact correctly. Most of the banks which about that period failed, it ought to be recollected, broke previously to the meeting of Parliament.

"The fact is, that it was the breaking of the banks which occasioned the measure, and not the measure the breaking of the banks. But we have now accomplished the measure adopted in 1826; that measure is now carried into execution; the currency of the country is now sufficient; bank notes, 5*l*, and above 5*l* in value, are in circulation; and I will assert this fact, that there is at present more of what I may call state currency in circulation—more notes of

the Bank of England and sovereigns—a greater quantity of circulating medium of those two denominations, than there has been at any former period before the late war, or before the Bank Restriction Act was passed. I beg leave, my Lords, to ask, what want is there of any additional circulation, when the circulation is at present greater than ever it was? Is it necessary to have a more extended circulation, to afford the means of procuring loans of money to those who have no capital and no credit? I contend that this is a state of things that ought not to exist in any country. Persons who really possess credit, can raise money at the present moment with every facility that is reasonable or proper. But, undoubtedly, those who have no credit, are deprived of the facilities of borrowing money, which they formerly enjoyed, because there is no longer a large class of persons dealing in one-pound notes, to assist them in carrying on their speculations. This is the real state of the case. It was this situation of affairs that gave rise, and justly gave rise, to the measure of 1826—a measure which I trust that Parliament will persevere in, for the purpose of placing the country in a proper state. It has been said truly, that nothing is so desirable as to see the country carrying on its mercantile transactions with a paper currency founded on, and supported by, a metallic basis. Now, your lordships must be aware, that is exactly the sort of currency which the country has got at present; and, in proportion as the country goes on conquering its difficulties—the existence of that currency still being continued—we shall see prosperity daily revive, and we shall see mercantile transactions carried on as they ought to be, without any mixture of those ruinous speculations, to which so much of the prevailing distress must be attributed.

"But, my Lords, the noble lord, in tracing out the sources of this distress, has omitted one of the great causes of it. He has not adverted to the immense loss of capital which has been sustained by the country during the last six or eight years, in consequence of loans to foreign powers—of which neither principal nor interest has been paid, nor ever will, in my opinion, be paid. The noble lord has not adverted to the effect which that loss of capital must have produced, with respect to the employment of industry in all parts of the country. In the next place, the noble lord has not adverted to the effect which those loans must have had on the trade and manufactures of the country, in consequence of the glut in foreign markets, occasioned by the forced exportation of goods on account of such transactions. In most instances, my Lords, no returns were made on account of those goods, and even when returns were made, they were

of the most unsatisfactory description The noble lord has not adverted to the fact, that these returns, when any were received, came home in the shape of interest, and did not, of course, require any demand or export from this country

"Surely all these things should be considered, when the noble lord speaks of the distress the country is labouring under That distress has fallen not only on the manufacturing and commercial interests, but also on those who have encouraged and embarked in the various schemes and speculations which have done the country so much mischief"

May 26th 1829

APPENDIX, No V

THE DUKE IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1815

After the first one hundred pages of this volume were in type, the author's attention was drawn to an article in the "Quarterly Review," of June, 1845, reviewing the works of Captain Siborne, Colonel Mitchell, and Marshal Marmont The review disposes of certain of the errors and conclusions of these respectable authorities, and presents a few interesting facts which had not previously been made public It would be absurd and unnecessary to reprint this article of forty five pages, even if in the foregoing biography the whole of the errors of the authors had been repeated, but no 'Life" of the Duke can be complete which does not contain all the authenticated facts and justifications relating to so great and distinguished a man, and certain portions of the article are therefore transferred below It may be added, that one great inducement to the republication of even so much of the article is the assurance the author has received from a competent quarter, that the review was commenced by Colonel Gurwood, the compiler of the 'Despatches,' continued by the Earl of Ellesmere, and revised and concluded by the Duke of Wellington himself —

"If anything could add to the credit which the Duke deserves for those arrangements for the collection and movement of the force under his own command, which were calculated to meet every contingency and overcome every difficulty of his defensive position, it would be that in a matter entirely beyond his control these essential

and unavoidable difficulties should have been aggravated by one of those accidents to which all military operations, but especially those of allied armies, are exposed. At five o'clock in the morning of the 15th (June, 1815), it was apparent to the Prussians that the attack upon the advanced corps of General Ziethen was a serious one, a *bonâ fide* movement of Napoleon by Charleroi. This certainty was the one thing needful in the eyes of the Duke of Wellington; with it his course was clear, and without it he was, as we have seen, determined not to move a regiment from its cantonments. We cannot explain how it happened, but we are certain that it was by no fault of the British commander-in-chief that no Prussian report of the transaction reached Brussels till five in the afternoon. The distance being about forty miles, there can be no question that the intelligence on which he acted might and ought to have reached him by 10 A.M. As it was, the Prince of Orange was the first to bring the news, soon after 3 o'clock, P.M., having ridden in from the advanced posts at Binche to dine with the Duke. The latter was well aware, by accounts received from the direction of Mons, that the enemy was in motion, and for that reason had taken care to remain during the day at his head-quarters, or within a few yards of them, having declined a proposal to accompany his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland on a visit to the Duchess of Richmond, without, however, spreading premature alarm by assigning the true reason. Orders for the movement of the troops were issued on the receipt of these first accounts from the Prince of Orange, and further orders were issued at about five, after an interview with the Prussian General Müffling, who was stationed at Brussels, and had at length received his reports from General Ziethen. It is clear that—if a circumstance over which the Duke had no control had not thus operated to his disadvantage, and directly in favour of his adversary—the orders which were issued at 5 P.M. might have been given out at 10 in the morning.

"The accident in itself was a *purely* Prussian one; for the intelligence to be received was to come, not from Sir H. Hardinge and Blücher's head-quarters to the Duke, but from General Ziethen at the advanced posts of the Prussian lines to General Müffling; and the Duke is to be blamed for it precisely as much as he is for the more famous failure of the dispatch to General Bulow von Dennewitz, which led to the absence of the 4th Prussian corps from the field of Ligny.

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"It is a mistake to suppose, as Captain Siborne does, that on the morning of the 17th (or even on the night of the 16th) the Duke

was uninformed of what had occurred on the Prussian field of battle He had at the Prussian head quarters a staff officer, Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge, who sent him repeated reports during the battle He had written one after he was himself severely wounded, which was brought to the Duke by his brother, Captain Hardinge of the artillery, with a verbal message given after nightfall Till nightfall, moreover, the Duke could see, and, need it be added, did see with his own eyes from Quatre Bras what passed on the Prussian field of battle With his glass he saw the charge and failure of the Prussian cavalry, Blucher's disaster, and the retreat of the Prussian army from the field of battle Captain Wood, of the 10th Hussars, then at the outposts, pushed a patrole towards the Prussian field of battle at daylight, and ascertained and immediately reported to the Duke that the Prussians were no longer in possession of it The Duke then sent, as Captain Siborne narrates, with another squadron of the 10th, under Captain Grey, Sir A Gordon, who had been with his Grace on the Prussian field of battle the preceding day, and therefore knew the ground, in order to communicate with the rear guard of the Prussian army, and to ascertain their position and designs Sir A Gordon found the field of battle deserted, except by a few French videttes, these were driven in, and Gordon with his squadrons crossed the field of battle unmolested, and communicated verbally with General Ziethen, commanding the Prussian rear guard, at Sombref, on the road to Namur, where the Prussian left had rested in the battle of the preceding day Having accomplished this service, the Duke's aide-de-camp returned, as he had gone, unmolested, to Quatre Bras If Sir A Gordon had lived, probably Captain Siborne might have learned the real account of the transaction from him, and would then have known that the patrole moved the whole way to Sombref, and brought back, not a vague report that the Prussians had retreated towards Wavre, but the most positive accounts of their movements and intentions

"As soon as Gordon returned with his patrole, the Duke gave orders for the army to occupy the position in front of Waterloo, of which he had a perfect knowledge, having seen it frequently, and of which no knowledge could have been had by any other officer in the army The road to and through the village of Genappes having been cleared of all hospital and store carriages, and of every impediment, the *infantry and artillery were put in motion in broad daylight in different columns*, to cross the different bridges over the Dyle These movements were as regular as on a parade The outposts, particularly those of the riflemen, were kept standing, and movements were

made by the British cavalry so as to attract the enemy's attention, and conceal the retrograde movement of the infantry. The cavalry remained on the ground, and the Commander-in-Chief with them, till between three and four of the afternoon. In this position he saw more than Captain Siborne appears to be aware of. He saw all that was done on and near the lately-contested ground of Ligny, the detachment of Grouchy's corps towards Wavre, following the retreat of Blücher, and the march of the main mass of the French army along the great road from Sombref. No movement was made in his front, and he did not order the retreat of his cavalry till the advanced patroles of the enemy had touched the videttes on the high road on his left. The retreat of our cavalry was undoubtedly facilitated by a storm, which made it difficult for either party to manœuvre off the main roads. With the single exception, however, of the affair at Genappes with the French lancers, it was conducted with as much security as that of the infantry, and the army found itself in the evening collected from every quarter on that famous and well-chosen ground, with every feature of which the Duke was familiar. The Duke was on the field at daybreak, in spite of weather, after having written some letters to the King of France and others. He visited the posts in Hougomont, and gave orders for the defensive works for musketry, which were formed in the garden. He rode thence to La Haye Sainte, and on to the extreme left of his position. It is a curious circumstance, not mentioned by the historians, that having throughout the night, from the 17th to the 18th, communicated by patroles, through Ohain, with the Prussian *corps d'armée* on its march from Wavre, he saw the Prussian cavalry collected in a mass on the high ground on the Waterloo side of the defile of St. Lambert at an early hour of the day, at least an hour before the commencement of the battle—the very cavalry that is represented to have been seen from the French head-quarters in a letter written by Maréchal Soult to Maréchal Grouchy, dated at half-past one, which letter is printed by Grouchy in a pamphlet published in the United States, and given in a note to page 400 of Captain Siborne's first volume.

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"The course of our observations, which have insensibly almost degenerated into narrative, has brought us to a critical period of the drama. If we look back through the preceding acts we shall see that no passage of the Duke's campaigns is more pregnant with evidence of the omnipresent, indefatigable, personal activity, and imperturbable coolness which distinguished him, than the period which has come under our notice. We have seen that on the morning of the

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16th, while Ney was preparing his attack and closing up his columns, which, when he took their command, extended for some twelve miles to his rear, the Duke found time for an interview with the Prussian General at Ligny He returned to Quatre Bras in time for the opening of that conflict He reconnoitered in person the wood of Bossu, and was indeed the first to discover that the attack was about to be made by a very large body of troops A straggling fire had been going on since morning, but the officers whom he found on the spot still doubted whether a serious attack was impending The Duke's quick eye, however, detected an officer of high rank reviewing a strong body, and his ear caught the sound, familiar to it as the precursor of such scenes,—'*L'Empereur recompensera celui qui s'avancera*' He instantly recommended the Prince of Orange to withdraw his advanced parties, and the few Belgian guns, which were in an advanced and exposed position The attack instantly ensued, not to cease till nightfall According to his uniform practice, and certainly with not less than his usual care, the Duke posted all the troops himself, and no movement was made but by his order He was on the field till after dark, as long as any contest lasted When at the close of that weary day others were sinking to rest on the ground they had so bravely maintained, and while the chain of British outposts was being formed for the night, far in advance of the ground originally occupied, one of the cavalry regiments, which were then arriving in rapid succession, reached the spot where the Duke was sitting It was commanded by an intimate friend of the Duke—by one of the gentlest, the bravest, and most accomplished soldiers who ever sat in an English saddle, the late General Sir Frederick Ponsonby He found the Duke reading some English newspapers which had just reached him, joking over their contents, and making merry with the lucubrations of London politicians and speculators on events

"The condition meanwhile of the said politicians at home, including the Cabinet, was past a joke It was one which the profundity of their ignorance alone made endurable If hostilities were now in progress in Belgium and a British army in the field, steamers would be plying between Ostend and London or Dover, frequent and punctual as those which crowd the river from London Bridge to Greenwich in Whitsun week A fresh lie and a new exaggeration would reach the Stock Exchange at intervals of a quarter of an hour With such means of communication Blucher's losses on the 16th would have been operating on the funds within a few hours of their report at Brussels, and the Prussian retreat from Ligny would have more than counterbalanced, in public opinion, the maintenance of

our position at Quatre Bras. To a late hour of the 20th of June however, the smuggler had been the only organ of intelligence to the English Cabinet, and nothing but vague accounts that the French army was in motion had been conveyed by these lug-sailed messengers. It was thus that the first authentic intelligence, though it contained the bane of a serious disaster to the Prussian arms, was qualified not merely by the antidote of the Duke's success at Quatre Bras, but by the following additional facts;—that the Duke was at the head of his own army collected in a position of his own choice, in high confidence and spirits, in military communication with Blücher, and on the point of engaging with Napoleon. The bearer of this stirring intelligence, which the nerves of Lord Castlereagh were better strung to receive than those of Lord Liverpool, was the Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry. Like many other civilians he had been attracted by the interest of the scene and hour to Brussels about a fortnight previous to the commencement of hostilities. As an old and valued friend of his illustrious countryman, he had been a constant guest at head-quarters; among other adventures of some interest, had visited the ground of Quatre Bras on the 17th and had remained there till the commencement of the retreat of the cavalry, when he had returned to Brussels. Having been favoured by him with a memorandum of his recollections, we can now present in words better than our own, the circumstances under which he became entrusted with such a communication, and the effect it produced on those who received it. Not being able, with reference to our limits, to insert the memorandum *in extenso*, we must premise that our friend had been induced by circumstances to leave Brussels at a very early hour on the 18th with the intention, not of returning to England, but of endeavouring to reach the head-quarters of General Sir C. Colville, whose division was on the right of the British army. Ghent was his first object, but being advised that the direct route was encumbered, he proceeded thither by Antwerp. The Knight was accompanied by the late Marquis of Ormonde: and he says—

"'We arrived at Antwerp about five in the morning, and after refreshing ourselves and looking at the cathedral for about an hour we proceeded to Ghent as fast as we could, and arrived there about two o'clock. We dined with the commanding officer of the 29th regiment, who had been an old acquaintance of Lord Ormonde. We engaged a carriage and arranged to proceed after midnight for the division of the army under General Colville. I was just entering the hotel between six and seven in order to go to bed, when Sir P. Malcolm drove up from Brussels. I told him our plan, when he

earnestly entreated me to wait till he had returned from the King of France, then at Ghent, to whom he was going to convey a message from the Duke of Wellington I waited accordingly, *on his return* he pressed me in the most earnest manner to proceed to London and communicate to the Government what had occurred He argued the necessity of such a course, from the Duke of Wellington having declared to him that morning that he would not write a line until he had fought a battle, and from the false and mischievous rumours which had circulated and gone to England, and the total ignorance of the English Government as to what had taken place He said that he was desirous of writing to the First Lord of the Admiralty, but that etiquette precluded his entering into any details on military subjects when the General had not written that if I consented I would greatly relieve the Government, and do essential public service, as, independent of the Prussian case, of which I knew more than any other individual could communicate to the Government, there were subjects of a most confidential nature which he would entrust to me to be told to Lord Castlereagh, our Foreign Minister, that he would put me into a sloop of war at Ostend and send me across at once I, however, rather reluctantly assented He then told me he had left the Duke at half past ten that morning with the army in *position on ground which he had already examined, determined to* give battle, and confident of success, and that he was in military communication with Marshal Blucher

"'We accordingly changed our route and proceeded at once to Ostend, where the Admiral wrote a few lines, merely saying that Bonaparte had defeated the Prussians with great loss, that the Duke was in position as described before, that he had prevailed on the Knight of Kerry to convey that despatch, who also could furnish all particulars which were as yet known, for the information of the Government We had rather a slow passage After we were under weigh a gendarme, with some mail bags in a boat, overtook the vessel, and said reports had just arrived that the Duke of Wellington was driving the French at all points We proceeded at once, after landing at Deal, to town, and arrived at the Admiralty at half past four (Tuesday, June 20th) Lord Melville had gone to the House of Lords, whither I followed him, and on presenting the despatch he immediately summoned the Cabinet Ministers from both Houses to meet in the Chancellor's room, which they did instantly

"'I was requested to communicate the particulars referred to in *Admiral Malcolm's letter*, I said (*in order to avoid anything* unnecessary) I wished to know how far the Cabinet was already

informed of what had occurred; Lord Liverpool said that they knew nothing. I asked if they had not heard of the battle with the Prussians. He said "No." I then asked had they not heard that Napoleon had moved his army? He said that reports by smugglers to that effect had come across, but that nothing was certain. I then gave a detail of all the circumstances that had come to my knowledge, and endeavoured to impress on them the utmost confidence in the success of the Duke of Wellington in any battle that should take place. I stated the nature of the driving in of the Prussians on the 15th, as explained to me by the Commandant at Mons. I was enabled to describe very particularly the glorious battle at Quatre Bras, as given to me by a gallant officer of the Rifle Brigade, who was near the Duke during its continuance, and who was wounded there; he gave me a very clear account of the action, and affirmed that he had never seen his Grace expose himself so much personally, or so thoroughly direct every part of the operations, in any of the Peninsular fights with which he was familiar. I explained, on Sir Colin Campbell's authority, the Duke's thorough knowledge of the ground which he had accupied on the morning of Sunday (the 18th).

"'Ministers expressed their great relief and gratification at the intelligence I had furnished, as the town had been inundated with the most alarming and dangerous rumours, and that from the length of time since they had received any positive communication from the Duke of Wellington, considerable anxiety undoubtedly existed, but that I had effectually removed it. On the following morning early I called on Lord Castlereagh before he went to his office. I asked him whether he thought I had impressed upon the Cabinet the perfect confidence which I myself felt as to the Duke's success. He said I had, but that he wished for a good deal of conversation with me. I then explained to him those particulars which Admiral Malcolm had desired me confidentially to convey, particularly as to what concerned the position and personal safety of the French king, and other points which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. We had a most interesting discussion on the whole state of the two countries as relating to the war. It was certainly gratifying to me to have relieved the anxiety of Ministers, and through them of the public, but Sir P. Malcolm lost me the march to Paris.'

"Of the numerous critics of the Belgian campaign, some have been disposed to consider that the Prussians on the 18th were slow in bringing their columns to bear effectively on the French right. We have reason to believe that the individual who would have had most cause for complaint on this score would be the last to entertain

this charge We feel very certain that if the Duke could have exchanged commands with Blücher or Bulow on that day, he would have been very cautious how he brought into action by driblets even that portion of the Prussian troops which had not actually shared the discomfiture of Ligny Captain Siborne judiciously avoids casting any reflection on the Prussians, though he states the fact that General Ziethen refused to detach any portion of his troops for the purpose of strengthening, by their partial aid, the British line of battle at a moment certainly of great pressure We doubt not that Ziethen's orders on this head were strict We believe them to have been dictated by a wise caution, and we look upon the conduct of the Prussians and their commander on the 18th with no feeling but that of admiration for the energy with which they had rallied after discomfiture, and the boldness with which they left General Thielman to make the best he could of it against Grouchy's superior force at Wavre Before the retreat on the morning of the 17th, speculation was busy among our officers on the outposts at Quatre Bras as to the probable results of the affair of the previous day to the Prussian force A party of them was joined by Captain, now Colonel, Wood, who had just returned from the patrole service mentioned above Will they stop before they reach the Rhine? was a question started by one Captain Wood, who had seen much service with the Prussians, having been on the staff of Sir C Stewart (now Lord Londonderry) in 1813 and 1814, replied, 'If Blucher or Bulow be alive, you may depend upon it they will stop at no great distance' The young officer was right, as Napoleon found to his cost We know that, whatever incompetent critics may say, the highest testimony to the co operation of the Prussians in every particular, that of the Duke, has been ever since unvaried and uncompromising, nor has he ever stopped or stooped to consider whether by doing justice to the fame of his allies he might give a handle to his enemies to detract from his own

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"We do not on this occasion choose to enter upon any formal criticism of Napoleon as a general We must, however, say, that if English writers were as much disposed to detract from his reputation as they are to cavil at the conduct of the Duke and Blucher, some documents under his own hand would afford them matter for animadversion Take, for instance, Napoleon's two letters to Marshal Ney, written early on the 16th, from Charleroi They are addressed to a man who has just been placed at the head of some 40,000 men, so much *a l improviste*, that he did not even know the names of his officers, or what the Germans call the dislocation of his troops, much

less the naturė of the country, or the amount of the force in his front; and who was so unprovided with staff-officers, that he was obliged to select them at the moment from regiments of the line; yet this man, in the first of these letters, received at about eleven o'clock of the 16th, is directed to be at Brussels by seven o'clock the next morning, and in the second it is assumed as matter of high probability that the English had already retired from Brussels and Nivelles. Let it not be forgotten that Napoleon's means of learning or guessing at the Duke's dispositions were far greater than any which the Duke possessed of learning what passed within the French lines. We will venture, without blaming Napoleon in our ignorance of his grounds for belief, to say, that if at any one period of the Duke's career he had given orders so impracticable to execute, or displayed ignorance so complete as is indicated in these two letters to Ney, his Despatches would have been reprinted by the Radical press, and quoted in the House of Commons as evidence of his incapacity for command.

"The only real gleam of success to the French arms at Waterloo was that occupation of the farm of La Haye Sainte, to which we have adverted. From Captain Siborne's narrative it is easy to infer the absurdity of the proposition maintained by some writers, that the loss of this post was one of small importance and little injury to the British army. It was a serious annoyance; it led to some additional loss of life and limb in our ranks—Lord Fitzroy Somerset's right arm is an instance—it gave facilities to the French for their repeated attacks on our centre; and in the event of our being compelled to retire, it would have been of great advantage to them. It might have been avoided, for it was occasioned by nothing but exhaustion of the ammunition for its garrison. There was but one communication with the farm, by a gateway on the road from Brussels to Genappes, and this was commanded by the French artillery. An easy remedy might have been, but unfortunately was not, adopted—namely, to break out a communication through the back wall of the farm-house, which would have been available not only for the introduction of ammunition, but for the relief and reinforcement, if necessary, of the garrison. We doubt whether in any continental service the neglect of so minute a feature in a general action (whatever its eventual importance) would be laid to the account of a commander-in-chief. We have reason, however, to believe that the Duke has often volunteered to bear its responsibility; and, as it is the only confession he has had to make, we shall not dispute the point with his Grace.

"After the repulse of the various attacks made upon our centre, first by cavalry, then by infantry, and thirdly by the two combined, it was expected that the next would be made by cavalry, infantry, and artillery combined It was obvious that our troops would require extension of line to engage with the infantry, and solidity to engage with the cavalry, but they could not have the necessary extension if formed in squares as before, nor the necessary solidity if formed in line in the usual order, two deep They were therefore formed four deep With this formation they crushed with their fire, or scattered with the bayonet, every description of force which came against them and yet some tacticians have been found to censure this feature also in the Duke's dispositions When at last their long endurance was rewarded by their finding themselves in possession of the enemy's position, and of every gun of that artillery which had decimated their ranks, a singular, and we believe novel, feature of the scene served to disclose the sudden and complete nature of the rout of their antagonists Where the French reserves had been posted in rear of the front line, the muskets of considerable bodies of men were found piled and abandoned—a circumstance which shows how rapid may be the contagion of despair even in the ranks of a nation never excelled for exploits either of collective or individual bravery The British troops soon made over the task of pursuit to their less exhausted allies Very forward among the British horsemen at this period, riding with a slack rein and somewhat of a Leicestershire seat, might be seen an English gentleman in the ordinary attire of that respectable but unmilitary character this was Lord Apsley, the present Earl Bathurst, who had assisted at the battle as an amateur from its commencement, and who followed its fortunes to the last Before the first shot was fired, his lordship had fallen in at the right of our line with Lord Hill, who in his own quiet and comfortable manner addressed him, 'Well, my Lord, I think your lordship will see a great battle to day' 'Indeed!' 'Yes, indeed, my Lord, and I think the French will get such a thrashing as they have seldom had' A fair specimen of the spirit in which our old campaigners met the *prestige* of Napoleon's presence It was the simple confession of faith and conviction founded on experience, for who ever heard boast or bravado from the lips of the Shropshire farmer? Lord Apsley, having ultimately ridden to the extreme of the English pursuit, was, we believe, on returning to head quarters, the first to communicate to the Duke that the whole of the French artillery was in our possession

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"In the third and revised edition of Mr. Alison's 'History,' we read:—

"'Wellington and Blücher, at this critical period, were either without correct information as to the enemy's real designs, or relying upon secret intelligence, which was to be forwarded to them from Paris, as to his movements. This delay in collecting the troops, &c., would furnish ground for a serious imputation on the Duke's military conduct, were it not that it is now apparent he had been misled by false information, perfidiously furnished, or as perfidiously withheld, *by his correspondents at Paris, who, unknown to him, had been gained by Fouché.*'

"After re-quoting the story of the female spy from the production impudently called Fouché's Memoirs, Mr. Alison then proceeds:—

"'Extraordinary as this story is, it derives confirmation from the following statement of Sir Walter Scott, who had access to the best sources of information, which he obtained at Paris a few weeks after the battle. "I have understood," says he, "on good authority, that a person, bearing for Lord Wellington's information a detailed and authentic account of Bonaparte's plan for the campaign, was actually dispatched from Paris in time to have reached Brussels before the commencement of hostilities. This communication was entrusted to a female, who was furnished with a pass from Fouché himself, and who travelled with all dispatch in order to accomplish her mission; but, being stopped for two days on the frontiers of France, did not arrive till after the battle of the 16th. The fact, *for such I believe it to be*, seems to countenance the opinion that Fouché maintained a correspondence with the allies, and may lead, on the other hand, to the suspicion that, though he dispatched the intelligence in question, he contrived so to manage that its arrival should be too late for the purpose which it was calculated to serve. At all events, the appearance of the French on the Sambre was at Brussels an unexpected piece of intelligence." (*Paul's Letters.*) It is remarkable that Scott's sagacity had in this instance divined the very solution of the question which Fouché afterwards stated in his Memoirs as a fact. On the other hand, Wellington says: "Avant mon arrivée à Paris au mois de Juillet, je n'avais jamais vu Fouché, ni eu avec lui communication quelconque, ni avec aucun de ceux qui sont liés avec lui." (Letter to Dumouriez, Gurwood, vol. xii. p. 649.) If this statement was inconsistent with the former, the Duke's high character for truth and accuracy would have rendered it decisive of the point; but in reality it is not so. It only proves that the English general had had no communication with Fouché, or those whom he knew to be his agents.'

"Mr Alison then goes on to show, from various passages of the Duke's letters, that he was in communication at various periods with persons at Paris, and cites one letter to a Mr Henoul, in which a lady is mentioned.

"It will appear from all the above that Mr Alison has, in one of his tacit corrections, borrowed without acknowledgment from the Quarterly, withdrawn from his assertion that the Duke was knowingly in correspondence with Fouche He now shapes his imputation in another form He asserts that the Duke was not only in communication with certain puppets of Fouché's at Paris, but that he actually governed his own military schemes, the position and movements of his army, and rested the fate of Europe on the expectation or possession of intelligence from such quarters If, as Burke said, a man cannot live down these contemptible calumnies, he must put up with them If the Duke's life and exploits cannot acquit him of such miserable simplicity in the eyes of Englishmen, we can give him little assistance Because the Duke says, on the 13th of June, 'I have accounts from Paris of the 10th, on which day Bonaparte was still there,' it is seriously argued that he was very likely to believe that parties who supplied intelligence of a circumstance so recondite as the presence of Bonaparte at the Tuileries, could and would also supply the programme of Bonaparte's intended campaign Mr Alison, however, still resting the weight of his structure on Fouché's Memoirs, props up the rubbish of such a foundation by the authority of 'Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk' What does the extract from such a work as 'Paul's Letters' prove? It proves that when occupied in the agreeable pastime of picking up anecdotes for a volume of slight structure and momentary interest, Sir W Scott gave a rash credence to one then current at Paris, which was afterwards elaborated by the literary forger of Fouche's name It is on such authorities as these that the author of a *work of twenty years* fastens on the Duke of Wellington a charge of credulous imbecility Whatever be the probabilities of the case, we have one sufficient answer, which we can give on authority—it is totally and absolutely false We repeat, and are enabled and bound to say that we repeat on authority, that not one single passage of the Duke's conduct at this period was in the remotest degree influenced by such causes as those invented at Paris, and adopted by Mr Alison But the Duke had communications with Paris To be sure he had Common sense would indicate, if the Despatches did not, that the Duke used what means the iron frontier in his front permitted to obtain all obtainable intelligence from Paris He would have been wanting in his duty if

he had neglected such precaution. Such facts as the Emperor's continued presence in Paris, the strength of mustering corps, their reputed destination—these, and a thousand such particulars, he doubtless endeavoured to get at, when he could, through channels more rapid, if not more to be relied on, than the 'Moniteur.' It could strike nobody as improbable that in some of these transactions an agent of the softer sex might have been employed; though we happen to know for certain that none such played a part of importance enough to secure her services a place in the recollection of any Englishman at head-quarters. Even for obtaining such information as this, the Duke was placed in a position which must have contrasted singularly with the advantages he had in these respects enjoyed in the Peninsula. It were but common fairness to scan for a moment the points of difference, and to observe how completely the relative positions of the two antagonists were reversed. The grounds of comparison are, however, pretty obvious, and an illustration may serve the purpose better than a disquisition.

" On the night which preceded Sir Arthur Wellesley's first passage of arms in Portugal, the affair of Roliça, he was roused from his sleep in his tent by an urgent request for admittance on the part of a stranger. The request was granted, and a monk was introduced. 'I am come,' he said, 'to give you intelligence that General Thomière, who commands the French corps in your front, intends to retire before daylight; and if you wish to catch him you must be quick.' Such news, if true, justified the intrusion; and it occurred to Sir Arthur, who had not then attained the degree of drivelling which the Duke of Wellington had reached in 1815, to inquire 'How do you know the fact you acquaint me with?' The monk replied, 'When Junot's army first entered Portugal, he was quartered in our convent, that of Alcobaça, and one of his staff shared my cell. The same officer is again my lodger; we are on intimate terms. This evening he was busily engaged in writing. I stole behind him and placed my hands over his eyes, as boys do in play, while he struggled to get loose, and held him there till I had read the contents of the paper he was writing. It was an order to General Thomière to move his column at such an hour, and in such a direction. I have stolen from the convent and made my way to your quarters, to tell you my discovery.' We have sometimes thought that this incident would have made a good subject for Wilkie. For our purpose, it is not an inapt illustration of the facilities for information at the command of a general moving in a country where the peasantry and priesthood are heart and soul with the cause he serves. Such at least are not at the disposal of a

commander compelled by circumstances to remain rooted for a period in the face of a hostile nation, fenced by a triple line of fortresses, and their place is ill supplied by padded petticoats and the gossip of a metropolis The plan of Bonaparte's campaign? Can anything be more childish than to suppose that the Duke could have relied, for this is the question, on French traitors for such a document? When a fleet is about to sail on a secret expedition, a thousand circumstances are open to the inquiries of active agents The very nature of the stores embarked, the name of some officer ordered to join, will often indicate its destination The consequence generally is, that by the time the sealed orders are opened in a specified latitude, the enemy has enjoyed for weeks a full knowledge of the object of the expedition We well remember, in the summer of 1840, hearing that certain intrenching tools were to be embarked for the Mediterranean, and that a certain officer, famous for his application of such materials at St Sebastian and elsewhere, was to be picked up at Gibraltar We wanted no paid spy or treacherous clerk to tell us that Acre, or possibly Alexandria, would feel the effect of these preparations With respect to the general plan and scheme of the Duke's operations, as far as they depended on himself, they were open enough to discovery, if missed by conjecture They were necessarily subjects of communication and concert with a dozen friendly powers mustering their forces on different points from Ostend to the confines of Switzerland It so happened that the plan of Bonaparte's campaign, which could consist in nothing else but a choice of roads, was one which it was unnecessary for him to communicate to a single human being till he gave his orders from head quarters for its prompt execution

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"It requires some knowledge of human nature to believe that a respectable man, in possession of his senses, can, on a review of the facts, continue to entertain the notion that *surprise* is a term applicable to the position and conduct of the Duke Let us suppose the case of a country house in Tipperary, a period of Rockite disturbance, and a family which has received intelligence that an attack is to be made upon it The windows are barricaded as well as circumstances will admit, but the premises are extensive, and the hall door, the kitchen and the pantry remain weak and assailable The trampling of footsteps is heard in the shrubbery There would be advisers enough, and confusion enough in consequence, if the head of the family were a man who invited advice, but he is an old soldier whom few would venture to approach with suggestions His nerves are

absolutely impassive to the fact that the assault is conducted by Rock in person, but he knows that Rock has the initiative and the choice of at least three eligible points of attack. He makes such disposition of his force as leaves no point unwatched; he keeps it well in hand, and refuses to move a man till the sledge-hammer is heard at the point selected. The attack is repulsed—all the objects of the defence are accomplished, not a silver spoon is missing—most of the assailants are killed, the gang dispersed, and its leader, who had escaped down the avenue, is ultimately captured and transported for life—tranquillity is restored to the Barony—the master of the house is knighted for his gallant defence, and made a chief inspector of Police by the Government, but is deprived of his office when the Whigs come into power. Thirty years afterwards, an attorney of the county town, who has lived in the main street all his life, and has never handled a blunderbuss, writes an account of the transaction, collected from some surviving under-servants, to show, first that the master was surprised, and next that his force ought from the first to have been concentrated in the pantry, because it was there that the main assault was ultimately made. His informers have also succeeded in bamboozling him with an absurd tale of an old woman who had been hired to deceive the master by making him believe that the attack was postponed.

"It is not matter of theory and speculation, but of absolute demonstration, that whatever were the merits or demerits of the Duke's proceedings, they were not an accident of the moment, the offspring of haste and surprise, but strictly in accordance with and part of a preconceived system of action, adopted, in concert with his allies, on deep study and full knowledge of every circumstance of his position. Mr. Alison has formed and persists in the opinion that he could have managed the whole thing a great deal better. We do not believe that any officer exists in her Majesty's service who will not rate that opinion at its proper value.

"No man perhaps ever lived whose nervous system was less likely to be affected by the mere prestige of Napoleon's name than the Duke's; but we have reason to believe that in one attribute the Duke considered him pre-eminent over every one who could by possibility come under any comparison—that of promptitude and dexterity in taking advantage of a false move. We may be permitted to doubt whether this quality was ever, in any single instance, more brilliantly exemplified by Napoleon than by Wellington at Salamanca; but at all events, we know that it was considered by the English Commander to be the leading characteristic of his opponent

of 1815 The man to whom the Duke attributed this particular pre eminence had collected an army of veterans on the frontier of the department of the North, one bristling with fortresses in which he might cover and protect, and through which he might in safety and secrecy move hundreds of thousands of troops, while the allies, whether to correct or improve a position erroneously taken up, must have moved along the front of this formidable position, no part of which could have been attacked by them Up to a given moment at least—the moment when the allied powers on the Rhine should be ready to move off in concert, and keep the step—Napoleon had the indisputable advantage of the first move. Secrecy, rapidity, and choice of direction on vulnerable points, were equally at his command with priority of movement To rush at the centre, or to throw himself on the communications of a force which leant not on the country in its rear, but on Namur on the one hand, and Ostend on the other, were modes of action equally practicable We are inclined to think that if by any magic the Duke could suddenly, with his own knowledge of his own difficulties, have been transformed into the adviser of Napoleon, he would have suggested an attack by the line of Hal on his own right It is very certain that he considered such an operation as one which, from its advantages, might well have attracted his opponent's choice. We know this from the caution with which, even at Waterloo, he provided against such a contingency With a view to this danger also, every possible exertion had been made to put into a condition of defence Mons, Ath, Tournay, Ypres, Ostend, Nieuport, and Ghent The state in which the Duke found these places had been such as to make it impossible, in the time allowed him, to complete their defences Still such progress had been made as to justify him in endeavouring to compass the great object of the preservation of the Belgian capital by occupying a position in advance of it, which without the support of those places, he would, as we have reason to believe, not have ventured to take up The Duke and Blucher certainly agreed to occupy this outpost of the armies of coalised Europe on a system of their own—one which they thought best calculated to meet the impending storm in each and every of its possible directions In the moment of impending conflict the Duke certainly did not depart from it The first breathless courier—who might perhaps have brought intelligence of a false attack—did not shake his calm and settled purpose

"It may well be, and we believe it, that no other man living could have retained the imperturbable coolness which the Duke

exhibited during the 15th at Brussels, and still less could have put off to the last the moment of general alarm by going to a ball after having given his orders. Nothing was more likely at the moment to generate the idea of a surprise than the circumstance of this ball, from which so many dancers adjourned to that supper of Hamlet, not where men eat, but where they are eaten. The delusion, however, fades before the facts of the General Orders to be found in Colonel Gurwood's volume, and is not now worth further notice for purposes of refutation. The details of the case, however, are but partially known, and they are worth recording. The late Duke of Richmond, an attached and intimate friend of the Commander-in-Chief, was at Brussels. He was himself a general officer; had one son, the present Duke of Richmond, on the staff of the Prince of Orange, one on that of the Duke, and another in the Blues, and was at the battle of Waterloo, but not in any military capacity.[1] The brother of the Duchess, the late (and last) Duke of Gordon, was Colonel of the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders, which, with the 42nd and 79th Highland regiments, formed part of the reserve corps stationed at Brussels. The Duchess had issued invitations for a ball for the 15th. Among other preparations for the evening she had engaged the attendance of some of the non-commissioned officers and privates of her brother's regiment and the 42nd, wishing to show her continental guests the real Highland dances in perfection. When the news of the French advance reached head-quarters, it became matter of discussion whether or not the ball should be allowed to proceed. The deliberate judgment of the Duke decided that it should. There were reasons good for this decision. It is sufficient on this head to say that the state of public feeling in the Netherlands generally, and in Brussels in particular, was more than questionable. It was a thing desirable in itself to postpone to the last the inevitable moment of alarm—to shorten as far as possible that critical interval which must occur between the acting of a dreadful thing and the first motion, between the public announcement of actual hostilities and their decision in the field. Every necessary order had been issued; and such was that state of preparation and arrangement which wise men have since questioned and criticised, that this operation had been the work of minutes, and before the festal lamps were lighted, the fiery cross was on its way

[1] "The Duke of Richmond was seen riding about the field, sometimes in situations of imminent danger, in plain clothes, with his groom behind him, exactly as if taking an airing in Hyde Park. His Grace's appearance at one remarkable moment is picturesquely enough described by Captain Siborne."

through the cantonments The general officers then in Brussels had their instructions to attend and to drop off singly and without *eclat*, and join their divisions on the march The Duke himself remained later, occupied the place of honour at the supper, and returned thanks for the toast to himself and the allied army, which was proposed by General Alava At about eleven a despatch arrived from the Prince of Orange, shortly after reading which the Duke retired, saluting the company graciously On that countenance, cheerful and disengaged as usual, none could read the workings of the calm but busy mind beneath The state of things, however, most awful to those who could least distinctly be informed of it, had partially transpired, and the fête had assumed that complexion which has been perpetuated on the canvas of Byron The bugle had sounded *before the orchestra had ceased Before the evening of the following* day, some of the Duchess's kilted *corps de ballet* were stretched in the rye of Quatre Bras, never to dance again Rough transitions these—moralists may sigh—poets may sing—but they are the Rembrandt lights and shadows of the existence of the soldier, whose philosophy must always be that of Wolfe's favourite song—

> 'Why soldiers why
> Should we be melancholy then
> Whose trade it is to die!'

In this instance they were results of a cool self possession and control, for a parallel instance of which biography may be searched in vain And yet this ball was a symptom and remains evidence of surprise

"We remember, some years ago, finding ourselves in company with General Alava and a very distinguished naval officer who had borne high command in the Tagus at the period of the occupation of the lines of Torres Vedras The latter had been a guest at a ball which was *given by Lord Wellington at Mafra, in November, 1810*, and he described the surprise with which the gentlemen of the navy witnessed a numerous attendance of officers some twenty miles from those advanced posts in front of which lay Massena and the French army General Alava's Spanish impatience broke out at this want of faith, *more suo*—that is in a manner much more amusing to his friends than complimentary to the excellent sailor whose ignorance of the habits of land service, under the Duke, had provoked his indignation General Alava is gone, and has left behind him nothing *simile aut secundum* for qualities of social intercourse"

APPENDIX, No. VI.

THE DUKE ON THE DEFENCES OF ENGLAND.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN F. BURGOYNE, K.C.B., &c.

"Strathfieldsaye, *January 9th*, 1847.

"My dear General,

"Some days have elapsed—indeed a fortnight has—since I received your note, with a copy of your observations, on the possible result of a war with France, under our present system of military preparation.

"You are aware that I have for years been sensible of the alteration produced in maritime warfare and operations by the application of steam to the propelling of ships at sea.

"This discovery immediately exposed all parts of the coasts of those islands which a vessel could approach at all, to be approached at all times of tide, and in all seasons, by vessels so propelled, from all quarters. We are, in fact, assailable, and at least liable to insult, and to have contributions levied upon us on all parts of our coast, that is, the coast of these including the Channel islands, which to this time, from the period of the Norman conquest, have never been successfully invaded.

"I have in vain endeavoured to awaken the attention of different administrations to this state of things, as well known to our neighbours (rivals in power, at least former adversaries and enemies) as it is to ourselves.

"I hope that your paper may be attended with more success than my representations have been.

"I have above, in few words, represented our danger. We have no defence, or hope of defence, excepting in our fleet.

"We hear a great deal of the spirit of the people of England, for which no man entertains higher respect than I do. But unorganised, undisciplined, without systematic subordination established and well understood, this spirit opposed to the fire of musketry and cannon, and to sabres and bayonets of disciplined troops, would only expose

those animated by such spirit to confusion and destruction Let any man only make the attempt to turn to some use this spirit in a case of partial and local disturbance, the want of previous systematic organisation and subordination will prevent him even from communicating with more than his own menial servants and dependants, and while mobs are in movement through the country, the most powerful will find that he can scarcely move from his own door

"It is perfectly true that as we stand at present, with our naval arsenals and dockyards not half garrisoned, *5000 men of all arms could not be put under arms, if required, for any service whatever,* without leaving standing, without relief, all employed on any duty, not excepting even the guards over the palaces and person of the Sovereign

"I calculate that a declaration of war should probably find our home garrisons of the strength as follows, particularly considering that one of the most common accusations against this country is, that the practice has been to commence reprisals at sea simultaneously with a declaration of war, the order for the first of which must have been issued before the last can have been published

"We ought to be with garrisons as follows at the moment war is declared —

Channel Islands (besides the Militia of each, well organised trained and disciplined)	10 000 men.
Plymouth	10 000
Milford	5 000
Cork	10 000
Portsmouth	10 000
Dover	10 000
Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames	10 000 ,

"I suppose that one half of the whole regular force of the country would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison of Cork The remainder must be supplied from the half of the whole force at home stationed in Great Britain

"The whole force employed at home in Great Britain and Ireland would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defence and occupation, on the breaking out of war, of the works constructed for the defence of the dockyards and naval arsenals, without leaving a single man disposable

"The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years, is to

raise, embody, organise, and discipline the militia, of the same numbers for each of the three kingdoms, united as during the late war. This would give a mass of organised force amounting to about 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This alone would enable us to establish the strength of our army. This, with an augmentation of the force of the regular army, which would not cost 400,000*l.*, would put the country on its legs in respect to personal force; and I would engage for its defence, old as I am.

"But as we stand now; and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence; we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.

"I am accustomed to the consideration of these questions, and have examined and reconnoitered, over and over again, the whole coast, from the North Foreland, by Dover, Folkestone, Beachy-head, Brighton, Arundel, to Selsey Bill, near Portsmouth; and I say that, excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore, at any time of tide, with any wind, and in any weather, and from which such body of infantry, so thrown on shore, would not find, within the distance of five miles, a road into the interior of the country, through the cliffs, practicable for the march of a body of troops; that in that space of coast (that is, between the North Foreland and Selsey Bill,) there are not less than seven small harbours, or mouths of rivers, each without defence, of which an enemy, having landed his infantry on the coast, might take possession, and therein land his cavalry and artillery of all calibre and establish himself and his communications with France.

"The nearest part of the coast to the metropolis is undoubtedly the coast of Sussex, from the east and west side of Beachy-head and to Selsey Bill. There are not less than twelve great roads leading from Brighton upon London; and the French army must be much altered indeed since the time at which I was better acquainted with it, if there are not now belonging to it forty Chefs d'Etat-Majors-General capable of sitting down and ordering the march to the coast of 40,000 men, their embarkation, with their horses and artillery, at the several French ports on the coast; their disembarkation at named points on the English coast,—that of the artillery and cavalry in named ports or mouths of rivers, and the assembly at named points of the several columns; and the march of each of these from stage to stage to London.

"Let any man examine our maps and road-books, consider the matter, and judge for himself.

"I know no mode of resistance, much less of protection, from this danger, excepting by an army in the field capable of meeting and contending with its formidable enemy, aided by all the means of fortification which experience in war can suggest

"I shall be deemed fool hardy in engaging for the defence of the empire *with* an army composed of such a *force* of militia I may be so I confess it, I should infinitely prefer, and should feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops But I *know* that I shall not have these, I may have the *others*, *and if an addition is made* to the existing regular army allotted for home defence of a force which will cost 400,000*l* a year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command to defend the country.

"This is my view of our danger and our resources I was aware that our magazines and arsenals were very inadequately supplied with ordnance and carriages, arms, stores of all denominations, and ammunition The deficiency has been occasioned, in part, by the sale of arms and of various descriptions of ordnance stores since *the termination of the late war, in order to diminish the demand* of supply to carry on the peace service of the Ordnance, in part by the conflagration of the arsenal which occurred in the Tower some years ago, and by the difficulty under which all governments in this country labour in prevailing upon Parliament, in time of peace, to take into consideration measures necessary for the safety of the country in time of war

"The state of the ordnance, arms, ammunition, &c, in magazines, is, in part, a question of expense, and perhaps, in some degree, one of time

"I would recommend *to* have an *alphabetical list of the stores* examined by a committee, and made out in form, as upon the enclosed half sheet of paper, by ascertaining what there was in 1804, and what there is in store now, of each article, and the difference between the two amounts I have taken the year 1804 as the standard, as that was the year in which the invasion was threatened It was previous to the employment of the armies in the Peninsula or North America, in short, as nearly as possible similar to the political circumstances in which we stand at this moment, excepting that we are now at peace with France—we were then at war

"A fourth column would be the estimate of the expense of bringing the magazines to the state in which they were in 1804

"With this information before him, the Master-General could

give the Government accurate information of the wants of ordnance, arms, ammunition, and stores in the magazines of the country.

"You will see from what I have written that I have contemplated the danger to which you have referred. I have done so for years. I have drawn to it the attention of different administrations at different times. You will see, likewise, that I have considered of the measures of prospective security, and of the mode and cost of the attainment.

"I have done more. I have looked at and considered these localities in quiet detail, and have made up my mind upon the details of their defence. These are the questions to which my mind has not been unaccustomed. I have considered and provided for the defence—the successful defence—of the frontiers of many countries.

"You are the confidential head of the principal defensive part of this country. I will, if you and the Master-General of the Ordnance choose, converse, or otherwise communicate confidentially with you upon all the details of this subject; will inform you of all that I know, have seen, and think upon it, and what my notions are of the details of the defensive system to be adopted and eventually carried into execution.

"I quite concur in all your views of the danger of our position, and of the magnitude of the stake at issue. I am especially sensible of the certainty of failure if we do not, at an early moment, attend to the measures necessary for our defence, and of the disgrace, the indelible disgrace of such failure—putting out of view all the other unfortunate consequences, such as the loss of the political and social position of this country among the nations of Europe, of all its allies, in concert with, and in aid of whom, it has, in our own times, contended successfully in arms for its own honour and safety, and the independence and freedom of the world.

"When did any man hear of the allies of a country unable to defend itself?

"Views of economy of some, and I admit that the high views of national finance of others, induce them to postpone those measures absolutely necessary for mere defence and safety under existing circumstances, forgetting altogether the common practice of successful armies, in modern times, imposing upon the conquered enormous pecuniary contributions, as well as other valuable and ornamental property.

"Look at the course pursued by France in Italy and Russia! At Vienna repeatedly, at Berlin, at Moscow, the contributions levied, besides the subsistences, maintenance, clothing, and equipment of the

army which made the conquest! Look at the conduct of the allied army which invaded France, and had possession of Paris in 1815! Look at the account of the pecuniary sacrifices made upon that occasion, under their different heads of contributions, payments for subsistence, and maintenance of the invading armies, including clothing and other equipments, payments of old repudiated state debts due to individuals in war in the different countries of Europe, repayment for the contributions levied, and moveable and immoveable property sold in the course of the revolutionary war

"But such an account cannot be made out against this country No! but I believe that the means of some demands would not be wanting Are there no claims for a fleet at Toulon in 1793? None for debts left unpaid by British subjects in France, who escaped from confinement under cover of the invasion, in 1814, by the allied armies? Can any man pretend to limit the amount of the demand on account of the *contribution de guerre?*

"Then look at the conditions of the treaties of Paris, 1814, 1815

"France having been in possession of nearly every capital in Europe, and having levied contributions in each, and having had in its possession or under its influence the whole of Italy, Germany, and Poland, is reduced to its territorial limits as they stood in 1792 Do we suppose that we should be allowed to keep—could we advance a pretension to keep—more than the islands composing the United Kingdom, ceding disgracefully the Channel Islands, on which an invader had never established himself since the period of the Norman Conquest?

"I am bordering upon seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour

"I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert

"Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

"WELLINGTON"

APPENDIX, No. VII.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS AN AGRICULTURIST AND LANDLORD.

(From the Illustrated London News.)

"The Duke of Wellington was an agriculturist, not so much from choice as from necessity or duty. The munificence of the nation having provided him with the domain of Strathfieldsaye, he could do no less than cultivate it. To say the truth, it required no little attention. Those who selected it for the national purchase can scarcely be said to have well exercised their judgment; for it was, in regard to agricultural value, little better than a waste. The Duke's own remark about it was, that any man less wealthy than himself would have been ruined by it. As it was, besides an amount originally laid out, the Duke spent every year's rental upon it, and still there was much remaining to be done.

"The soil of the estate is clayey, very strong, and difficult of drainage, being very wet. The first thing the Duke had to think of was the drainage, which he commenced at once, and continued to the last. Without it nothing whatever could have been done with so uncongenial a soil. In addition to this, his Grace resorted very extensively to chalking, a very expensive process, in consequence of the cost of conveyance. Since the railway has been completed, this part of the Duke's agricultural expenditure has been lessened, the chalk being conveyed from the railway cutting.

"The land is chiefly used for producing corn and beans. The mode of cultivation is thus described by Mr. Caird:—'The system of cultivation pursued is to plough up the clover lea after the second crop is consumed in autumn, that the furrow may be exposed to the pulverising effects of the frost and thaws of winter; after which it receives a clean summer fallow, being repeatedly ploughed and harrowed until it is brought into fine condition, when it is sown with wheat in October. After the wheat is reaped, the land lies untouched during the winter; and, as soon as it is dry enough in spring, a heavy dose of manure is spread upon it, which is immediately ploughed in,

and the ground planted with beans The beans are dibbled in by women, who are employed by task-work, and who set the seed in rows, marked by a garden-line During the summer the land is carefully hoed between the rows, and, after the bean crop has been removed, it is ploughed and sown with wheat After that follows barley, a portion of which is laid down with clover, the rest being reserved to be sown in the following spring with peas, of which an excellent variety, called the "Victoria Marrowfat," is in great favour, selling at 10*s* the quarter The average produce of wheat is from twenty-six to thirty bushels per acre From the nature of the land, it is found very injurious to work it when wet, and a great number of horses are therefore kept to push forward the work in favourable weather, a farm of 300 acres having as many as sixteen work-horses upon it The only other stock consists of a few milch cows, some colts, and a number of pigs, which go loose in the yards Stall-feeding is little practised, and, when tried, has been found very unprofitable, but this is not surprising, as fattening oxen are fed on cake and other sub stances, costing 10*s* 6*d* a week for each animal' In fact, the Duke did his farming as he did all other things, well, but with a regard to the end to be attained by the outlay By dint of perseverance and judicious expenditure, he had contrived very much to enhance the value of the property before he died It is recorded, that he determined to 'do the best he could without it'—his unvarying maxim, as a practical man, even in political affairs He is said to have declared that he did not consider himself entitled to lay by one shilling of the rental at Strathfieldsaye 'I am a rich man,' said he, 'my son will not be, therefore he shall receive his patrimony in the very best condition to which I can bring it If he cannot keep it so, the fault will not be mine' This is so characteristic of the Duke's mind and character, that we conceive it must be true A deserved compliment was paid to the Duke, as an agriculturist, by Professor Buckland, at the meeting of the British Association, in 1844 'The Prussian Minister,' he said, 'had called the attention of the assembled agriculturists of England to the example of good farming set them by the most illustrious of living warriors, the Duke of Wellington, who had turned his glorious sword into a not less glorious ploughshare Near Strathfieldsaye may now be seen rich fields of barley and turnips on naturally peat or clay lands, which, two or three years ago, were reeking with moisture, and incapable of that rotation of green and grain crops which all good farming requires The Duke of Wellington was, year after year, improving his clay lands, first, by thorough draining, which is the indispensable precursor of all other

improvements; and, after drainage, spreading large quantities of chalk over the surface of the clay. Not less than one thousand waggon-loads of chalk had, during the last year, been brought from the neighbourhood of Basingstoke to that of Strathfieldsaye.'

"In point of fact, the Duke very early participated in that agricultural movement which has tended more than any other cause to enable England to make her great commercial sacrifices.

"As to the Duke of Wellington's character as a landlord we have heard conflicting statements. A man of his iron stamp, with his rigid ideas of order, and habitual subordination of his own preference to his sense of duty, would necessarily find himself from time to time compelled to exercise his authority, or to resist encroachments. He might, also, from his more conspicuous position, be more exposed to those animadversions arising out of political feeling to which all country gentlemen are more or less open, who do not choose to adopt the popular side. There would not be wanting local politicians to improve any such dispositions. It is more than probable that the Duke was a just without being exactly a kind landlord, and that many of his good acts fell on thankless soil, because the manner of doing them was not captivating. In no other way can we reconcile the statements we have heard; one class of persons declaring that the Duke was an excellent landlord and much respected, while others will tell you that the whole neighbourhood was disaffected and discontented. It is certain that he did much good, according to his ideas; but there is also reason to think that his time and attention were so occupied by his multifarious duties, that many of the minor kindnesses were left unperformed. Kind words often do more than the best intentions or even the most serviceable acts. As it was, the Duke did his duty. After his near relative, the Rev. Gerald Wellesley, came to reside on the estate as the pastor of the place, the condition of the people is said to have improved, and their feeling stronger towards their landlord; but this may be attributed not so much to any previous neglect on the part of the Duke, as to the effects of personal communication and superintendence. All that good landlordism could do was done. Cottages were built, and plots of land were given, with every facility for cultivation. One writer, quoted in 'Wellingtoniana,' says that 'go where you would, whether far or near, you would no where see a body of tenantry better lodged, better provided with offices, better supplied with all manner of conveniences for the prosecution of their calling, than those which call the Duke of Wellington their landlord. As a matter of course, the Duke's tenants were extremely well pleased with their lot; indeed, a

more popular man than he, among all classes of his neighbours, it would be hard to find'

"The Duke, besides paying the expense of drainage, used to contribute the greater portion of the expense of 'chalking' his tenants lands The farm buildings are far superior to any of those on the estates around In this respect, the Duke was far superior to the neighbouring landowners Wood and thatch gave place, on his estate, to brick and slate, and from time to time the farm houses were rebuilt, or substantially repaired The cottages of his labourers are also unusually well built and provided, all being done with an especial view to health and comfort There were no middlemen on the estate, every tenant holding direct from the Duke himself Each cottage has a quarter of an acre allotment of garden ground, and for both the rental is 1*s* per week, or 2*l* 12*s* per year This is a lower rent than is paid by the Belgian cottiers they pay frequently a hundred francs per year for worse accommodation Rent on the Strathfieldsaye estate is about 1*l* an acre, to which has been added 7*s* an acre for tithes, and for rates 3*s* 6*d* an acre, so that the position of the tenants, as tenants, cannot but be good Upon the whole, therefore, the balance of testimony is in favour of the Duke as a landlord, and much must be allowed for the natural grumbling of people who are never contented, as also for that instinctive antagonism, founded on political feeling, which almost always pursues a well known public character of opinions opposed to those of the multitude in his country home It is a gratifying reflection, that the Duke of Wellington, in this phase of his character, is as worthy of our respect as in most aspects of his civil life and career

' THE DUKES ESTATE IN BELGIUM

"The Duke of Wellington was also a holder of property in foreign countries It is, of course, generally known that after the battle of Waterloo, in addition to the many honours conferred upon the conqueror, the then King of the Netherlands, William, conferred upon the Duke Prince an estate Of this he retained possession during the remainder of his life

"The King evinced much delicacy in his choice of the locality of this gift It closely borders the scene of the great victory The domain consists of about 1200 hectares, detached from the celebrated forest of Soignies The hectare measures about two acres and a third, so that the extent of this property in English measurement would be about 2800 acres—rather more than less

"The domain is situated about half way between Gembloux and Waterloo, and is in the midst of a country where agricultural improvement is carried on to a very great extent. The writer had an opportunity, not long since, of himself seeing the great activity of the landed proprietors, and their anxiety to place their properties in a position to compete with the English agriculturists, who are to them objects of greater fear than even the foreigner used to be to the English producer.

"The Duke of Wellington was not a man to be behind-hand in any measures of improvement. The same spirit that led him to improve Strathfieldsaye also led him to do his utmost with his Belgian estate. When it first came into his hands, it was covered with more or less valuable trees; but was otherwise unfit for agricultural purposes. Its estimated value at that time was about 1,500,000 francs, or nearly 60,000*l*. in English money.

"The Duke placed the management of the estate in the hands of M. Halley, Notaire Royal at Waterloo—a gentleman who has, with the utmost ability and integrity, administered its affairs. His first efforts were directed to clearing the land of the wood, which was from time to time sold, and the proceeds applied to the improvement of the property. The next step was thoroughly to drain the land, which having been done, it was discovered that the soil was of the best quality, peculiarly adapted to the culture of grain of all kinds, and also of clover, flax, and hemp. By degrees the greater part has been brought under cultivation, with very great success; so much so, that the estate is now valued at double the estimate made in the first instance, or about 120,000*l*. English money. Nor is this all: the gradual improvement of the soil gives reason to hope that the value will be still greater hereafter. Although the Duke of Wellington had not here, as at Strathfieldsaye, the merit of having personally superintended these improvements, it was in consequence of his liberality and confidence that M. Halley was enabled to bring the estate to its present high condition; and the name of the Duke of Wellington ranks with the most distinguished of the enterprising landed proprietors of Belgium.

"The Duke held, we believe, the estate voted for him in Spain; that offered in Portugal he declined."

APPENDIX, No VIII

THE FUNERAL OF THE DUKE

Upon moving the House of Commons to grant the necessary funds for the expenses of the Public Funeral, Mr Benjamin Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made the following speech, the only one worthy of the occasion delivered by either House —

"Sir,—The House of Commons is called upon to night to fulfil a sorrowful, but a noble duty It has to recognise, in the face of the country and the civilised world, the loss of the most illustrious of our citizens, and to offer to the ashes of the great departed the solemn anguish of a bereaved nation The princely personage who has left us was born in an age more fertile of great events than any of recorded time Of those vast incidents the most conspicuous were his own deeds, and these were performed with the smallest means, and in defiance of the greatest obstacles He was therefore not only a great man but the greatest man of a great age Amid the chaos and conflagration which attended the end of the last century there rose one of those beings who seem born to master mankind It is not too much to say that Napoleon combined the imperial ardour of Alexander with the strategy of Hannibal The kings of the earth fell before his fiery and subtle genius, and at the head of all the powers of Europe he denounced destruction to the only land which dared to be free The Providential superintendence of this world seems seldom more manifest than in the dispensation which ordained that the French Emperor and Wellesley should be born in the same year, that in the same year they should have embraced the same profession, and that, natives of distant islands, they should both have sought their military education in that illustrious land which each in his turn was destined to subjugate During the long struggle for our freedom, our glory, I may say our existence, Wellesley fought and won fifteen pitched battles, all of the highest class, concluding with one of those crowning victories which give a colour and aspect to history During this period that can be said of him which can be said of no other captain —that he captured 3000 cannon from the enemy, and never lost a

single gun. The greatness of his exploits was only equalled by the difficulties he overcame. He had to encounter at the same time a feeble Government, a factious opposition, and a distrustful people, scandalous allies, and the most powerful enemy in the world. He gained victories with starving troops, and carried on sieges without tools; and as if to complete the fatality which in this sense always awaited him, when he had succeeded in creating an army worthy of the Roman legions and of himself, this invincible host was broken up on the eve of the greatest conjuncture of his life, and he entered the field of Waterloo with raw levies and discomfited allies. But the star of Wellesley never paled. He has been called fortunate, for Fortune is a divinity that ever favours those who are alike sagacious and intrepid, inventive and patient. It was his character that created his career. This alike achieved his exploits and guarded him from vicissitudes. It was his sublime self-control that regulated his lofty fate. It has been the fashion of late years to disparage the military character. Forty years of peace have hardly qualified us to be aware how considerable and how complex are the qualities which are necessary for the formation of a great general. It is not enough to say that he must be an engineer, a geographer, learned in human nature, adroit in managing mankind; that he must be able to perform the highest duties of a Minister of State, and sink to the humblest offices of a commissary and a clerk; but he has to display all this knowledge, and he must do all these things, at the same time and under extraordinary circumstances. At the same moment he must think of the eve and the morrow—of his flanks and of his reserve; he must carry with him ammunition, provisions, hospitals; he must calculate at the same time the state of the weather and the moral qualities of man; and all these elements, which are perpetually changing, he must combine amid overwhelming cold or overpowering heat; sometimes amid famine, often amid the thunder of artillery. Behind all this, too, is the ever present image of his country, and the dreadful alternative whether that country is to receive him with cypress or with laurel. But all these conflicting ideas must be driven from the mind of the military leader, for he must think—and not only think—he must think with the rapidity of lightning, for on a moment more or less depends the fate of the finest combination, and on a moment more or less depends glory or shame. Doubtless all this may be done in an ordinary manner by an ordinary man; as we see every day of our lives ordinary men making successful Ministers of State, successful

speakers, successful authors But to do all this with genius is sublime Doubtless, *to think deeply and clearly in the recess of a cabinet* is a fine intellectual demonstration, but to think with equal depth and equal clearness amid bullets is the most complete exercise of the human faculties Although the military career of the Duke of Wellington fills so large a space in history, it was only a comparatively small section of his prolonged and illustrious life Only eight years elapsed from Vimiero to Waterloo, and from the date of his first commission to the last cannon shot on the field of battle scarcely twenty years can be counted After all his triumphs he was destined for another career, and if not in the prime, certainly in the perfection of manhood, he commenced a civil career scarcely less eminent than those military achievements which will live for ever in history Thrice was he the ambassador of his Sovereign *to those great historic Congresses that settled the affairs of Europe*, twice was he Secretary of State, twice was he Commander in Chief, and once he was Prime Minister of England His labours to his country lasted to the end A few months ago he favoured the present advisers of the Crown with his thoughts on the Burmese war, expressed in a State paper characterised by all his sagacity and experience, and he died the active chieftain of that famous army to which he has left the tradition of his glory There was one passage in the life of the Duke of Wellington which should hardly be passed unnoticed on such an occasion, and in such a scene as this It is our pride that he was one of ourselves, it is our pride that Sir Arthur Wellesley sat upon these benches Tested by the ambition and the success of ordinary men, his career here, though brief, was distinguished He entered Royal councils and held a high Ministerial post But his House of Commons success must not be measured by his seat at the Privy Council and his Irish Secretaryship He achieved a success here which the greatest Ministers and the most brilliant orators can never hope to rival That was a Parliamentary success unequalled when he rose in his seat to receive the thanks of Mr Speaker for a glorious victory, or, later still, when he appeared at the bar of this House and received, Sir, from one of your predecessors, in memorable language, the thanks of a grateful country for accumulated triumphs There is one consolation which all Englishmen must feel under this bereavement It is, that they were so well and so completely acquainted with this great man Never did a person of such mark live so long, and so much in the public eye I would be bound to say that there is not a gentleman in this House who has not seen him, many there are who have conversed with him,

some there are who have touched his hand. His countenance, his form, his manner, his voice are impressed on every memory, and sound almost in every ear. In the golden saloon, and in the busy market-place, he might be alike observed. The rising generation will often recall his words of kindness, and the people followed him in the streets with a lingering gaze of reverent admiration. Who indeed, can ever forget that classic and venerable head, white with time and radiant as it were with glory?—

> "—— Stilichonis apex, et cognita fulsit
> Canities."

To complete all, that we might have a perfect idea of this sovereign master of duty in all his manifold offices, he himself gave us a collection of administrative and military literature which no age and no country can rival; and, fortunate in all things, Wellesley found in his lifetime an historian whose immortal page already ranks with the classics of that land which Wellesley saved. The Duke of Wellington left to his countrymen a great legacy—greater even than his glory. He left them the contemplation of his character. I will not say his conduct revived the sense of duty in England. I would not say that of our country. But that his conduct inspired public life with a purer and more masculine tone I cannot doubt. His career rebukes restless vanity, and reprimands the irregular ebullitions of a morbid egotism. I doubt not that, among all orders of Englishmen, from those with the highest responsibilities of our society to those who perform the humblest duties—I dare say there is not a man who in his toil and his perplexity has not sometimes thought of the Duke, and found in his example support and solace. Though he lived so much in the hearts and minds of his countrymen—though he occupied such eminent posts and fulfilled such august duties—it was not till he died that we felt what a place he filled in the feelings and thoughts of the people of England. Never was the influence of real greatness more completely asserted than on his decease. In an age whose boast of intellectual equality flatters all our self-complacencies, the world suddenly acknowledged that it had lost the greatest of men; in an age of utility the most industrious and common-sense people in the world could find no vent for their woe and no representative for their sorrow but the solemnity of a pageant; and we—we who have met here for such different purposes—to investigate the sources of the wealth of nations, to enter into statistical research, and to encounter each other in fiscal controversy—we present to the world the most sublime and touching spectacle that human circum-

stances can well produce—the spectacle of a Senate mourning a hero!" The right hon gentleman concluded by moving an address—"Humbly to thank her Majesty for having given directions for the public interment of the mortal remains of his Grace the Duke of Wellington in the cathedral church of St Paul, and to assure her Majesty of our cordial aid and concurrence in giving to the ceremony a fitting degree of solemnity and importance"

"Lord J Russell begged, with the permission of the right hon gentleman and the House, to second the motion He did not wish to add a single word to the eloquent terms in which the right hon gentleman had made his motion, as he was sure the whole House would concur in the assurance he proposed to convey to the Throne

"The motion was then agreed to"

APPENDIX, No IX

THE DUKE AS AN EXAMPLE TO INDIAN OFFICERS

Upon the last occasion of the examination of the Addiscombe cadets, preparatory to the issue of the prizes and the allotment of appointments, Sir James Weir Hogg, the Chairman of the East India Directors, addressed the pupils at some length, dwelling upon the character of the Duke of Wellington, and holding him up as an example to the future Indian officer He said —

"The character of that great man has been so frequently, so ably drawn, that it would be superfluous in me to dwell upon its excellencies You will find them recorded in history, and reflected from every page of his own perspicuous and unrivalled despatches But there is one consideration connected with the renown of the departed hero so cheering to those who are striving for eminence, and so full of promise to those contending with difficulty, that it must ever be regarded in this institution with feelings of intense interest Noble as was his character, the Duke was himself its chief architect It was not so much to nature as to mental discipline that he was indebted for the high order—I may say the perfection, of his military attainment If he took up what was intricate, it was with a resolution to unravel it, if he grappled with

difficulty, it was with a determination to overcome it. He disdained to be superficial. Nothing short of the complete mastery of a subject could satisfy the craving of his vigorous mind. Thus victory was insured in the study and in the field. But let me impress upon your minds, my young friends, that the illustrious Duke never presumed to place his chief reliance upon himself. He knew that upon the proudest schemes ever planned by human wisdom "*afflavit Deus, et dissipantur;*" and we find this eminent man, whose career had been distinguished by unbroken success, humbly acknowledging his own insufficiency, punctual and devotional in his religious observances, and placing his trust for the direction of his conduct on the Great Disposer of Events. My object in this brief address has been to point out that in the public theatre of this great world the career of a distinguished individual is created by his character; that the formation of character is almost entirely dependent upon the exertions of the individual; that the laborious process which it is consequently necessary to undergo engenders habits of mind far more valuable than those derived from the gifts of natural genius; that the highest flight of human wisdom is but weakness unless sustained from on high; and that the noblest minds humbly ascribe their successes, not to their own prudence and management, their own strength and might, but to the gracious bounty of Providence. All these instructive truths are illustrated so powerfully in the life of the Duke of Wellington that I gladly embrace this opportunity of pressing upon your attention the character of the departed hero as the most valuable study for the youth of this institution—for all youth, whatever their destination; but pre-eminently so for those preparing for the military profession. Gentlemen, your destination is India, and though the illustrious character to which I have called your attention is an example for all, it is peculiarly so for you—not because the earliest records of his fame are associated with that country, but because his virtues are precisely those which it is most essential that an Indian officer, and especially a young Indian officer, should struggle to possess. The departed Duke was, if I may so express myself, a miracle of order and activity. Let his example preserve you from being seduced by the peculiarities of climate to indulge in opposite habits. Always liberal, yet he carefully proportioned his mode of living to his means, and rigidly restricted his expenditure within his income. Let this command your most careful attention and imitation, and thus avoid the grinding, humiliating pressure of debt. The Duke was temperate to the verge of abstemiousness. Imitate him in this virtue,

also, and the health and unclouded intellect which he enjoyed will be yours He was zealous to improve every moment and turn it to some valuable purpose In ordinary circumstances your professional avocations will not occupy the whole of your *time* Devote *the leisure you may possess to some useful* object that may prove beneficial to yourself and to others, and to descend to minor points—minor in appearance, but scarcely so in reality—remember that the Duke was remarkable for punctuality in all matters, great and small Punctuality is essentially a military duty, but, mark me, you will in vain resolve to be punctual in matters of moment if you are not equally resolute to be punctual in the ordinary engagements and transactions of life Keep ever before you, and attempt to imitate, the great model I have so imperfectly endeavoured to pourtray, and you may at least approximate that perfection of the military character which the departed hero so strikingly exhibited Gentlemen, I have now only to recommend to you who remain here continued assiduity—to those about to depart perseverance *in the good course here begun*—and *to you* all I *fervently* wish that success which I hope and believe you will endeavour to deserve "

APPENDIX, No X

OPINIONS OF FOREIGNERS REGARDING THE BRITISH ARMY

The following is from the pen of the Berlin correspondent of the "Morning Chronicle" Interesting in itself, the opinions which it maintains, so accordant with those of the late Duke, are deserving of the closest attention Something has already been done towards the increase of the artillery, but more remains to be accomplished —

"The distinguished and experienced continental officers who recently attended at the mournful ceremony of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, on the 18th of November, have, it is said here (Berlin), expressed themselves in terms of unqualified satisfaction at the courteous and hospitable reception they have met with from her Majesty and all classes and persons in the British capital They have also spoken, according to the same reports, in terms of unrestricted praise of the fine appearance and perfect discipline of our

brave soldiers, and of the grandeur of our arsenals and military establishments. They have at the same time been struck with the exiguity and inadequacy of the British field artillery, not only as regards its amount, when compared with the field artillery of continental states, but as regards its proportion to British battalions and squadrons, according to the requirements of modern warfare. Nothing, say these officers, can be more expert than the practice and drill, more perfect than the appearance of the stalwart men, more splendid than the horses, or more efficient than the *matériel* and equipment of our small array of field batteries; but they add, that in days when the fate of battles, and thence of campaigns, is made dependent in a great measure upon masses of guns and power of calibre, it is a matter of astonishment and regret that England, with all her vast resources and enormous outlay for her Ordnance department, should be unable to show more field guns ready for service than are regarded as essential for the peace establishment of continental states of the third or fourth class.

"It is not a question with them, and ought not to be with us, whether the Russian, Prussian, French, Austrian, Bavarian, and even the Sardinian and Neapolitan armies are furnished with a superabundance of field guns—that is, with guns in the minimum proportion of about 1 to each 300 bayonets and sabres. The point alone to be considered is, that such is the average amount with continental armies, whilst an English general, having a division of 6000 men under his orders, may think himself fortunate—as was the case in the Peninsular war up to a late period—if he has one brigade of six guns at his disposal, or 1 gun per 1000 men.

"Ask M. Kossuth what was the first thought and care of the Hungarian war department, on commencing the revolutionary war. He will reply, 'To establish a formidable field artillery, and to bring as many guns, and those of as heavy calibre as possible, into the field;' and further, that 'in many instances, as occurred at the commencement of Gorgey's admirable retreat from Waitzen upon Comorn, and thence to the north-east, the brunt of the battle fell upon the artillery.' Ask General Willisen what was the main study of his head-quarters during the Holstein rebellion. He will tell you the same story; and further, that notwithstanding the limited resources of the revolutionary provinces, he would have been enabled to bring upwards of 104 field pieces into the line of battle, had the detestable design of the rebel government to provoke another pitched battle, *coûte qui coûte*, been carried into effect. Turn to Sardinia's last campaign against the gallant Radetzky, and similar attention to

this indispensable point will be shown, not only as regarded equality in number of guns, but in that of calibre

"Ask the brave survivors of the Peninsular artillery whether they deemed it advantageous to the fate of battle, and to the honour of their country, or even fair upon themselves, or upon their comrades of other arms, that they should be almost invariably exposed to the fire of enemies' guns not only greatly superior in number but in calibre—that is, exposed to meet the fire of from eight to sixteen French eight pounders (equal to our nines), with batteries of six guns, and these, with rare exceptions, six-pounders So that they had to struggle, not only against superiority of number, but superiority of range Close fighting may neutralise the latter inequality, but it increases the detriment of the first Brave lives must then pay the penalty, and enormous expenses, far exceeding the outlay of a few more guns, must be thus entailed on the country from the loss of 'made' soldiers

"Look to the Prussian army, where every branch of the service is conducted with a degree of economy the more remarkable when results are considered, and you will find that each of its nine *corps d armee*, including the Corps of Guards, is provided with fifteen field batteries of eight guns each, two of which batteries are horse Consequently, as each corps averages 32,000 men of all arms on the full establishment, the proportion is 120 field guns for each corps, and 1 gun for each 250 effective bayonets and sabres, or a total of 1080 field pieces for the 300,000 men comprising the nine corps Of these, one-half, that is, 135 demi-batteries, or 540 field pieces, are fully horsed and equipped at this moment on the peace establishment, although the number of bayonets, sabres, and men of all arms actually in the ranks does not exceed 130,000 Matters are so arranged, also, that the ineffective demi batteries require nothing but the reserve men being called in, new horses to be purchased, and practised horses of each battery to be distributed among the whole, to complete the numbers to their full and powerful war amount England expects her generals to conquer, and her generals rarely disappoint her, but it is a flagrant courting of sanguinary sacrifices, and of risk of defeat, as well as a deplorable act of false economy, to deprive our generals of that full amount of guns which great and petty governments, as well as revolutionary provinces, consider to be the *sine quâ non* of confidence and success

"Continental military organisers, without exception, almost, consider eight guns (two of them howitzers) to be the most economical and efficient mode of composing field batteries, indeed, Russian

batteries consist of ten guns. We adhere, in England, to the system of six guns. Now, what is the result?—that whilst each continental demi-battery has its howitzer, one of our demi-batteries has, whilst the other has not, this important adjunct. If all great military nations, including France, are agreed upon the efficaciousness of the larger cypher, why should we obstinately adhere to the lesser?"

APPENDIX, No. XI.

THE DUKE IN THE ESTIMATION OF A FRENCH WRITER.

From the "Assemblée Nationale."

Great men disappear, and every day witnesses the fall of the last illustrious personages who have been on the stage since the commencement of the present century. By the death of the Duke of Wellington, M. de Metternich is the sole survivor of the political celebrities who remodelled the map of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. We have already spoken of the Duke of Wellington, and have retraced the principal circumstances of his glorious career. If we now return to this subject, it is to protest against the bad taste of some journals, who, in order to flatter the cause which now triumphs, draw comparisons between the Duke of Wellington and Napoleon Bonaparte. We know nothing more odious than the judgments passed on illustrious contemporaries in the point of view of a narrow and unjust patriotism. This low rhetoric is of a nature to degrade us in the eyes of foreigners, who read our journals, and who take them for the expression of public opinion. Every great nation, we know, is animated with a national spirit, which has its inevitable prejudices. France and England will never agree on the manner of judging Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington. Is it, therefore, impossible, by rising above those passions of circumstance, to arrive at the truth with regard to these two illustrious rivals? The year 1769 witnessed several glorious births; but certainly there was nothing more remarkable in that year than the simultaneous appearance on the stage of the world of the two men who were to meet at Waterloo. It appears that Providence proposed to balance one by the other—to oppose to a great genius one of a quite contrary character—and to bring in contact qualities and gifts of the most dissimilar kind. The principal characteristics of the genius of

Napoleon were a prodigious and insatiable imagination, aspiring to the impossible—the most vast and flexible faculties, but also a singular mobility of ideas and impressions. A solid judgment, a cool reason, a wonderful justness of perception, both on the field of battle and in the cabinet, the most penetrating good sense, amounting to a power which became genius, a perseverance which nothing could tire or turn aside, and the most unshakeable firmness in great dangers—such are some of the points which give the Duke of Wellington such a prominent figure in the history of the nineteenth century. It was at a giant's pace that Napoleon ran through a career which was to lead him for a moment to the head of human beings. By the rapidity of his ascension he dazzled the world, and everything with him took the character of a magic improvisation. His rival, on the contrary, rose by patient and modest slowness, by courageous reflection. He never drew back, however, he always went forward, and his glory followed a progression which escaped all reverses. To speak warmly to the imagination of men, to fascinate them, to excite their enthusiasm, and to labour by every means to inspire them with an admiration, mingled with a little terror, was the constant study of Napoleon, who was far from disdaining artifice to effect his purpose. The Duke of Wellington never thought but of speaking to the reason, he was never seen to do anything in a theatrical manner. Duty was the only rule which he admitted, and which he imposed on others. He had a horror of charlatanism and falsehood. He never sought to excite his soldiers, but sometimes he reminded them that they had to shed their blood because it was their duty. No astonishment will therefore be felt at the difference in the eloquence and the style of the two generals. In the proclamations of Napoleon, particularly in those of the campaigns of Italy, is to be found a powerful orator, who, in the manner of the ancients, engraves great images on the minds of those to whom he addresses himself. The orders of the day, the despatches, and the reports of the Duke of Wellington were written with a cold and austere simplicity. Nothing is given for effect—everything is positive and true.

The Emperor Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington were not only great captains, they have also been both called on to play great political parts. History will perhaps decide that, in Bonaparte, the organiser was equal to the conqueror. It must not, however, be forgotten that the possession and the use of the sovereign power smoothed down many obstacles. With despotism great things are often easy. It was in a free country that during thirty seven years, from 1815 to 1852, the Duke of Wellington enjoyed an unequalled

influence and authority. Placed by his birth, and more particularly by his glory, at the head of the English aristocracy, he belonged, truly speaking, to no party. It may be said that, in the bosom of the constitutional liberty of his country, the Duke of Wellington exercised a kind of moral dictatorship. The personal force which he was able to give or to withhold from the Government was immense. Although naturally Conservative by his principles and the nature of his genius, the Duke of Wellington did not, however, hesitate to propose to the Crown and to the Parliament the emancipation of the Catholics. In his eyes that reform was politic, just, and necessary. But his opinion was very different with regard to Parliamentary Reform, which appeared to him to change the political constitution of old England, and to threaten her with serious dangers. Was he mistaken? The future alone can decide. We only now witness the first consequences of Parliamentary Reform, and twenty years have scarcely passed since the Duke of Wellington opposed it in the House of Lords. We must wait for a longer trial; remarking, however, that the symptoms already seen are far from impeaching the foresight of the illustrious statesman. If at any future period England should find herself exposed to any great danger, either at home or abroad, her ideas would certainly revert to the man who for sixty years served and defended her. She will appreciate still more that wise, firm, and sober genius, who never allowed himself either to be intimidated or to be excited, and whose moderation was rewarded by such a fine destiny. The end and fall of the Emperor Napoleon are the last point of contrast which we pointed out at the outset. The Emperor fell, the scaffolding crumbled away, and he who raised it with heroic temerity only survived his irreparable shipwreck for a few years in exile. His fortunate rival, after a day by which the face of Europe was changed, saw open before him another career, which procured for him a new glory between peace and liberty, and which has only just finished in the midst of the unanimous regret and the gratitude of a great country. Is not such a lesson a striking proof of the final ascendancy of reason and of good sense over all the boldness and the flights of imagination and of genius? The contrast of these two destinies, and these two great historical figures, has appeared to us too instructive not to be rapidly sketched; and, in drawing the comparison, we have set passion aside, and have only sought for truth.

APPENDIX, No XII

A CLERGYMAN'S ESTIMATE OF THE DUKE'S CHARACTER

"With an intellect unimpaired, tranquilly and silently the Duke bade adieu to all earthly scenes, and changed immortal fame for a grander immortality in store Like David, he died in a good old age, *full of days, riches, and honour*

"Yes, my brethren, the greatest military chief that ever reflected lustre upon the annals of England is gone He who scarce ever advanced, but to be victorious—never retreated but to eclipse the glory of his advance—who never exhibited the arrogance of the conqueror, but *rigidly observed the laws of justice and moderation*—whose campaigns were sullied by no unnecessary cruelties—whose triumphs were followed by no curses—whose laurels were entwined with amaranth of righteousness—whose star was all lustrous, and never paled—whose name alone is an imperishable monument—is departed from us He who, to use the language of an eminent and rival statesman, after having taken the sword which gained independence to Europe, rallied the nations around him and saved all by his example, he who showed the same moderation in peace, as he had shown greatness in war, and devoted the remainder of his life to the cause of the internal and external peace of the country which he had so faithfully served, he who had equal authority with the Sovereign and with the Senate of which he was a member, and *carried on the services of one of the most important departments of the State, with unexampled regularity and success, even to the last* moments of his life, he whose devotion to his country was sincere and unceasing—who on every occasion acted with honest and upright determination for the benefit of that country—whose devoted loyalty made him ever anxious to serve the crown, but never induced him to conceal from his Sovereign that which he believed to be the truth, he, whose temperance enabled him at all times to give his whole mind and his faculties to the services which he was called upon to perform, he, whose dominant passion was love to his Queen and country, whose guiding star was truth and duty, which only led him through

the path of honour; this mighty man, this illustrious chief, this veritable hero has fallen before one stronger than he, and his body is now mingling with the dust, whilst his spirit has flown to the God who gave it.

"Here we might perhaps leave the subject, but the minister of the Gospel would fail in the most important part of his duty were he to satisfy himself with the task of the biographer, and not to consider the life and death of this illustrious man as well in relation to his own eternal well-being, as in the effect it ought to produce on the minds of all who survive him. We have seen that all his riches, all his honours, all his glory, could not spare him from the common lot of man—and all our tears, all our wishes, all our prayers can now avail him nothing—and how distressing, how heartrending would it be, if we could for a moment fear that he who had gained all other riches, had lost the pearl of greatest price—that he who had saved and delivered so many in this world, was himself not saved in another—that he who had so faithfully served his earthly Sovereign had neglected his heavenly One—and that he who had obtained the brightest coronet below, had failed to obtain the crown of glory above.

"These fears, however, my friends, I trust we need not indulge; on the contrary, there is every reason to hope and believe that he had made his peace with his Maker, and that he who so carefully fulfilled all his temporal duties had not neglected the all-important realities of eternity. It has caused feeling of greater delight than the rehearsal of all his victories, to be informed that those who knew him best speak of his regular, consistent, and unceasing piety—of his unostentatious but abounding charity, and tell us that he consecrated each day to God; that at the early service in the Chapel Royal, he (who was no hypocrite, never did anything for a mere pretence, who scorned the very idea of deceit) was regularly, almost alone, confessing his sins, acknowledging his guilt, and entreating mercy in the beautiful words of our own evangelical Liturgy, not for his own merits, but for the merits of that Saviour who bled and died for him. It is not then because of the height of his position—the magnanimity of his character—the temperance of his habits—the mercifulness of his disposition—the singleness and purity of his purpose—the obedience to what his conscience told him to be right—his unhesitating and inviolable truth—or on his devotion to his country, that we place our hopes of his eternal salvation, but because we believe that he knew these were only valuable as proofs of his faith—all of which he cast at the feet of his Saviour—and that he placed all his hopes of future glory in the sacrifice of the beloved

Son of God, who descended from heaven to bring his people to his Father's right hand, and died the accursed death of the cross, that they might live for ever

"But whilst we are grateful to Almighty God for having raised up in the hour of our country's need one qualified to meet the emergency, and to defend it from the dangers with which it was surrounded,—whilst we sorrow not as men without hope for him whom we trust to have departed in the Lord—let us not forget, that the good conduct of great men is an example for the rest of mankind, and that most important lessons are taught not only to the noble and the great, but even the humblest among us, by the life and death of the departed hero"—*Sermon on the "Might and Majesty of Death," suggested by the death of the Duke of Wellington by the Rev J A Emerton, D D*

APPENDIX, No XIII

THE ANCESTORS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

At a late meeting of the Archæological Society of Kilkenny, a paper was read showing the nature and extent of the ancestral connexion of the Duke of Wellington The civility which suggested the transmission of the document to the author of this biography, fully justifies the republication of the paper in these pages, irrespective of the intrinsic interest of the subject —

"*THE COWLEYS OF KILKENNY*

"An attempt to trace the history of the family of the Cowleys of Kilkenny would at any time suitably occupy the attention of the local Archæological Society, but owing to the circumstance that of that family, the great Duke of Wellington—so lately deceased, and for whose obsequies the British nation now makes such splendid preparation—was the lineal descendant and most distinguished representative, perhaps a more general interest may be expected for the subject

"In Archdall's edition of 'Lodge's Peerage,' published in 1789, when the Duke of Wellington was twenty years of age, the pedigree

of his father, the Earl of Mornington, commences with this statement: —'The family of Cowley, Cooley, or as it is now written, Colley, derives its origin from the county of Rutland, whence they removed into Ireland in the reign of King Henry VIII., in whose twenty-second year his Majesty granted to Walter and Robert Cowley, of Kilkenny, gentlemen, during their respective lives, the office of Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.' This assertion is altogether incorrect; the date of the grant of the clerkship of the Crown instead of the twenty-second should be the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII.;[1] and not only do we find some of the members of the Government in the reign of Henry VIII. writing of Walter Cowley as an Irishman, and a worthy example to the other natives, but we have evidence that the family was in Ireland, and it would seem that they were settled in Kilkenny also, at least a century before the alleged period of their removal from Rutlandshire. A list of the corporate officers of Kilkenny contained in a book formerly preserved amongst the municipal archives, but now in the possession of Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms, states that Walter Cowley was one of the two portrieves (an office resembling that of the more modern sheriffs), of Kilkenny, in the year 1407. The record referred to was compiled from the documents in the possession of the corporation, by Alderman Richard Connell, in the year 1693; and it is proper I should state that, having consulted the 'Liber Primus,' or most early of the city books, now in the custody of the town-clerk, I find the following entry under the date of 9th Henry IV. (1407), from which the accuracy of Connell's list may be questioned:—'Walterus Cowylfy fuit prepositus infra muros Kilkennie tempore estatis.' The name, Walter, it will be found, occurs frequently amongst the Cowleys of Kilkenny, but whether the Portrieve of 1407 was one of that family, notwithstanding the statement of Alderman Connell, who seems to have been an antiquary and herald of no mean abilities or research, I think cannot be positively asserted. However, as Henry VIII. did not ascend the throne till 1509, sufficient evidence can be adduced to show that, during the previous century, the Cowleys were in this country. In 1425, John Cowle was appointed, by an order dated at Drogheda on the 11th of May, a commission to take up provisions for the use of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, and his army (Rot. Pat., 3 Henry IV., m. 114). In 1496, John Cowley was granted the office of Gauger of Ireland during the royal pleasure[2] (Rot. Pat., 11

[1] The Liber Munerum quotes the patent as being dated January 11th, 1535.

[2] The family seems to have been connected with the Excise from a very early period. On

Henry VII, m 2) In 1505, Robert Cowley was appointed Customer of the Port of Dublin (Rot Mem, 20 Henry VII), and as it appears he still filled that office in 1520 (Rot Mem, 11, 12 Henry VIII, m 6), this would appear to be the same Robert Cowley of Kilkenny, who was appointed one of the Clerks of the Crown in Chancery, as referred to by Lodge, and who was the first member of his family that made a figure in the politics of the times, and rose to any station of importance in the State

"From the statement of Lodge, that this family was descended from 'Walter and Robert Cowley, of Kilkenny, gentlemen,' the natural inference would be that Walter, as being first-named, was the elder of the two, but such was not the case Robert was his father, and he is given the prior place in the grants of the various public offices which they held conjointly This Robert Cowley being a lawyer of much professional skill and ability, resident in Kilkenny, was selected by Piers, Earl of Ormonde, as his legal adviser and agent, and having brought up his son Walter to the law also, they both enjoyed the confidence and profited by the weighty political influence of the Ormonde family, through means of which they were gradually advanced from minor situations to important public offices On the 11th of January, 1535 they were created joint Clerks of the Crown in Chancery, as already mentioned In 1535, they were also conjointly appointed customers, collectors, and receivers of the Customs of the city and port of Dublin, for their lives, at a fee of 10*l* per annum The same year Walter was granted the same office for the port of Drogheda, at a like fee In 1537, September 7th, Walter was elevated to the dignity of Principal Solicitor, as it is now termed Solicitor General of Ireland, with a fee of 10*l* Irish On the 10th of January, 1538, Robert was created Master of the Rolls, on the 7th of May, 1540, he was made a commissioner for selling the lands *of the dissolved abbeys, and on the 30th September in that year, one* of the keepers of the peace within the county of Meath, with power to enforce the observation of the statutes of Dublin and Kilkenny

"From the 'State Papers,' containing the Irish correspondence during the reign of King Henry VIII, published by the English Record Commission, we are enabled to glean information sufficient to show that the legal and political abilities of Robert and Walter Cowley were largely employed by the Irish Government and the principal English statesmen of the period In 1520, we have the

the 5th of July 1331 the *King granted to Thomas Colley the office of gauger of wines in* England, Ireland and Wales (Rot. Pat., [illegible]0 Edward III m. 83)

first notice of Robert being in England on the business of the State; and the Lord-Deputy, Surrey, in writing to Cardinal Wolsey, on the 6th of September in that year, to inform him that the Earl of Kildare, then in London under arrest for high treason, had sent over the Abbot of Monaster Evyn and William Delahide, as emissaries to stir the O'Carrolls to revolt, mentions—'and the said Abbot and Delahide came both together out of England, and my servaunt Cowley, in oon ship, sixteen days afore Ester.' In 1524, we have Robert Cowley again in London aiding the Lord James Butler in the carrying out of some delicate political manœuvres for the Earl of Ormonde, whose enemies, the Geraldines, the Lord-Deputy was then inclined to favour; and the Earl writes to his son informing him of the various representations which he wishes to be made to the King and Wolsey, which 'my trusty servaunt, Robert Couly, shall penn and endite. * * * * * In any wise, slepe not on this matier, and if ye do, the most losses and trouble willbe yours, in tyme commying. Immediat upon the receipt hereof, sende for Robert Couly, and cause hym to seche (seek) remedies for the same.' The Cowleys were, as in duty bound, staunch adherents of their patrons, the Ormonde family, in all the vicissitudes of their feud, then at its height, with the House of Kildare. In a long list of charges, which the Earl of Kildare preferred through Lord Leonard Grey, to the King, against the Earl of Ormonde, in 1525, one is—'Item, he hath used to sende over see, unto oon Robert Couly, by whome diverse untrothes have been proved, to indite complaintes, at his owne pleasure or discression, against the said Erle of Kildare; having with hym a signet of the said Erle of Ormondes, to seal the same.' In 1528, we have Robert Cowley corresponding with Cardinal Wolsey, giving him private information as to the doings of the various Irish Government officers; he is very free in offering suggestions as to the arrangements of the Lord-Deputy and his adherents, which he considers ought to be interfered with, but his partizanship for the Ormonde family is evident throughout, and he loses no opportunity of putting in such recommendations for his patrons as the following: —'Pleas it your Grace to be advertised, that where my Lord of Ossory, and his son, according to theire bounden duetis, attende your gracious pleasure and deliberacion concernyng the affayres of Irland others ryne in at the wyndow the next wey, making immediat pursuytis to the Kinges Highnes, where they obteyne all theire desiris without any stopp or stay, by means of Anthony Knevet, and others; wherof wol ensue the destruccion of Irland, without your gracious spedy redress.' After the disgrace and downfall of Wolsey,

both Robert and Walter Cowley kept up a constant correspondence with Cromwell, the Chief Minister of the Crown, and Sir Thomas Wryothesley, the King's secretary, reporting upon the condition of Ireland, and the measures of the Government, but always having a favourable word to say for the Earl of Ormonde We have frequent propositions sent over under the title of 'Devices of Robert Cowley, for the furtherance of the Kinges Majestes affayres in his Graces land of Irland,' he enters with alacrity into the views of Cromwell respecting the suppression of monastic houses, and seeks to hasten in every way the issuing of the order for dissolving the Irish abbeys—a matter in which he was largely interested, not alone as being appointed a Commissioner for setting the lands of the religious houses to tenants under the Crown, but inasmuch as he procured the farming of the manor of Holmpatrick for himself, which he held at 12*l* 5*s* 4*d* per annum[1] He subscribes his letter—'Your Lordships moost bounden Bedisman, Robert Cowley,' the superscription is—'To my Lord Pryvee Seales Honourable Lordship' On the 10th August, 1538, Thomas Allan writes to Cowley, informing him of the death of 'the Lord of Trymlettison, late the Kingis Chancelour,' mentioning that his own brother, John Allen, then Master of the Rolls, expects to succeed to the office, adding—'Master Cowley, if the Kingis plesur shalbe to assigne and make him Chauncelour, I know right well ye shalbe Master of the Rolles, being worthiest thereof in this land Both he and I, onfaynedlie, shalbe as glad of your preferrement thereto, as any too lyving' The letter is addressed—'To my wurshipful friende and good Master, Master Robert Cowley' We have seen already that Allan's anticipations were fulfilled, and soon after we have Robert Cowley signing his name to the correspondence of the Irish Government, as one of the Privy Council

"In the mean time Walter Cowley was pushing himself forward in Ireland, although his attachment to the Ormonde interest caused him to be no favourite with the Lord Deputy, Leonard Grey, who,

[1] Cowley, however, appears to have been a more conscientious courtier than most of those who farmed the Abbey lands from the Crown We find him writing thus to Cromwell on Lady Day, 1539 — Sir, we bee so covetous insaciably to have so many farmes, every of us, for our singular profittes, that we have exturped and put awaye the men of warre that shuld defend the countrey, and all is like to go to wrack, except an order be takyn the rather as to have a survey, whate I and every other have in fees and farmes and every oon that have such fees and fermes to be taxed to fynde a certaine nombre of hable men, to serve the king and to defend the countrey, uppon great payns Lett every of us beare his burden of sowernes with swetenes, and not to cast all the burden in the kinges charge, to caryche our silvis.'

assurid friende, Robert Cowley at London,' and after his father's death, when he himself became Earl of Ormonde, in writing to the King's Secretary on the 21st of October, 1539, he speaks of 'my friende Waltier Cowley' Their devotion to the interests of the Butler family, however, was ultimately the cause of a temporary but serious reverse of fortune to the Cowleys Earl James, though he wedded the daughter of the Earl of Desmonde, was as implacable an enemy of the Geraldines as was his father, Earl Pierce, who had married the sister of the Earl of Kildare, and Sir Anthony St Leger, who succeeded to the government of Ireland after the disgrace and execution of Lord Leonard Grey, having pursued the policy of his predecessor with respect to patronising the Earl of Desmonde, Robert Cowley so warmly joined the Earl of Ormonde in opposing the views of the Lord-Deputy and thwarting his plans, that an open rupture ensued Cowley, without asking for licence to absent himself from his official duties in Ireland, repaired clandestinely to London, with the view of prejudicing the Court against St Leger, by his report of transactions in Dublin, and he wrote a letter to the King in which, amongst other matters, he charged the Lord Deputy with having said that 'Henry VII, at his first entering into England, had but a very slender title to the crown till he married Queen Elizabeth' The members of the Irish Privy Council, however, sent over a counter report, in which the blame was thrown on Cowley himself, and the result was, that on the 6th of October, 1542, the Council of England committed him to the Fleet prison, having previously dismissed him from his office, and we have the King thus addressing a letter on the subject to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland —

"'And whereas it appeareth unto us, that Robert Cowley, late Maister of the Rolles there, at his late repayr hither, departed out of that our realm without the lycence of you, our Deputye, having no cause or matyr to enforce the same, but such as he might have commytted to writing, and signified at leisure, for that it plainly appeareth the same was voyd of all malice, and of no suche importance as his malicious appetite desired, albeit it shalbe well doon for all men, and especially for them whiche be in auctoritie to frame their communications uppon suche matyer, as ministrie noon occasion to captious persons to judge otherwise in them then theye meane, entende, and purpose, and also it appeareth that the said Cowley is a man seditious, and full of contention and disobedyence, which is to be abhorred in any man, but chiefly in a counsailor We have, therefore, discharged him of his rome and office of Maister of the Rolles

there, and we conferre and yeve the same to you, Sir Thomas Cusake, not doubting but you wool, both therein, and in all other our affayres there, serve us according to your dieuty, and our expectacion.'

"The answer of St. Leger to the above royal dispatch is curious, not only as showing the nature of the quarrel with Cowley, but as giving us a glimpse of the policy upon which the government of Ireland was conducted at the time, being upon the principle of *divide et impera*:—

"'It may also please your Majestie, that there hathe bene to me reported that the saide Mr. Cowley, late Maister of your Rolles here, shoulde article ageinste me, that I wente aboute to erecte a newe Geraldyne bande, menyng the same by the Erle of Desmonde; the trouthe is, I laboured moost effectuallie to bring him to your parfaicte obedience, to my grete parill and charge; and this, gracious Lord, was the onlie cause. I sawe that, now the Erle of Kildare was gone, ther was no subjecte of your Majesties here mete nor hable to way with the Erle of Ormonde; who hathe, of your Majesties gifte, and of his owne inherytance and rule, gevin him by your Majestie, not onlie fifty or sixty myles in lengthe, but also many of the chiefe holdes of the frontiers of Irishmen; so that if he, or any of his heires, shoulde swarve from their dewtie of allegiance (whiche I think verilie that he will never do), it wolde be more harde to dante him or theim, then it was the saide Erle of Kildare, who had alwayes the saide Erle of Ormonde in his toppe, when he wolde or was like to attempte any such thinge. Therefore I thought it good to have a Rowlande for an Olyver; for having the saide Erle of Desmond your Highness assured subjecte, it will kepe theim both in staye. * * * * This, as my bounden dewtie, which is to allure al men to your Majesties obedyence, was the cause why I labored the saide Erle to the same, and no zeele that I have either to Geraldyne or Butler, otherwise than may sarve to the sarvice of your Majestie, in which I love them bothe. * * * * And where, also, it hathe bene reported here that such articles as I, with other your Counsell, sente over ageyne the saide Cowley, late Maister of your Rolles here, should be conceived ageinste him more of malice, then of matier of trouthe; upon the faithe and alleigeance I bere to your Majestie, for my parte having the examination thereof in presence of your Counsell, I examyned the same as indifferentlie as I would have done if the same Cowley had bene my father; and onlie certified the trouthe, as the witnesses deposed upon their othes.'

"Robert Cowley was detained in the Fleet prison, on the charge of treasonable practices, till the 21st of July in the following year,

when he was liberated on giving security not to go to Ireland without leave. From this period we have no mention of his name in any public document, and as he must have been a very old man at the time, it may be safely presumed that he did not long outlive his imprisonment and disgrace. Three years later, however, we have the old quarrel waged more fiercely than ever between the Earl of Ormonde and the Lord-Deputy, and we find Walter Cowley, who still remained Solicitor General and Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, taking a prominent part in the embroilment, as a partizan of the Earl. The Lord Chancellor, Allen, was also at variance with St. Leger, and appears, according to the view of the editors of the 'State Papers,' to have used Cowley as a tool to give him annoyance.[1] In February, 1546, Robert St. Leger, the Deputy's brother, intercepted and opened certain letters written by the Earl of Ormonde, to the King, and the Earl having indignantly denounced this act, St. Leger required the Council to investigate the case, and allow him to defend himself. Lord Ormonde and Walter Cowley appeared before the Council, but refused to allege anything there to St. Leger's charge, on the ground that, he being the Lord Deputy's brother, the Council was not indifferent; and the consequence was the matter was laid before the English Council. The Irish Council brought strong charges against the Earl of Ormonde. The Archbishop of Dublin, in writing to the King, observes—'So it is, most gracious Lorde, that here is contraversie rysyn betwene the right honourable my Lorde-Deputy and my Lorde Ormonde, which, if spedy remedy be not had, is like to torne to great hurte; ye, to the totall distrucion of this your Majesties realme, and in especially your mere English subjectes;' and he denounces the Earl as a dangerous person 'more like a prince than a subject; more like a governor than an obedient servant.' Whilst the Deputy himself begs of the English Council to free him from the troubles of his unpleasant office—'Discharge me,' he prays 'of this tedious paine, wherunto I have not bene accustomed, and I humblie beseche youe all, to be the means to the Kinges Majestie to ryd me from this hell, wherin I have remayned this six years; and that some other may there serve his Majestie, as long as I have doon, and I to serve his Highnes elsewhere, where he shall commande me. Tho' the same were in Turkay, I will not refuce ytt.' The various

[1] Allen was unscrupulous enough to endeavour to make a stalking horse of Cowley and escape censure by throwing all the blame on him. In his defence against St. Leger's charges, he says, "As for Cowley's boke (book, or schedule of charges), I take God to recorde, I was never of counsell wyth article of it. God is my judge, I wolde be ashamed to be named to be privy to the pennynge of so lewde a boke."

parties were ultimately called to London to have the case investigated, and the intrigues of the Earl of Ormonde's enemies, it is generally supposed, went to the length of procuring his murder there. Poison was introduced into some of the dishes at an entertainment which he gave to thirty-five of his followers and attendants at Ely House, Holborn, and the Earl and eighteen of his servants died. His faithful ally, Walter Cowley, had also the misfortune of being condemned by the Council, on St. Leger's charges, and he was committed to the Tower of London. His incarceration was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for him, as it probably prevented his being poisoned at the Ely House banquet. From his prison we have the poor captive writing to the council after this most humble and contrite fashion:—'I, Waltier Cowley, with as sorrowful a hart as ever any pore man can have that my Soveraine Lord shold conceiv evell demeacuire in me, do, in most humble wise, beseche his Highness, according to his Majesties accustomid clemencie, that this my plain confession and declaration may move his Excellencie, replete with pitie and mercy, to accept me to grace.' He then proceeds to an explanation of the reasons which induced him to consider the Lord Deputy's policy unsound and dangerous, declaring his belief that if the Earl of Ormonde's power to serve the King as a faithful nobleman were subverted, there would be 'a great danger to all us there that have little land and honure, that we shold be then undone by Irish dissobeissants in every side;' and he subscribes himself 'your honourable Lordship's pore wredche in misery, Waltier Cowley.' This submission by no means mollified the King and Council, for they soon after issued an order for the dismissal of Cowley from his office, and appointing John Bath to be Solicitor-General in his room.

"At this point the Record Commissioners' publication of the invaluable documents contained in the State Paper Office, breaks off, and I have no means of ascertaining the length of Walter Cowley's incarceration in the Tower, or how his discharge was procured; but there is reason to suppose that his release came with the decease of the tyrant Henry VIII., in January, 1547 (old style), and that the new Government disapproved of the severity used towards him, and wished to compensate him for it, for in a few months after Edward VI. ascended the throne, we have (according to the 'Liber Munerum') Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of the kingdom, writing from Windsor, under the date September 13, 1548, signifying to the Lord-Deputy, Bellyngham, and the Council of Ireland, 'that Walter Cowley is recommended to them as a worthy and necessary officer for

the surveying, appraising, and extending the King's possessions and revenues in Ireland,' and a second letter on the 21st of the same month, specially directing that the salary attaching to the office should be 100*l* per annum—a large sum in those days Cowley had continued to hold the appointment of Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, to which he was originally appointed, but he now resigned that situation upon receiving the patent for the office of Surveyor General of Ireland, which he was the first to fill, and held till his death, in 1551

"Robert Cowley, beside Walter, had two sons, Robert and Nicholas[1] The former was a justice of the peace in the King's County, under the title of 'Robert Colley, Esq,' having on the 3rd February, 1562, received a grant from Queen Elizabeth of lands in that county called Castletown, otherwise Young Cowleystown, but he was slain by the rebels on the 10th July, 1572,[2] without leaving male issue, and the property reverted to the Crown Nicholas appears to have been a merchant of Kilkenny, and he filled the office of Sovereign of that municipality in the years 1540 and 1551 This Nicholas was probably the progenitor of the subsequent Cowleys of Kilkenny Walter, the Surveyor General, was no doubt the head of the family, and he (according to Lodge) had two children, Henry and Walter The first was a captain in Queen Elizabeth's army, was knighted, and received a grant of Castlecarbery, in the county of Meath From him sprang the Mornington family Walter, the younger, was Customer and Collector of the port of Drogheda, but I find no further mention of him The junior branch of the family, which remained in Kilkenny, were chiefly wealthy traders in the city, and also owned property in the county some of them were brought up to the legal profession, for it appears from the 'Exchequer Order book' t[illegible] 1610, 'Mr Cowlie, learned in the law,' was counsel for [illegible], in a suit in the Court of Exchequer [illegible] their counsel, and Robert By[illegible] the same year, 'Mr [illegible] 1609, when [illegible] it to the [illegible] docu[illegible] in

[1] [illegible] of
8*d* per
same [illegible]
Dublin
[2] This

1626, and must have been a man of wealth, if we may judge from the costly monument erected to him in the Abbey of St. John, which bears the following inscription:—

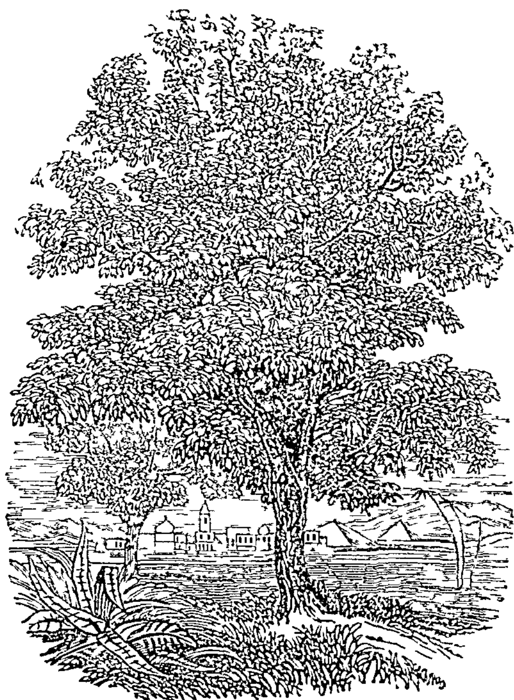
"'D. Michael Cowley.

"'Irenarcha et jurisconsultus, &c., et uxor ejus D. Honoria Roth, hic requiescunt in æternam, ut speramus, hinc requiem transferendi ubi quod corruptibile est incorruptionem induet; uterque mortis subditit legi; uterque mortuus commune solvit debitum naturæ. Hæc vivere orbi desiit anno * * * * die mensis * * * * cælo ille cæpit vivere anno * * * *

"The monument having been erected during his life-time leaves a blank for the date of his decease, but he was living in the year 1615, as his name is given in a list of the gentlemen of the county of Kilkenny under the date 21st Charles I., preserved amongst the MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin (F. 3. 15). James Cowley was Mayor of Kilkenny in 1636. In 1641 Andrew Cowley, of Kilkenny, appears on the roll of representatives, who sat in the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics, and he was Sheriff of the city in 1642. A fragment of a monument, lying at the south side of St. John's Abbey, sculptured with the Cowley arms, impaling those of Shee, bearing, in addition, the initials A. C. and R. S., probably belonged to the tomb of this gentleman. At this eventful period of Irish history, Luke Cowley was Roman Catholic Archdeacon of Ossory, and Prothonotary Apostolic, and as such his name appears signed to the answers to the famous queries propounded by the Supreme Council, to the Bishop of Ossory and other divines, as to the lawfulness of the cessation of hostilities with Lord Inchiquin in 1648. When the all-conquering arms of Cromwell were found irresistible by the garrison of Kilkenny in 1650, after a gallant defence, they sued for and received honourable terms, sending out four gentlemen to negotiate the matter with the Parliamentary General; and the first of these who signed the articles of capitulation was Edward Cowly. The family has since altogether disappeared from the county and city of Kilkenny; the last of the name whom I have been enabled to trace in the locality being James Cowley, whose will, bearing date 22nd December, 1720, is preserved in the Ossory Diocesan Registrar's Office. He bequeaths, in the usual form, his soul to God, his body to be buried with his ancestors in the Abbey of St. John, and his interest in the farms of Rathardmore and Killamory, held by him by lease from Denny Cuffe, Esq., to be sold, and the proceeds equally divided between his wife and three children, whose names are not mentioned.

"In the mean time the elder branch of the family was rising to high honours and distinctions in other counties Henry Colley, the eldest son of Walter, the Surveyor-General, though his official appointments as Governor of Philipstown and a Commissioner for the execution of Martial Law, were in the King's County, Kildare, and Meath, kept up his connection with Kilkenny, as he represented the borough of Thomastown in Parliament He was knighted and made a Privy Councillor by the Lord-Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, and for his services, military and civil, received the special commendation of several of the chief Ministers of the day He died in 1584, and the property of his eldest son, Sir George Colley, of Edenderry, passed out of the family from the failure of heirs male in the next generation, but his second son, Sir Henry of Castlecarbery, had a numerous posterity He was succeeded by his son Henry, who was succeeded by his son, Dudley, whose successor was Henry, who, in his turn, was succeeded by another Henry, the father of Richard Colley, Baron of Mornington, the father of Garret, Earl of Mornington, whose fifth son, born the 1st of May, 1769, was the Duke of Wellington Richard Colley, the first of the family raised to the peerage, succeeded to the property of the Wesley or Wellesley family, on the death of his cousin, Garret Wesley in 1728, that gentleman having made him his heir on condition of his assuming the surname and using the coat of arms of Wesley The arms since borne by the family, in consequence, are—Quarterly, first and fourth *gules*, a cross, *argent*, between four saltiers of plates, for Wesley the second and third *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, gorged with a ducal coronet, proper, for Colley Crest, on a wreath, an armed arm in pale, couped below the elbow, the hand proper, the wrist encircled with a ducal coronet, *or*, holding a spear in bend, with the banner of St George appendant, in allusion to the Wesleys having been anciently the standard bearers of the Kings of England The lion rampant, here used for Colley, was no part of the arms of the old Cowleys of Kilkenny, but I am informed by Sir William Betham—to whom I have been indebted for much valuable information on the subject of this paper—that this bearing was specially granted to Richard Colley, from the English Heralds' College upon his assumption of the name and cognizance of Wesley The arms given for Cowley, in an heraldic manuscript in the possession of the Rev James Graves, which seems to have been compiled in the beginning of the last century by some native of Kilkenny, are—'*gules*, a chevron (by others a fess), *argent*, between three esquires' helmets' The armorial bearings on the monuments of Michael and Andrew Cowley, in the Abbey of St John, display a fess between

three esquires' helmets, with the crest, a hand, coupéd at the wrist, embowed to the dexter side. The fess, on both the shields, is charged with a crescent, as a mark of cadency, showing that the Cowleys of Kilkenny acknowledged the Colleys of Castlecarbery to be the elder branch of their house."



ERRATA IN VOLUME THE FIRST.

The reader is requested to correct in the first volume of this (the first) edition of the "Illustrated Life of Wellington," the following errata :—

Page 62—For "Talavera *del* Reyna," read "*de el* Reyna."
,, 67—For "Duke de Belluno," read "Duc de Treviso."
,, 72—For "*the* Spanish University," read "a Spanish."
,, 98—For "Sir Henry Wheatley *died* privy purse, &c" read "*held* the office of privy purse, &c, which he resigned *some time before* his death"
,, 98—For "Royal *First* Fusiliers," read "Royal *Irish* Fusiliers"
,, 107—For "*bring* the carcases," read "*bury*."
,, 223—For "best troops *from* service," read "*for* service."
,, 306—For "*Ernfurth*," read "*Erfurth*."
,, 357—For "*Chantillon*," read "*Chatillon*."

N B —Whenever the words "Marquis *of* Wellesley" are used, substitute "Marquis Wellesley."

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