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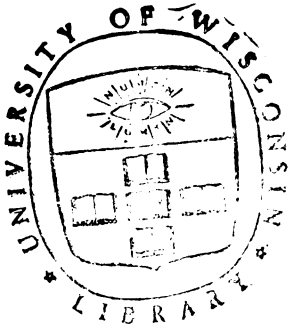

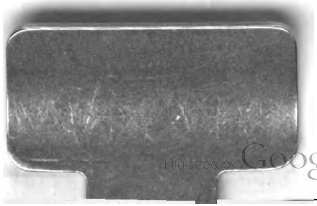

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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXXI

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TO THE READER.

THE following instructions were given by Lord Brougham to me, as his executor :—

"Before the Autobiography can be published, you must see that it is arranged chronologically.

"If (writing from memory) I have made mistakes in dates, or in proper names, let such be corrected; but the *Narrative* is to be printed, *AS I HAVE WRITTEN IT.*

"I alone am answerable for all its statements, faults, and omissions. I will have no Editor employed to alter, or rewrite what I desire shall be published, as *EXCLUSIVELY MY OWN.*

"BROUGHAM, *November* 1867."

In publishing Lord Brougham's Autobiography, the above explicit directions, have been scrupulously obeyed.

BROUGHAM & VAUX.

BROUGHAM, *January* 1871.

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NOTE

TO

SECOND EDITION OF VOLUME I.

MANY inquiries having been made as to the dates at which these Memoirs were written, the following memorandum on the subject is supplied by the present Lord Brougham :—

"On Saturday, 5th October 1861, Lord Brougham, then *in his 84th year* (for he was 83 on the 19th September 1861), began with me, at Brougham, to look out all the letters and papers relating to the Princess Charlotte, the Princess of Wales, and the Queen's Trial. On TUESDAY, 8TH OCTOBER, he began to write upon that subject.

"On Thursday the 17th, the narrative of the Trial, and all that related to his connection with the Princess of Wales and her daughter, was sketched out.

"On the 29th November we went to Cannes, taking with us all letters and papers, which were there copied and arranged with the narrative.

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"*In September* 1862 he began, while at Brougham, the Political part—*i.e.*, Canning and his Government, Lord Grey and his Government, and so on to the end of 1834.

"When we went to Cannes in November 1862, all Lord Grey's letters were taken, and from these he made selections. In the autumn of 1863, when at Brougham, he completed this part, by the addition of his own narrative, and letters—letters which he had before that time received from Lady Grey, Lord Grey's widow, and without which he could have done nothing.

"Up to this time he had not written one word of his Early Life; but on being strongly urged to attempt this, both by Mr Elwin (then editor of the 'Quarterly') and myself, he began in November 1863, and, in a search he then made for early materials, he found the MS. of Memnon. This he marked in pencil on the first page, thus: 'At B——m (Brougham), 1792.' He believed he had *composed* it, entirely forgetting that it was only a translation, probably a task set him by his tutor—a very pardonable mistake after a lapse of seventy years. He continued to write at this part of his Early Life, from time to time, TILL NOVEMBER 1867.

"BROUGHAM, *March* 1871."

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THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM.

CHAPTER X.

The Orders in Council.

CONTEST WITH THE "ORDERS IN COUNCIL"—THEIR ORIGIN—THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES—THE POLICY OF RETALIATION ADOPTED IN THE ORDERS — PREPARATIONS FOR ATTACKING THEM — CORRESPONDENCE WITH MERCANTILE MEN — MOTION FOR SELECT COMMITTEE—JAMES STEPHEN—ALEXANDER BARING —PERCEVAL—INCIDENTS OF HIS ASSASSINATION—ITS POLITICAL EFFECTS—RECALL OF THE ORDERS—STATE OF PARTIES—WARD (LORD DUDLEY) AND HIS FOLLOWERS—INSTANCES OF THE POPULARITY OF THE RECALL—QUESTION OF TESTIMONIALS FOR PUBLIC SERVICES — AMERICAN DECLARATION OF WAR — WILBERFORCE WRITES ABOUT HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE REPRESENTATION OF YORKSHIRE—AN OPENING IN LIVERPOOL—ACCOUNT OF UNSUCCESSFUL CONTEST THERE—RETURNED FOR WINCHELSEA.

THE repeal of the Orders in Council was my greatest achievement. It was second to none of the many efforts made by me, and not altogether without success, to ameliorate the condition of my fellow-men. In these I had the sympathy and aid of others, but in

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the battle against the Orders in Council I fought alone.

In the beginning of the struggle, when in 1808 I contended before the House of Lords and House of Commons on behalf of the traders and manufacturers of Liverpool, Birmingham, London, and Manchester, I had to confront the opposition not only of the Tory Government, but of the Whig ministers of 1806 and 1807, who had issued the first Order, afterwards greatly extended in impolicy and injustice by the Orders of their Tory successors.*

I do not deny that between the beginning of the contest in 1808 and the victory I gained in 1812, the Whigs, perhaps convinced by the evidence I produced in Parliament, perhaps acting upon their natural tendency to oppose the measures of their Tory successors (albeit the Orders issued by them were in reality identical with their own of January 1807), did afford me most valuable assistance. By their help, and by the great assistance I received from others, especially from Alexander Baring, I was enabled to prevail, and to achieve what I have always looked upon as the greatest success it ever was my fate to win. I shall not say a word upon what I have done for education, slavery, charitable trusts, or law reform, for all I did in such matters has been long before the public, is well known by my speeches in Parliament, by my writings, and by the fact that many of the measures which I so strenuously advocated have long since been adopted by the Legislature. I may, however, be pardoned for referring, with some pride, to the acknowledgment of my services, declared by the

* See Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham, i. 393 *et seq.*

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express order of her Majesty to Lord Palmerston upon the occasion of the peerage granted to me in 1860.*

I now proceed to the subject of the Orders in Council, and the circumstances of their repeal.

When Napoleon was satisfied that any attempt to subdue Great Britain by force of arms must prove ineffectual, and when he had, in consequence of this conviction, given up the project of invasion which at one time he had unquestionably entertained, he directed all his energies to the discovery of some scheme that might, by injuring our trade, cripple our resources, and lessen our wealth, and thereby weaken our authority on the Continent.

There can be no doubt that he borrowed his idea from the measures formerly adopted by the Directory,† in accordance with which he issued from Berlin, in 1806, an interdict which declared the islands of Great Britain in a state of blockade, all British subjects, wherever found, prisoners of war, and all British goods, wherever taken, lawful prize.‡ It further excluded from all the ports in France every vessel which had touched at any British port, no matter to what nation such vessel might belong.

The parts of this decree which most affected English interests were, the seizure of all British produce, no matter where found, and the exclusion from French

* The words I refer to are as follows: "In consideration of the eminent public services of our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Henry Baron Brougham and Vaux, more especially in the diffusion of knowledge, the spread of education, and the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, of our especial grant, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have advanced, preferred, and created him," &c.

† In the decrees of July 1796 and January 1798.

‡ This was the famous "Berlin Decree," dated the 20th November 1806.

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ports of all vessels that had touched at any port of Great Britain.

If England had been content to remain quiet, and had left France and the neutral states to fight it out, it is extremely probable that our trade would in the long-run have gained rather than lost—at least, as long as we could furnish goods to meet the demand; which demand would have been met either by help of smuggling or by other contrivances.

Unfortunately, our rulers, taking a different view, determined to fight Napoleon with his own weapons, and to adopt measures of retaliation.

A more unsound—a more fatal policy—never was conceived. The Whigs were in office at the date of the Berlin Decree; and that Government, instead of waiting to see how the neutral powers, especially America, would act—instead of giving time for deliberation, or even submitting the question to the opinion of Parliament—took a course little likely to injure France, but fraught with certain and absolute destruction to ourselves.

The Whig Order was issued at the beginning of January 1807; it declared that England was authorised by the Berlin Decree to blockade the whole seaboard of France; to prohibit all vessels which had touched at any French port from entering our ports; and that if we pleased to exercise the power, we should be justified in seizing the cargoes. Such a wanton outrage against the rights of neutrals never before was perpetrated. No doubt France had by the Berlin Decree grossly violated neutral rights, but that was no justification of the course taken by England.

Before the close of 1807 the Whigs were succeeded

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by a Tory Government, which about the end of that year issued other Orders in Council, every whit as objectionable as the Whig Order of January. Unquestionably the Americans considered the Whig Order identical in principle with Mr Perceval's. When, in 1808, I appeared at the bar of the House of Commons as counsel for the manufacturers and traders of England against these Orders, I made no distinction between the Whig and the Tory Order. I condemned both as being identical in principle, equally impolitic, and equally destructive of English commerce.

I am bound to say that when, four years after, I fought the great battle in Parliament, I was greatly assisted by the Whig party, who had by that time become abundantly hostile to that system of injustice and impolicy which, founded by themselves, had been, as I have already said, greatly extended by their Tory rivals.

I have called the Orders which followed the Whig Order of January 1807, Perceval's, but in truth James Stephen was their author.

He was a man of very considerable powers, combined with great firmness of purpose and unquenchable ardour. Strong in body as well as mind, he was capable of undergoing any amount of labour; and, wedded to his own opinion, he resisted all attacks with a firmness that amounted to obstinacy.

The best part of his life had been passed in the West Indies, where he practised at the bar; on his return to England, he came into Parliament under the auspices of his great friend Perceval; for Stephen was a member of the Evangelical party, to which Perceval had a strong leaning, although he did not actually belong to it. As a speaker he certainly had consider-

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able success; but yet neither as a debater nor as a speaker could he be classed as of a high order. He had not the correct taste which is acquired by the habit of frequenting refined society, and the practice of addressing a fastidious audience.

He held upon political subjects very decided opinions, and at all times was ready to assert them with the most determined and uncompromising spirit. He was strong upon the slave question, and felt this as above all others sacred, not only from his strong religious feelings, but from his near connection with Wilberforce, whose sister he had married; and upon this subject he published many valuable works.*

That the enthusiasm of his nature warped his better judgment, is shown by a remarkable pamphlet he published early in 1807, 'On the Dangers of the Country,' in which he actually argues, that all the misfortunes inflicted upon Europe by the wars with France were a punishment inflicted by Providence, because England had more than once rejected the measure for the abolition of slavery!—a somewhat unfair appreciation of the justice of Providence, seeing that so many of the Continental countries which had suffered most from Napo-

* Among these were the 'Crisis of the Sugar Colonies,' the 'Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture,' the 'Opportunity,' 'The Slavery of the British West India Colonies, delineated as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, ancient and modern;' 'England Enslaved by her own Slave Colonies.' In reference to Stephen and the Orders in Council, see in Lord Brougham's 'Contributions to the Edinburgh Review,' ii. 81, the article "On Foreign Affairs," reviewing, among other pieces, 'The Speech of James Stephen, Esq., in the Debate in the House of Commons, March 6, 1809, on Mr Whitbread's Motion relative to the late Overture of the American Government, with supplementary remarks on the recent Orders in Council.' Stephen died in 1832. His son, Sir James, long Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was an author, and a contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review.'

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leon, possessed neither colonies nor slave-trading vessels, and were therefore guiltless of all slave traffic.

It can be readily understood that this insane theory engendered in Stephen such a hatred of Napoleon, that he directed the whole force of his mind to devise some means of counteracting his attempts to injure the commerce of this country. Highly applauding the Whig Order of January 1807, as soon as his friend Mr Perceval became minister, he readily obtained his assent to a still more complete system of retaliation. With this view he framed the famous Order of November 1807, which brought our mercantile conflict, not with France only, but unhappily with America, to a crisis. He preluded his Order by a tract deservedly celebrated, and most justly admired, entitled 'War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags.' It is impossible to speak too highly of this work, or to deny its signal success in making the nation for a time thoroughly believe in the justice and efficacy of his Orders in Council. This is not the time or place to discuss the merits or defects of this tract of Stephen's, or to refute the arguments or expose the fallacies of the scheme that was supposed to be all-powerful in defeating not only the Berlin but the Milan Decree of Napoleon;* suffice it to say that the Orders, coupled with the system of licences issued to permit certain vessels to pass, notwithstanding the Orders in Council, followed by the American Embargo and Non-importation Acts, which produced a suspension of all commerce with the United States, brought destruction upon British commerce, and caused the manufacturers of London, Hull,

* This Decree was issued at Milan on the 17th December 1807, and was intended to enforce more rigorously the Berlin Decree.

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Manchester, and Liverpool to deluge Parliament with petitions against the policy of the Orders, and to tender evidence to prove the great injuries inflicted.

As counsel for the merchants, manufacturers, and traders, I was heard at the bar of both Houses, and produced an overwhelming body of evidence in support of the petitions. This began in the spring of 1808, but all attempts to move the ministers proved unavailing; and it was not till four years after that there appeared any hope of a more favourable result.

Throughout all the early part of 1812, I had been in constant correspondence with leading men in the manufacturing districts, not only on the state of trade and the distresses, but on the not ill-grounded apprehensions of a war with America, and the fears lest these combined evils might lead to acts of violence from those who considered the distress they were suffering from altogether due to the mischievous policy of the Government.

The following letter, which I wrote to one of the leading manufacturers, will more fully explain this state of things, and my opinion:—

TO J. WALKER, ESQ.

"London, *March* 6, 1812.

"Sir,—I am firmly persuaded that nothing is wanted to obtain such a change of measures as will relieve the present unexampled distresses of the manufacturing counties, but a firm and united representation of those distresses to Parliament, in temperate language and accompanied with peaceable conduct. By pursuing this course, I am very sanguine in the expectation that one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, evil which

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can visit this country, a war with America, may be fortunately prevented. Should the present system be persisted in, I much fear *that* misfortune is at no great distance, and, when it arrives, no one can doubt how great an addition to our sufferings it will bring with it. There appears to me to be no other mode of proceeding, in order to resist the present ruinous system, than the one I have taken the liberty of recommending. It would be vain to expect any relief from applications to the Prince Regent, while his Royal Highness continues to give his confidence to those men whose measures, so obstinately persisted in, have brought the trade of the country into its present state, and who, resolved upon pursuing the same fatal policy, wholly regardless of its consequences, appear to have made up their minds to an American war, as no extravagant price to pay for their favourite system. The approaches to the throne, too, are now beset with unusual difficulties, since his Royal Highness has unhappily listened to those who advise him against being freely seen by his people; and, acting under the influence of such counsels, it should seem that the Prince is no longer so accessible to the distresses and complaints of his subjects as his own gracious inclinations might dispose him to be. On the other hand, it would be most calamitous if the people were to suffer those distresses to mislead them into any acts of violence—calamitous in every view, but, above all, for this reason, that the inevitable consequence of such illegal conduct must be the giving to the executive Government that accession of support which alone is wanting to enable the ministers to complete the mischief their measures have been working, and hurry us into a

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rupture with our best customers and most natural allies, the free and English people of America. While, therefore, I dissuade you from any further attempts to seek redress at the foot of the throne as unavailing under the present circumstances, and while I most earnestly deprecate all proceedings that may either in themselves or in their consequences interfere with the public tranquillity, I would urge you with the same anxiety to come before Parliament; and I conceive that the earlier you do so, and with the greater unanimity, and the more extensive co-operation from other counties in similar circumstances, the better your chance will be, both of preventing the apprehended hostilities abroad, and of maintaining peace and good order in the bosom of our country.

"In the same spirit, I venture to express my hopes that at any meetings which may be held for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature, the greatest care will be taken to avoid all introduction of political topics unconnected with the serious matters which immediately press upon you. If any exception could be permitted to this remark, it might perhaps be found in the consideration which so naturally suggests itself, that those great and populous cities, among the first in the empire, which now labour under such unprecedented distresses from the measures of Government, and are about to seek relief from the House of Commons,—Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, —are unfortunately left without any representatives in that branch of the Legislature. But this reflection, however material at any other time, ought, together with everything of a political nature, to be kept separate from your present objects. And I am confident that the worthy members who represent the

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counties with which those towns are connected, will not be wanting in their endeavours to press your case upon the attention of Parliament.

"For myself, I can only say that my humble efforts shall never be grudged in co-operating with you for the attainment of your object. The usual professional avocations of this season oblige me now to leave town. But as soon as your petitions come before Parliament, I shall hold myself ready to return to my attendance in Parliament at the shortest notice; considering the support of your applications, in the present state of the country, as an engagement greatly paramount to every other. I have consulted with Mr Whitbread and other friends in both Houses of Parliament, whose judgment deserves a degree of confidence which I am far from reposing in my own, and their concurrence in opinion with me makes me the more decided in what I have now stated as an answer to the communication with which you honoured me.—I am, &c.

"H. Brougham.

"J. Walker, Esq."

On the 3d of March 1812 I brought the whole question before the notice of the House of Commons, and moved for a select committee to inquire into the present state of the commerce and manufactures of the country with reference to the effects of the Orders in Council and the licence system. Opposed by Rose, who insisted that the Orders in Council were a measure of sound policy, and that if repealed we should open the trade of the whole world to France, I was warmly supported by Alexander Baring,* and as hotly opposed by Stephen, feebly by Canning, who only went so far

* Afterwards Lord Ashburton.

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as to say "he *believed* the Orders in Council had been beneficial." Wilberforce, who at one time had believed in their justice and policy, now declared he was satisfied I had made out a case for inquiry; and, after a useful speech from Whitbread, we divided, 144 voting for, and 216 against, the appointment of a select committee.

Next day I wrote as follows to Mr Thorneley, one of my mercantile friends at Liverpool :—

"TEMPLE, *March* 4, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed thanking you for your many excellent and most important communications, because I was too much occupied in using them ; and by a pressure of business, as well as by a severe illness under which I have laboured (indeed I got out of bed to go to the House last night),—to have time to write to you for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of your letters. I now return you my hearty thanks, and only lament I could not turn them to better account

"You will see the account of the debate. I have only seen the 'Morning Chronicle,' which is tolerably accurate, but makes some blunders and omits some material things, particularly my attack on Perceval, in reply, for allowing that the motive of keeping the Orders now was to prevent French goods from being carried by the Americans to South America and elsewhere, to undersell ours. The House received this attack with particular warmth, as well as what I said against an American war, and against the Prince Regent. Indeed it would have been an admirable lesson to him (if he is not past all reformation) to have heard

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the furious roaring with which the attack on him was received.

"Our division is a good one, and by following it up with petitions an American war may be prevented. If petitions come to Parliament this may be done, and the ministers may be driven from the Orders in Council. Those measures are materially damaged; but the country must follow up the blow if it would see them given up.—My best regards to Mr Martin, Mr Roscoe, and our other friends; and believe me ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Petitions against the Orders were from time to time presented in both Houses—in the Lords by Lord Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Lauderdale and Lord Derby; in the Commons by General Gascoigne, myself, and many others. These petitions showed incontestably the great distress and pressure under which the manufacturing and commercial interests all over the country laboured.

The result was, that on the 28th of April the Government agreed that the inquiry should be taken before a committee of the whole House, to sit *de die in diem;* and agreed to my motion that witnesses from Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, and elsewhere, should be summoned to attend.

The committee began its sittings on the 5th of May—a committee of the whole House in the Lords also going into the inquiry, and sitting from day to day.

I had for about a fortnight, with the help of Alexander Baring, been carrying on the inquiry, by examining witnesses and debating questions as they arose

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on the evidence tendered. The Government—that is, Perceval, who had adopted Stephen's system—conceived that the feeling excited by the distress in the manufacturing districts would subside, and maintained that the accounts of that distress were greatly exaggerated. The object, therefore, of the Government was to protract the inquiry by all means in their power, and give time for what they regarded as clamour to diminish, if not to cease. Thus the constant struggle between us was, Baring and I pressing on the examination of witnesses, Perceval and Stephen interposing obstacles to gain time. We insisted on beginning each day as early as possible, and so far prevailed as to have it settled that I should call my witnesses at half-past four, and continue till ten; by which arrangement I was practically enabled to continue much longer, because all save those who took peculiar interest in the subject had left the House. Our attack was carried on not only by the examination of witnesses, but partly by debating the petitions presented night after night, partly by discussions arising on objections taken to questions put, and by additional statements proceeding from members connected with different parts of the country, as well as with Yorkshire, Lancashire, London, and Glasgow, from whence the bulk of the petitions had come. Our adversaries had even hopes of support by petitions from some quarters. In the only conversation I had with Perceval during the inquiry, he said, "In that quarter (the woollen) you will not run alone; there will be counter-petitions from the clothing districts." He spoke as comparing it with the hardware districts, where we had made great play. But it turned out that the case was considerably stronger in

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the woollen country. Unhappily he did not live to witness the contradiction to his prediction. On the 11th May, when complaining that he had not come down at the stipulated time, I told the Secretary of the Treasury that I must go on notwithstanding, as it was the second time Perceval had failed me. He sent a messenger to Downing Street to hasten Perceval, by letting him know we had begun. The messenger met him in Parliament Street, walking with Stephen, who, of course, attended most regularly, and took a constant and active part. Perceval, with his wonted activity, left him, and darted forward to the House. Had Stephen continued as he was, on the left hand, he might have been the victim of Bellingham, who was waiting in the lobby either for Perceval or some one of note: it afterwards appeared he hardly knew or cared who.

I was proceeding with my examination of the witness, when I heard a report, as it seemed to me of a pistol which had gone off in some one's pocket in the gallery, the sound being deadened. This passed through my mind, but I did not interrupt my examination. Some persons were seen in the gallery running towards the door, so it seemed that the report had come from the lobby. Instantly after, General Gascoigne rushed up the House and cried, "He has been shot!" As I expected Whitbread, I asked if it was he. Gascoigne replied, "No, Perceval; he is shot dead."

He had fallen close to William Smith, who took him up, and, assisted by others, carried him into the Speaker's room. Before they got there he was dead. The ball had penetrated the heart, passing completely

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through it, near the centre, so that death must have been almost instantaneous. Bellingham made no attempt to escape, but at once stepped forward, and declared that he had fired the fatal shot. He was committed by Michael Angelo Taylor, a Middlesex magistrate, who happened to be present. The House immediately adjourned.

Next day an attempt was made to make us suspend the inquiry, in consequence of this most lamentable event, but we positively refused. Indeed, the suspension of all other business which necessarily ensued, enabled us to make a rapid progress with our evidence, of which a great body was produced during the next four weeks. The natural anxiety to let no interruption be given by what had happened, was increased by the desire to disconnect it as much as possible with the inquiry. A Liverpool man having been the assassin was quite sufficient to raise reports; and Stephen's feelings of grief for the fate of one he had so much loved, were his excuse when he threw out insinuations of the same kind, even levelled at us who were conducting the inquiry. But he soon regained his presence of mind, and continued, as we did, to discharge his duty. I thought it right to see Castlereagh. He urged me to suspend the proceedings for a week or two, until the Government was better established. To this I of course could not consent, nor indeed could I be sure that I had the power. But I pressed him to abandon quietly the commercial policy of his predecessor, and distinctly pledged myself to abstain from all party triumph, and affirmed that I could give the same undertaking for my friends, and the supporters of our proceedings generally. He

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either could not or would not agree to this; and said that the inquiry must go on, only again urging delay. A belief soon became prevalent that the Government intended to give up the Orders in Council, and I lost no time in again seeing Castlereagh, to urge the expediency of not at once taking this course, but separating it by some short interval from the lamentable fate of his colleague, both in justice to his memory, that it might not seem to be admitted he was the author of the system, which he really was not; and in fairness to its adversaries, to show that they had not encouraged such grounds of opposing it; and, above all, to show that such detestable acts had not been successful, if directed towards such an end. He said there was great soundness in my view, but that there was no intention of recalling the Orders, and that we must go on with our case, which I said I felt quite sure must, when completed, lead to the result supposed to be in contemplation. This, he again said, was a groundless report; and again urged, as he had before done, that we ought to delay our proceedings, in consequence of what had happened, and I again refused to do so. I afterwards found that my desire to keep Bellingham's act separate from our inquiry and its supporters had not been groundless; for my excellent friend Dr Shepherd, who had lately come to London from Liverpool, told me that one of our most zealous supporters at Liverpool (Colonel Williams, a retired military man who had seen much service) said he considered Bellingham a very remarkable man, and acting upon strongly-fixed principles. Now, that he was deranged there can be no manner of doubt. He confessed that his primary intention had been to kill Lord Grenville,

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who had refused to support some claim of his at St Petersburg (where he was ambassador), but that Perceval came in his way, and he must kill somebody. The trial was the greatest disgrace to English justice. On the evening of Monday, May 11th, the act was committed. On the morning of Monday, May 18th, Bellingham was executed, the Court before which he was tried having refused an application for a few days' delay, grounded on the representation that evidence of his mental incapacity could be obtained from Liverpool, where he had resided and was known. Indeed the panic occasioned by the act had not subsided when, four days after, he was put upon his trial, and when the judge and jury were called upon to administer justice, callously, and inaccessible to all feelings, especially to all outward impressions. How often have I heard Erskine express his horror of this proceeding! He often referred, as he well might, to that beautiful passage in his defence of Hadfield, describing "the whole nation as by statute placed under a fifteen days' quarantine, to secure the mind from the contagion of partial affections," in cases of treason.* But in Bellingham's case there was the same contagion; and to defend the refusal of the application for delay by technical objections of the want of an affidavit, was grossly absurd; because nothing could disarm the Court of its discretionary power to grant the delay of a few days, when the application would certainly have been backed by affidavits, if indeed evidence of his insanity had not been produced. They who, like the military man referred to above as believ-

* James Hadfield, tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity in the year 1800, for firing at King George III. in Drury Lane Theatre.

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ing Bellingham to have been actuated by political motives on one side of the question, might well believe that he was sacrificed to the vehement popular feelings, if not in favour of the system under trial, certainly in favour of its principal defender, and indignation at his fate. What a serious reflection are such proceedings upon our national character! The act of an individual, be it ever so outrageous, and whether of sound mind and responsibility or not, affixes no such blot on the character of the country as the deliberate proceeding of its highest tribunal, preventing all justice by yielding to the prevailing passions or feelings of the hour.

When I refused Castlereagh's request for delay, I went on as before day after day; and the evidence proved the distressed state of trade and manufactures all over the country, clearly connecting it with the system which had professed to be reluctantly adopted "for the protection of our commerce, and for retaliating on the enemy the evils of his own injustice." I had given notice for the 23d June of a motion to address the Crown for a recall of the Orders in Council; but our friends deemed it better to proceed a week earlier in consequence of the daily-increasing severity of the distress, and of the risks of American hostility; so I gave my notice for the 16th, and this anticipation was at the time and ever after much complained of, especially by Mr Rose, who maintained it to be irregular. The Speaker, however, would not support him by declaring it against the rules of the House; and the agitated state of the country rendered every day of consequence. When the 16th came, and I rose to move, the absence of Mr Stephen struck me as very

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remarkable, and gave our friends great hopes of a surrender being in contemplation. I spoke at great but not unnecessary length, going into the whole case, and attacking all the abuses of the licence system which had grown up under the Orders, and both in their moral and commercial effects had created additional and inevitable mischief. Rose, as head of the Board of Trade, followed in defence of the system, and then Baring in my support, when Castlereagh on the part of the Government said the motion need not be pressed to a division, as the Crown had been advised immediately to recall the Orders. The conduct of the Government was inexplicable, unless on the supposition that they had not finally taken this resolution until they saw the appearance of the House. The absence of Stephen seemed to indicate that the recall had been decided before the debate. Then why suffer a debate almost entirely on one side? It is barely possible that the disposition to recall was so strong as to make Stephen sure that such would be the fate of his system; but yet that it was only a determination so to proceed, unless the appearance of the House showed some chance of a majority for ministers. Stephen adhered to the Government, as the remains of Perceval's, and evidently declined to attend, on being convinced of what would happen, and unwilling to express the contempt which he professed to feel for their conduct. But that conduct was unavoidable, except in the delay of the announcement; for there could be no manner of doubt that they would have been left in a minority had we gone to a division. They therefore preferred having a damaging debate without a damaging division, though Canning and their other ill-wishers

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always taunted them with their weakness in surrendering without a fight.

My coadjutor in this successful struggle was Alexander Baring; and no one could have been found more fitted to bear the part he did in the controversy, both from his general information, the depth as well as precision of his understanding, and his position as the first merchant in London, indeed in the world—besides his connection with America both by his property and his commerce, and by having married into one of the first families in the United States.

In consequence of this victory, as well as of my former connection with Liverpool, when acting as their counsel in 1808, I was urged to stand for the borough at the approaching general election.

But before any steps could be taken, indeed before I had given an answer, the Orders in Council were immediately after the 23d of June repealed.

Shortly after this, a communication was made to me by Lord Castlereagh, the particulars of which, in consequence of suggestions made to me by many of the leading merchants of Liverpool, that I should proceed to America as negotiator with the American Government, I communicated to Mr Roscoe in a letter I wrote to him from Brougham; and I added, "I have every reason to believe that the news brought by the Gleaner is unfavourable. My authority is the form of expression in a letter I have just received from Lord Castlereagh, who wishes to confer with me on the turn affairs are taking in America. I am writing to him, but I cannot think of going to town, as it would do no good. I shall write to Baring to watch him. I beg of you to keep these particulars *entirely* to yourself; but

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if the result of them—namely, that *the Government* are apprehensive—can do any good to any of our friends, you might give them that hint.

"I hope I may be wrong in my construction, but I fear the worst.—Ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Many of my Liverpool friends, as well as Baring, had urged me to go as negotiator with the American Government. My answer was, that if they thought that my position with respect to the late repeal might facilitate so desirable an event as a settlement of the American dispute, I had no objection, however great the personal sacrifice might be, but said that Baring would be better, from his American connections. Both he and the others, however, considered that rather as an objection to him; besides, that I had been the leader in the late contest, and had taken the part of America in all the controversies which had arisen for the last five or six years. Therefore, in consequence of these solicitations, and in redemption of the pledge I had given, both privately to Castlereagh and on the 23d June in the House of Commons, I wrote to Castlereagh on the 1st August, that "I had no objection to undertake the negotiation;" and the day after added, that, if necessary, I should not object to proceed to America, "the only expense to the country being my passage there and back with a single servant."

His answer was, that he regarded this offer "as fully and honourably redeeming the pledge I had given," but declining the offer "for the present," which of course meant altogether; and so it turned out, for I heard no more of it.

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Before I went the summer circuit, I had the following letter from Horner:—

FROM FRANCIS HORNER.

"IVY BRIDGE, DEVON, *July* 25, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter just as I was leaving Exeter, the great kindness of which gave me very sincere pleasure.

"I learned with very great satisfaction from Whishaw that the Liverpool people have manifested in the most appropriate manner their gratitude for the services, unexampled in the modern history of Parliament, which you have rendered them, in common with all the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. It is the true reward for such indefatigable, persevering exertions, and will give delight and pride to all your friends.—Believe me always very faithfully yours, FRA. HORNER."

The communications I had been about this time making to Lord Grey on all these matters led to the following correspondence:—

TO EARL GREY.

"DURHAM, *August* 2, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I had meant to write some days ago to you on many subjects, and delayed it owing to business. One was what you allude to—*Ward's movement*, or rather declaration.* He was, as you might suspect, the person I alluded to at Ledstone. Now, I really think you are wrong as to his

* John William Ward, afterwards Viscount Dudley and Ward by succession; and, in 1827, Earl Dudley by creation.

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motives, which, if altogether personal and private, and on that account less respectable in some sort, are, I know, quite free from any tinge, even the slightest, of corruption or place-hunting. In truth, had Canning been in office he would not have declared, or thought of it; and a year ago he often said to me (when annoyed by things in the House of Commons) how he wished you were all in office that he might join the ex-party—viz., Canning. I had several long and most warm conferences with him before he made up his mind, and of course said what occurred to me freely. At the same time, when he put it to me whether, *in point of honour*, he was acting blamably, I could not say so, considering his loose connection at all times with us, and his decided difference on some points. I did not conceal from him, however, that this might not be the opinion of all his friends.

"I can tell you distinctly how this matter stands, and I wish you would let Lord Grenville and any other friends know it also, though, in general, it is nine parts in ten personal. He greatly admires, somewhat likes, and in no little degree fears, Canning, for his classical attainments, and his jokes and flings. So do William Lamb* and Granville Vernon, and so do Peel and all the other young fry about the offices—very inferior to our youths, of course. Now Ward, like them, is a dealer in a sort of ware, very marketable up to a certain price and for some time, but base in its real nature, and which don't keep—I mean little prize essays of speeches, got up and polished, and useless, quite useless, for affairs. To have Canning—the leader in this line—against them, and sneering at them,

* Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

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they do not like; and not being men of very great minds (though very good and clever men—one part of them, at least), they would fain at all costs be with him. First they move heaven and earth to get him and you together, and then, when the clay and gold won't unite, they go after the former. Depend on it, this is at the bottom of it all. I know the men, and have sounded them for years; of this I never saw a moment's reason to doubt. But this feeling prevails in different strength in them. In Ward it is predominant, and he follows it. He does not like our House of Commons leaders, and particularly objects (as many others do, and, in my fair and candid opinion, with much reason) to Tierney, whose errors and fears really do mightily diminish his acknowledged merits. You know, among other great blunders, he is a general discourager, and does nothing to bring forward or protect the young ones. He throws cold water on all that is proposed; and it is proved to the satisfaction of every man who knew anything of the progress of the question, that had he had his own way, in *any one particular*, of the many in dispute among us, [that of] the Orders in Council would have failed almost entirely —possibly they might never have been brought forward, certainly by me they never could, though I don't know who he had in his eye. But I speak of his general habit of *discouraging*—the very reverse of Fox's and yours. He always forgets that an Opposition can hardly be too active or adventurous, and he acts as if he were in the Cabinet. My answer to all this is (and so I told Ward), that we look not to Tierney but to you, and to George Ponsonby as your friend. Then he objects to our leader's not being in the House of

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Commons—a misfortune, no doubt—and says if you had remained there he should no more have thought of looking abroad to Canning than to Lord Liverpool. In short, you see there is a mixture of likings and dislikings, all for the most part groundless, in my opinion, but not in his, I verily believe. Place he really cares nothing about, and I believe he never would take it with any set of men. As for another tie, that which I or any of his old and personal friends (I believe it applies to me chiefly) may have over him,—on this we have often spoken together; but, unfortunately, we differ on some radical points. He is an alarmist about reform and popular principles; and he considers me as being a Jacobin, or at least a sort of link between you and the Mountain—very absurdly, as I often have told him, for I don't believe (as far as my opinions signify) I ever thought of going beyond you in anything of the kind. The question of peace and neutral points, perhaps the most important of any, I put to him strongly, and found he considered his differences with Canning on the former to be no greater than with you on the latter. I really forget how he answered, for in truth I considered the case as up before we came to that part of it.

"By the way, another point, I daresay, is the Hollands; you know his difference with them is very far the reverse of mine (if you ever heard of mine), which neither they nor I can tell the grounds of, and which is really the most comical and absurd thing in the world. But Ward has a real quarrel, and hates them, and is disliked by them. This has no little additional influence.

"Almost all these motives are personal, you see, and I don't say highly respectable. He goes over to Can-

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ning because he feels more comfortable in doing so. He will find a woeful difference. I have told him so, and given him warning that the first opportunity I shall, for one, fire into him very unmercifully. Indeed I deem this a sort of duty, and shall take some pleasure in it.

"All this is a very dull and long account of the matter; but whatever you may feel as to Ward, you may rest assured there is nothing base or shabby in him—quite the contrary. Now I say dull, because the subject is really not worth much trouble, one way or other, except as Ward is a friend, for I consider him a very weak public man in every point of view. His conduct might be *pravi exempli*, but Lamb dares not follow it; and Vernon, I am sure, would not, even if he were allowed. I had much rather have Ward, and Lamb too, fairly against us, than grumbling and doing us no earthly good. So much for this subject.

"What think you of the Americans? A little hasty, I presume all will allow, but they saw the majorities in March in favour of the 'Orders,' and it is not known whether they knew of the inquiry being gone into; certainly not when the president's message was delivered, June 1. Perceval's death was *not* known till three days after the Act passed, on 21st June.* I rejoice *upon the whole;* because it will make the peace

* The principal dates in the Recall of the Orders are—on 16th June, on "Mr Brougham's motion on the present state of Commerce and Manufactures, and for the repeal of the Orders in Council." On that occasion—referred to above, p. 20—Lord Castlereagh announced the intention to "suspend" the Orders. The Act of Council repealing or recalling the Act commonly called the "Orders in Council," was passed on the 23d of June, and on that day Mr Brougham addressed the House in a congratulatory speech, and re-moved that the order for a call of the House on his motion be discharged.

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and good behaviour of this country lasting, when it begins. But for this Act we never should have believed in an American war. The message shows that the repeal will suspend hostilities—at any rate, that a short negotiation will lead to it, and our victory in this country will be then very complete.

"By the way, all the people I have seen, and all my correspondence with different meetings, evince how much the Opposition have gained in the country by this practical proof of the wisdom of these measures. They say a thousand times, 'Had Lord Grey been minister this would not have happened.' I also think the rejection of the prince's offer popular, though of this I am not so sure; it is less intelligible. But that you *are* very popular upon the whole, I plainly perceive. Indeed, such men as Roscoe, &c., are already quite reclaimed. I don't mean that things should be undertaken from mere love of popularity, but it is a good assisting reason, when they are excellent in themselves; therefore I hope we shall, next session, make a vigorous assault on the farmers' property-tax. I gave a general notice, in consequence of which hundreds of persons have written and applied to me. You remember talking of it four years ago. Northumberland should really take the lead in this matter; it belongs to it.

"There is a great wish at Liverpool, in the Tory party, to have a compromise—Canning and me—without any contest. I have not given my answer, but wish to know how it strikes you. Of course I mean on the supposition of our finding it quite impossible to carry two. My own feeling has always been rather to have nothing to do with it unless this were possible, and even easy, for it is as well for us to have the two

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generals* as Canning and me—indeed, on every account better; but I wish much to know how it strikes you.

"I have great hopes of being at Howick this day week. Eden† certainly,—Lamb‡ doubtful; but I think I shall at all events come over the hills in a gig, and see you, after the circuit. What you say of the plate, &c., biasses me against declining.—Ever yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

After the great victory in June, there were meetings in all the great manufacturing towns; resolutions of congratulations and of thanks to me for my successful efforts, and not a few votes of civic donations; but, except in one instance, I only knew of these things by the newspaper reports of proceedings. In that one case of Glasgow, the resolution was communicated to me in a letter, stating that £500 had been at once paid, after a meeting, for a present, and desiring to know in what form it would be most acceptable. This required much consideration, as such gifts were liable to be abused. I therefore assembled some friends to discuss the matter—Lord Holland, Lord Erskine, Romilly, and Baring, to whom I added Creevey, because he had expressed himself strongly on a similar subject. Lord Grey was not in town, but I afterwards wrote to him, and he answered as follows:—

* Gascoigne the Corporation, and Tarleton the Whig, member for Liverpool.

† The Hon. George Eden, afterwards the second Lord Auckland. He was Governor-General of India, and in 1839 was created Earl of Auckland. Subsequently he was First Lord of the Admiralty; and died unmarried in January 1849.

‡ The Hon. George Lamb, brother of William Lord Melbourne.

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FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 1, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I conclude this will find you at Durham, and I cannot help repeating my hope that your business will allow you to give us a day or two. We shall be happy to see Mr Strickland with you, and any other person that you can bring, particularly George Lamb and Eden.

"Since I came home I have looked at the Birmingham resolutions, as well as those of the other places which have commenced in a resolution to give you some mark of their gratitude for your exertions in procuring the repeal of the Orders in Council. I really see nothing in the resolutions which need put you under any difficulty. To say that, if you accept, there will be nobody found to blame you, would perhaps be too much. You stand in much too prominent a situation not to have detractors ready to seize any occasion, right or wrong, to attack you. If you have gained great reputation and much well-deserved approbation on the one hand, you may be sure that you have excited some envy and ill-will on the other. But I am convinced no fair and reasonable man could find fault with you for not refusing an acknowledgment of public service which comes to you in the most honourable way, and quite unsought for.

"Both Grenville and I accepted from the Catholics of Glasgow a piece of plate—of no great value indeed—after we were turned out in 1807. I have thus given you my unbiassed opinion; but if you still feel scruples, I can only add, that it is impossible to err on the side of delicacy with respect to matters of this nature.

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"Canning's negotiation is off, I hear, on some petty point of personal arrangements—the particulars I have not heard; but it will be on again, and I have little doubt that he will be in office before the opening of next session. He is vehemently desirous of office. The ministers must feel the necessity of strengthening themselves in the House of Commons to secure their own possession, and with these mutual inducements to accommodation, personal difficulties will in all probability be surmounted. Ward, I hear, has declared himself a follower of Canning in form. If he prefers office to a character for public principle and consistency, he has acted wisely. I have heard no other news of any kind that you will not see in the papers. If you cannot come now, do not deprive us of the hope of seeing you before your return to London.—Ever yours, "GREY."

Those whom I consulted in town, all but Creevey, held that it would be squeamish, and open to the charge of affectation, if I refused, as it was no offer of money. But Creevey agreed with me in thinking that it might be open to the observation that it was money's worth if taken in what could be converted into money, or if taken in things which were useful, whereby the purse was saved. Erskine dwelt on the gift long after the service performed, and compared it to a counsel receiving a present after a cause was gained, which, however, he was aware, we held to be irregular, and liable to objection; and I rather think we referred to Topping's refusal of a retainer of 1000 guineas in the Baltic risk cases, which he said would imply that for the ordinary retainers of five guineas he would not equally

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do his duty. The result of our deliberations was, that I should refuse to accept anything which I could have any idea of ever purchasing; and I therefore, in returning my thanks for the kindness of the Glasgow men, said that I would only take it in the form of a gold inkstand. I heard no more of it for nearly five years, and supposed that the person in whose hands the money was, had failed. In 1817, when a deputation waited on me with the service of plate which Birmingham had voted in 1812, one of them (I think Attwood) said he desired it to be understood that this had reference to the Orders in Council of 1812, and to nothing that had passed since. I called back another of the deputation to ask whether anything in my conduct subsequently had displeased my friends, as I conceived that the defeat of the income-tax in 1816 had been of more general importance than even the success of 1812. But the answer was, that the spokesman's firm were bankers to the receiver of the county, and had suffered by the diminution of his balance from the defeat of the tax. Happening the day after to see Dr Shepherd, I recited this as a remarkable anecdote, when he said that perhaps I had never understood why the Glasgow gold inkstand never reached me. He stated that, on the refusal of the offer to return one and one (Canning and me), and the increase of the expenses, the committee on our side had taken the very unwarrantable step of writing to Glasgow, that the best application of the fund subscribed was sending it to Liverpool, in order to meet the expenses of my election. And this was done at the very time when they had refused nearly three times as much on my urging them to take it from me. This conduct was extremely blamable—

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not the writing to Glasgow, which was only a want of proper delicacy, but the not informing me, both that I might have the option of receiving the gift voted, paying the price, and especially suffering the Glasgow men to remain under the imputation of not performing their promise to me.

There was much resemblance between this Liverpool popular proceeding and the generous intentions of Queen Caroline eight years after; and the parallel shows how little courtly and popular levity and want of consideration may occasionally differ.

Upon the defeat of the bill for divorcing the Queen, I waited upon her to communicate the event, and tender my congratulations. She said, "There is a sum of £7000 at Douglas Kinnaird's" (her banker's), "which I desire you will accept for yourself, giving £4000 of it to the other counsel." This I of course refused, saying that we all received, or should receive, the usual fees, and could not take anything further. She insisted on my telling my colleagues, which I said I should, as a matter of course, but that I was certain they would refuse, as I had done. Next day, when I again waited upon her, she recurred to the subject, and asked if I had told them that she laid her commands upon us. I said I had told them so distinctly, and that they all refused with the greatest respect, and a full sense of her kind intentions. She asked what could be the reason of it all; and I endeavoured to explain that professional etiquette made it impossible. She still was disconcerted, and said lawyers were unaccountable people. A few weeks after, Kinnaird, when he took his account to her, suggested that the salaries of her law officers were in arrear, never hav-

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ing been paid. She refused peremptorily to have them paid, saying the Queen must pay her debts before she pays her Attorney and Solicitor General. The sum due was under £200, and she had been pressing £7000 upon us! This arrear, as well as all the other professional emoluments, but on the ordinary scale, were paid by the Treasury after her death, among the expenses of the cause. In consequence of the absurd reports spread in the country that a room at Brougham had been built by the Queen after the trial (there having been not a room built, but only a battlement added to a very ancient room), I may add, that I never received any present whatever from her, except a magnificent copy of Dante (the great Florentine edition), on which Dr Parr wrote an inscription that has been the subject of much criticism.

I have mentioned the votes of plate in different parts of the country. They were chiefly of things which I should not have thought of buying, being, with the exception of the Birmingham service, more for show than use. From other places there were cups of various kinds, and from Huddersfield a pair of blankets which I handed over to my friend Whitbread, as a present to his daughter Elizabeth, just about to be married to William Waldegrave. On the Reform Bill passing in 1832, there was a penny subscription for four silver-gilt cups to be presented to Grey, Althorpe, John Russell, and myself. In those days the practice said to have prevailed latterly, of distributing shares in railway and other companies among members of the two Houses, had not been discovered; and as the shares bore a premium at the time of distribution, a more objectionable practice cannot

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be imagined. I have known members of both Houses reject the offer with indignation; but some there were who accepted them, justifying the practice by contending that it was nothing more than the custom of giving shares of loans to different persons; but if these were given to any one having a discretion in settling the terms of the loan, it would be liable to the same objections as giving shares to members while the bill was in progress through Parliament. The only time I ever held any shares, except in University College, was when, a qualification being required as a director in a company got up for the benefit of the negroes, I purchased the number required at a considerable loss of money.

Among the patriotic gifts for services in regard to the Orders in Council and commercial policy generally, as well as respecting the income-tax, but certainly not on account of the negroes and the abolition of the slave-trade as well as slavery, may be reckoned the kindness of a very respectable man in the county of Durham, Mr Shakespeare Reed, who, about the year 1828, wrote to inform me that he had, after providing for his widow and his near relations, left me his property in consideration of my public services. I inquired about this good man of my friend Lambton (Lord Durham), and found that he was a very wealthy person; but, from my friend's way of talking, evidently not agreeing with him in county politics. A few years after, I received a letter, in which he called upon me, from the relation he said subsisting between us, as his heir, to put down "the political set of pretended philanthropists who were seeking the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies." He appealed to me, on the above-

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mentioned consideration, "to use my influence, official as well as personal, to put them down; for, said he, I can assure you that the peasantry on your estate in Barbadoes are fully better off than those on your Durham estates," so little had he understood our English history. I answered that "I was sorry to say he had applied to a wrong quarter; for that I was one of the principal leaders of those whom he wanted to put down. But I hoped he would form a better opinion of us and of our measures, by reading the report of the House of Lords' committee, under my friend the Duke of Richmond," which I sent him, as it had just been printed. I received no answer, and concluded that he had altered his will. He died in 1837, and I have since found that my conjecture was well founded. His will was made seven years after our correspondence.

The state of our relations with America had become exceedingly alarming, in consequence of the delay in recalling the Orders in Council, and the manner of the recall. There appeared in the United States Government signs of a disposition to precipitate a rupture. Letters I received at this time from my ally, Baring, showed how much he shared in the alarm. The following gives also the course which he recommended our commercial and manufacturing bodies to take:—

FROM ALEXANDER BARING.

"CARSHALTON, *August* 1, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—Since you wrote your letter you will have seen the American declaration of war, which renders the situation of our traders more embarrassing. I am obstinate in my opinion that the

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repeal will set everything right; but it is just possible that as we were foolish enough to expose our dependence by our evidence, the Americans may think this an opportunity to force other conditions upon us, or at least to make the experiment before they give way. The known weakness of the Government, the pressure of the insurgent manufacturers, the supposed, and I fear real, dependence of the Peninsula for food, are temptations which may catch them; and I fear that the eagerness with which our people have shipped will increase this temptation. The Americans will think that we shall be obliged to gain admittance for our shipments at any price; and this is a point in which they can bear a little hesitation better than we can. The satisfaction expressed by Opposition on the other hand, and their promise of resistance in case of further encroachment, will be of great service; and, upon the whole, my hopes preponderate over my fears. Much, indeed everything, will depend on able and skilful negotiation; it is a great point to get the shipments admitted, but still more essential to make no extravagant sacrifice for it. I fear our instrument for this purpose is very unequal to the task, and the Cabinet here not likely to make a fit choice, should they make any change.

"I should think that the best course for you to take, if I may advise, would be to recommend to your friends the manufacturers to show a disposition to support Government in resisting *unreasonable* encroachments; taking care to watch their confidence, that it does not encourage them to be unreasonable in their turn. The manufacturers may rely upon it that their interest will be better answered permanently by

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conciliatory firmness than by absolute concession, which will invite further encroachment, and at last bring you, as the Russians will be brought, to a point where, *nolens volens*, a stand must be made. I *am quite* CERTAIN that, the Orders repealed in the way they are, the Government in America will be obliged to yield, whatever show they may at first make; and as I believe the other concessions required (especially the search for seamen) to be such as we should not make, it is even the safest course for the manufacturers (considering their interest in the narrowest sense) here to stand by the Government. This is my view of the case. If you should concur with me, your advice may be of great service, and give a tone where you now are. I do not think Maddison could support his war, or keep his ports closed, one fortnight after our repeal reaches America. I confidently expect that no attempt ever will be made. An embargo, you will see, has taken place; which, upon the whole, I think fair. We must not appear frightened, but at such a period we should have a minister of the very first power in America; not to plan foolish projects to dismember the Union, but to take care that the people are properly and *plausibly* informed of the intentions of his Government, &c. &c. It would indeed be a treasure in such a time if Government had sense enough to tempt you to their assistance, but I fear they will go on without change. You will see the 'Morning Chronicle' abuses Maddison's paper. I think it is a good performance, and not too querulous for an enumeration of grievances, which it professes to be. Nor do I think the Americans were wrong in striking their blow; they had waited many months for different

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political changes, and you must recollect that their embargo left them no choice but of yielding or advancing. But I shall think them quite in the wrong if they persist after our repeal reaches, and I shall be much surprised if they do. I hope the manufacturers smother you with attentions, and are duly sensible how much they are your debtors.—Yours, A. B.

"*P.S.*—I have confidence in the Russian money system, *mais nous verrons.*"

With reference to the suggestion that I should go to America, I wrote thus to Lord Grey :—

TO EARL GREY.

"*August* 8, 1812.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I consulted you about Liverpool, my own feeling being against moving in it at all; but all I have heard since is very favourable, and to-day I hear from Lord Sefton that the leading man of the corporation has written to him that *my* success is certain.

"Connected with this is another matter, which you will think, I daresay, is somewhat Quixotic. I made a formal offer to go out to America to negotiate the present matter, conceiving that my conducting the negotiation would extremely hamper the war party and encourage the peace party in America. My proposition was laid before the prince, and from Castlereagh's answer it appears that the prince is the cause of its being for the present rejected; which, of course, means altogether. The terms in which this is conveyed to me are quite civil, and even more; but ministers had better *now* make it up with America,

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for the merchants and manufacturers will in no other way be satisfied. As a proof of this, I have letters from all the towns—Birmingham, Liverpool, London, Glasgow, &c.—urging me to endeavour to go, and saying that it is the only way to settle it.—Most truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

To this Lord Grey answered as follows:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 10, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am extremely disappointed at not seeing you here, but I trust to your remembering your promise after Lancaster, and paying us, I hope, a longer visit than your business at this time would probably have permitted.

"I really do not know how to advise about Liverpool, the expediency of embarking in an affair of that nature depending on so many considerations which I have very imperfectly before me. From what you state of the matter, I should say that whether we can carry one or two, if a seat is offered to you on your own principles, perfectly unfettered, and without any engagement or connection with any other party, I can see no reason for your refusing it, provided the probabilities of success, without too great an expense, are such as satisfy you. On the other hand, if by a compromise which is to bring in you and Canning it is meant that you should in any degree assist, or engage your friends to assist, his election, I am as decidedly of opinion that it would be better, for a thousand reasons, to decline it.

"I must confess I was a little surprised at what

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you say of your offer to go to America. If I had been previously apprised of your intention, I should have endeavoured to dissuade you from it. As it is, it is not worth while to say more on the subject than that I think you have had a lucky escape.—Ever yours truly, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"NEWCASTLE, *August* 18, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I could convince you in five minutes by the clock that I had no choice; but I quite agree with you, I have had a great escape: not only so, but that it puts our attack on very high grounds if the negotiation fails; which, however, I think extremely unlikely.—Yours ever, H. B."

The following letter is to my friend Dr Shepherd:*

TO DR SHEPHERD.

"GATEACRE, LIVERPOOL, LANCASTER,
Tuesday, Aug. 25, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received yours of the 21st, which went to Brougham, and followed me here. I take it for granted Mr Roscoe may have explained to you my idea of the propriety of postponing the dinner, in case bad news from America should arrive before the beginning of September. My notion is founded on the belief that the cause would suffer by such an untoward coincidence—that we might expose ourselves to the ridicule of, not merely the enemy, but the *neutrals*; and that it would be more comfortable,

* The Rev. William Shepherd, author of 'The Life of Poggio Bracciolini.'

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as well as more dignified, to keep our feast at the right time. If indeed there is war with America, notwithstanding the repeal of the Orders; if our labours are all in vain, and peace must be delayed till we have fought other battles next session of Parliament,—it is only a blessing deferred, for we have substantially carried the day; but we ought in this case to reflect how serious an evil the delay itself is, though it can only be short if we bestir ourselves. We should consider all that is past as nothing, and gird our loins and hearts as if the whole were only beginning; and instead of triumphing, our note should be dolorous, both in point of truth and policy. Should the war be confirmed (at least for the present) at or about the time of our meeting to celebrate a peace (nine-tenths of the expected fruits of our last success), we might indeed expect to hear quoted on us, or might fairly cite ourselves, 'O falsam spem! O volucres fortunas!—O cæcam cupiditatem!—O præposteram gratulationem!—quam cito illa omnia ex lætitiâ et voluptate in luctum et lacrymas reciderunt!'—(*Pro Sylla.*)

"Now, I own, my rule being, *before* the moment of action, always to prepare for the worst, and *in* the moment itself to listen to nothing but confidence and hopes, I am always (in every situation) as gloomy while planning as I am resolute in shutting my eyes to the dark side while executing. Therefore I am now, and have been for some time past, preparing for the worst—I hope without any great reason; but it is safest.

"Everything, however, will depend on the opinion of those upon the spot; for I am speaking at a distance, and in generals. Therefore I send by this post

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a letter to Mr Roscoe, to be published, if necessary or advisable, according to the news at the proper time. I sincerely hope it may be unnecessary; and if the flag of truce brings the news, as stated in the Sunday papers, it must be so. One word more as to this great question of American war. Though I feel anxious on it, to an unspeakable degree, yet, when I reflect on the history of the country and its follies, I really cannot deny that we should richly deserve it, if it does happen; and should the dispute finally hinge on the *impressment of seamen*, without being superstitious, I shall almost call it a judgment.—Ever yours most truly, H. B."

After the summer circuit in 1812, I had some correspondence with Wilberforce upon various subjects —not the least interesting of which were Parliamentary Reform, the slave-trade, and his own idea that he was not strong enough to give the same time and attention he had formerly bestowed on his Parliamentary duties, and consequently that he began to think it a duty to his Yorkshire constituents to retire from the representation of that county.

"SANDGATE, *Sept.* 23, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I was just sitting down to state to you the cause of your not sooner receiving an answer to your former letter—viz., that I had been on the ramble for nearly a fortnight, taking my boys to their respective schools—when I received this morning your favour of the 19th inst. From our earliest acquaintance you have accustomed me to expect from you all that is kind and friendly; and, therefore, how-

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ever gratified by the letter now before me, I cannot be surprised at it. But habit will not, I trust, in this instance, have the effect of blunting the sensibility of my feelings; at least it has not hitherto done it; on the contrary, I have at this moment a deep sense of your kindness, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for it; and I assure you I know the value of your offers of service, which, at the very time when you might fairly be supposed, without the imputation of selfishness, to be fully occupied in your own concerns, you make me with so much friendly zeal. But the die is cast. I will frankly state to you all the circumstances of the case. For considerably above a year I have been deliberating, together with two or three particular friends, whether on any dissolution of Parliament I had not better resign my present situation, and accept the kind offer of a dear friend, and, through marriage, a near relative, to bring me in for a seat which would not impose on me the obligation of such constant attendance as I deem to be my duty so long as I remain member for Yorkshire.

"Two considerations chiefly led me to entertain this proposal. First, that I began to find my load a little too heavy—in short, I began to feel that I grew older; and, secondly, that my six children claimed more of my time and thoughts than I could spare them while in my present station. The rumours of an approaching dissolution forced me to make up my mind, and at length I decided to retire from the county. I will fairly, however, confess to you—and I hope that I shall not thereby subject myself to the imputation of extraordinary vanity—that the reports of an intended opposition, especially when it was

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rumoured that a certain affluent nobleman meant *again* to propose his son, instead of disposing me to resign, produced, and very strongly, the directly opposite feelings. For believing, as I do, that a decided majority of the freeholders would be friendly to me, I should resent with indignation the idea of any nobleman being suffered to force his son into the representation of such a county as ours, by the terrors of his purse, against the will of the majority. I also believe, as you seem to do, that there was no chance of any serious opposition, had I offered myself a candidate, especially taking into account your friendly zeal for me, and the Duke of Norfolk's obliging offer of support and influence with the Whig party.

"But I can truly assure you that my determination was formed without the slightest reference to the probability of a contest; and it scarcely seemed to be right for me to be piqued into deviating from the course which otherwise I had resolved to pursue, sanctioned by the counsel of several of my best and dearest friends.

"*Between ourselves also, and in confidence*, I will also acknowledge that I have not relished what appeared to me not unlikely to be the consequence of my retiring, that the representation of our county might fall into the hands of two rich and powerful noblemen, who, once tasting the sweets of a quiet election, in which each returned one member, might be tempted to come to some understanding which might be injurious to the independence of our county. Still, what was to be done? I have not—indeed I never had, my dear Brougham—without a compliment, your strength either of body or mind; and now, at

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fifty-three, I really begin to be conscious that I am growing older. And as Quin said he would not whistle Falstaff for any man, so I should be sorry to continue clinging to my situation without attending as assiduously as I have been used to do. I once thought of frankly stating to the county that I could not be quite so constant an attendant, but that if they chose to elect me on that understanding, I would continue to serve them as well as I could; but, on reflection, this appeared too presuming in *me* to propose; though, had it come from the opposite party, the case would have been different. I am scribbling in great haste and much confusion, owing to our happening to be what we call in Yorkshire—and probably you in Cumberland—flitting, after being three months in the same house; and though we are moving to another in the same place, it is no light piece of work to a man who has rather a faculty for heaping together, wherever he is, a pretty ample store of books and pamphlets, &c. &c. I am writing, too, against time, for the letters here go to the post between three and four, and it is now much past three. I had various subjects on which I wished to write to you, more especially on the pleas suggested in the article on Parliamentary Reform in the last 'Edinburgh Review,' which I conceive must be yours, on the same ground as I conceive several others in the same Review to be yours—viz., that I know not who else can have written them; and I know you never plead *alibis*, if I may so express it, or conceive it is any reason why you may not do a twentieth thing that you have already nineteen others on your hands.* As you be-

* In the 'Edinburgh Review' for July 1812:—
Vol. XX., art. viii. 'A Letter to H. Brougham, Esq., M.P., on the sub-

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speak my attention to the Tythes proposition (and certainly any plan of yours must claim my best attention), do let me beg you not to make up your mind hastily concerning the best mode of taking the poll in counties. There is, I grant, one difficulty in the way of having the poll taken at the same time in different places—that which arises out of the duties and powers of the returning officer; still that difficulty might be got over, and then that plan, for a thousand reasons, is preferable to that of an ambulatory sheriff.

"I feel strongly the evil of giving up the general assemblage of the freeholders, and I should like to try to preserve some public meetings. But I must break off quite abruptly, only once more thanking you most cordially for the truly friendly treatment of me. I don't know where the Duke of Norfolk is, but if you write to him, I beg you to express to him my best acknowledgments. — Believe me, my dear B., yours most sincerely, W. WILBERFORCE.

"Do remember, once for all, that my direction is always London."

"SANDGATE STREET, N. FOLKESTONE,
Sept. 24, 1812.

"MY DEAR B.,—I scarcely know what I wrote, or did not write, yesterday; in much haste and bustle did I scribble, but I am pretty sure that I

ject of Parliamentary Reform: By William Roscoe, Esq.' 'A Letter to W. Roscoe, Esq., occasioned by his Letter to Mr Brougham on Parliamentary Reform. By J. Merritt.'

The article Wilberforce refers to was certainly, as he guessed, written by me. The only other article which I wrote in the same number was art. v.—"On the Reports of the African Institution."

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omitted to inform you, first, that I would write to Lord Bathurst about Parke's 'Journal' in the way you suggested; and, secondly, that there is a mistake, and a very material one, in the statements respecting the expenses of my great contest. These were not above £26,000 or £27,000, at least under £30,000. The whole sum subscribed was about what was stated to have been spent, about £56,000 to £58,000. But nearly £50 per cent was returned to the subscribers, a new phenomenon in the history of elections. It was before *nulla retrorsum.*

"I doubt, also, if I expressed as strongly as I felt it my sense of your kindness. I certainly did not state what I now do, that I wish much you would express to the Duke of Norfolk how greatly I feel honoured and gratified by his friendly countenance. I say it sincerely, not as words of course. I don't think I mentioned that I was confirmed in my persuasion that Lascelles intended to start for York, by his offering himself for Pomfret, canvassing the place, running horses at the races—all things very distasteful, and therefore indicative of his being in earnest. In short, I repeat it, I never believed he would offer for York, and the fear of a contest had no share whatever in making me resign. I will confess that I did once think of asking my constituents, on the ground of long service, to grant me a dispensation from constant attendance, authorising me to absent myself except when county business or important questions should claim my attendance; but this, though really very reasonable for them to grant, might not have appeared very decent for me to ask, so I laid aside the idea.

"I have much to say to you, both about your affairs

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and my own, and it really seems very selfish in me to be occupying so much of your time with my concerns, when you must naturally be occupied with your own. But I know you are a contradiction to your great law about a body not occupying a place till a former occupier has left it, and I may act on that presumption. I will, however, assure you of my best wishes for your happiness and honour.

"May you be as great and as useful, and as great because truly useful, as your own heart, or they who love you best, can desire.—I am, in extreme haste, ever yours, W. W."

After I left the circuit I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 10, 1812.

"I arrived here yesterday, and leave it on Saturday, having thus not had one week of holiday since last October; but I shall have plenty soon, in all probability.

"Is not Jack Calcraft's conduct rather singular?*

* The Right Hon. John Calcraft of Kempsthorne, county Dorset, M.P. for Rochester and Wareham, born 1766, succeeded to estates in county Dorset, purchased by his father, who was an eminent army agent.

In the Whig Government of 1806 Calcraft was Clerk of the Ordnance, and in 1828 Paymaster of the Forces in the Duke of Wellington's Government from June 1828 till November 1830, when he was succeeded by Lord John Russell.

On the second reading of the Reform Bill he voted against his party and for the Bill, which was at that stage carried by a majority of one; and the supposition that it was by his single vote fatally affected his spirits.

His property in the district gave him the command of the borough of Wareham. After his death his son sat for it; but his grandson, the present proprietor, was beaten by his neighbour, Mr Erle Drax, who now sits for Wareham.

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After I had given him a full release, in consequence of what I wrote to you about, he wrote to refuse it, saying he considered everything as on the original footing. The next time I heard from him was to tell me of the dissolution. I only wrote to say I was going to Liverpool, that my friends were sanguine, and that I was not. Indeed I never thought it at all likely we should carry two until I went there, and then the first part of the election damped me again. Well, I have heard nothing since; and two men, evidently *purchasers*, are returned for Wareham! This seems unaccountable, except on the belief of his pecuniary matters having suddenly taken a bad turn. I shall believe the best, for I am sure he meant to act well.

"Romilly, Tierney, Lamb, &c. being out of Parliament is a great imputation on some of our friends. They must not hereafter talk of the fickleness and wrong-headedness of the people, nor even of the great sin of not being wholly party-men; for these professors of party-attachments have no sort of scruple to dissolve the regular Whig interest, or leave it with one single leader in the House of Commons, rather than forego the gratification of giving some cousin or toad-eater a power of franking letters! This is their love of the Whig cause, and the constitution and party. When it costs them nothing, they can profess it; but any, even the smallest sacrifice, they do not care to have anything to do with it. I hope I may be mistaken, but at present I see nothing in our affairs that does not look like a triumph of the Prince, the ministers, and, above all, Canning, who will make his own terms with either side. This is more than a compen-

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sation for the great damage he has sustained by going to Liverpool.—Believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

While at Brougham I received a letter from Mr Roscoe, from which the following is an extract:—

"LIVERPOOL, *September* 21, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,— . . . . . Yesterday we had a meeting of between twenty and thirty of your friends, at which Lord Sefton was present. It was finally resolved to propose you and Creevey, as well in the expectation of putting in two members as for furthering your interest in case one only should be carried. As soon as the dissolution is announced you will receive a formal, and, I doubt not, you will think a respectable, invitation.

"We also resolved to call a public meeting for to-day, by advertisement, at the great room at the Golden Lion, from which I am just returned. I went at ten minutes after twelve—the hour appointed—and found the room *quite full*,—certainly not much less than one thousand persons. Being called to the chair, I stated the determination of your friends to name you and Mr Creevey. This was received with the highest applause. I put you both to the show of hands, which was unanimous, and requested them to confirm it by three times three, which was vociferated in *grand style*. J. B. Yates, Martin, and Richardson addressed the meeting, which separated in the highest good-humour, with a few words from me to show themselves as ready to make their appearance at the hustings as they had been ready to come forward at the meeting.

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"In short, I can only say that everything looks favourable to the cause. Canning is, I understand, to be one of your opponents, but this will neither dishearten your friends nor yourself.—I am, my dear sir, ever faithfully yours, W. Roscoe."

About this period the following letters passed between Lord Grey and me:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"Howick, *September* 21, 1812.

"My dear Brougham,—I have received your letters, with their accompanying enclosures. You may be assured that not a hint even shall escape me which can in any degree prejudice your interest at Liverpool. I have heard nothing more of Tarlton, nor do I know whether he persists in his intention of coming here; but I think it very probable that the rumours of dissolution now so generally prevalent may take him to Liverpool. In the letter he wrote to me he said that the extraordinary conduct of Brougham and Derby at Liverpool made him anxious to talk with me on that subject, and that he would come within the next ten days to Howick for that purpose. As it was necessary to say something in answer, I said that I should be glad to see him; that I had seen an account of the dinner at Liverpool, at which it did not appear that you had said or done anything with a view to a new election, but that, if you should become a candidate, there could be no doubt that Derby and all the friends of Opposition must support you against Gascoigne. I thought it best to express myself in this manner, as I certainly wished to avoid wounding Tarlton unneces-

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sarily. The ten days are elapsed, and I have heard no more. If he should come, or if he should write to me again so as to give me a fair opening, I could suggest as my own wish, which would follow naturally from what I have already said, the expediency of his opening a communication with your friends.

"If Liverpool fails, I shall be anxious to hear that you have a resource. Have you given up Calcraft's seat? I see no reason why you should, and I will hope not. I have received no further communication with respect to the seat I mentioned to you, so I suppose the person to whom it was offered has accepted. I only wish to have the means pointed out to me by which I can be of any use, for I can assure you with the greatest truth there are few political events that I should lament so much as your being out of Parliament, or to prevent which I would use greater exertions. Many of our friends are, I fear, unprovided for, and amongst the rest Tierney. Buying seats is now out of the question, and I have come to the same determination as Romilly, to have nothing to do with any transaction of that nature.

"Every account I receive confirms those which had reached me before of the determination of Government to dissolve; but in a letter which I received last night the King is stated to be so ill that this determination will probably be suspended. It undoubtedly would be a very awkward thing if he was to die before the writs are returnable, or even after the new Parliament should be assembled, before any bill could be passed to provide against such an event. Perhaps, under all the circumstances, there never was a moment in which dissolution was less to be justified.

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"I return the Princess's letters in another cover, and also B.'s.—I am, dear Brougham, ever yours very truly, GREY."

"HOWICK, *September* 23, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—Tarlton came here yesterday, and left us again this morning. He is going first to Lowther, and then to Liverpool, on account of the dissolution.

"I had a good deal of conversation with him, but when all summed up it does not come to much. He is naturally, after his contests, annoyed at the idea of another. He seems to think the alarm taken by the Church-and-King people, and by the Corporation, at the attempt of Roscoe and his friends, as manifested at the dinner, to bring in two members, will produce a great deal of trouble, expense, and difficulty; that they certainly will start a candidate whose opinions are more congenial to their own; and that with this view an application had been made to Canning, who had answered that he was ready to stand if he could be insured against expense. I suggested the expediency of some communication between your friends and his. He professed himself personally well disposed towards it, but seemed to feel the same apprehension that you do of the consequence of taking any direct or public step for that purpose. He said naturally enough that he must look in the first place to his own interest; but that he should be glad to do anything he could consistently with that object, and without prejudice to it, to assist you. Roscoe he seems to think very hostile personally to him. All this, as you will see, comes to very little, and I did not

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think there was any use in pushing the matter further, ignorant as I am of the local interests, and fearful as I must be, in a case of this nature, of doing more harm than good. You may be assured that in all I said I took especial care to guard against the possibility of his supposing that I spoke with any authority from you. The suggestion I have mentioned I made as entirely from myself; and of you I only said, always professing my personal anxiety for your success, that you must naturally feel gratified by the confidence and approbation of such a body of people as appeared to support you at Liverpool; that a seat offered on such terms must be acceptable to you, but with respect to your ultimate decision I was ignorant; and that it must necessarily depend upon the manner in which it was offered, and on the probability of success. I hope this was safe at least. I cannot help feeling very anxious that your success may not be found incompatible with his. He has not behaved well in politics, but I must beg of you the same secrecy with respect to what I have said about Tarlton, that I shall myself observe on the same subject."

. . . . . .

To this I returned the following answer:—

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 28, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have received your letter, and you may depend on my not saying a word relative to its contents.

"We shall be dissolved in to-morrow night's Gazette, I take it for granted.

"A meeting was held on Wednesday of my leading

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friends at Liverpool. Lord Sefton attended, and they resolved that both Creevey and I should be started. This measure they describe as necessary, even if they only succeed for one of us (which of course would be myself). I cannot enter into all their details, but I conclude that the connections of *both* the other candidates may have made this step requisite.

"Yesterday a public meeting was held by advertisement, and at ten minutes after the hour named, when Roscoe arrived, the rooms were filled. One thousand were present; and they all, in one voice, adopted the nomination of me, as first, and Creevey to stand with me. They gave the loudest and most unqualified support to it. And as soon as the dissolution is made public, there is to be a formal invitation, as I mentioned before.

"It is in vain to conceal the thing from myself any longer. I am in for it, and accordingly I shall go through it as if it were a matter of life and death. There is no medium in such cases. I speak on the supposition, of course, that a proper case shall be made out. Another thing, I fear, is likely, though not quite so certain—viz., that each party will return one, and that I shall be returned with a Tory, if I am returned at all. This is really painful, and I may fairly and sincerely say that the sitting with Canning would greatly alloy any gratification I might otherwise reap from it, and that the return of Gascoigne and *Tarlton*, as before, would greatly alleviate my disappointment. In truth, I shall feel very little, at any rate; for though I must go through it, *à toute outrance*, when once committed, I shall be anything rather than cast down, if I fail.

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"Respecting Tarlton, I feel exactly as you do, liking the man, and heartily grieved should he be turned out. But I hope he perceives (if not, I should be really obliged to you to let him feel) how entirely passive I am in all this.

"Beggars must not be choosers, says the proverb; and when, from whatever motive, the Liverpool men set me up for nothing, and with infinite zeal in my favour, I really have not a shadow of right to prescribe whom they shall join with us. Let but Creevey's case become desperate, as I have written to him, and if *I can by possibility show* my predilection for Tarlton, both *you* and *he himself* may rely on my doing so. Could you contrive to let him know these my sentiments? and believe me ever yours, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *Sept.* 29, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am now in for it, having waited till the last moment, and have sent them my formal answer to their address, being the first word I ever spoke or wrote to them on the subject. Their address was certainly most respectable as to signatures. It joins Creevey with me—in order, they say, to secure me; but if all the other four stand, *we* must both of us come in. You know, I presume, that Congreve, the rocket-man, stands on the Prince's interest!! This is really of itself an inducement to fight it. But what has most weighed with me is my dislike of being all at once thrown out of Parliament in the middle of my pursuits there; and I concluded, from your doubting if even Tierney could find a seat, that there was *no chance* for me. Indeed I have no possible claim.

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Well, now I am fairly started, and on Thursday I go from hence to Liverpool, being very slow to get there until it is necessary. I am by no means so sanguine as my friends there are. That the chance is fair, I admit; and if it fails, I don't think I shall be much disappointed. Horner and Jeffrey have been here for some days. Horner says that Lord Lansdowne brings Abercromby in for Calne. I hope he will prefer Romilly, should Bristol fail. —Yours sincerely,

"H. B."

FROM LORD GREY.

"Howick, *Oct.* 1, 1812.

"Dear Brougham,—I wish you all possible success, and only regret I have no means of contributing towards it; but I am afraid you will have a troublesome job. I have heard that starting Creevey is likely to do harm; and Derby, I am told, is of that opinion. But the persons on the spot, and conversant with the local interests, must know best.

"A compromise such as you describe will undoubtedly be very disagreeable; and, to be sure, considering the state of politics which has produced your popularity in a great degree at Liverpool, Canning seems to be an odd colleague to choose for you. If your merit is the attempt to reconcile America, what is it that recommends the man who, when Secretary of State, did all he could to produce the mischief which now renders conciliation so difficult?

"All I hear leads me to believe that the ministers will lose more than they will gain in the new elections. Indeed I cannot very well understand their policy in dissolving at this moment. Except that, you may say, though things may be worse for them, they cannot be

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expected to be much better. Many of our friends, I am afraid, however, will be out—amongst them some of the oldest and stanchest Whigs, such as Dudley North.

"Pray let me hear, when you have a moment to spare, how you are going on.—Ever yours most truly,

"GREY."

In the Liverpool election Grey took naturally a great interest, and was very sanguine in his expectations of success if we had only tried to carry one. In connection with this subject he wrote to me as follows:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *Oct.* 4, 1812.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—Nothing could be more gratifying to me than your letter. I am not good at professions, but pray be assured that all the feelings you express about co-operation in politics are fully returned by me. There is no person with whom I feel a stronger desire to cultivate and secure the closest and most confidential connection, both political and personal, than with yourself: but enough of this.

"It gives me great pleasure to hear that your prospects are so fair at Liverpool. You could not have an opponent against whom I should not wish you success, with very few exceptions indeed; but the opponent you mention will render your triumph doubly gratifying. I suppose the Prince is anxious to make him entirely his own. You know the drawbridge and the rockets were to be the great instruments of security in the new park against the mob. Tarlton

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has given me an opportunity of writing to him, and I have said what you wished.

. . . . . .

"I have a letter from Sir Robert Wilson from Smolensko. He refers me to a man who is come over, for information; of this, of course, by my absence from London, I am deprived; but I think, in the little he does say, additional confirmation, if there wanted any, of the hopeless state of the Russian war. He speaks of their troops, however, as being excellent. His letter, or rather note, is dated the 14th, and of course before the last important events. —Ever yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"LIVERPOOL, *Oct.* 13, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The enemy fought well, and the result is still very doubtful. Overtures, or half-overtures, of accommodation have been made, but we are so desirous of gaining a complete victory, and of dishing Canning, that these have been rejected, and we are fighting it out. It may last ten days yet—indeed probably will, and a scrutiny after all. The truth is, Canning has got into a d—d scrape; he is dirtied all over by courting the Court mobs; and if he fails after all, he is much to be pitied. H. B.

"*Yesterday's Poll.*

Canning, . . .	722
Brougham, . . .	691
Gascoigne, . . .	673
Creevey, . . .	666
Tarlton, . . .	6"

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TO EARL GREY.

"CROXTETH PARK, *Oct.* 16, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have just come here from the Liverpool election, which is over at last. I could have kept it up a week longer, polled 150 more votes, and made the enemy spend £10,000 more (he has, I suppose, spent £20,000 already), but finding myself infinitely popular with both parties, from my manner of conducting it, and preserving the peace of the town in an unprecedented manner (which they ascribe wholly to me), and having not a shadow of chance of beating them, they being already 200 ahead, and having as many unpolled as I had, I gave in with a good grace at 12 to-day; and have had the SATISFACTION of being assured by the enemy how happy they would have been to return me, if we had rested satisfied with one. I do not regret our taking the other choice; we run them amazingly hard. On Sunday last they would have compromised; on Monday they thought themselves quite beaten, and on Tuesday; but on Wednesday things looked up, though Gascoigne only passed me yesterday at one o'clock. The fact is, they all renewed their subscriptions, and said if £50,000 were required they were resolved to do it. They gave twenty and thirty guineas a vote, and the thing was done. Our friends have not spent £8000, and sums are still flowing in from all parts; £400 only an hour ago came from Glasgow, and as much from Hull, and the Birmingham folks swear that they will *buy* me a seat, but of course this is a way of speaking. Indeed, if I cared much for popularity, I may well be gratified, for never was anybody so supported, and the enemy has only the votes; they

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who polled against us crying out to us that their hearts were with us, but they dared not. The starting two, inflamed and combined our adversaries, and made the two parties (Corporation and Tories), with a large secession from the Whigs, unite against us. The miracle is our having made such a fight; and they look gloomy on their own victory, because they know to what they owe it.

"You can have no idea of the nature of a Liverpool election; it is quite peculiar to the place. You have every night to go to the different clubs, benefit societies, &c., which meet and speechify. This is from half-past six to one in the morning at least; and you have to speak to each man who polls, at the bar, from *ten to five*. It lasted eight days. I began my canvass three whole days before, and had nine nights of the clubs, besides a regular speech each day at close of the poll. I delivered in that time 160 speeches and odd; and yesterday and to-day, after being beaten, I rallied, and delivered regular speeches to the whole multitude. I had to close with one above an hour long, so you may guess how exhausted I am, especially as I never saw a popular election before, and knew nothing of it.

"The exploits of the Whigs were my chief subjects, and I flatter myself I have done much to reclaim the people there. Yesterday I preached on Pitt's conduct and immorality, which was prodigiously well received; and to-day I concluded with a long profession of adherence to Fox and his friends, with reasons, &c., which was far better taken than I had expected by the people; indeed, perfectly well received, and most extremely well by the upper classes. These two things,

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being, of course, the only things I took any pains with, will be put in the paper, and you'll see them. As to any proceeding of a more violent nature, our party had so much the possession of the town, after the first day, that there was no facing us; some scuffles occurred afterwards, but except a throwing of stones (in which young Roscoe and I had narrow escapes), we never were in any danger: some few accidents happened, two or three men being killed, and others severely cut and wounded, but all who knew Liverpool formerly say nothing was ever seen so quiet at an election there. The enemy had a disposition to row me *personally*, and set a broken *slave captain* on me, who acted at Canning's bar, but he found it would not do, and retreated. A man of more respectable description was also set on me, and in consequence of my treating him loudly on the hustings, sent me a letter which reached me just as I was beginning my speech; but having a friend who had joined me here for the purpose, I sent him to say I did not seek a quarrel, but I had not the least wish to avoid one, which produced an ample written apology. These things are, of course, between ourselves, especially the last, as the man is in the Customs, and I should not wish to injure him, believing him to have been set on.

"So now you have as accurate an idea of the humours of the election as if you had seen them, and at a small cost. The zeal of our friends is inconceivable, and in some cases melancholy; one has been in confinement, having actually gone mad; several others have *ruined* themselves; and they have already formed a committee, &c., for bringing me in next vacancy, but we expect no opposition.

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"In the mean time I am fairly out of Parliament, which is rather absurd after all that has happened. Calcraft has never written a line to me, which is odd; but he probably reckoned on my coming in here. I am far more concerned for Romilly, and of course you must be annoyed about Tierney. You should write to Lord Thanet, for he seems to have a place kept open; at least so my brother tells me, who conducted it for him at Appleby, and was chaired for old Courtney, who, he says, is only a stop-gap. Lord Thanet, I know, is favourably disposed towards Tierney, and likes him.

"As for William Lamb and Horner, I regret it not; the former does not do much good, and the latter has no chance of living unless he is kept perfectly quiet. This I am sure of, having had him with me nearly a week before I came here, and observed his illness.

"For myself, I can, now that I am out, seriously say, what I wrote to you before it happened, and when my chance was not so bad, that it does not grieve me very much. Don't you think I received in one hour sufficiently bad news—Romilly's losing Bristol, my own loss of Wareham, my failure at Liverpool, and the final rupture with America? I assure you, *speaking* under such circumstances was no pleasant concern. Excuse all these personal details; but I know how great an interest you take in me.—Ever most faithfully yours, H. BROUGHAM."

Although, as I said to Lord Grey, I did not much grieve at the Liverpool defeat, I could not but feel that I had been entirely sacrificed to Roscoe's absurd obstinacy in attempting to carry two members, when

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he well knew that the only time the party had ever succeeded in this was when he himself sat for a few months under the Grenville Government, and that he had never ventured to stand again after that Government was turned out the next session. The result of the Liverpool people following his most silly advice was, that I was kept out of Parliament three sessions, when, an accident having put a seat at Lord Darlington's disposal, I was returned for Winchelsea in his interest, and this seat I held for fourteen years, and then sat in the Duke of Devonshire's interest for Knaresborough until I was returned on my own interest for Yorkshire.

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CHAPTER XI.

Home and Foreign Politics.

CORRESPONDENCE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—AMERICA AND SPAIN —TRIAL OF THE HUNTS—THE LUDDITES—TRIAL AT YORK— AN ACCIDENT—THE PENINSULAR WAR—THE GREAT BATTLES ON THE ELBE—HOME POLITICS—IMPRESSMENT—THE CONTINENT —BERNADOTTE'S DESIGNS—HOLLAND—HOGENDORP—MADAME DE STAËL—LADY HOLLAND—THE ALLIED ARMIES ACROSS THE RHINE—HOME POLITICS—LORD COCHRANE, BURDETT, AND DOG DENT—PERRY OF THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE'—THE CONTINENT—OCCUPATION OF PARIS BY THE ALLIES—CONGRESS OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON—THE FRENCH, AND THEIR OBLIVION OF HIM—POSSIBLE FATE OF HIS SUCCESSOR—VISIT TO PARIS—TRAVELLING COMPARED WITH LATER VISITS TO CANNES—WELLINGTON—THE INSTITUTE—LA PLACE—A CONFERENCE WITH CARNOT—ANECDOTES OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMPIRE.

GREY had always a less favourable opinion of the Americans than Baring, who was far from being too favourable to them. In the first letter he wrote after the Liverpool election was over he thus expressed himself:—

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *October* 20, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I last night received your letter of Friday last. I was by the previous accounts prepared to expect the event which it announces, but

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by no means reconciled to it; but it is useless to occupy time and paper in vain regrets. Your exclusion from the House of Commons, if it is to continue, I shall consider as an irreparable loss both to your friends and to the public, and nothing must be left unattempted to prevent so great an evil. As far as my efforts can be of any avail, you know they will not be wanting; but you know, also, how unsuccessful they have been in a case in which I was no less interested than yourself. However, after Parliament meets, perhaps some unexpected opening may present itself, and you may be assured it will not be neglected by me. From your account, the exertions required in a Liverpool contest are such as few people could make.

"I always fancied you were too sanguine about America. Knowing the disposition of that Government, I dreaded the effect of their being possessed of the evidence given before the two Houses; and for this the ministers are deeply responsible. In truth, they will have but a sorry budget to lay before the new Parliament. Russia, Lord Cathcart's letters, and even the state of Spain itself, or I am greatly mistaken, will, before these matters come to be discussed, throw a terrible gloom over the success of Salamanca. This Castle of Burgos has already cost us above 1000 men, and will probably cost us as many more before it falls, even if the French do not fight for it, which I think highly probable, as they have an effective force at Pancorbo of 30,000 men; and if they are aware of the nature of ours, which contains only about 11,000 British, I think they will certainly try fortune in another field. I have very detailed and intelligent

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accounts from the army, from which I think you would conclude, that if Bonaparte himself were there, or even if the armies in Spain were under one direction, there cannot be the slightest doubt of their having even now, in the Peninsula, sufficient means to compel us to abandon the country. These accounts also state the greatest distress for want of money, which is productive of such evils, that if anything should happen to Lord Wellington, I am inclined to believe we should very soon retire from our present advanced positions, though no very active exertions are made by the enemy.

"Lady Grey desires to be very kindly remembered to you. I wish we could hope, now that your electioneering is over, that you would execute your promised scheme of making an excursion over the hills to Howick.—Ever yours most truly, GREY.

"*P.S.*—I have some strong grounds for suspecting that Moira is going to India."

Like Lord Grey, Horner had been very sanguine, and firmly persuaded that I should succeed at Liverpool: the failure was a great disappointment to him, and that he felt it deeply is evident from the following letter, for Horner was not of a very demonstrative nature, and rarely gave vent to his feelings either in words or writing:—

FROM FRANCIS HORNER, ESQ.

"LINCOLN'S INN, *October* 21, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The event at Liverpool is a bitter and painful disappointment, for which I was

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not in the least prepared, having brought myself to consider *your* return at least as almost certain. Added to Romilly's defeat, it is indeed a most mortifying event to all those who care for the public concerns; to me for every reason, public and private. I look upon it as ascertained beyond a question, that your failure is owing entirely to the indiscretion of forcing Creevey with you; another instance, in addition to a thousand, of that wrong-headed, impracticable want of judgment which is so often exemplified in those who are the most earnest friends of liberty, but which in no other instance has been attended with such fatal and mischievous consequences to the interests of that cause. For after all that passed last summer, and still more since you were induced to try Liverpool, it was of the last importance to the popular and true Whig interests that you should have been successful. And now my anxiety is turned to your other prospects of a seat in the new Parliament, which I trust are satisfactory. Wareham, I see, is filled up, but perhaps not without a condition in your favour. If that is out of the question now, the Jockey appears to have innumerable seats; and he might gain immortal honour with the country by appropriating two of them to Romilly and you. I shall be very impatient till I hear that some arrangement, perfectly agreeable to yourself, is made for you. —Ever sincerely yours, FRA. HORNER."

Before the end of October I left Brougham, in order that I might pay a visit to Whitbread and Lady Elizabeth before my November work in London began. On the road I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

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TO EARL GREY.

"GREETA BRIDGE, *October* 24, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your very kind and friendly letter before I set out from Brougham, and I also received some from town which contain intelligence that I am sure will be agreeable to you, if you have not already heard it. Romilly tells me he has a seat in his power, but has not determined whether to come in or not. I have written most strongly to urge it, and Horner also is to be brought in. Of William Lamb I hear nothing new; but George was at our house while I was at Liverpool, and he said that there was a prospect of a seat for William through the Duke of Devonshire. In short, my view of the prospects of the party is not half so gloomy as it was some days ago, and I guess that our borough-owning friends are disposed to behave better than they seemed likely when I last wrote. As to my own case, it is quite a different one, and I have no claims with those who abhor reform,—which, by the way, I am so far from overrating, that I never yet have said anything about it. Your urging anything in my behalf in those quarters without the possibility of serving me, would only expose yourself to odium on my account, and might injure that influence over the party which it is of the utmost consequence that you should possess unimpaired. If Tierney, Romilly, &c., are all safe (which seems now pretty certain), I can very easily be spared. Excuse my freedom of speech; but I really wish to avoid above everything getting you into any difficulty on my account.

"The ministers have a pleasant kind of session before them, and their money matters are likely to be

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the pleasantest part of it. The want of specie in Spain is said to be dreadful, and I cannot help thinking, upon the whole, that Lord Wellesley must soon pay a visit to Portugal again. When the ministers dissolved to injure Canning and Wellesley, they reckoned without their host, for it has greatly increased their numbers. They say they have twenty-two in the House of Commons. Canning told me that four seats had been given to them, of which they had not the slightest expectation. He said, '*To me—that is, to Wellesley and me*,' and talked as if their union was quite complete. He as well as Charles Ellis and Lord Granville Leveson seemed to prize their late accession in Ward very highly, and I could not help giving them warning that they might not have a long lease with him.

"Sir William Manners will, if I mistake not, get himself into a scrape. He goes about openly talking of having sold three seats for £18,000, so that nothing is easier than to bring an action against him. This I knew before, but Lord Lonsdale having spoken of it very significantly yesterday, shows me that people have their eyes on it. I think, after all, that it is a bad kind of business, now the law is made. It is quite as bad as usury, which people are apt to think discreditable, though there is but one opinion as to the usury laws.

"I am much obliged to you for the solicitude you express as to my alarm. The alarming symptoms arose from heat, nor am I quite sure that it was groundless, but having a constitution of extreme strength, I threw it off, and though left somewhat exhausted, am in perfect health, and ready in a few days to go through twice as much as I did last winter; but

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I am travelling by slow journeys, to make quite sure of being well.—Most sincerely and faithfully,

"HENRY BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Hunt's trial comes on about the middle of the week after next, and they are in some consternation at Carlton House. Two several attempts have been made to buy him off, but of course in vain; one of them came almost directly from Macmahon soon *after* the trial, put off last July. I feel somewhat anxious about the verdict, but am full of confidence as to the defence and its effects all over the country. It will be a thousand times more unpleasant than the libel.—Believe me most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *Dec.* 8, 1812—4 *o'clock.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As I conclude Hunt's trial interests you, I write to say that it came on this morning at nine.* A *full* special jury of twelve was procured with infinite pains, and great bustle and interest excited in town about it. The prosecution was conducted by Garrow (Solicitor-General), and defence by me. Garrow reserved himself in a way quite new, and very cowardly, saying ten words and waiting for me, so that all he said was in reply. I fired for two hours very close and hard into the Prince—on all points, public and private—and in such a way that

* The trial of John Hunt, and of Leigh Hunt (the poet and essayist) on a charge of libel on the Prince Regent in the 'Examiner.'

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they *could* not find any opening to break in upon, and were therefore prevented from interrupting me. They tried twice early, but Ellenborough, losing temper, fell into a gross error and was fairly beaten, which gave me the rest of the day pretty easy. In summing up, he attacked me with a personal bitterness wholly unknown in a court, and towards a counsel—who, you know, is presumed, of course, to speak his client's sentiments—most gross and unjustifiable. All the profession are with me, and he is either in a scrape, or next door to it. He coarsely hinted at Lord Holland's having had a Cabinet place, though convicted of adultery, by way of showing that the Prince is not more immoral than his father. In short, he is quite exposed. After all his fury, the jury, to his infinite astonishment, hesitated, and then *withdrew*. I was obliged to leave the court to attend a consultation elsewhere in another cause, so don't know the result, but there is scarcely a chance. I have heard a report of the verdict being soon after given, of guilty; but the retiring is of itself really a victory in the circumstances.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"5 *o'clock.*

"*P. S.*—Accounts just received that in twenty or twenty-five minutes (passed by the court in great agitation) they found us *guilty.*"

TO EARL GREY.

"*December* 16, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,— . . . . . The news about Bonaparte, though probably much exaggerated, is certainly very important; and the Con-

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tinent being open to trade, a vast spring is suddenly given to it.* Sugar is up, from 49s. to 70s.; and even coffee is rising. I fear no ultimate good will come of these things. We shall be mad enough once more to put Bonaparte in the right. We shall not have the sense to offer peace; and he, having sixty millions of subjects, may easily raise half a million more men. Even were he killed or taken (which I don't expect), we should hear of nothing but Bourbons. Add to which, the Prince and his advisers will go mad, and be above every control, unless to-day's advertisement of 'The Book' keeps him in order. It certainly comes rather *apropos*.†

I am much obliged to you for your kind wishes. If anything should come in my way soon, I should certainly jump at it. What frame of mind I may be

* In reference to the retreat from Moscow. Napoleon left the remainder of his army ten days before the date of the letter.

† 'The Book complete, being the whole of the Depositions on the Investigation of the Conduct of the Princess of Wales, before Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough.' The original materials for 'The Book,' which appeared from 1812 downwards in various shapes, was believed to be the documents privately printed for the use of the Prince and his advisers in 1807. Though great pains were taken to repress the circulation of these documents, some got into private hands, and found their way to speculative publishers. "One editor of a newspaper was said to have obtained £1500 for his copy; and several other copies were bought up at £500, £750, and similar sums. The Chancellor in 1808 had issued an injunction against one editor, who declared that he possessed a copy and would publish it. He was restrained under a penalty of £5000, and afterwards sold his copy for an enormous sum."—Lloyd, Mem. of Geo. IV., 306.

In an article on "George IV. and Queen Caroline" ('Contributions to Edinburgh Review,' i. 465), Lord Brougham says: "There is no doubt whatever that 'The Book,' written by Mr Perceval, and privately printed at his house under Lord Eldon's superintendence and his own, was prepared in concert with the King, and was intended to sound the alarm against Carlton House and the Whigs, when a still more favourable opportunity of making a breach with the latter unexpectedly offered itself in the Catholic question."

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in at the next dissolution, I really can't tell, for time and other pursuits change one's taste, and one's capacity not less, and I may then have no fancy for either Liverpool or the Westminster patriots.

"I mean to try my profession for a couple of years longer in town; and if I find I succeed, well; if I don't get on a vast deal better than I have done during the last two years, I am not quite so young as to continue leading a disagreeable and unprofitable life in London, when I might enjoy more profit and a thousand times more ease in the country, confining myself to my circuit, on which I am pretty secure of success.—Believe me ever yours most truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

In the spring of 1812 there were great disturbances in many of the manufacturing districts in Yorkshire, particularly in the neighbourhood of Leeds, Sheffield, and Huddersfield. The introduction and extension of machinery in many of the cloth-mills had created an apprehension among the hand-workers that they would be thrown out of employment. They collected in large gangs under the name of Luddites, and made furious attacks upon the mills where the obnoxious machinery had been introduced. The mills were in many cases garrisoned by the men who remained true to their masters; and these, being well armed, succeeded in many cases in effectually repelling the insurgents, some of whom were killed, and many severely wounded, in the attacks. One of the most violent of the attempts was made upon the mill of a Mr Cartwright, near Huddersfield. The mill was successfully defended, but at the expense of many lives on both sides. The military had been called

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out, and in some places did considerable execution among the rioters, many of whom were killed. But such proceedings, far from putting a stop to the outrages, had rather a tendency to make the rioters pause in their system of machine-breaking, and resort to acts of personal violence. Thus, a Mr Trentham was shot by two ruffians in passing from his manufactory to his house;—Mr Horsfall, a large manufacturer, was shot dead from behind a wall as he was returning home from Manchester—with many outrages of a like nature.

Late in the autumn, the Government began to take some notice of these violent proceedings, and before the end of December a special commission was sent to York, to try such of the Luddites as had been taken up and committed by the magistrates. It was my fate to be retained on the part of some of the accused parties, and accordingly I proceeded to York at Christmas. After the trials were over I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *January* 12, 1813.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I am just setting off, as the business here is finishing. They are now passing sentence on the convicts.

"There have been several acquittals since I last wrote, and several convictions; but as the *facts* were clearly proved of outrages, &c., the results of the trials were only interesting to the individuals, and could prove nothing more than whether *they* had or not a share in acts clearly proved to have been committed by somebody; therefore I need not trouble you further

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as to the details, than to observe that considerably more were acquitted than we had expected.

"As to the material point, of *what it all was*, the opinion I gather from all I have seen in public and private is shortly this: That the apprehension of being ruined by being thrown out of work in consequence of machinery (shears), excited numbers of the croppers (who cut the cloth by hand) to destroy the machinery; that some of the masters may possibly have been encouragers of them; that, to effect this, they did not form any very regular association, but did certainly associate in considerable numbers; that we have no traces of the *oaths* among *these men*, except ordinary oaths to keep certain acts secret after they were committed; and that these acts of violence (130 to 150 being present on one occasion) were confined to Huddersfield, and seven or eight miles round it—I might perhaps rather say one mile. There was little or nothing done after April; the defence of Cartwright's mill and the murder of Horsfall, followed by the introduction of the military, suspended the riots, at least for a time. Meantime a pretty severe example has been made by the judges here, for, three days ago, three of the four murderers of Horsfall were hung in front of York Castle; and fourteen of the rioters will be executed to-morrow or next day. This is wholesale work with a vengeance!—Ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *July* 17, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I rather write now for the purpose of telling you that I know nothing of what is

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going on, than in order to give you any information. I have only been twice to the westward of Charing Cross since the day I dined with you at Lord Rosslyn's. One of the times was to see Lord Thanet, who was in town some weeks ago; and I am extremely glad to tell you I never saw him better. His recovery is really one of the very few satisfactory circumstances in these bad times. *She* has, it is said, had a *fausse couche*, which is entertaining enough.

"The people in this place have been crazy about the late victory, and will probably not come to their senses till Lord Wellington begins in November to fall back towards Portugal, which, I presume, a peace in the north, or even, without that, a refitting of his artillery, &c., from the depot at Thoulouse, is very likely to occasion at the usual season.* In the mean time the Prince is resolved to snatch a little popularity for his own share, and has got up a dinner at Vauxhall for the purpose. I hear it is currently reported that the Princess has intimated her intention of going, which has thrown them all into the greatest consternation. What truth there may be in it I can't pretend to say, not having seen her for these two months, and only had any correspondence when some matter relating to her business required it.

"I take the most gloomy view possible of public affairs, being sure that the more melancholy one's forebodings are they are always the more likely to be realised. I presume that the Crown never was so entirely freed from an Opposition since the Revolution; and with all the honesty which is to be found scattered up and down amongst our friends, there is one

* "The late victory," battle of Vittoria.

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thing which they seem unanimous in refusing, and that is, to hold together in a compact mass against the Government. Truly things may be said to be desperate when the most unpopular King since James II., at the most alarming crisis, is able to do exactly what he pleases, and by whom. We owe it to his forbearance that Macmahon and Tyrwhitt are not appointed Lord High Treasurer and Lord High Admiral; indeed they would be probably better than Vansittart and Melville, which may be one reason for their not being appointed.

"I can't help being mortified (perhaps more than I should if I had been more aware of the particulars) at seeing the Duke of Devonshire, who is a more independent man than the Prince, led away by 'a fiddle and bowl of punch' (as the lower people say), and dangling at Carlton House. I wish there may be no reason to suspect that they are going to make a great fool of him, but I have heard odd things, and he may be very sure that if he leaves his party, and has the smallest idea of marrying into the family, the '*bourgeois gentilhomme*' (as Lord Thanet justly calls him) will turn round upon him, and bid him recollect that there is some difference between their stations.

"If there is reason for croaking about the Cavendishes, I own that I am a thousand times more mortified when anything is imputed to a far better breed—the Russells. The reason given for giving up the sheep-shearing at Woburn has, I understand, seriously injured the Duke of Bedford's popularity, which I consider to be a great national calamity. He could not probably state the true reason—the expense; and certainly it would not have done to put the saddle

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on the right horse, and said, 'The Duchess's cottage requires this further sacrifice;' but I heartily wish he had said nothing at all. Whatever hurts the party in their hereditary heads, is beyond measure detrimental to the cause of Opposition, which, the more hopeless it becomes, should be the more endeared to its well-wishers.

"I may very likely be too desponding, but you are the only person in the world to whom I can get out my croak, more especially upon the last-mentioned point. It is wrong to allow the case to be hopeless while there is life.—Believe me ever yours most sincerely, H. Brougham."

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *August* 8, 1813.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I quite agree with you as to the views of Canning being in office, of course. My only difference is (and I admit it to be a dangerous ground of arguing in such cases), that I can't conceive any rapacity for office being so great as to make him ruin his character, and run the great risk of ruining his prospects also, by seeking a place the moment after throwing off his encumbrances. That the measure was meant to clear away obstacles, and to bring him into office in the long-run, is plain enough.

"The Speaker's last exhibition is quite capital, and I hope will not be forgotten. The Catholic part of it is most prominent, but I know not that it is the basest. What think you of his having the face to speak of Vansittart's plan as *accelerating* the payment of the debt, when Vansittart himself, in his printed statement, allows that it will *retard* it at the rate of a

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hundred millions in the next ten years, and, in truth, only defends it by the impossibility of raising more taxes! His anxiety to get the privilege question over last session in the Lords convinced me he was going to leave his place. He made many applications to us for that purpose, not wishing to petition the Lords himself.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"*August* 20, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am infinitely obliged to you for your kind inquiries respecting my accident, which turns out next to nothing.* I have had no fever, and no suppuration from the wound, owing, I believe, to the great bleeding at the time and my good habit of body. I have not lost my eye; and though the scalp was cut from the skull for a space extending from the middle of the forehead round to the ear, and including half of the eyelid (though this was not cut through), it has healed by the first intention. My left arm remains nearly useless for the present, whether owing to a wrench or to the havoc among the nerves of the head I can't tell; but Mr Horner—who is so skilful a person that it is almost worth having a hurt to see him operate—don't think it material. In a word, I am as good as new, and have only had the pain and inconvenience to complain of. I expect to leave this to-morrow or next day, and to rejoin the circuit at Carlisle.

"I almost wish I were ill enough to have an excuse

* In going to Carlisle from Newcastle my carriage was turned over, and, in falling, the thick plate-glass of the side window broke upon my head, cutting it across the forehead and eye right to the bone of the skull.

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for leaving it and going to Howick, which strongly tempts me, but in reality I have no such excuse.

"I have no news from town, except that the Prince at Brighton associates wholly with his select set—Yarmouth, Lord Fife, Lord Lowther, &c.—and never spoke to Lord Holland.

"Remember me to all at Howick, particularly my companion in distress, Lord Robert, whose accident I am extremely sorry to hear of. I hope he was blooded. —Yours ever most truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BENTON, *August* 22, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—At length I am allowed to go out, and to leave this to-morrow, though I verily believe I might have travelled in all safety three days ago. I hope Lord Robert has felt no inconvenience from his fall. The forts don't fall, and Soult is in force. It seems highly probable that we shall be soon attacked again, unless Soult can count upon the forts holding out till November, in which case he may remain quiet, and reckon upon our retreating at the usual time.

"The chief interest seems again to be transferred to Germany, where it appears that the armistice is at an end. But I can't quite believe the prodigious news in to-day's 'Chronicle' of Austria declaring war on the 10th; at least on Perry's evidence it is quite incredible, for Bernadotte's bulletin of the 13th takes no notice of Austria at all. The news seems to come from Gottenborg, and no other quarter; and, to say the least, is not probable. If Bonaparte *has* chosen to have Austria against him too, it will show great confidence in his

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troops and positions, and must proceed from calculation of the Allied force somewhat different from ours, which are indeed manifestly gross exaggerations. It is useless, as well as endless, to speculate in such a state of things; but *if* he really drives Austria to the side of the Allies, it must be because her demands were nearly as high as she can hope to carry by beating him. Suppose she has said—Retire from Germany, and get behind the Rhine, and give up Italy and Holland, or even Italy without Holland; for to speak of Holland being independent while Belgium is thoroughly French is preposterous. He may naturally enough think that he can retreat upon some such project, after a kind of drawn campaign, or even after having the worst of it. No one can count upon such an army as his being routed when frost is out of the question, and I don't believe even the 'Morning Post,' or the very Regent himself, dreams of attacking France; so that, upon the whole, we are as usual laying in stores of disappointment, upon the most favourable supposition, to say nothing of the chance of his beating them all, and making separate peaces, which I suppose a man had better be hanged at once than drop a hint of.

"Pray give my best remembrances and respects to both the Lady Greys, and to Lady Robert *e tuti quanti*.

"My accident leaves me, after all, a good deal cut up, some parts of my head and face being tender, and others quite numbed and dead, which is far more disagreeable than the pain. But I really must say for this country that it has a most uncommon treasure in Mr Horner, who exceeds anything I ever saw for neatness of hand, besides being very clever and sensible. To be sure, he lives in a district where half the popu-

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lation, I suppose, pass through the hospital every year, and part of the remainder die on the way to it. I have been much indebted to the Briggcs for their great kindness on this occasion; they are excellent people, both politically and privately.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *September* 21, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have just heard with the greatest concern of your having had the scarlet fever at Howick, and I am extremely anxious to hear that it has done no mischief.

"I know a good deal of that damnable disease, both from having had it myself twice, and from several of our family having had it in the worst possible shape. I have attended a good deal to the subject of cold effusion, and I beg of you to urge your medical men by all means to try it. They sometimes are afraid, but vaccination is not more demonstrably certain. Romilly's eldest daughter was saved by it. My sister I saw literally restored to life by it. She had been given over, and was thought to be actually gone, when the medical man ordered cold air to be let in upon her. This was long before the practice had become common; in Romilly's case it was by the more powerful application of cold water, applied again and again all over the body, till it brought down the pulse and heat.

"You should use the ordinary precautions against infection yourself, and Lady Grey also, although adults are not by any means so subject to it. If you feel anything queer, an emetic is an excellent preventive, checking the infection even where it has been taken.

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"I shall be very glad when I hear for certain that you are relieved. Living at Howick I should really have thought a security against such a visitation, and I am willing to hope it will be less severe on that account.

"Pray give my best remembrances to Lady Grey, and believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *September* 26, 1813.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am most truly obliged to you for the kind anxiety you express about me. I have indeed had a great alarm from the breaking-out of the scarlet fever. Two only of the younger boys and two or three of the servants have had it decidedly. One or two of the other children had all the incipient symptoms of sore throat, &c., but the early use of an emetic either checked the disorder or entirely prevented it, as they recovered without fever or any other inconvenience. One of the boys was handled severely, and, though the disorder itself is over, does not recover as he ought to do, and still has a nasty fever hanging about him. In general the character of the disease has been very mild. It has been, and still is, very prevalent in the neighbourhood, but only one person has died of it—a woman, who would not be persuaded that it was not the itch, and, in spite of all that could be said to her, rubbed herself with a mercurial ointment, which finished her in a very few hours.

"Upon the first appearance of this infection I removed Lady Grey and the girls to Falloden, and the boys to Mr Anderson's, staying here myself to watch

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the sick; as I have had the scarlet fever, and consider myself as proof against it. When the infection appeared to be stopped, I sent those who had had it away, and, after well ventilating and fumigating the house, have brought back the rest of my family to their old quarters; and here they are now, all quite well.

"I have seen a very full and distinct account, from a person present, of the operations before Dresden, and the subsequent retreat of the Allied armies. It forms a perfect contrast with Lord Cathcart's statement of the same transactions, and goes very far indeed to confirm the French bulletins. Indeed, allowing for a little exaggerations as to numbers, and even this is not so great as I should have expected, the latter appear to be substantially correct. The information to which I refer, states that the Peterwald and Freiburg roads were intercepted; that the retreat of the various columns on this account was more difficult; that they lost several thousand carriages and some guns, not less than 30,000 men, including sick and prisoners; and that if they had delayed a few hours longer before Dresden, their retreat would have been impossible. As it was, they seem to have escaped a more severe loss by the persevering resistance of Count Osterman, and the error committed by Vandamme, which is represented exactly as Bonaparte states it. His corps lost, as he acknowledges, all their cannon, with the Prussian guns, which they had before taken, and about 10,000 men, including the wounded; the remainder completely licked Kleist's corps, and made good their retreat.

"The most important event that has yet happened is this victory obtained by the Crown-Prince, if true

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to the extent represented in the papers, and which came last night; but of this I cannot help having great doubts. What difference this may make one cannot speculate upon till one sees exactly what it is; but had it not been for this I would have laid my money on Bonaparte, provided always his troops remain faithful: this seems to me even now his greatest danger.

"I wish I could tempt you across the hills: we are quite alone, but expect little Rogers. If you see anything of Thanet, pray remember me to him and my lady.—I am, my dear Brougham, ever yours most truly, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 6, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I fear I misled you, in my letter of yesterday, about a victory; my authority was Eden (Lord Henley's son), who had been at one of the offices. But it seems to be a false report.* However, they have quite enough without it.

"I suppose if the worst happens to Bonaparte—viz., being driven within the Rhine—we shall hear of nothing but Europe having been saved, and the Pittites will begin to crow as if they had won the game at last;—which will be just as if a man at play had first lost his whole fortune, and then, in a desperate attempt, won back half of it, and then triumphed as if he had rooked his adversary. Not to mention the horror with which the original French declaration of the Rhine, the Pyrenees, &c., was received, the whole Continent, should it be cleared of the French, has been ravaged in such

* The battle of Leipsic.

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a way for twenty years that permanent conquest alone could be worse, and that only by a degree.

"However, it seems highly improbable that Austria and Bernadotte should hold out with the rest long enough to drive Bonaparte quite within the Alps and the Rhine, and it appears on the cards that he should gain some great success at one point, and then detach Austria.

"I have, of course, seen nobody since I came to town except lawyers, and of *their* news you had a specimen yesterday. — Believe me ever yours most truly, H. BROUGHAM.

"Macdonald *has* resigned, and Gibbs certainly succeeds him, though the Chancery men say Plomer, because they wish Richards to be Vice-Chancellor, as well they may be sick of Plomer. Ellenborough, much to his credit, is making a push for Holroyd as the new judge.

"I hear that Canning wrote the attack on Fox, but I can't believe it. The style is all for the other supposition."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 6, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As the news is at last come, and Parliament met, and people have had time to think a little about it, I wish to give you a note or two upon the state of the party. Of course, I hear at a distance, being quite out of the way, but I am also pretty cool, and as much disinterested upon the matter as any one can be; in fact, I am a mere spectator, so that (where there are in reality no secrets) I may

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give an evidence as accurate and more unsuspected than persons engaged in the game.

"There is, though in a greater degree, the same outcry that alarmed me so much last spring, about 'the party being at an end—it is better to say so at once; let every one go his own way,' &c. It should seem that Canning's circular letter has been taken as the model by some of our friends, and I am morally certain they would rejoice at your issuing one of the same stamp! They talk, among other things, of supporting the ministers where their measures deserve it, and where not, of a candid and individual sort of opposition, with a great deal more trash of the same odious description. Now I should only wish to know what would have become of the Whig party (and of the constitution of this country) if such language had prevailed in 1793 and 1794, when many deserted, no doubt, and more grumbled, and yet you held together *the party*, although there was such a clamour against you, both in Parliament and out of it, and such a Government, in point both of talents and strength, with a steady, popular King, a country blind and comfortable both as to trade and taxes—in short, such a sum of things as never before was at all equalled for the ruin of the Opposition. If the grumblers of those days—who complained of Fox and you not going far enough in blaming the Jacobins, not fairly supporting Pitt where he deserved it, with I know not how much more such twaddle, spoken by men who don't seem to reflect on the very *nature* of a *party*—had been listened to, the party was at an end, and half-a-dozen great interests would have been finally detached from it, and formed new connections and habits.

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"That the victory is upon the whole favourable to the constitution of this country I cannot doubt, for it must lead to peace, and then there is an end of the stop-mouth always used, 'Nothing can be done while Hannibal is at the gates.' Besides, peace is itself a great good, and one of the benefits to secure which we are desirous of seeing the constitution free. If, indeed, I could believe that the war is to last, the victories would be so much clear loss, for they make the Government *here* nearly absolute, whatever relief they may bring to Germany; and charity begins at home.

"But in the hopes of peace, were there nothing else, one cannot help exceedingly desiring that the great party, as it still is, should be kept together on true party principles, and should consider that in order to act with effect then (at a peace) they must continue as now.

"Connected with this is the subject of the speech, which all *our friends*, at least most, approve as moderate and on their own principles (supposing the phrase, *kingdom of France*, not to be a designed ambiguity). To commend it on those principles is doing nothing against the party, but this should be done with a reference to the party, so as to let it distinctly appear that the Government have come over to you on this important ground, as on many others, and *therefore* you approve.

"But while we are waiting for peace, are there no measures which the party might take with real benefit both to the country and to their own substantial popularity—measures which they might carry, too, in a session or two, with so wretched a ministry to oppose them, and the place-hunters (army, &c.) to back them

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from time to time? The Catholic question, of course; but there are many others, some connected with Ireland, others general. Why should they not bring on the question of tithes generally? I had got everything ready for this (even to the length of a bill carried through Parliament as an experiment, and which had completely answered) when I was flung out; but the thing is as plain sailing as a common road-bill, and would, I venture to assert, succeed the first session it was tried.

"I believe no one thing the party could do would more recommend it (or more justly) to the country. The question of *impressment* is another, though certainly of a much more delicate and difficult nature; but I had made considerable progress in it, chiefly upon Windham's principle, and saw my way better than could have been supposed. The greatest practical evil, or nearly so, at present existing,—the *expenses of law proceedings*—is a third; and to trouble you with only one more, to which I had *not* applied myself, but which, I am sure, much may be made of—the poor-laws. But I mention these merely as specimens, and I am quite clear that, with the force now at your disposal in both Houses, such a campaign might be arranged and carried on as would both steer clear of all differences and grounds of splitting, and would deservedly gain incalculable weight for the party with the country, while it would allow the awkward interval to pass by between this victory and peace—to pass with credit to the party, instead of showing them up day after day as discomfited and scattered, or at best doing nothing but waiting for a blot to hit. Observe, I don't mean that they should not hit a thousand blots

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all the while, for this is, after all, their principal calling. I am speaking of what should be done in addition to the usual measures of opposition, and while it is going on those ordinary measures will come in of course. Indeed, no time should be lost in rallying and bringing something forward. If only a dozen come to it at first, depend upon it the whole force will collect speedily; and until the idea of a disbanding is put down by the fact, no one will think of rallying.

"I am sure nothing but a most sincere and warm regard for the party could make me *bore* you so long with my notions as I have now done; and I may say a regard quite unmixed with any selfish feelings, for it is the pleasure of a great many of the party to consider, or affect to consider, me as 'flung overboard to lighten the ship;' but I care not for such stupid, and in many cases interested, stuff. As I said before, I am really speaking as an uninterested spectator, but one whose good wishes are greatly concerned.

"To turn to the point which alone the persons I have been alluding to ever think of—the court, or rather the Prince. Though the idea, which they can't get out of their heads, that he may still be kind, is a sort of madness after what has passed, and though all chance of getting a hold over him by his fears (the only handle he has about him) was thrown away last spring, yet the sort of chance *they* look to would, such as it is, still be open according to my plan.

"This brings me to what I understand is really the case, that he is not very well with his ministers, jealous of their interfering, squabbling about their moderation, and for the Bourbons, &c.; also about the arrangement for the young Princess and the Princess

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of Wales, &c.; but of this I shall write on Monday. It comes all to very little in my view.—Ever yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1813.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I received yours yesterday, and certainly the difficulty you begin and end with is the grand one; nor do I really see, under existing circumstances, how it is to be got rid of. I know very well what would do if people would agree to it, but that it is only removing the difficulty one step, and leaving it there as great as ever. I mean, of course, if our friends in the House of Commons would take Whitbread for their leader; because I have never entertained a moment's doubt that he would be the most *tractable* leader they could find, and the most accommodating to those both in the House of Commons and elsewhere. I admit that to those who only look at his conduct as it has been, while there has prevailed a constant struggle, &c., this seems a sort of paradox; but I have no doubt whatever of its truth; and they who know him best, I believe, will agree in it; though, to say the truth, one never likes to mention the subject, from a conviction of the difficulties attending it, and a fear that broaching such things may do harm. In short, it is almost if not quite impossible to see any way out of it.

"There is some alarm about Canada in the City, and apparently not ill founded. If the ministers (as is reported) send the Duke of York to Holland, we shall soon be in the old way again. One thing I know for certain, that the language both at Carlton House and

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the Duke of York's is strong against Bernadotte, and that they openly wish *he* may do nothing in Holland.

"Canning's speech last night, I hear, failed greatly; it was a mere collection of clap-traps, which caught very ill. Indeed, as it appears in the newspapers, it looks like something made out of the 'Morning Post' and 'Elegant Extracts.'*

"Ward seems uncomfortable, as he well may be, after the disbanding. I heard a joke of Lord Byron's annoyed him t'other day, though it was a baddish sort of pun. Ward was talking of being '*rewhigged*,' and Lord Byron said he fancied he wanted to be '*rewarded*.' They have fired an epigram at him, which is not much better; I suppose it is Tom Moore's:—

'W—d has no heart, they say, but I deny it;
He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it.'

"You heard, I suppose, of Sheridan having at length been arrested, owing to his usual folly and delays. He is out again, but was beyond measure annoyed by it. It is not much known, and had better not be mentioned: really nothing can be more lamentable than his coming to such an end. The Prince talks of providing for Jekyll and Adam as soon as he can.—Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 27, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As you may suppose, the people continue intoxicated with the good news—more of which may be daily expected; for Italy will prob-

* This seems to refer to Canning's speech on 17th November, in the debate on Lord Castlereagh's motion for a committee of the whole House "on the Foreign Treaties."—See Hansard, 144.

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ably be soon cleared of the French, and Hamburg and the garrisons, Dantzic, &c., must fall. Wellington has met, I apprehend, with more resistance than he looked for, for it certainly was his intention to attack Bayonne immediately. It even seems upon the cards that something should happen to Bonaparte himself; but what the Austrians would then do is another question; and it seems pretty clear that Bernadotte won't attack France. He may be speculating on something leading to his own succession, in which case he of course must keep aloof from all invasions. Our Carlton House wiseacres continue to abuse him, calling him the *Sergeant*, and saying he was once flogged for stealing, &c. &c. They deride the notion of peace while Bonaparte lives, and speak of a new declaration of peace by Louis XVIII. (By the way, what a good thing of it that old gentleman would have were he restored, without anything like a party to back him, and all the property, places, and commands in the hands of his enemies!)

The person who is now at the head of affairs in Holland, Mr Von Hogendorp, is one of the best and ablest men I ever knew. He is a particular friend of mine, and constant correspondent; and Lord Liverpool and his colleagues will probably now repent of having turned a deaf ear to all the complaints which he made to them, through me, of the confiscation of his colony at the Cape by Baird and Popham.* I never could

* Gilbert Charles, Count of Hogendorp, born 1762, died 1834. It is mentioned in the usual histories and biographies that he lost a considerable private fortune through the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. He was active in the restoration of the house of Orange, while his brother, General Hogendorp, was intrusted by Napoleon with the government of Hamburg, when Davoust commanded the garrison during the memorable siege.

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get anything further than a promise to refer it to the King's Advocate, and this is two years ago. I had intended last session to bring it forward in Parliament; indeed, a more shameful transaction never was carried on. I first applied in 1807 to Windham's office; and though the inferior persons in the Government did, of course, all they could to check it, *he* was giving it full consideration when *no Popery* came over us. Since that it has been one delay and pretext after another. I should add that Von Hogendorp had sunk half his fortune (about £100,000) in the experiment, which was for the abolition of slavery. This is an instance of the evils that sometimes happen from neglecting to do justice, and overlooking complaints because you have no immediate interest in redressing them. I hope the Dutch will not take back their old masters, as we did, without terms: if they do, their tranquillity won't last long.—Ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 4, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—A foolish man called Grant has published a palavering account of his trip to Holland, and, from ignorance of French and inaccuracy, has represented Hogendorp as speaking in a style so totally unlike the man that I don't credit a word of it. He is a man of the most calm and sensible deportment, and could not, if he would, say things put into his mouth. I expect to hear from him immediately, having procured a passport for a connection of his who went yesterday. Yarmouth's going over is odd enough—perhaps it is only to pick up a little money by stock-jobbing; but if he means to *earwig*

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the Prince of Orange, it will be most pernicious. That Prince is a madman if he ever listens to any but Dutchmen. He has no other way of re-establishing the confidence of the country in him.

"I happened to be with the committee of the African Institution yesterday, at Lord Bathurst's, about the slave-trade business; and though I saw he was very civilly inclined towards Hogendorp, and listened attentively to the full detail of his bad treatment by all *their* people in succession, which I made him hear in presence of the saints, making Windham (as in fact he was) the only exception, and though he spoke as if they might do all that was fair towards Hogendorp, and mentioned him very respectfully, yet there was a something which struck me in his way of speaking on this subject as if they considered the Orange family as entirely on their own bottom, or *jure divino*, and not likely to please any one but themselves in governing or choosing councillors. The manner was this—as if he commended Hogendorp, and excepted him from the mass; a kind of amnesty or pardoning manner, instead of the gratitude due to him as the greatest benefactor of the family, for whom—at least for the country—he exposes his life and property most literally, should the French ever get back. I hope I may be deceived. Wilberforce afterwards went to Castlereagh's on the same slave-trade business, and promised to repeat what I had said about Hogendorp; but I daresay he left out the offensive parts. I am told Castlereagh received what was mentioned of Hogendorp very graciously; but I could not go myself, being obliged to return to Westminster.—Believe me ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

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TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 16, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I rejoice to find by your letter that the attack is quite gone; and though I have little or nothing to say, I write only as a kind of *gossiping* visit, which a convalescent is supposed to be the better for. As to Lauderdale's new book, I take it for granted your medical men would prohibit it as they would the eating of leather, cod-sounds, or any other equally digestible performance.* By the way, you may hint to him that as Jeffrey on his return from America will find the 'Edinburgh Review' become quite a series of *éloges*, he will naturally collect all his venom for the next number, in order to regain his character; the natural consequence of which will be a massacre of *his* new book. But, of course, he won't care for that when he reflects that he suffers because such an overpraise has been bestowed on a *plain* gentlewoman, of some size, *rather advanced in life.* I am sure his known gallantry towards such characters will reconcile him to this vicarious punishment. This brings me to the said gentlewoman, Madame de Staël, whom I really think you all overrate. Her book seems terribly vague and general and inaccurate. She certainly follows old Lord Lansdowne's advice in avoiding details 'as the more dignified line.' Besides, her presumption is intolerable, and on all subjects, on many of which she *can* know nothing—as, for instance, the German metaphysics, except so far as she may have rubbed some of them off Schlegel.

"I never have seen her, and shun her as I would an

* Lauderdale's new book—'The Depreciation of the Paper Currency of Great Britain Proved.'

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evil of some kind, having heard her talked of as a grand bore, and being sickened by the concurring accounts of her fulsome flattery of the Prince, ministers, &c. &c., and her profligate changes of principle. In women such things signify little; but she must (as Talleyrand said) be considered as a man.

"The Prince is really behaving like a bedlamite. T'other night he (being tipsy) abused Bernadotte by the hour to Monsieur Staël, who is an emissary of his, and said that, to his (the Prince's) knowledge, he might have taken Hambro six weeks ago, but was prevented by mean jealousy of the Prussians. He talked of going to Hanover immediately, and was even rude to M. Staël for doubting his being allowed. He has told such of his servants as are in favour that they go with him to Hanover; the others, not. This was always the forerunner of his father's madness.

"The acknowledgment of the Prince of Orange as sovereign seems to me only in conformity to the principle of not interfering, and I really do not know what else the ministers could have done. If he and the Dutch choose to call him Grand Lama, what is it to us? and what though we did know of his intention?

"*Serjeant Lens* has covered himself with glory by his refusal; however, I must protest against the high tone taken by some on this and Leech's good behaviour, otherwise we admit either that our virtue is very low, or that the enemy may by such offers rank us as he pleases among ourselves.—Yours ever truly,

"H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *January* 5, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am very unwilling that

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you should be troubled with a letter on so trifling a subject as myself, but I am still more anxious to correct a mistake in which I conclude my last must have led you, from your allusion to the Hollands. I certainly don't accuse them, if it is any accusation; and my allusion was to others who, for aught I know, are quite conscientious (possibly they are right too) in their opinion that I *ought* not to be allowed to come in. I really don't blame them for it, because I take it for granted we differ upon something essential. My suspicion was partly founded on my certain knowledge that they knew of the transaction in question, and that they proposed or in some way named another—certainly without the least effect, but showing their inclination. This other person, I daresay, is a very proper one, though I cannot be quite sure, never having heard of him before.

"As for the Hollands, it would be a much heavier charge against them, because I am sure our sentiments on all political matters entirely coincide. Therefore it could only arise from personal pique, and I should just as soon think of accusing yourself as Lord Holland of such a thing. I can't say it more strongly.

"One word on this matter. I regret the estrangement in question very sincerely, having for Lord Holland the most cordial regard and esteem, as well as that which, whether I will or no, always goes very far with me, the greatest admiration of his abilities. But I am morally certain that, if you knew the facts, you would say I had no choice. Quarrel there was none, nor anything like it; but I was compelled no longer to frequent Holland House, and I ceased going there silently, without saying one word to any human being.

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When asked why, I always gave it out that I was out of favour, or some such thing, in order to throw it on myself, and let it appear that Lady Holland had declined my acquaintance, not I hers. Nor did I ever name her, except to defend her (from a love of contradiction perhaps) when I heard her perpetually attacked. I even said that there was no *ground* of difference on her part. I could go no further. I have lately understood that she knew of my saying so, and her gratitude has been a species of abuse which I really can't stoop to commit to paper.

"I enclose a letter from Hogendorp, which will show you, first, that the assumption of the sovereignty was not a sudden thought; and, second, that it was not suggested from this country. Pray send it back when you have read it. My letters were strong exhortations to some things, particularly to impose good terms on the Orange family, and not fall into the error committed by us at the Restoration.—Believe me ever most truly, H. B.

"*P.S.*—The fact of the Allies crossing the Rhine, though confidently stated in the 'Times' and 'Courier,' seems incredible—probably a stock-jobbing trick.

"The Emperor Alexander has alarmed our Government into an offer to America by showing a leaning towards neutral questions. The offer went in October, and the answer is not returned. The ministers are averse *now* to any separate peace with America.

"A sagacious friend of mine, with whom I was one day talking over Lady Holland's spiteful proceedings, made a suggestion which I am inclined to think explained the real cause of offence. He had heard, I

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know not how, that some time ago the Hollands made an attempt to call at Brougham on their way south from Scotland; that my mother ordered the outer gate of the courtyard to be barred against their entrance, saying that she herself was too old to be hurt by Lady Holland, or anybody of that kind, but that she had an unmarried daughter, then living with her, and therefore that no Lady Holland should set foot in her house! I remember my mother was immovable, and there was nothing to be done but that I should go out to the carriage, make any excuse I could invent, and drive on with the Hollands to visit Lord Thanet, he being then at Appleby Castle—and this I accordingly was compelled to do. On looking back to this disagreeable event, I cannot but give my friend credit for his sagacity in applying the circumstance to the long-continued and bitter spite with which I was favoured by Lady Holland."

FROM EARL GREY.

"HOWICK, *January* 14, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I send you back Hogendorp's letter, which I ought to have done sooner. I believed Castlereagh when he said that the change of Government had not been urged by us; and this letter certainly confirms what he said. But I do not think the measure less impolitic on that account, considering the time and manner in which it was executed; nor do I think the less that we ought to have advised against it. I hear that a convention is to be assembled to confirm what has been done, and to form the new constitution. I wish nothing had been done previously, but this will satisfy all my objections, and will be a valu-

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able recognition of the principle that the people alone have a right to alter their own government. From what appears in the public papers, I should suspect that your friend rather overrates the *prodiges* which *l'amour de la patrie* is to exhibit. From the proclamations that have appeared, and from accounts which I have seen from some of our officers, it looks as if Mynheer was not quite so alert as he ought to be.

"The Allies, you see, have passed the Rhine. It now remains to be seen whether the French will answer the call of Bonaparte. If they do, the next passage of that river may not be quite so triumphant. If they do not, the total destruction of his power is not improbable. Calculating upon past experience and upon the French character, I should incline to the former opinion. Judging from the tone of Bonaparte and his Senate in their late speeches, addresses, &c., there appear symptoms of uneasiness and weakness which warrant the latter. We shall soon see.

"Upon the other part of your letter I will say no more at present, except that where there are so many motives to a good understanding and friendship, it is very vexatious that any difference should exist, and that I will not despair that some time or other an opportunity may offer of setting these matters right again. Upon the particular fact respecting the seat I cannot judge, not knowing what it was; perhaps you may have some difficulty in communicating it: if not, I should be glad to know it, and certainly would endeavour to get to the bottom of it.

"I still feel the effects of my late attack, but I am on the whole pretty well.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

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TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *January* 15, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I happened yesterday to see several foreigners, among others General Lowenhielen, just come on a mission from Bernadotte. He told me that the Emperor Alexander calculates at 80,000 the army which Bonaparte crossed the Rhine with, but Lowenhielen says that he (Alexander) always estimates the enemy largely, for fear of mistakes. He adds that he is sure nothing but the guillotine will ever make the French rally round Bonaparte as they did, in the times of terror, round the Revolution; and he says the Allies have probably 300,000 now in France. But with all this he does not seem to think the thing by any means clear. I well remember *mon homme* at Stockholm in 1799, just come from Paris through Holland, and full of nothing but the Duke of York's being always drunk and in bed, and the other French topics.

"Dawson (lately attached to Walmoden) is just come, and reports Bernadotte's views to be all for succeeding Bonaparte, and that *at last* he will go towards France; that he begins to find the Allies are suspecting him, and must do something; that he is the greatest rogue, &c., in the world; that he never has fought but when obliged, and always in terror of risking his military character. I must say I rather believe this account. It is exactly what Bulow says of him in Holland. I find M. de Staël is quite furious at the invasion of France, and the idea of Cossacks *à Paris*. This is as it should be; indeed, the notion of saving Europe by such means is a very neat kind of bull.

"By letters from Holland yesterday, Van Hogen-

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dorp is quite well again, and has given in his constitution, which is to be revised by a commission of persons *all out of office*, then to the Prince, and then submitted to the *notables of the nation*. This last was my earnest advice, but I have no doubt it had occurred to himself. I have also a very civil message from Mr Falck, the other Secretary of State, who is, I believe, a stanch reformer.—Ever yours very sincerely,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *July* 12, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—You will before this time have seen the event of the Westminster election—at least what is sure to be so—the return of Lord Cochrane without opposition.

"Everything was arranged on Tuesday last, and I should have walked over the course. Lord Cochrane had never been even mentioned; but the debate, and especially George Ponsonby's, and Whitbread's, and Wortley's speeches—preferring his assertions of innocence to the verdict of guilty—had the immediate effect of putting it to the Westminster men to condemn him; and they all said, 'Though we want to get rid of him as a member, yet it is now cast upon us to declare him guilty, and upon evidence which forty-four of the House of Commons think insufficient.' This has proved decisive; and though many of them wished a middle course, that he should be *declared* innocent, and not elected, I among others plainly told them *that* was not the way to serve Lord Cochrane.

"It is understood that an arrangement has been made to choose him this one time, and that he is not to come

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forward again in case of expulsion, &c. The great thing was to keep all together, and avoid a splitting. In this they seem hitherto to have succeeded perfectly.

"Burdett's declining influence has been somewhat revived by this hit; but I fear the extreme folly of attacking Lord Cochrane's attorneys, &c., will lead to such a defence on their part as will damage both Lord Cochrane and Burdett. I fairly warned them of the danger. Lord Cochrane partly listened; Burdett would not.

"Lord Tavistock and his brothers, with many others, had most warmly come forward for me, and it stands as well as possible on the whole.—Yours truly, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"LANCASTER, *September* 1, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—Perry has, you will see, been most careful to say nothing of Canning, in spite of the almost irresistible temptation to do so; but this is quite of a piece with his shabby ratting at the Liverpool election. By the way, Canning, Huskisson, and Dog Dent* are all on a visit near this place at old Bolton's (the slave-trader's), who is the *purse* of that party. It is, of course, not for nothing that they are come on such a visit. Many of the circuit dined there on Tuesday, as Bolton's brother-in-law is one of us; and they say Canning made no play, and scarcely opened his mouth. His motive is said to be no less than he means to retire and put in *the Dog!!* It

* Of a Westmoreland family—a partner in Child's Bank; for many parliaments member for Lancaster; immortalised as the inventor of the tax upon dogs, and hence the name by which he was universally known. After Pitt imposed the tax, Dent used frequently to receive large hampers garnished with hares' legs, pheasants' tails, grouse and partridge wings, &c., but invariably filled with *dead dogs*.

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would be a neat thing, to be sure; but I don't at all think it off the cards. I have many communications on the subject from Liverpool, but decline doing anything. I am sick of Liverpool elections, and won't put myself up against his canine majesty on any account, even if sure of beating him. I shall let some other member of the party take a turn at it this time, having done quite as much as falls to my share already, and in return been kept out of Parliament—a whole Parliament—and lost almost all the practice I had in this county owing to the election.—Yours sincerely,

"H. B.

"*P.S.*—I have an idea of going for a fortnight to Paris in October, but am not quite resolved. I wish your family were all well enough to let you go too. I take it to be the pleasantest time."

Dr Shepherd had paid a visit to Paris early in the month of June, and having written a small volume describing all he saw, and comparing his impressions with what he recollected of Paris when he visited it in 1802, was kind enough to send me an early copy, which I acknowledged in the following letter, written just after I had sent Jeffrey an article upon the book for the October number of the Review.

TO DR SHEPHERD.

"BROUGHAM, *Monday, Sept.* 19, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received on Saturday morning your acceptable volume, for which receive my thanks. I swallowed it whole in my walks that day, for this delicious weather, and the woods and streams of this

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place, keep me out 'from morn to dewy eve' (only that we have had no dew).

"This house being full of company, my time, till night was far advanced, has not been my own either Saturday or yesterday, nevertheless I have, by an exertion about midnight, contrived to send off the volume, depicted and commented on, to a certain place, on its way to which it (that is, the account of it) now is. At first I had meant only to send the book itself, with instructions and hints, to Jeffrey; but I changed my plan, and was unwilling to run any risks; so, deviating from my rule of only handling general subjects, and those but few, I have done the deed myself. Expect, therefore, *star' ammazzato*, and to cry out, 'Save me from my friends!'* You must know I more and more think of making a trip to Paris before Michaelmas term, and your diary has not diminished my ardour—it had been growing. Since I was in Italy, ten years ago, I have had a surfeit of sights on me, so as never to care for any more; but the greatest surfeit wears off when the stomach is tolerably sound, and the banquet now in question is extraordinary in more senses than one. Aware, then, of the fickle nature of the Guinea, and suspecting him to be again on the rise, I have actually taken the precaution of making my banker remit a sum to Paris, that I may not be spending at the rate of 15s. in the pound when I go.

"As I mean only to see galleries, I shall not trouble any men of science (except perhaps the great mathema-

* See in 'Edinburgh Review' for September 1814, art. xi., on "Paris in Eighteen hundred and two and Eighteen hundred and fourteen. By the Rev. William Shepherd."

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tician La Place, and Cuvier), nor any politician at all; and leaving this about the 20th of Oct., I shall be in town again on the 31st. Can I do anything for you or our friend at Allerton? * to whom pray remember me. —Believe me ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

A few days before, I had written as follows to Lord Grey:—

"BROUGHAM, *Monday.*

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have Martin's answer as enclosed. I fear Perry will still hang back. Perhaps he ought not to be harshly dealt with now, for his calamity, I learn, is a serious one—viz., his wife and some of his children, on their passage from Lisbon, either lost or taken by *Algerines.* (He will attack all the Barbary powers for a year to come freely.) I can't help wishing he himself were taken for a year or two, and well bastinadoed. I have no news from town. Sharp and Phillips have just been here, but they bring nothing new. The Thanets are not come, nor will for a fortnight.

"I have got hold of an excellent constitutional pamphlet on the 'Queen' (I believe by George Lamb, but this is MOST *secret*), and project saying something in the 'Edinburgh Review' on the question of interference with the R. family, &c.

"At present I am rather immersed in mathematical *divertissements,* which I plunge into for a short period of each year on getting home.

"Romilly is not to be in Durham till the 28th. When Canning and Huskisson were at Bolton's, they came to dine at Lowther after much negotiation, the

* Mr Roscoe.

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difficulties *not* being all on Canning's side. Sharp was rather diverted with this, and with finding them all planted at Bolton's and not at Lowther; for when he met them at Charles Ellis's some weeks before, they gave out that their visit was to *Lowther*, and said not a word of *Bolton*. It seems Huskisson is going ultimately to Ireland, and Peel to be got rid of.

"Pray, if you should ever hear of any family going abroad, and wanting a physician, recommend a friend of mine, who is just reduced from the staff, and a man of great skill and worth, as well as a gentleman in all respects, and extremely accomplished.

"If you mean to buy 'Waverley' (which is *Scott's*), you may keep my copy instead of bringing it to town, as I find one here.—Yours ever truly, H. B."

Paris had been entered by an army commanded by the leading European sovereigns, and composed of the same Prussians, Bavarians, and Wurtembergers who, having marched and fought under Napoleon to the attack upon Moscow, had now, under Alexander, taken part in a triumphal entry into Paris, accompanied by Cossacks; thus verifying the strange prediction of Rousseau, that "the time would come when Tartars should encamp in that city." There had been nothing like it since the irruption of Attila and his Huns.

A sort of provisional treaty was hastily made at Paris, but, to avoid squabbles and quarrels over the division of the booty, the more important matters were adjourned to a congress, held at Vienna, where many momentous questions were to be decided, not by an equal participation of all the European powers, but rather under the direct dictation of those whose

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armies occupied the territories which were the subject of arrangement, compensation, and indemnity. By the treaty, or, more correctly speaking, convention of Paris, it was agreed (Ney and Caulaincourt representing Napoleon) that he should retain the title of Emperor, with the sovereignty of Elba; that his family should be princes; that he should have two millions of francs a-year paid to him by France; that Maria Louisa should continue to be called Empress, and should have the duchy of Parma, which was to descend to her son. In consideration of these terms Napoleon renounced for himself and his descendants all right of sovereignty in France, Italy, and elsewhere.

Castlereagh, on behalf of England, agreed to the Elba and Parma parts; but inasmuch as Great Britain had never acknowledged Napoleon either as emperor or as sovereign of France, he declined to be a party to the treaty; so that the parties to the convention of Paris were Russia, Austria, Prussia, Caulaincourt, and Marshal Ney.

All this took place in the beginning of April, and, when disclosed, some of the terms excited no little astonishment, more especially that which related to the place of residence. Ney it was who suggested Elba. Bonaparte himself asked for Corfu, which was refused, because he might there disturb Turkey! The Allied sovereigns would have better secured their captive if they had sent him anywhere rather than to Elba, for that island combined qualities unusually favourable to intrigue or evasion. Close to Italy, at that time hating the tyranny of her old masters; easy of communication with France through Italy and Switzerland; too far from the coast of France to be

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easily watched, but too near to make a landing there improbable, or even difficult; and accordingly, in less than twelve months—namely, on the 1st of March 1815—Napoleon *did* land at Cannes in Provence, not far from where I am now writing; so that if the world had been searched to find the residence the most dangerous to France, the most far-seeing men would have fixed upon Elba.

It has always been a marvel to me that so clever and sagacious a man as Talleyrand should not have foreseen the probable result of this arrangement. Perhaps he yielded from a conviction that the soldier-like attachment to their chief might have so far influenced the French armies, then near Fontainebleau and in the provinces of the Loire, that any harshness in the treatment of Bonaparte might have raised a flame it would have been difficult to extinguish. But there was one result of the abdication which created unbounded astonishment—the marvellous rapidity in the change of public opinion in France—that the man who but a few short weeks before had apparently possessed the entire affections of the nation he ruled over, should have been all at once forgotten; that he should have been quietly, and almost without observation, allowed to be escorted by *foreign* officers to the place of embarkation in the south; disappearing, unnoticed and unregretted, from the soil over which he had so long and so recently exercised the most absolute and undisputed dominion.

This conduct is a painful illustration of the character of Frenchmen, and excites reflections one has no pleasure in dwelling on. Mackintosh felt this acutely, and in discussing with me the events I have here

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referred to, made use of expressions very different from the words he once applied to Frenchmen, whom, he said, "posterity would celebrate for patriotic heroism, as the citizens by whose efforts the fabric of despotism fell to the ground." *

It is not surprising that the author of the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' should have felt this deeply. I remember his telling me that among the few who had not altogether forgotten Napoleon were some who discussed the question whether he ought not to have killed himself; while others declared they always believed that he was too great a coward to play the Roman part; and Mackintosh added that Napoleon, before he left Fontainebleau, had argued for and against suicide, concluding with this singular avowal, "D'ailleurs, je ne suis pas entièrement depourvu de tout sentiment religieux." I may add that the surprise I then felt at the conduct of the French people was much modified when I afterwards, during a long residence in France, acquired a more intimate knowledge of the national character and of its distinguishing attributes—vanity and fickleness; a knowledge that has impressed me with the strong conviction that the day *may* come—*scilicet et tempus veniet*—when Napoleon's successor may, by dynastic aspirations by no means unnatural, or, more probably, by insane attempts at territorial aggrandisement, end his life a captive in a foreign prison; and, despite the substantial benefits he has conferred upon his country, may find himself, like his mighty predecessor, abandoned, vilified, and forgotten. But these speculations are foreign to my present subject, which is the visit I made to Paris in 1814, when, as soon as the circuit

* 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ.' London: 1791.

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ended, after a couple of weeks at Brougham, I went over to France, where I had never been—both my former visits to the Continent, in 1799 and 1804, having been made during the war. My mother and my brother William went with me.

When I look at the facilities and speed which steam and railroads have given in these days to travelling, so that I can leave Brougham after dinner on Monday, and dine at Cannes on Wednesday at six, performing a journey of nearly 1200 miles in forty-four hours, it seems incredible that our journey to Paris, including a good deal of night-travelling, should have taken more than eight days; yet so it was. We slept at Dover, and, there being no steamboats, made a bargain with a sailing-vessel to take us, our courier, and carriage across to Calais. The charge was twelve guineas! We arrived at Paris at a late hour, and drove about from hotel to hotel before we got lodged at the Hotel d'Espagne, Rue St Marc, considerably after midnight. The rapid journey was too much for my mother, who became seriously ill—so ill that all the pleasure I anticipated, and all I had looked forward to of my visit to Paris, was entirely destroyed.

I had not very long to remain there, as it was necessary that I should be back in London for Michaelmas term. I could only hope to see the chief things, and some of the most eminent men there. The Duke of Wellington was our ambassador, and from him I received the greatest kindness; and we had some important conversations upon several subjects, particularly the slave-trade, respecting which his views were quite sound and temperate, as he saw the great difficulties of the French Government in its peculiar posi-

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tion, so soon after the Restoration, with the West India party, all zealous royalists, and forming a great proportion of that body on whose support Louis XVIII. mainly relied in his struggles against the Republicans and Bonapartists. The Duke was amused with an interview which I had at Monsieur Gallois' (a friend of Romilly and Dumont) with De Molina (whom I had seen in the chair of the Chamber of Deputies), and who began with me upon the subject of the slave-trade.* After a little discussion I said, "Mais, monsieur, vous ne me donnez que des arguments des colons." "C'est que je suis colon," he replied. "Alors," I added, "tout est expliqué." In fact, he was a planter.

I attended one or two sittings of the Institute, of which I was not then a member, not having been elected till fifteen or sixteen years after. I there saw all the great men—La Place at their head; unfortunately not La Grange, whom I reckoned the first in one respect, and whose public character had not been so much lowered by his conduct as La Place's, both as to capacity and independence. He might have been as incapable of taking a great political office, for which he showed himself utterly unfit, but certainly would have been incapable of showing base ingratitude for the favours he had received from Napoleon, and suppressing his dedication of gross flattery because the Emperor had abdicated between the printing and the publication of the 'Mécanique Céleste.' But La Grange had died the year before, and I did not make La Place's acquaintance. I heard him read the report (which he had drawn up) of a commission

* Jean Antoine Gauvin Gallois, born 1755, died 1829. Poet; author on jurisprudence and politics.

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upon a work that had been referred to it; and there was nothing particularly striking in his statements. But I was a good deal struck with the concise and clear report of another member, General Carnot. He said the work which had been referred to his commission consisted of things which fell under two several descriptions. One portion was of little or no value, and that was new. The other had some value, but that was not new. He hardly had any more to observe; but this was decisive.

I called upon the General, and was most kindly received. I had several long interviews with him, and discussed many subjects, both political and mathematical; of the former we talked over the affairs of the day, in which he took naturally a great interest, having exposed himself to a prosecution for an able pamphlet which he had published soon after the Restoration.* But of course it was much more interesting to hear him upon the times in which he had played so great a part, and his views of certain subjects of science on which he had written. I deemed it right on this occasion to make an exception to my rule of never taking a note of any conversation. This was the only exception I ever made to my rule, for where I had an official duty to perform, it of course could not apply. Unless to Romilly, I never showed this conversation; indeed, it was written in French, and but for his encouragement as to the language, I should not have been disposed to keep it. However, it was sent to Brougham, and having been found a year or

* 'Memorial of Monsieur Carnot, Lieutenant-General in the French army, Knight of the Order of St Louis, Member of the Legion of Honour and of the Institute of France. Addressed to His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII.' Translated by Louis Goldsmith. London: 1814.

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two ago in an almost perfect state, I was asked by my friend Carnot, son of the General, to let him see it, and to give him the use of it for his father's Life, which he is engaged in preparing. I shall here insert the greater part of it.

"CONVERSATION AVEC M. CARNOT, OCTOBRE 26, 1814.

"Après quelques compliments,—vous voyez que je mène une vie tout à fait privée, ne quittant jamais ma famille excepté pour me promener, ou aller aux séances de l'Institut. C'est ce que j'ai toujours fait, tandis que les affaires ne me demandaient pas, ou que je ne pouvais pas vivre en public sans sacrifier mes principes.

"Il a parlé un peu sur la traité et l'abolition. Je lui ai demandé s'il était pour ou contre. 'Comment contre! Je suis ami de la liberté—c'est tout simple, que je dois être l'ami de l'abolition; mais vous trouverez très peu de personnes clairvoyantes sur ce chapître dans ce moment.'

"J'ai parlé de la faiblesse du Gouvernement. 'Cela est bien vrai, mais si le Corps Législatif est encore plus faible que le Gouvernement, il se peut bien que celui-ci l'emporte et détruise tout ce qui nous reste de la liberté.' J'observai que c'était une concurrence de faiblesses plutôt que de forces, et que le moins impuissant devait vaincre. Il dit que oui, et en faisant quelque allusion à l'état méprisable du Gouvernement, il s'écria—'Ah, mon Dieu! après 25 années telles que nous avons eues, tant de peines et de luttes, de victoires remportées sur l'oppression, et de triomphes étonnants gagnés sur tant d'ennemis, voir

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Paris pris par les Russes, et les Émigrés, causes de tous nos maux, nous dicter une constitution aux Tuileries—à nous, qui pendant tout ce temps ont gagné toutes ces victoires. J'ai fait quelques compliments à celui qui avait organisé la victoire, selon l'adage français, et en revenant au sujet de la faiblesse du Corps Législatif, j'ai cru trouver en eux beaucoup de fainéantise et de lâchesse. Pas seulement cela, c'est encore pire. Ces messieurs craignent pour leurs biens, leurs fonds, et leurs places; et ceux qui n'en ont pas, espérent en gagner par leur souplesse. Le Corps Législatif est influé par les places de juges, préfets, sous-préfets, &c., qui n'ont pas été conformés aux uns, et à qui les autres espérent succéder. C'est encore un acte de mauvaise foi de ne pas confirmer ces juges, &c., mais cela tourne au profit de la cour. Sans cela elle n'aurait pas d'influence. Toute l'armée est contre le roi personellement. D'abord il n'est pas militaire, et ne peut pas l'être. Sa dévotion, sincère ou prétendue, ne lui vaut pas grand chose.' J'ai parlé du Duc de Bourbon. Il s'est moqué beaucoup de ce prince, mais il n'a pas convenu que Monsieur jouissait d'un plus grand crédit, ni le Duc d'Angoulême non plus.

"Il parlait avec le plus sincère mépris de la poignée d'Émigrés qui entourent le roi, et de leurs prétensions. Il expliquait le rapport contre M. de Ferrand, en supposant que tout cela était causé par les intérêts personnels des députés qui possèdent des biens nationaux, et qui craignent pour leurs possessions. (Lui-même n'en a jamais eu pour un franc, s'il mettait tout en compte; il a perdu la moitié de ce qu'il avait avant la révolution.)

"Nous parlâmes de Bonaparte, et de l'ordre qu'on

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venait de lancer de sa déportation à Ste. Lucie. Il avait entendu parler de Botany Bay. Il disait que rien ne pouvait égaler le crime et le scandale d'une telle démarche excepté sa lâcheté, et parlait de la foi des traités; de tout ce qu'on avait gagné par la sacrifice que Bonaparte avait fait pour éviter une guerre civile, en me faisant rappeler que personne plus que lui ne s'était toujours opposé à Bonaparte ou l'aimait moins. 'C'est un tyran que personne ne peut aimer, et que les amis de la liberté ne peuvent guère souffrir.'

"Il pense que si l'on s'avise de le renvoyer aux Indes, &c., tant pis pour les Bourbons. Les républicains préféreroient son fils à eux, quoique à présent ils préfèrent tout à Bonaparte. Puis les Bonapartistes qui sont mal vus du public seront beaucoup moins soupçonnés quand il ne sera plus question de sa rentrée.

"J'ai dit que l'armée était pour Bonaparte. 'Oui bien, parcequ'il faut être pour quelqu'un, mais elle pourrait toujours mettre le Maréchal telle chose à sa tête. Et presque tous les Maréchaux tourneront pour le parti qui commence à prendre le dessus.' (Marmont n'oserait pas faire la guerre avec les troupes; il serait certainement tué. On ne peut pas le souffrir depuis sa trahison.)

"'Bonaparte ne se connaissait pas beaucoup dans les sciences; il était un peu mathématicien, ayant été dans l'artillerie. Il n'étudiait pas les mathématiques; il pensait à autres choses — l'Italie peut-être — et naturellement.'

"Ensuite un assez long entretien a eu lieu dans les hautes mathématiques—sur le calcul différentiel, la notation qui y appartient, la préférence due à celle de

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Leibnitz, surtout dans les puissances et pour le calcul des variations (δ, Δ), la possibilité de faire des fautes, &c. Il s'exprimait avec chaleur pour le calcul de variations, et en faveur de Lagrange, préférant Laplace à tout autre d'aujourd'hui, et Lagrange à lui. On a causé sur les quantités negatives radicales. Il a des idées à lui là-dessus, et il trouve qu'elles sont un argument de plus contre les quantités negatives en général. Il a trouvé de même mes deux théorems sur les courbes $y^m = \frac{(a+x)}{(a-x)}$ que je lui ai expliqués, et qui ont paru le frapper. Il en a pris une note, et a promis d'y faire attention et d'essayer la résolution de la difficulté qu'il dit dans ce moment il ne peut pas surmonter ou expliquer. Il m'a donné deux de ses ouvrages sur la mathématique. Il s'exprimait avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme sur Newton et sur Ivory, mais n'avait pas apparemment lu son dernier mémoire.

"La géométrie ayant répandu beaucoup de confiance entre nous, nous nous sommes mis sans gêne à discuter mille choses interessantes.

"Robespierre dans le commencement n'avait pas d'idée de commander : cela lui est venue avec le temps. Après avoir fait couper des têtes l'une après l'autre, il s'est dit, 'Si je me débarrasse de tous ces messieurs, je pourrai commander moi-même à tout.' 'Etait-il enthousiaste ?' 'Oui d'abord, mais il était bien méchant aussi; il avait peu de génie, mais il avait les paroles à la main. Il avait été avocât, et habile homme dans son métier. Il était vif, mais sans des vues étendues; une personne toutefois marquante. Je l'ai beaucoup connu. Nous étions beaucoup liés ensemble dans le comité de salut public, mais je l'ai toujours appro-

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fondi. Barrère n'était pas méchant, mais très faible. Il vit encore. Collot et Billaud Varennes étaient les plus détéstables et méprisables de tous. Cependant, après la chûte de Robespierre, quand il était question de les proscrire, j'avançai et courus à la Tribune. Je voyais qu'il fallait me jeter dans la brèche, que s'il arrivait à ces vauriens d'être tués, chaque tête dans la convention chancelait; qu'après la mort de Robespierre, pas une goutte de sang ne devait couler. Ainsi je disais que je ferai cause commune avec eux, quoique tout le monde savait très bien que je n'avais jamais eu aucune liaison avec eux. Mais cela faisait d'autant plus valoir mes efforts en leur faveur. J'ai réussi, et la terreur a disparu. Je crois m'être conduit précisément dans la même manière, dans ce moment en m'opposant aux démarches fausses et imprudentes des Émigrés contre les révolutionaires. Si l'on commence par ceux qu'on accuse de la mort de Louis XVI., la contre-révolution ira très loin. C'est au premier pas qu'il faut résister.'

"Ensuite, il m'a fait remarquer qu'après son retour d'Anvers, et que tout était fini pour Napoléon, il a pris l'engagement pour servir le roi, qu'il aurait servi de bonne foi et même avec le zèle que sa patrie demandait, mais que les commencements d'une contre-révolution, la mauvaise foi, la méprise des promesses, &c., l'avait mis dans la nécessité de s'opposer au nouveau système. Quant à la presse, après des semaines entières de calomnies contre lui et sa mémoire, quand il avait voulu faire dire au monde, seulement que la publication n'était pas de lui, il avait eu la plus grande difficulté, et même des intrigues, pour persuader à un journaliste (le seul qui y a consenti)

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d'insérer trois lignes pour marquer qu'il ne l'avait pas publié.

"Au sujet de la mort du roi, il en a hautement accusé les Émigrés, avec Louis XVIII. à leur tête, en disant que Louis XVI. en était persuadé lui-même. L'émigration et la guerre que les Émigrés suscitaient et nourissaient contre la France, surtout le manifeste du Duc de Brunswick, étaient les causes des temps de la terreur en y servant aussi de prétexte. Les vrais modérés se trouvaient dans un embarras extrême de tous côtés. Le peuple effrayé les accusait de tout ce que faisaient les Émigrés et l'ennemi. Des autres s'en sont servis comme prétexte assez plausible. Puis l'appui et le soutien naturel du parti royaliste leur manquaient totalement. Si ces royalistes étaient restés en France, très surement le parti modéré l'aurait emporté. Il n'avait jamais lu la brochure du Colonel Titus; mais l'ouvrage de Milton et quelques autres de cette époque-là lui sont connus.

"Robespierre était très souvent un instrument dans les mains des Émigrés sans s'en douter. Ils lui donnerent des victimes par leurs agents, et l'on remarquait toujours que c'était les meilleurs républicains, les plus grands ennemis des royalistes, qu'il a proscrits.

"Quant à la mort du roi, il dit que ceux qui la voulaient n'en étaient pas tout-à-fait les maîtres; ils avaient le choix d'y consentir ou de se laisser égorger eux-mêmes par le peuple de Paris, et plonger leur patrie dans une guerre civile interminable, sans pouvoir sauver le roi. L'opinion publique s'était hautement et presqu'unaniment prononcée—au moins, celle de tous ceux qui pouvaient agir ou influer. J'ai demandé, 'Qu'est ce qui aurait résulté si vous aviez laissé

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échapper le roi après son retour de Varennes?' 'Nous aurions été tous déchirés, et les massacres n'auraient que commencé par nous.' J'ai remarqué que même quand j'aurais voté la mort d'abord, sitôt que j'eus trouvé la très petite pluralité qui en a décidé, le lendemain j'aurais probablement proposé, pour cette raison seule, la révocation du jugement. Il m'a répondu que cette opinion venait d'un faux calcul; que quoique la pluralité pour la mort n'était que de six ou sept voix, les autres étaient très divisées entre eux; que quelques uns avaient voulu le déporter, quelques uns l'emprisonner, des autres l'envoyer aux galères—punitions revoltantes, scandaleuses, aussi cruelles que la mort, même peut-être plus odieuses, et qui n'auraient nullement assurées la paix à la France. Encore une fois, si le roi avait été sauvé et gardé à Paris, il aurait été le point de ralliement pour tous les intrigants et contre-révolutionaires dans une crise de guerre extérieure conduite par des Émigrés français. Il m'a dit que selon lui rien ne pouvait excuser le crime de porter les armes contre la patrie. Aussi l'avait il toujours posé pour principe étant membre du Directoire Exécutif, et toujours très favorable aux Émigrés revenants de demander à chaque entrée si la personne avait porté les armes contre la France, et de favoriser ceux seuls qui avaient émigré dans un moment de frayeur ou de faiblesse, des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards, mais de s'opposer vivement à ceux qui avaient servi avec l'ennemi. Il avouait que la fin de Moreau lui paraissait fort coupable; qu'il le condamnait sans balancer quoiqu'intimement lié avec lui, l'ayant toujours eu en grande amitié, tant politique que personelle, et possédant une correspondence suivie avec lui d'une grande importance. Il

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l'a décrit comme vraiment grand militaire; homme probe, vertueux et désintéressé, mais qui n'était nullement fait pour la politique, et ne s'y connaissant pas du tout. Bonaparte était très jaloux de lui, à cause du grand crédit dont il jouissait avec l'armée. Mais il avait voulu le marier avec la Princesse Borghese, parti que Moreau refusait à cause de son amour pour Mlle. Hulot, et sa répugnance pour le caractère peu honnête de la Princesse, et la vie scandaleuse qu'elle menait. C'était le projet de Bonaparte de l'avoir fait Prince au lieu de Bernadotte. Son refus lui a vraiment déplu.

"Les grandes fautes qu'avait fait Bonaparte en politique lui sont bien connu. Entre autres, la guerre de Russie contre notre commerce. Mais je remarquai qu'il n'avait pas assez clairement suivi les détails de cette bévue. Il était frappé du récit que je lui en fis, et il avouait qu'il était tout simple que les préparatifs pour l'invasion de la Russie même sans entrer en Allemagne, surtout l'occupation de la Pologne, sans pénétrer plus loin, aurait détruit notre commerce, et rempli le but principal de la guerre Russe. Faute de papiers Anglais de cette époque-là, il me paraissait (comme tous ceux que j'ai vus excepté M. de la Fayette, qui pourra avoir puisé ses connaissances dans la conversation depuis la paix) mal instruit sur notre histoire intérieure depuis 1806. Aussi j'ai remarqué qu'il n'avait pas été tout-à-fait au courant même des affaires étrangères depuis la Paix d'Amiens, excepté celles qui regardaient la France, et qui sont d'une importance majeure—par example, en parlant du jugement de Lord Cochrane, il avait oublié l'affaire des rades de Basque.

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"J'osai lui demander s'il ne s'était pas aperçu du complot que l'on trainait contre lui et Barthélémy, &c., avant le 18 Fructidor, et pourquoi l'armée au moins n'était pas de son côté. Il dit que oui, qu'il savait parfaitement bien de quoi il était question—que l'armée l'aurait soutenu contre qui que ce fût—qu'il avait reçu des offres de leurs services—qu'il n'avait été averti des démarches de ses collégues, mais, qu'il n'avait rien à choisir, excepté la dictature ou la proscription, et que s'il avait réussi, tout serait fait de la liberté et de la république; il lui aurait fallû prendre le parti de se faire dictateur ou de consigner la France à une guerre civile; qu'il a préféré la proscription, et par principe et par egoïsme; car, dit-il, je n'ai jamais voulu me placer dans la plus haute élévation où l'on est obligé de tyranniser si l'on ne veut pas tomber au fond. Ce sont des positions qui n'offrent pas de projet mitoyen.

"Quand il s'est retiré, il resta quelque temps à Augsburg et Nuremberg et à Génève, menant une vie assez paisible et même dure, pas seulement par la séclusion mais par la difficulté d'obtenir ce qu'il lui fallait d'argent. Le Directoire Exécutif lui a opposé toutes sortes d'obstacles et de désagréments — l'a entouré d'espions et d'agents, et bien des fois sa sureté personelle a été en danger.

"Quand je lui ai conseillé de faire le voyage d'Angleterre, il m'a répondu que d'abord il n'était pas sûr qu'on le recevrait trop bien, aussi que la dépense pourrait le gêner. Je remarquai que certainement il y avait des cercles chez nous, ou il serait assez mal accuelli dans le commencement. Par exemple, si Monsieur Burke vivait encore, qui l'avait esquissé de cette drôle de manière (snorting away the fumes, &c.).

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Il a ri un peu en demandant si M. Burke était mort, et quand. Quand j'ai fait son éloge, il a été d'accord, cependant sans paraître trop bien instruit du personnage. Mais aussitôt, qu'en passant je nommai M. Wyndham comme de l'école de M. Burke, il a dit, 'Ah! oui; il a été ministre de la guerre.' Il parlait avec plaisir d'avoir fait la connaisance de M. Fox. Il me nommait aussi Sir F. Burdett comme l'ayant connu.

"Je demandai si Bonaparte avait dans ce moment une correspondance en France. Il dit que non. Il était trop bien gardé et surveillé, mais que probablement il dépêchait quelqu'un de temps en temps pour voir ce qui se passait, et pour lui en rendre compte. Il me paraissait parler sur ce sujet même avec connaissance de cause, quoique je n'oserai pas dire que je ne me trompe là-dessus."

"CONVERSATION DU OCTOBRE 29, 1814.

"J'ai commencé par faire mention du projet de Talleyrand au congrès, en lui en faisant l'esquisse dont il n'avait même entendu parler. Il riait aux éclats, le traitait de ridicule, et remarquait qu'on aurait bien fait de répondre simplement. 'Allez vous en faire des conquêtes, vous avez oublié votre place.' Quand je lui ai observé que selon moi ce projet ne voulait dire simplement, que la France demandoit la Belgique, il a répondu, que oui; mais, ce n'est plus le moment pour demander, quand on s'est laissé battre. Il est revenu sur le sujet de la prise de Paris, en prétendant que si l'on s'était défendu comme il le fallait, la ville n'aurait jamais été détruite.

"En parlant de Siéyès—'C'est un homme sans courage tout-à-fait; je n'ai jamais eu aucune liaison

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avec lui. J'ai été admis au direction quand Siéyès avait refusé la place. D'ailleurs, je n'ai jamais fait grand cas des faiseurs de constitutions, surtout quand on les fait sous la baïonette. Il y avait, c'est vrai, une occasion d'en avoir fait une qui eût value quelque-chose. C'était au moment que Bonaparte s'est fait Empereur.' Ce que selon lui Bonaparte aurait du faire, c'est-à-dire,—Garder sa place à la tête de la république jusque tout eut pris son assiètte, donner une bonne constitution républicaine à la France, et quand tout fût tranquille, céder sa place—ç'aurait été la plus belle chose que l'histoire a consacré à notre admiration, et le meilleur parti qu'il aurait pû prendre. Je lui ai demandé si cette idée s'était jamais presenté à l'esprit de Bonaparte. 'Certainement,' dit-il; 'j'avais eu bien soin de cela; je lui ai fait parvenir mon opinion par écrit là-dessus, et quoique il était (comme les Bourbons) entouré de flagorneurs, il a dit (à ce qu'on m'en a conté), "Il n'y a que l'avis de Carnot qui a le sens commun." Depuis cette époque je l'ai vu deux fois—l'une était après la campagne de Vienne. Il m'a dit, "Je vous en ai bien voulu pour votre opinion et votre voix, mais je vous dis franchement que vous avez raison."'

"J'ai parlé de la bataille d'Aspern en la qualifiant du titre de la seule grande défaite qu'ont soutenues les armes de la France. Il était d'accord, en ajoutant que Bonaparte seulement avait échappé à une défaite beaucoup plus complète. Carnot était d'avis que les Autrichiens auraient dû en tirer beaucoup plus de parti, et Bonaparte lui-même le pensait. Quand j'émis l'opinion qui m'avait fait commencer cette discussion dans la chambre des communes, que l'Angleterre aurait

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pu empêcher les suites de la bataille en interrompant la jonction du viceroi, il dit qu'il n'y avait point de doute là-dessus.

"Bonaparte parlait de l'Archiduc Charles, en se moquant de lui : il disait, C'est bien heureux d'avoir à faire à ce Prince ; j'ai toujours su par des espions deux jours avant tout ce qu'il allait faire au lieu que personne ne savait mes plans une demie-heure avant ; même ma main droite ne savait pas ce que ma main gauche ferait. Aussi ai-je bien joué ce bon Prince. Il voyait que j'avais fait batir un beau pont, il ne pouvait pas concevoir que je ne passerais pas la rivière par là. Je n'en avais aucune idée ; il a porté ses forces sur ce point-là. Je passe de l'autre côté et le bat entièrement.

"M. Carnot avouait que le Prince Charles avait de grands moyens, mais un caractère indécis, et qu'il était anéanti par des conseils de guerre qui ne valent jamais rien. Nous avons causé sur la campagne de 1796 en Souabe. Le plan était que Jourdan et Moreau s'avanceraient également ensemble, Moreau allait comme de raison lentement. L'autre s'impatientait, et s'avançait trop. Le Prince Charles, s'en aperçu, adroitement fondait sur lui, entre lui et Moreau, le battait et le forçait de reculer, tombait sur Moreau qui alors fit cette belle retraite qu'on ne peut pas trop louer. Il parlait avec une très grande admiration du talent qu'a montré le Prince Charles dans cette affaire-là, de profiter des bévues de Jourdan. J'ai parlé des faux pas de l'Archiduc, surtout du siège de Kehl, qui a donné si beau jeu à Moreau. Il dit que c'était certainement une très grande faute, mais que l'enlèvement de 2400 hommes en 1799 pour faire la siège de

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Philipsburg en était une plus fatale encore, si toute fois c'en était une.

"En parlant de la conscription, il dit que Bonaparte en avait abusé, et l'avait aussi réduite plus au système, mais que c'était du temps de la révolution,—on l'apellait la réquisition, mais c'était la même chose. Elle est venue comme tous nos malheurs et presque tous nos efforts, de l'émigration. On nous attaquait; point d'armée, et le recrutement n'allait pas; on levait, par réquisition, une million tout de suite. Si la guerre s'allume, la conscription, peut-être sous quelque autre nom, doit recommencer aussi. Autrefois on donnait 30 francs pour un recrut. Pendant la guerre parmi les conscrits on a donné jusqu'à six mille et dix mille remplaçants. Elle n'a pas été très odieuse. Depuis deux ans on s'en plaignait, mais tout cela est oublié, et l'on reclame mille fois plus et l'on est effectivement plus mécontent de la continuation des droits unis, surtout après les promesses très indiscrètes du Comte d'Artois, qui aurait dû savoir que sans cet impôt-là, les finances ne peuvent pas aller. D'abord la conscription pese et afflige le conscrit, mais il se dit tout à l'heure, Eh bien! me voilà soldat!—je pourrai devenir lieutenant, sous-capitaine, et ensuite Maréchal de France. C'est ce qui est arrivé à d'autres—pourquoi pas à moi? Alors il s'interesse dans son devoir pour l'apprendre. On ne le tourmente pas comme en Allemagne des petites choses qui ne valent rien. Il se distingue, il obtient des louanges, des ordres, &c.; il est soldat tout aussi zélé que s'il n'avait jamais été conscrit.

"Il dit que le Gouvernement est assez mépris à Paris, mais beaucoup moins aimé dans les provinces.

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Les paysans craignent le rétablissement des droits féodaux, surtout du *dixme*, qui pesait infiniment sur leurs profits.

"Je demandais s'il n'était pas en danger lui-même, à Paris, dans ce moment. Il croyait que non, en disant que le Gouvernement voudrait peut-être lui faire des tracasseries, mais qu'il se tenait très ferme, et en même temps menait une vie très privée et discrète, ne voyant presque personne—n'allant jamais dans la société, excepté à l'Institut, et ne fréquentant point des coteries, surtout politiques. 'D'ailleurs,' dit-il, 'je suis très populaire; le soldat m'aime naturellement, et le peuple de Paris m'est très attaché: de manière que je ne peux pas aller en ville, dans les rues ou les boutiques, sans en recevoir les témoignages. Si le Gouvernement faisait quelque chose de violent sur mon compte, je ne vous dis pas qu'on ferait revolter le peuple, mais je suis sûr, que de telles démarches donneraient une très grande secousse à l'opinion publique, et ne pourraient qu'être fort dangereuses.'

"Quand je pris la liberté de lui témoigner le grand plaisir que j'aurais de causer encore une fois avec lui sur la politique et les sciences, et de lui proposer de diner ensemble à l'hôtel du Nord avec Lord Ponsonby (beau-frère de Lord Grey, pour qui, il témoignait beaucoup de consideration), il m'a dit que cela ne lui serait aucunement possible; car, par prudence, il ne le faisait jamais, dans de telles crises."

In the summer of 1814 (I think, in the month of July), Carnot addressed a memorial to Louis XVIII., the object of which was to lay before the King the great evils that would arise from any breach

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of faith with the republican party, or any departure from the stipulations which had been agreed upon that their personal safety should be assured. There were many circumstances connected with this memorial, which, although written, had never been *published* by Carnot, that were so interesting at the time, that I took some trouble to ascertain the exact facts, in order that I might give a correct representation of the case in a review of the memorial which I intended to write.* When the article was printed, I found an opportunity of sending a copy to Carnot, and this produced from him the following letter:—

"PARIS, *Janvier* 24, 1815.

"MONSIEUR,—Votre digne ami M. le Comte de Surakowski m'a remis la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, ainsi que le cahier de Novembre du Journal d'Edimbourg. Il m'a mis au fait de ce qui regarde l'extrait qui me concerne dans le Journal, et m'a fait connoître la personne respectable à laquelle j'en ai l'obligation; je la prie d'en recevoir mes sincères remercimens, et d'être bien convaincue du plaisir que j'aurai de la revoir à Paris, comme elle me le fait espérer.

"Agréer, Monsieur, la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, CARNOT."

Immediately on my return to London, I wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

"TEMPLE, *November* 7, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—On my return last Wednesday, I learnt, on calling in Portman Square, that

* 'Edinburgh Review,' No. XLVII., art. x.

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you were expected on Saturday; and I now learn with real sorrow that you are not able to come—not, indeed, that I ever expected the poor boy's recovery, but because, from his gaining strength, I thought he might have gone over the winter, and allowed me to see you in town. My chief desire was to give you any information as to the state of things in France. Bonaparte's popularity, now revived since his banishment to Elba, the contempt of the Bourbons, their bad conduct, the hatred of England, inflamed by our folly in sending Wellington there, the state of parties and of individuals, the love of war and horror of losing Belgium, the *Slave-Trade*, with various other matters. By letter one can't say anything satisfactory. The best way is by being questioned, and answering.

"If there is no chance of your being here before Xmas, I must send you a very precious communication—namely, full notes of very long and interesting conversations I had with Carnot (by far their greatest and most virtuous man), respecting every curious and important particular of the Revolution — times of terror—Directory—campaigns and Bonaparte—and the present state of things. I have already shown this to Romilly, but now I mean to show it only to yourself, and one, or at most two, others whom I can rely on. I saw the Duke of Orleans also, and Lafayette, with others.

"My clear conviction is, that *you* ought to make a run over there for a fortnight, to see with your own eyes. If you'll go at Xmas, I am going to bring back my mother, whose illness unhappily obliged me to leave her behind.

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"You should go alone, *en garçon*, and might, by having the proper things and persons pointed out, see as much in a week as another would in a month. It is really important, as a public matter, that you should go and see and hear. That it is agreeable, I venture to assure you. I never spent any time by half so delightfully; my fortnight there passed away like a day. It required no small fortitude to come over here to law; and as for politics, Paris has made me quite indifferent to them, for I found (what I never could before) that I could enjoy life thoroughly without ever thinking of parties.

"*You* would at once be at home. The Ponsonbys and many others are there, and those who know one another make little coteries, and live together.—Yours sincerely, H. BROUGHAM."

Accordingly, I took an early opportunity of sending to Lord Grey the conversation as I have here given it.

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CHAPTER XII.

The Prince and Princess of Wales.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS CIRCLE AT CARLTON HOUSE—THE PRINCESS CAROLINE—HER CIRCLE—THE DELICATE INVESTIGATION—THE QUARREL—CORRESPONDENCE—THE YOUNG PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY—THE PRINCE'S SEVERANCE FROM HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS — WHITBREAD — MR BROUGHAM AS ADVISER OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES AND HER DAUGHTER — KING GEORGE III. — HIS LETTER TO THE PRINCE ON THE SITUATION—LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE BY THE PRINCESS TO THE PRINCE—ACCOUNT OF ITS PREPARATION —DELIBERATIONS—ITS DELIVERY AND RECEPTION—MADAME DE STAËL.

For some years I had refused to be presented to the Princess of Wales because of the open quarrel between her and the Prince, a matter in which I did not wish to be at all mixed up, and which those who frequented her society, and were persons of any consideration, with difficulty avoided. Not that I had the least intercourse with the Prince, having only become acquainted with him by his desire that I should be asked to meet him at Melbourne House, where he treated me with the courtesy that belongs to all the family. He was on intimate terms with some of my particular friends, especially Erskine and the Hollands; and Romilly, who was his Solicitor-General for the Duchy.

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I was exceedingly pleased with his society. His conversation was that of a very clever person, and he had considerable powers of mimicry. I recollect his taking off Thurlow, who was then living, and also the Stadtholder, respecting whom his talk was very free; and the stories he told of that prince in reference to his own mother and sisters, the English princesses, did not seem quite fitting before persons whom he saw for the first time. But altogether one should have regarded him as a clever and agreeable member of society had he been a common person, and might even have been struck with him. This was in 1805. Next year the *Delicate Investigation* took place, to the great discredit of the Whig Ministry, and in which it was very much to be lamented that Romilly's official position compelled him to take a part—the proceeding being an inquiry, behind the Princess's back, whether or not she had been guilty of high treason.* Having an invitation to dine at Carlton House, I ventured to avoid going by leaving home for a day or two, and this made my declining to be presented at Kensington the more natural. It was not till late in 1809 that Dudley and Sir William Drummond, who were constantly there, persuaded me to go as to a house where agreeable society was always assembled. Canning was constantly there, and I had no other opportunity of seeing him, which I the rather wished, as we had had some differences on the Orders in Council at the time when I was counsel for the commercial interests. His friend Charles Ellis (afterwards Lord Seaford) and Granville Leveson (afterwards Lord Granville) also frequented the Princess's society. A friend whom I

* See above, p. 74.

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greatly esteemed, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and her sister, Lady Glenbervie, were among her ladies, both, like all the North family, persons equally agreeable and clever; so that without taking any part at all in the controversy, I went there as Rogers, Luttrell, and others did, whom the Princess liked extremely to have about her. Canning I often met there; Perceval and Eldon never; but she always spoke of them with great kindness, only she called Eldon "old Baggs," as all the royal family did, which once caused a droll mistake, when the Regent said, "Send for old Baggs," and the page in waiting summoned Mr Banks, who came in court-dress, and was kept waiting in the antechamber till the mistake was discovered, which, it is said, he did not soon if ever forgive. The conversation at Kensington was quite free from any troublesome restraint of etiquette, but always with the respect, both in form and substance, due to royalty.

The Princess had been ill-used by her husband from the very first, as we shall find by looking back to the beginning of her maltreatment, upon her first arrival in this country, when Lady Jersey was forced into her household, and was in league with the Prince to misconstrue all her words and actions; and, although in her service nominally, to act as the Prince's ally against her.

The following letter to him urges, or rather repeats, her complaints on this subject :—

"Je suis trop pénétrée des devoirs que m'imposent les relations que j'ai avec vous pour blesser en quoique ce soit votre délicatesse, je ne decide point des raisons pour lesquelles vous croyez devoir ménager Lady Jersey, et je ne souhaite pas du tout de lui nuir dans l'opinion publique, mais j'en appelle à votre

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mémoire sur le manière dont elle s'est conduite vis-à-vis de moi à Brighton; elle etoit telle, que je suis en droit d'après votre lettre même d'insister qu'elle demande sa rétraite; une femme qui j'ai raison de regarder comme la cause de la désunion qui regne malheureusement entre nous, ne peut que m'être personellement désagréable. Vous avez du sens et un cœur—mettez vous à ma place, et prononçez!! Après cet aveu que je vous fais, ma surprise est grande de voir Lady Jersey s'obstiner à rester à mon service, en dépit de l'idée qu'elle sait que je dois avoir d'elle, c'est annoncer un manque absolu de delicatesse. Ce seroit agir en ami avec elle que de lui persuader de faire sans hésiter davantage, cette démarche; personne ne pourra m'imputer le motif d'agir en personne, qui manque d'estime pour vous quand je vous demande de consentir à ce que je désire avec tant de justice. Vous me conjurez de ne pas mettre obstacle à la bonne intelligence que vous croyez devoir résulter de l'accord que vous me proposez; je vous conjure, à mon tour, de vous rappeller ce que je suis en droit d'attendre de vous, et des sentimens paternels que vous devez à votre enfant qui souffrira toute sa vie de notre désunion.—Je suis, avec la plus grande sincérité, votre devouée CAROLINE.

"*Le* 28 *de Mai* 1796."

The matter was brought before the King (George III.), and he obtained a promise from the Prince that the cause of the Princess's complaints should cease. A report having been circulated that she showed repugnance to a perfect reconciliation with the Prince, she at once wrote as follows to the King:—

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"SIRE,—Je me vois encore dans la facheuse nécessité de troubler la tranquillité de votre Majesté par une lettre qui intéresse essentiellement mon bonheur et mon répos, et de récourir a Ses Sages Conseils. C'est avec la plus grande surprise que j'ai appris que l'on répandoit dans le public le bruit de ma répugnance à me prêter à une parfaite réconciliation avec le Prince de Galles; tandis qu'il ne peut y avoir de bonheur pour moi, que dans un rapprochement sincère avec lui: je supplie donc votre Majesté de me rendre la justice de croire, malgré tous les rapports contraires qu'on pourra lui en faire, que ce sont là mes véritables sentimens.

"J'ai l'honneur de joindre ici une copie de la réponse que j'ai faite à Lord Moira sur les propositions du Prince, que votre Majesté juge elle même, si le Prince est en droit de s'en offenser, puis qu'elle n'a pas été donné dans l'idée de lui prescrire des termes, mais seulement, parceque je n'étois malheureusement, que trop persuadée que c'étoit l'unique moyen d'obtenir cette vraie réconciliation dont dépend mon seul bonheur.

"J'ai l'honneur de me dire, avec le plus profond respect, Sire, de votre Majesté la très humble et très obeissante fille et sujette, CAROLINE.

"*Ce* 19 *de Juin* 1796."

To this the King next day answered as follows:—

"WINDSOR, *ce* 20^me^. *Juin* 1796.

"MADAME MA FILLE,—J'ai reçu hier votre lettre au sujet du bruit répandu dans le public de votre répugnance à vous prêter à une parfaite réconciliation

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avec mon Fils le Prince de Galles; je ne disconviens pas que cette opinion commence à prendre racine, et qu'il n'y a qu'une manière de la detruire, c'est que mon Fils ayant consenti que la Comtesse de Jersey doit, suivant votre désir, quitter votre service, et ne pas être admise à votre société privée, vous devez témoigner votre désir qu'il revient chez lui, et que pour rendre la réconciliation complète on doit des deux côtés s'abstenir de reproches, et ne faire des confidences à d'autres sur ce sujet. Une conduite si propre certainement remettra cette union entre mon Fils et vous, qui est un des événemens que j'ai le plus à cœur. Mon fils le Duc de York vous remettra cette lettre, et vous assuréra de plus de l'amitié sincère avec laquelle je suis, Madame Ma Belle Fille, votre très affectionné Beau Père,

"GEORGE R."

Upon receiving this letter she immediately, indeed on the same day, wrote as follows to the Prince:—

"Je saisis avec le plus grand empressement les ordres de Sa Majesté Le Roi, qui dans la lettre dont il vient de m'honorer, me marque que vous cedez à ses désirs, ce qui me pénétre de la plus vive joye. Je vois donc arriver avec un plaisir extrême, le moment qui vous raprochera de Carlton House, et qui va terminer pour toujours une mesintelligence dont je vous assure que de mon côté il ne sera plus question. Si vous me faites l'honneur de rechercher ma société à l'avenir, je mettrai tous mes efforts à la rendre agréable. Si j'ai pû jamais vous déplair, soyez assez généreux pour me le pardonner, et comptez sur une réconnoissance qui ne finera qu'avec ma vie. J'ose m'en flatter

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comme mère de votre enfant et comme celle qui est votre toute devouée CAROLINE.

"*Le* 20 *Juin* 1796."

On the anniversary of his birth, 11th of August, she wrote to him as follows :—

"Ce n'est qu'au nom de ma fille que je hasarde de vous écrire ces peu de lignes, et de me joindre à ses sentiments qu'elle ne peut pas encore exprimer ; nous faisons mutuellement des vœux pour votre bonheur, et la continuation de votre precieuse santé—c'est un jour si interessant pour nous deux que nous ne saurions le laisser passer sans vous le témoigner, et sous ce titre vous me pardonnez, j'éspère, cette liberté.

"J'ose me flatter cependant qu'en aimant votre fille, vous protégerez la mère, qui en sentira toute sa vie la plus parfaite réconnaissance, et qui est votre très devouée CAROLINE.

"*Ce* 11 *d'Août* 1796, CARLTON HOUSE."

To which the Prince replied :—

"MADAME,—Je saisis le premier moment pour vous remercier de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire, et que j'ai reçu hier, a l'occasion de l'anniversaire de mon jour de naissance. Acceptez aussi bien mes remerciments pour la manière que vous vous y exprimez, tant pour ma fille que pour vous même, et soyez en assuré que personne ne saurait en être plus sensible que moi.

"C'est avec sentiments de réconnoissance que j'ai l'honneur de m'écrire, Madame, votre très humble serviteur, GEORGE, P.

"WEYMOUTH, *le* 13 *d'Août*."

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This letter is barely civil, and plainly shows that there had been no alteration in his intentions, and that all his concessions respecting Lady Jersey had been wrung from him by the King; for immediately after, his treatment of her was worse than ever.

The Princess never consulted me on any subject connected with her own affairs during the first two years, 1809 and 1810, except as to taking Lady Charlotte Campbell as one of her ladies, which she had been strongly pressed to do, as an act of kindness; and she asked if I thought she would be a safe person, considering the Prince's plan of surrounding her with spies, and the absurd attempts made in 1806, after the charge had failed, to construe everything into want of becoming reserve and proper state.

The Princess of Wales had, on the part of her daughter, and by her desire, consulted me as to the Prince. I think this was in the latter end of 1810.

Differences existed, and the Princess Charlotte taking part with her mother gave rise to constant disputes, as did the appointment of her ladies and governor. The Princess Charlotte was desirous, therefore, of ascertaining on what footing she stood in point of right, and whether she was entirely subject to his pleasure and control, more especially as she was anxious to have an establishment or household formed, when in a few years she would be eighteen. I fully examined the whole subject, and gave her all the information possible, showing her that by law the power of the Crown is absolute over all the members of the royal family, and particularly that the sovereign for the time being has the exclusive right to direct their education, residence, guardianship, in all particulars

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while under age. It had been so solemnly decided by a conference of all the twelve judges, one only differing, or rather expressing doubts. The Princess Charlotte asked to have my opinion rather than Perceval's or Eldon's, whom she knew to be at that time her mother's advisers, because they might be supposed to take part against her father.

Early in 1811 Lady Charlotte Lindsay received the following letter from the Princess of Wales :—

"*January* 3, 1811.

"My dear Lady Charlotte,—I am like the Roman Empire, in a state of 'decadence.' When you meet me again in the month of March, the most violent pain, which you must remember I had once in my loins at the time you were with me at Kensington, paid me again a visit on the eve of New-Year's Day, and wished me joy (I suppose) on the season. This visitor gave me the most insinuating pain imaginable; and the spirit of turpentine, which I used most unmercifully upon my old carcass, has vanished the phantom who destroyed my peace like Major Arvay" (*sic*), "which deprived me from meeting you at dear Lady Glenbervie's, if not a cold had oppressed you also. I don't invite you for Monday, as I am not sure whether you will at that time not already be at the Priory; besides, it will be very dull, as only duty brings me to town, to make first a visit in Hanover Square, and then an early dinner at five o'clock at Kensington. I only sleep one night there, as they tell me it is not proper to fly by night, 'pour la future Reine,' though I trust and hope that I am safer now than I have ever been—that that misfortune will not

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come over my head, as the accounts are every day better and better. I hope you are delighted with my dear friend Canning's speech,* which was eloquent, judicious, and energetic. I have seen nobody since last Sunday. I sat between two philosophers, the one Greek and the other Hebrew. Mrs Fish sat opposite them, like the figure of Justice with the scales in her hands, measuring their words and sentiments, which, I am sure she, even by concatenation of ideas, did not understand, and they were like hypotheses and hyperboles to her waking brain.

"By the newspapers of to-day I see that Lady Oxford is arrived at her new residence; and if it is the case that for once they say the truth, tell her that I shall be at Kensington on the 7th, and if she will come at ten o'clock, with my Lord and Lady Jane—Lord Archibald—I shall be delighted; otherwise she must come one morning, which we will then fix, to Blackheath.

"Give my love to your friends at Lisbon, and tell them in what a state of seclusion I now live in, and of despair that they are from their native country. The first restrictions which it seems the present Regent has made upon Kensington is to be to appear in the garment of melancholy on the 7th, which, of course, as I am his first subject, I submit to without protest. I suppose you know that I remain here in this delightful and solitary recluse and sedentary residence till the 9th of February. My best compliments to Lord and Lady Abercrombie, and to the proud Aberdeen, who will not accept my box, at which I am very angry; for the moment Miss Flayman comes, I

* On the Regency—defence of Pitt.

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intend to procure a person who shall take it entirely off my hands for the present season, as certainly I shall not go again to the play for a long time. The reason I will tell you when we meet. I wish Miss Flayman was now with me, as she is entertaining and of high spirits, and at Kensington she is as a lost good between the many entertaining and pleasant people I meet there. Even the snow don't prevent me from walking. I have only been two days confined to my room. It is very true that a certain portfolio has been very much increased since my 'séjour in this little cabane.' I am now about writing a novel, of which the scene lies in Greece, and the topography of Mr Gell's book will be of very great use to me to make it as probable as possible.

"I expect Mrs Pole in ten days. Poor dear Mrs Beauclerk does nothing but writing, and plaguing me to death with her unentertaining letters. I answered her for once, and told her that from my fireside, and the snow on the top house, and Mrs Leslie's witticisms, I could not make out any sort of suitable letter to a friend; but, unmercifully, she has answered me immediately, two instead of one.

"Now I think it is high time that I also close my letter, as otherwise I fear you would also accuse me as I did Mrs Beauclerk, on the fluency of my pen and the sterility of subjects; and believe me only your sincere and affectionately, C. P."

In 1811, the Regent having broken with his wife's political and personal friends, and kept the Liverpools and Percevals in office, all of that party, except Canning, Ward, and Granville Leveson, gave up the

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Princess's acquaintance; and I recollect a dinner at her Blackheath villa, to which they were all invited, when Canning and Ward alone came, the rest of the chairs being unoccupied. This abandonment led to her and her daughter consulting me on all matters, and also Whitbread, who had lately made her acquaintance, though not the Princess Charlotte's. The cruel treatment went on as before. Above all, the intercourse with her daughter was more and more restricted, and there were indications of an intention to cut it entirely off. It was said she was to be confirmed without her mother being present. This would have been such a public condemnation of her as she could not be expected to bear without resistance; and both mother and daughter felt it alike, and viewed it in the same light. Before I left town I received the following letter from Whitbread. I give it, although it does not relate to the Princess of Wales:—

"SOUTHHILL, *August* 12, 1812.

"I ought to be ashamed of myself for not having returned an answer to your first letter at a much earlier period; but when you read, as you will do, in the paper of to-day, that on Monday last, and *not before*, was married the Hon. William Waldegrave to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Samuel Whitbread, Esq., you will perhaps pardon me; for I do assure you I have been very fully occupied. At last it is done; they are settled at Cardington, which we have made a most complete and beautiful cottage for them, and there is strong reason to hope they will be happy. Lady Elizabeth is just preparing to pay a visit to the bride, and is as reasonably happy as you can well imagine.

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"Your success in the summer as well as in the winter theatres has been so great that I should have no hesitation in offering you an engagement. Your individual attraction would be great, but as Creevey has offered himself for low comedy, I think that by taking you both I should do wonders for the theatre. I have before me a letter just received from the old manager, who is living in retirement at Isleworth, away from the profligate capital, recovering his health and spirits in seclusion from an ungrateful world; his society the late King of France and the Princes of the Blood; and he says his Majesty is a better Whig than any of us.

"He further tells me that Mr Fitzgerald is Chancellor of Irish Exchequer, and Mr Peel Secretary for Ireland.

"Moreover, he says he could tell me a great deal more, and that he means to write every day.

"He had told me before that Canning was off, and his negotiation ended, because he was stout about the Catholic question, and that it had nothing to do with the lead in the House of Commons. He now tells me he was wrong in the point; that our point, I suppose, was *the* point; but I suppose, also, Canning is all on again, and that he will be the minister of the House of Commons somehow.

"Pray tell me, what I always forgot to ask you, who communicated to you all the civil speeches reported to have been made by Canning of me. It is mere matter of curiosity, but I should like to know how true the report.

"I am indeed uneasy about America. If the war shall die in its birth, go no further than the Declara-

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tion, and that that shall be deemed as a *non-avenu*, the moment our revocation is known, it will be a good thing the Declaration should have been made for the reasons you state; but till I hear it is announced, I confess I shall be uneasy. The President will use the war for forwarding his own objects.

"I see our Birmingham friends are in high spirits, and seem to anticipate no evil.

"I have no faith in the declaration of Bonaparte in the north, nor do I feel quite confident, as so many do, that the French will very shortly be on the other side of the Ebro. But if the victory of Salamanca should be confirmed, I should forthwith despatch a proposal to Riga, where I suppose the Emperor will soon be found, with instructions to follow him on the road to Petersburg, if he should have taken it.

"Our harvest has begun this day, and our hay is not all in. The barometer rises, and we have a prospect of dry weather to get in the grain, which certainly in this part of the world has not yet suffered by the rain. But I was very much afraid days ago that corn would be nought.

"What work all this is! What! no bills of indictment at York—no rioters! What work at Leicester too! Well, I am very glad we did our duty.

"I shall be glad to hear from you at all times, and from all places, particularly from *Liverpool*. The best regards of the party here attend you.—Ever yours,

"S. WHITBREAD.

"Brand's brother is very ill. You are likely to lose a reformer from the nether House."

Before leaving town for the circuit (August 1812),

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I had strongly urged upon both mother and daughter to have no communication with the Court, except in writing, well knowing what had previously been the consequence of verbal communications. When, therefore, Lord Grey, to whom I had mentioned generally the discords prevailing in the family, saw a newspaper paragraph mentioning that a correspondence was going on between the parties, I was convinced this must have some foundation; and I wrote to Lady Charlotte Lindsay what Grey had stated. The answer confirmed my notions, and it brought the draft of a letter which the Princess wished to send, after submitting it to me. I was desired to send the letters and answers to Lord Grey. I therefore wrote to him.

TO EARL GREY.

"BROUGHAM, *August* 22, 1812.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The Princess of Wales has desired me to send you the correspondence, and I shall by next post enclose a copy of her letter to Lady Charlotte Lindsay. There is a draft of a letter to be sent on the 29th, but I need not send it. Indeed, I wish to revise and alter it a little, in case it should be thought right that the letter shall not bear internal marks of being her own, for at present it is in *German*, rather than English. She has behaved with great discretion, and even judgment and skill. I'll thank you to return these letters when you have perused and considered them, and to give me your thoughts on the subject. I have, as yet, only recommended to prepare a full and temperate remonstrance, stating the case, and to present it in the most formal and respectful manner, in case the system is persevered in,—meaning

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such a paper as might hereafter be made public, when a proper time arrived, if this step should become necessary.—Ever most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"*P.S.*—Romilly is to be at Durham (as Chancellor of the County Palatine) on the 25th or 26th, and then he goes to Scotland, I believe. I wish you would write and ask him to go to Howick, for I am sure he would like it much, and he is always the better for associating with the leaders of the party. I have fixed nothing about Liverpool, except to go to the dinner on the 4th. The nearer I view such a place, the more I feel afraid of the drudgery of it, even if all were secure. I have resolved, if bad news arrives from America, to ask them to put off the celebration until all is made up in that quarter, for really until then we have done nothing. That ultimately it must be settled I am quite confident, but the delay is very injurious.

"Pray don't you think that if the news is decidedly warlike, there should be addresses to the Prince to assemble Parliament? If you think so, it can be done with great ease in all the towns."

Lord Grey answered this letter as follows:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *August* 29, 1812.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have delayed returning the Princess's papers longer than I ought, but I thought whilst you were occupied at Lancaster it could not be of much consequence, and I have been a good deal occupied myself, both by visitors and by

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business. I now send them all in three separate covers which accompany this. The Prince's conduct has been such as we may be pretty sure it will be on all occasions. He has given the Princess a great advantage, which it requires only common prudence on her part to turn to good account, and hitherto she appears to me to have conducted herself very judiciously. I think you did quite right in recommending that the letter should be sent as she had written it. It is very good in substance, and the style proving it to be her own is an advantage. A full remonstrance, for which there is an abundance of excellent topics, if it becomes necessary, should be carefully written; and in a formal step of that nature she could not be supposed to act without an adviser. I hope, however, that it will not be necessary; and from what Macmahon says in his note, I am inclined to believe that they will not object to the Princess Charlotte's going to Kensington once a-week.

"Remember your promise to pay us a visit. I hear much better accounts of Thanet.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

At this time I received the following from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"SHEFFIELD PLACE, *September* 2, 1812.

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I received both your letters, with the enclosure quite safe. I communicated the contents of them to H.R.H., who has sent me so many messages to you in her answer that I think the shortest way is to send you her letter, which I

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need not trouble you to return. Lady de Clifford caught the inflammation in her eyes at a charming *fête* given at Princess Elizabeth's Cottage, where the rain not only penetrated their clothes, but also played the part of *soup*, and filled their dishes and plates at dinner. I fear it will do more serious damage. '*The Maid of Orleans*' means Lady Anne Hamilton, who is to succeed Lady Charlotte Campbell in Waiting, and for whose *unmarried* condition the Duke of Gloucester expressed *much concern*. I have not heard of the Regent's intention of visiting Liverpool, but perhaps he may intend to proceed there from Warwickshire.—Believe me, my dear Mr Brougham, yours very sincerely, C. LINDSAY.

"I send you with this a letter just received from the Princess."

THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—Many thanks for your two kind notes; and I beg of you to send, as soon as possible, the two enclosed papers to Mr Brougham; and mention to him, in the first place, that he is at liberty to show all the papers, present and future, to Lord Grey; secondly, that Lady Elizabeth and Mr Whitbread saw the papers, and are aware of this cruel treatment; thirdly, that my daughter is perfectly aware of this dreadful barbarism, and that if possible her attachment is more steady and strong than ever before, and her eyes are completely opened to all the bad proceedings and illegal proceedings since my being in this country; that her father hardly speaks to her, and that she is not the least anxious that they should

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be upon another footing in future; in short, that she has a complete contempt of her father's character, which she obtained, *not from influence, but from her own sagacity, and experience which* she has made of a similar ill treatment. She abhors *the Queen* and *the Duke of Cumberland.* She has no confidence in any of the princesses, nor in either of the dukes. Miss Elphinstone, as well as Lady Barbara Ashley—two young ladies of whose acquaintance the Prince had approved two years ago, and who were the only she ever corresponded with—their letters were intercepted by the special order of the Regent; and though there was no high treason in them, *the correspondence was forbid, as well as the waiting,* for which reason my daughter has no other intimate friend than her mother. That she writes every day twelve pages, and sometimes more, having nobody to whom she could open her heart so freely and so trusty. I should be very grateful to all the family for having adopted this new plan to write, to prevent that I should ever have any influence over her as my daughter; and I am now so united that no event could make a disunion between us. Even the great difficulty to get a letter to her, and to receive one, gives a zest to our correspondence. So you will see, my dear Lady Charlotte, by the letter from the Chancellor to Lady de Clifford, that there is no objection for the writing to me. I cannot otherwise look upon it than a trap to get possession of our correspondence, but which will be unsuccessful, as the letters are sent to Lady de Clifford's house, under her address, sealed with my own seal; and her confidential servant carries them himself down every two days. Lady de Clifford was to have been sent away if she

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had not shown proper spirit in mentioning to the Regent that, if he intended to send her away, Lord Albemarle and her son, Lord de Clifford, would ask an audience of the Regent to be acquainted with the reason for which Lady de Clifford was dismissed; for which reason, for the present, she is not moved. Charlotte is quite aware of it, and is perfectly determined to refuse any governess whatever, as she knows that she is of age, and wishes to continue to keep Lady de Clifford about her, either as governess or as Lady of the Bedchamber. Now, my dear Lady Charlotte, I leave to your own judgment into what small compass you intend to forward all this budget of complaint and plague. I trust I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again; and I am glad to hear that your new brother-in-law is good for something, and that it will succeed.—Yours, C. P.

"My daughter came to Blackheath this Tuesday. Saturday, the 22d, she is to come to Kensington. Friday, the 21st—the Duke of Clarence's birthday—everybody shall be at Frogmore, for which reason she is with me the Saturday, 22d of August."

It soon appeared that the expectations founded on Macmahon's letter were not fulfilled. Lady Charlotte Lindsay wrote as follows:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"Sheffield Place, *September* 8.

"Dear Mr Brougham,—I send you enclosed several papers relative to Princess Charlotte's visits, which I have been commanded to forward to you; and I have just received another letter from Kensington,

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telling me that Princess Charlotte came there the day before yesterday, accompanied by Miss Knight, and that before Miss Knight set off from Windsor, the Queen sent to her, and gave her a charge not to let Princess Charlotte go out of her sight for one moment; and her Majesty also sent for Princess Charlotte, and told her that she was not to retire at all; upon which she replied, 'that after so long a journey she must retire to dress, and make herself clean before dinner; and that what she had to say to her mother she could say before anybody, as she made no secret of her feelings upon their strange proceedings.'—Yours truly,

"C. L."

Among other letters on the same subject, all proving the interdiction of communication with the Princess Charlotte, is the following:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*September* 29, 1812.

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I enclose in two covers several papers that I have this morning received from H.R.H., who went to Windsor last Sunday. She stopped at the lodge that had been destined by the King for her occupation whenever she should go to Windsor. She wrote from thence to Lady de Clifford, desiring she would bring Princess Charlotte there. Lady de Clifford's answer is one of the enclosures. Then she wrote to Colonel Disbrowe, and asked an audience of her Majesty: what passed at that interview is another of the enclosures.

"I hope, as I send these letters before the Parliament is dissolved, that you will not have an enormous

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sum to pay for them. I shall direct to Brougham, though I suppose that you have been obliged to leave your woods and wilds for the unromantic streets of Liverpool, where I most sincerely hope that you will meet with the most complete success. The Princess desires me to tell you that she has not communicated anything respecting the Windsor matters either to Mr Canning or to Mr Ward, as she suspects that they will join the ministers very soon. She would have wished to have talked to the Whitbreads upon this subject, but they did not go to her at Kensington when they were last in London, which seems to have disappointed her. Adieu, dear Mr Brougham.—With every good wish for your success, I remain yours very sincerely,

"C. LINDSAY."

It may be right here to insert a very remarkable letter of the King (George III.), showing how different were his views on all that related to both mother and daughter. It is addressed to the Prince. The Princess had not a distinct recollection of the date, but it must have been long before the famous session of 1809 and the Duke of York's business, which to a certain degree had lessened the quarrels of the royal family among themselves, making them feel the necessity of hanging together while there was such a public clamour against them.

"GEORGIUS REX.—The professions you have lately made in your letters of your particular regard to me are so contradictory to your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well you did not give the least intimation to me

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or to the Queen that the Princess was with child till within a month of the birth of the young Princess.

"You removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation (as you voluntarily declared) of her labour; and both times, upon your return, you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and the Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair; and you at last, without giving notice to me or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton Court in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your own determined measures, exposed both the Princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise and tenderness for the Princess as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities to me, and to the Queen your mother.

"This extravagant and ungrateful behaviour in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated or disguised by specious words only; but the whole tenor of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you; and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are aided and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the Queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them

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who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weakened the common interest of the whole.

"In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent.

"In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St James's with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess.

"I shall for the present leave to the Princess the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education. G. R."

The Prince was with much difficulty persuaded by Liverpool and Eldon to read a letter which the Princess of Wales had written, and proposed to send to Queen Charlotte.

He wrote to the Princess Charlotte respecting it, asking who had written it. The Duke of Kent told her that in speaking to him about it "he blessed his stars it had not been written to him, so he was relieved from having to answer it, which he should not have known how to do." This was certainly an additional reason, as both the Princesses thought, for going further; and on the best consideration I could give the subject, it seemed expedient that the Princess should address a letter to the Prince direct. That letter was as follows:—

"Sir,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to intrude myself upon your Royal Highness, and to

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solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so, if they related merely to myself, I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your Royal Highness's time; I should continue in silence and retirement to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have been so long a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted, without any fault of my own, and that your Royal Highness knows it.

"But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter; may I venture to say a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance; if her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly, or by secret insinuations, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious she deserves no reproach, your Royal Highness has too much judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust, at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

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"It may be known to your Royal Highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled either to abandon all regard to the two dearest objects which I possess on earth—mine own honour and my beloved child—or to throw myself at the feet of your Royal Highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, Sir, to represent to your Royal Highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wound which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of this. To see myself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery as I well know your Royal Highness never could inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished; a single interview weekly seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections: that, however, was reduced to our meeting once a-fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced. But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon

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your Royal Highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world this separation of a daughter from her mother will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your Royal Highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, Sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to admit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion.

"Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me; without even an accuser; after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication, yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, holding me up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

"The feelings, Sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your Royal Highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. The serious, and soon it may be the irreparable, injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your Royal Highness than

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any sufferings of my own could accomplish. And if for her sake I presume to call away your Royal Highness from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming this for a matter of inferior importance, either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your Royal Highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, Sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

"Is it possible, Sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your Royal Highness that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections, the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us? That her love for one with whom, by his Majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore your Royal Highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles; if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears, to my humble judgment, peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to

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be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation.

"It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake as well as for her country's, that your Royal Highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, Sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions, both by the impossibility of obtaining proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she has to be secluded from all intercourse, even with your Royal Highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsel I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing, both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that

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solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, Sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child.

"The pain at which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your Royal Highness, is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, Sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it; they are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devoutly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a true and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.—I am, Sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter, your Royal Highness's most devoted and most affectionate consort, cousin, and subject,

"CAROLINE LOUISA.

"MONTAGUE HOUSE, *Jan.* 14, 1813." *

As the proposed step of writing to Queen Charlotte was of great importance, I proposed going to Southhill and considering the whole matter, especially the draft of the letter, with Whitbread, to whom she had spoken in general terms of her new grievance. It was agreed that she should not be troubled with a letter till my return from Southhill.† Whitbread's entire concurrence was the more essential as I was not then in Parliament. At Southhill we fully discussed the whole

* See Miss Knight's Autobiography, i. 323.

† The copy of this letter to Queen Charlotte has, unfortunately, not been found among Lord Brougham's papers.

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subject, and he entirely agreed that this was the proper course to take and the proper moment. We fully considered the letter, and we agreed that it would not be fit that Grey should be involved in the responsibility of the step proposed to be taken, both on account of the frequent personal differences as well as political which had occurred between him and the Prince, and on account of his station as leader of the Whig party, the more especially as some of the leaders in both Houses were known to lean strongly against the Princess; Sheridan of course, but also Tierney, perhaps Ponsonby, certainly Holland House. It was, however, deemed proper that our proceedings should be fully disclosed to him; and if he chose to interpose his advice, he might have the opportunity, from what had passed with him a short time before, of giving us the full assurance of his general approval. It will presently be seen that this was done. I returned from Southhill to London; but both Whitbread and I felt the absolute necessity of warning the Princess of Wales how momentous the step was, and impressing upon her the absolute necessity not only of fully considering it in all its views, but of being quite certain that she had done nothing of any sort that could shun the light.

In all his advice to and support of the Princess, Whitbread acted, as he ever did, an honest, manly, and straightforward part. Considering her to be as ill-used as possible, and without any just ground, he had deemed it his duty to stand by her, and he did so firmly and heartily. Not that he was on bad terms with the regular Whig party, for they had entirely retraced their steps towards him, which had led to much estrangement in 1806, when he was left out of

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the arrangement on it being stated by Lord Grey that he could answer for his having no desire of office—on which Whitbread said that he might have been left to give the refusal himself. But in 1811, when, as was believed, they were quite certain to come in upon the establishment of the Regency, and when doubtless they would have come in but for the part that Sheridan played when he ascertained that he was not to be in the Cabinet, it was all settled that Whitbread was to have been Secretary of State for the Home Department, and he had selected his staff. Indeed, in 1809, when Grey and Grenville were applied to, and refused to come in on a half arrangement along with Perceval and a few others, the most unreserved communication was had with Whitbread, and they entirely satisfied him as to the grounds of their refusal. The error of 1806 had been studiously avoided, and nothing could be more cordial than his acting with the party for the next two or three years. The objections to him on the part of some of the Grenvilles were, at least for the present, got over; and he took the Princess's part by no means as separating himself from the party, though he was quite aware with myself of the umbrage which we should give, not only to the Prince's people, but also to some timid spirits, who were always averse to breaking squares with Carlton House. For their scruples he cared as little as for the obloquy to which we should be exposed in that high quarter.

On my return to London I took the letter to the Princess, and she desired to consider it, and confer with the Princess Charlotte upon the step about to be taken. But I begged leave to set before her at once

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all its consequences, and to see her alone before she saw her daughter. After she had read the letter she appointed me to see her next day at Kensington Palace. I then told her that she must make up her mind for what would inevitably happen if the letter was sent to the Prince. It would reopen all the former grounds of complaint. She said that after the failure in 1806, when the Prince's friends were in office, she could have no apprehension of their being now repeated. I said that very probably the same attempts would not be made, but that others might; and I besought her to take into her serious consideration what I was about to say, and not to answer me, or come to any decision, for two days. I told her that she must review her whole past life, and if there was anything in it which would not bear the light—not only anything criminal, but any act of imprudence or indiscretion, examples of which I took the liberty of suggesting—instances of things which, though not in themselves culpable, might be made the grounds of suspecting something wrong, or might be only much blamed—then the letter must not be sent to the Prince; that whatever she most apprehended, whatever she felt the most unpleasant, to be brought forward, or even whatever she felt most doubtful about, she must lay her account with it being brought against her; that she must on no account rely upon there not being evidence against her, or that whatever had been done or said was without any witness being present, for that even if it had passed at the centre of the earth, she must calculate upon its being proved; and that, further, she would be charged with having been the cause of the proof, or of the accusation, by having voluntarily called for the inquiry;

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that now she was the aggressor—before, she had been the party attacked; that now she attacked the Prince—at least this would be said even by her supporters, while her enemies and the Carlton House set could desire no better than the excuse she gave them—nay, the necessity she forced upon them—of proceeding against her. She at once said she approved of my desiring her not to answer my question now; and that I should hear from her, as there could be no occasion further to argue the subject now fully laid before her. It was for her to determine one way or the other: as I had put the matter, her determination alone must decide. I entirely agreed, and I wrote to Whitbread that it was impossible to say what would be her decision; that the way in which she had received my warning left some uneasiness as to the result; but that upon the whole I believed she would go forward. Whitbread was of a contrary opinion. From Canning's particular position it was clear he could not be consulted, and it was only fair to him that he should know nothing whatever of what was in contemplation.

I received two days after a letter from Lady Charlotte Lindsay, by the Princess's command, simply saying that the letter must go to the Prince.

Lord King, in the proceedings on the bill against her in 1820, I recollect, said to me, how wrong the people were who charged me with being a rash counsellor, or even a too bold and confident one, for he rather thought I might be accused of being over-cautious, and beyond necessity circumspect. But I was at that time acting professionally, and all I did was according to the duty which we as counsel were conversant with, and not he. In 1813, however, both Whitbread

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and I acted as her advisers merely, and in no respect professionally; but I conceive that King's observation was quite as applicable then as in 1820. Romilly, too, states in his diary that the proceedings of 1813 and 1814, under my guidance, had been attended with perfect success (which his experience of the delicate investigation in 1806 gave him a full right to judge of, as well as of my difficulties), and he ascribed that success to the extreme caution and circumspection used throughout. When a person is acting for or advising another, he has no right whatever to show vicarious courage, to recommend the running any risk not necessary to avoid greater risks, or to counsel any boldness which is not more safe (as occasionally happens) than more prudent courses.

But though every precaution was taken to avoid risk or prevent precipitate courses, and the most anxious inquiry, as far as it was possible, made into any risk to be incurred by the Princess in adopting the measure which I had proposed and Whitbread adopted, it must be added that all anxiety and alarm, as far as we felt any, was on her account, and not in the least on account of ourselves. I had from the first regarded the step in contemplation as one of extreme hazard to its advisers; and not being in Parliament to defend myself from the attacks which were quite inevitable, I should have paused before finally deciding. Had not Whitbread become a party, I should have looked to Folkestone* in all likelihood, or to Brand,† for support; at least so far as to state my case, or give any required explanation. The danger which I encountered personally or professionally, of course, I en-

* Afterwards Lord Radnor. † Afterwards Lord Dacre.

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tirely disregarded. But I knew the virulent nature of the Prince's party both in and out of Parliament, and I was running into the most entire and irreconcilable hostility to everything that belonged to Carlton House, with hardly any prospect of support from the regular Whig party, many of the leaders of which were little disposed to have the breach with the Prince widened, even after the year of the reconstructed Regency had expired. But I really felt, as did Whitbread, that the conduct of the Prince had been such from the beginning towards his wife, and his later treatment of both mother and daughter so outrageous, as made it a duty to take their part; whilst his conduct towards the Whig party made this proceeding on our part quite justifiable, and not at all inconsistent with our *party connection.* On my return from Southhill I had to attend the special commission at York for the trial of the Luddite outrages, being retained for most of the prisoners. I wrote to Grey previous to my departure as follows:—

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *November* 25, 1812.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I have reserved the affairs of the Princess and Princess Charlotte for this letter—to keep the subject unmixed—as it is to treat of very delicate matters.

"The Princess addressed a long and very firm remonstrance to the Queen last Saturday (which I had revised and altered materially) relative to the Princess Charlotte and their being kept separate, and the plan pursued for *interrupting* her education, and keeping her in close confinement.

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"The Queen's answer is full of lies and evasions, and the Princess's letter is now with the Prince.

"On Perceval's death, a box of the Princess's papers, kept by him to prevent the Prince from seizing them, got into some foreign lady's hands, who is a partisan of the Princess; at least so I gather from what has happened: for this person last week called at my chambers in the dusk, and left them sealed up with an anonymous letter, strongly persuading their immediate publication. I have read them, and returned them with an answer, expressing my indignation at such an attempt being made to involve me in any mysterious transaction—especially in one where some breach of trust appears to form a link of the communication. But I advised that they should be immediately sent to the Princess, and proper steps taken in the matter with her authority.

"I half suspect *she* is at the bottom of the whole, but this I can't be sure of. At all events, my answer would have been the same, of course.

"Now for the papers. They are a series of letters from her to the Prince, and many long ones from him to her, relating to Lady Jersey and the other old disputes; then curious ones from the King to her, some of them bearing hard on the Prince, also from Thurlow, &c.; with two Cabinet minutes of April 21, 1807, by all the ministers *except Perceval*, fully acquitting her, and desiring her to be received publicly at Court.

"The advice I am disposed to give is this: that an able narrative be drawn up, with a proper selection from the papers, and suppression of private names, if this is deemed advisable. The Princess will do whatever is thought best.

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"I must tell you that the Princess Charlotte is extremely solicitous that her mother should be openly vindicated, and the Princess's wish for this proceeds almost as much from the desire of gratifying her as of punishing her husband. The young one is quite furious at *their* treatment of her. I mean Queen, Princesses, Dukes, and her father as much as any. She says she complained of her letters being opened at the post-office *by his orders*, which he denied circumstantially; and that she pressed him until she was obliged to stop, to avoid the unpleasant necessity of convicting him of a plain lie. This is her own story. As for the confinement at Windsor, she entertained a plan of escaping as soon as she was of age (for she conceives she is so next birthday—very falsely in point of law). She also desired my advice on this and other matters, and I am to write a representation as strongly as possible against it.

"That she is disposed towards popular principles I know from undoubted authority. The interest she took in Romilly's election and mine she was at no pains to conceal from anybody; and after it was over she went to Fremantle to know if we were to be out of Parliament; to which I may add a trifle which I learnt by chance in a shop—viz., that t'other day she sent for a modeller, and had a cast of me done; with a number of observations showing she feels a peculiarly strong interest in our side of the question.

"You have seen so much ill in one heir-apparent that I think I see you scouting all idea *of a popular Queen*.—Believe me ever yours, H. B."

On my arrival at York I wrote again to Lord Grey:—

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TO EARL GREY.

"York, *January* 3, 1813.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I send you in this and another cover a most curious account of our beloved Prince's behaviour to his daughter. He is jealous of her to a degree of insanity, and has been for some time. I believe the Duke of Cumberland and Yarmouth have actually been feeding him with hopes of getting rid of her by divorcing his wife, and this he is fool enough to believe. It seems too absurd, but you may rely on it some such thing has been broached. The young Princess is quite aware how much she is in the same boat with her mother, and feels such topics accordingly. The letter to the Queen was rather a tickler, but quite unexceptionable in point of discretion, relating solely to the seeing her daughter. I wrote a considerable part of it, and revised the whole, and made it safe and sure. It is to this he alludes when he asks who wrote it; also to the Duke of Kent, he blessed his stars that it was not written to him, as he was thus relieved from having to answer it, not knowing what to say.

"You may recollect my being of opinion last August that a formal remonstrance professedly as such, though written nominally by the Princess, should be delivered to him if he continued his proceedings towards the mother and daughter, and you were of this opinion also.

"Various things lately have made this still more advisable. I accordingly drew it up with much care, and she is to copy it and send it immediately after the 7th, her daughter's birthday, or about the 8th, according to circumstances.

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"If you have the least desire to see it, I have a copy, and shall enclose it; but it is rather long, for it recapitulates all her grievances in relation to her daughter, and also those of her daughter.

"Such was the avidity, after the abuse of him in Hunt's trial t'other day, that besides about 10,000 of the 'Examiner' containing it (which were not to be had at any price an hour after it was published), a cheap edition of the trial was instantly printed, unknown to Hunt, and placarded on the walls before he could even announce that a correct one was coming out.

"The repeal of the Orders in Council is working its way in America, and you may rely on peace coming about there, either in spite of Maddison and his party or by their being turned out.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Lord Grey in his answer took no notice of this offer, and of course the MS. notes were not sent. All therefore remained in the hands of Whitbread and myself.

The letter having gone to the Prince, while we were waiting for the answer or other result I wrote to Lord Grey as follows, respecting the two Princesses and my relations with them:—

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *Wednesday, February* 3, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I only learnt yesterday of your stay in the north being protracted so long; otherwise I should have written before, though but to say I had no news worth communicating, except respecting the Princess and her daughter—and on that topic I have so much to say that I must wait till we meet.

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"I shall only mention that, after long delay and many refusals, and sending back the letter and the remonstrance unopened, the Prince has been forced to receive and read it. Lords Liverpool and Eldon gave way, not daring to take upon them the refusal. He *pockets* it all, however, and we are waiting to see what he will do. Of course all my efforts are (in that matter) directed to keep the mother and daughter quiet; and hitherto, but with difficulty, I have succeeded. I fear, if I continue (as I really must, from my own opinion) to preach nothing but delay and discretion, I shall lose all credit with them, and must give way to more agreeable and rash advisers. At present they are quite tractable.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *February* 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I rejoice to hear you are to be in town, as it was doubted some time ago. It never is good for you any more than for the country to stay beyond the proper season in the country. As to the young Princess, I have written (being asked my opinion) a full and strong exhortation to perfect quiet and submission, and explained how completely the law and right are on her father's side.—Yours ever,

"H. B."

To these letters I received the following answer:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *February* 7, 1813.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I concluded, from the article in the 'Morning Chronicle' in answer to the

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'Courier'—some of which I thought very good—that the war was pretty hot between Carlton House and Kensington. There can be no doubt, not only of the prudence, but of the necessity of the utmost forbearance and moderation on the part of both the Princesses, and I rejoice that you have constantly pressed this consideration upon them. If the impatience and irritation, which I confess is not unnatural under their circumstances, should hereafter induce them to listen to less cautious and perhaps less honest advisers, I am sure you will have no cause to regret the loss of your influence. It is better that you should lose it than be supposed to be the adviser of measures which considerate and impartial men may be obliged to condemn. But I am sure you will not lose it—at least not permanently; the inevitable failure of any intemperate conduct would quickly bring them back to your counsels. At all events, it is necessary, especially in a matter of so much importance and delicacy, that you should act entirely according to your own opinions.

"I have delayed longer than I intended, and am still delaying my journey, in hopes of being able to finish some things that I am very anxious to see done before I leave this place. My servants, however, are gone, and I have everything prepared for setting out this week; but perhaps I shall linger on till some time in the next, so that I shall be able to hear from you again before I go if you have anything material to write. In truth, I feel that it is of little consequence whether I am absent or present, under the conviction that I can do no good, particularly in our house of ineffectives. All the advantages of unex-

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pected success in Russia, I foresee, will be lost; and I wish we may not pay dearly this year for the unhoped-for fortunes of the last.—Ever yours, GREY."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"TEMPLE, *June* 29, 1813.

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I shall obey her Royal Highness's commands on Saturday. Pray learn, if you can, whether Lord Archy goes, or Ward; as my carriage is being painted, and I have a horror of four miles in a hackney-coach.

"Talking of horrors reminds me of the lioness, *von Staël*. I think I shall be obliged to say that, being a person who fears God and honours the king, I am afraid to come near her. To say the truth, if anything could keep me more out of society than I am at this season, it would be her prowling about. I was asked t'other day to go where she was, and had thoughts of returning the same answer with the man in Æsop's Fables, that 'he could not come, there being a lion in the way.'—Ever yours truly,

"H. B.

"Lady Perceval's application failed to-day, as I told you it would."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *August* 2, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As for the Duke of Bedford, it would take a monstrous deal of proof to make me believe anything against him; and what you say I daresay is correct, that in the end his popularity won't be much affected by the business.

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"As I always foresaw, the little flirting between the Prince and the Princess Charlotte is all over. She is as loud and as impatient as ever, and her mother (who has seen her), though a little time ago rather uneasy, is again perfectly satisfied. In fact, she is confined and crossed nearly as much as ever. The Prince and the Queen are also tired of the Duchess of Leeds, who has had the proper spirit to refuse forbidding Lady Jersey seeing the Princess Charlotte, *as from herself*, which was what the Prince was shabby enough, and sufficiently himself, to beg her to do.

"I was at Taylor's on my way here. They were hurried off on Saturday by Sir Henry Vane's illness, and it is understood that he died yesterday of apoplexy.—My respects to Lady Grey, and believe me ever yours, H. BROUGHAM."

The following is an extract from a letter I wrote to Lord Grey on the 27th Nov. 1813:—

. . . . . .

"Another rumour is afloat that something is to be attempted against the Princess of Wales. Certain it is that they have begun through the press, and by the most gross publications. Perhaps the Prince thinks, in the present state of men's minds, nobody will reflect on the infamy of filing *ex officio* informations when himself or his brother is attacked, and leaving whatever is published against his wife unnoticed. The rumour that something is intended against her comes from some of the understrappers of our party; but they were so mysterious and consequential about it, that my informant could not take the trouble of continuing the conversation. If she is to be so

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attacked, she will be forced to bring forward her case at last, which, as against the Prince, she has hitherto (with great difficulty) been persuaded to keep to herself."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *December* 21, 1813.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The young Princess dined last Wednesday with her mother. She is on perfectly good terms *at present* with her father. The quarrels of late had been very frequent, and a few weeks ago were even worse than they had been while she was at Windsor. But this is the hot fit, and he is coaxing her; it always succeeds to a certain degree, and his refusing an establishment and some other indulgence generally brings the cold fit. The Princess Charlotte has completely altered her language as to the Prince of Orange, and I am quite clear she will take him if they offer him to her. The Dutch business has done this; and now that it is all over, I may inform you of a great alarm I had from finding, by the clearest proofs, that she really had a great *penchant* for the Duke of *Devonshire*.* This you may rely on; and it is equally certain that *now* she would be furious at the insinuation, as is exceedingly natural in such cases, the idea having quite passed away. I always thought that the best (I mean the most useful) part of her character was the spice of the mother's spirit and temper; but I fear she has a considerable mixture of the father's weakness and fickleness. Indeed, what can you expect? Her behaviour to Lady de Clifford has been such as I almost

* William, sixth Duke, born in 1790. For the Court gossip in this matter, see Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 242.

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defy her father to surpass, accomplished as he is in such walks. You will be less surprised to hear of her being quite violent against peace and Bonaparte, and for war till the Bourbons are restored. Luckily all this will not depend on her or her father either. She is to dine again on the 7th with her mother.

"The debates of late, at least in the Commons, seem queer kind of things. I have *no confidence whatever* in ministers and their professions of peace, and regret that Whitbread should say so much on this score; for though I hope it is only *reculer pour mieux sauter*, and taking a stronger ground for after operations against them, such admissions are always dangerous, and scarcely ever do good. Mackintosh's speech seems (like all he says and writes) to have been dreadfully deficient in closeness, with no *object*, no argument,—a sort of preaching or lecturing of a very unbusiness-like and inefficient nature. I should suppose Romilly's to have been far better.* But it is very painful to me to see nobody there on *your* behalf, and I really wish Tierney had in the course of the session said something, as people look to him for your sentiments. A great number of things would have been most necessary, in order to correct misrepresentations very prevalent, especially as to Spain and the successes of the war. I have more than once been tempted by hearing of these to try something, but I am too much jaded to write a pamphlet, even if I could get over the injury such a step would do me; and as for public meetings, besides the same reason, I might do more

* Debate, on 20th December 1813, on the adjournment of Parliament during the critical negotiations of the Allied Powers with Napoleon on the Rhine.

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harm than good; so that I feel resigned to wait till you can come to the meeting of Parliament in March yourself. Lord Holland seems to have spoken excellently well.

"I hope to hear of your lassitude having gone off, and that they allow you a little wine.—Believe me most sincerely yours, H. BROUGHAM."

Every art was used to prevent the foreign sovereigns from even recognising the existence of the Princess of Wales; though with some, as the King of Prussia, she was nearly connected by marriage, and with others by blood. There were frequent proofs that they bore no particular respect towards the Regent, and on one occasion the Emperor could not avoid remarking to those about him that the Prince was tipsy. This habit had grown upon him of late, and was often referred to by the Princess Charlotte—her phrase in her letters being that "too much oil was put into the lamp." It happened that about this time great dissensions prevailed between her and her father, continued from the last year's affair, but increased by his making appointments in her household without consulting her, either as to those whom she found objectionable, or those she greatly preferred. This was one of the subjects on which she had been consulting me. That she had no desire to widen the breach with him was manifest. She was also very anxious that nothing should be done by her mother which might have that effect. Thus she had heard of a letter which the Princess intended to write, and she was afraid it might have this tendency. The letter was a very respectful and even kind one, entreating as a favour to be allowed

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to see her daughter more frequently. The Princess Charlotte wrote expressing her apprehension to Lady Charlotte Lindsay and myself, on which I addressed the following letter to the Princess of Wales, with the intention that it should be communicated to her daughter:—

"Mr Brougham begs leave humbly to represent to your Royal Highness that it does not appear to him in the least degree probable that any new difficulties will be thrown in the way of your Royal Highness's intercourse with her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte in consequence of the letter which it is intended to address to the Prince Regent; on the contrary, that step appears to him most likely to prevent any such new attempts against the comfort and interests of your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte.

"Mr Brougham takes the liberty further of stating it as his opinion, which he does with great anxiety and earnestness, that every proceeding ought to be avoided which would give to the enemies of your Royal Highness and the Princess Charlotte a pretext for blame; and that, however painful it may be for a little time, it is of the most essential consequence, both to the Princess Charlotte and to the country, that her Royal Highness should carefully avoid everything which might be construed by the Prince Regent's advisers into disregard of his authority. Your Royal Highness is aware that by law the care of the Princess Charlotte, and the management of her Royal Highness's education, is intrusted to the Prince Regent, and that there is no particular age at which the Princess Charlotte becomes freed from this authority, except that age of

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twenty-one, when, in common with every person, her Royal Highness becomes her own entire mistress. But although, strictly speaking, the Prince Regent has this control over the Princess Charlotte until she attains that age, yet it is a point which he will be obliged to exercise with a due regard to the wisdom of Parliament and the sense of the country. Provided the Princess Charlotte only continues acting the same amiable and wise part which has hitherto so eminently distinguished her Royal Highness, there can be no doubt that in a very short time Parliament and the country will render it impossible any longer to persevere in the present most hurtful plan of secluding her Royal Highness from the intercourse and state required by her exalted station. Nothing could possibly prevent Parliament and the country from taking part with her Royal Highness, except some ill-advised proceeding which might have the appearance of disregarding the Prince Regent's authority; and Mr Brougham is confident her Royal Highness has too excellent an understanding and too much fortitude to adopt any such plan, and too tender a regard for your Royal Highness, whose situation would inevitably be injured by it. Her Royal Highness will naturally regard the privations and hardships she now suffers as trials to which she is exposed, as her illustrious predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, formerly was, and will have the greatness of mind to disregard them, however painful at present, in the prospect of excelling even that renowned Princess, by reigning where *she* never did—in the hearts of a free people. Her Royal Highness may rest assured that her friends are active and zealous in everything relating to her interests. They

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consider her Royal Highness's interests to be, in fact, the same with those of your Royal Highness; because it is quite impossible not to see that the attempts against your Royal Highness must greatly injure—nay, very probably prove ruinous to—your Royal Highness's daughter." *

But the matter of greatest interest was her father's desire to have her married; and she conceived that it was coupled with a plan of her living abroad, for the Prince of Orange was soon proposed to her. He was one of the foreign princes who was now in London, but he had served in the Spanish campaigns, and was for some time on the Duke's staff. She gave him no encouragement beyond civil, and perhaps complimentary, expressions, and could not, without offence, refuse some trifling presents which he offered—without, indeed, what would have been tantamount to a refusal of his hand. Her father was bent upon the match, and this formed the subject of much correspondence with me through her mother, when I plainly told her that she was at perfect liberty to accept or refuse him, without more regard to her father's wishes than merely giving the matter a favourable consideration in deference to his opinion. She was anxious to know everything as to her leaving the country in case she consented to the marriage, and the steps which Parliament might take to regulate that, and any other particular, if the marriage took place. I gave her all the information she required, and detailed the instances, at different times, from Philip and Mary downwards. George Lamb had published a

* This referred to the possibility of divorce, and the not improbable remarriage of the Prince.

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very excellent pamphlet on the position and rights of the Queen-Consort; and I had drawn up an elaborate article upon it for the 'Edinburgh Review,' entering a good deal into the subject of the daughter as well as the mother; and I communicated the substance of the paper to the former.* She had the utmost aversion to the proposed match; and indeed the Prince of Orange had, on more than one occasion, made himself exceedingly disagreeable to her, as by want of ordinary attention in going about to Court balls and other assemblies where she could not appear, not having been formally presented at Court, or was prevented from going by some other cause. The pressure upon her was unceasing; and on her continued refusal, she was told that she had committed herself; and one of the Regent's law officers, William Adam (Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall), gave it as his opinion that, after receiving presents, and making what they represented as a promise, she could be *compelled* to marry the Prince of Orange.† She then showed great presence of mind, and, I may say, great address. She said that of course she was entirely ignorant of the law; but as it had been so laid down by her father's lawyers, she would believe it, provided that, to prevent all doubt or mistake, it was given her in writing, in order that she might show the opinion to me, with whom she had been advising upon the subject. Of course this was declined, and she heard no more of the Court of Chancery either ordering her to marry, or decreeing a specific

* Review of a pamphlet entituled 'Some Inquiry into the Constitutional Character of the Queen-Consort of England.'—'Edinburgh Review' for September 1814, p. 44.

† See Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 264 *et seq.*

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performance of a contract. But the attempts to overcome her reluctance continued, and new threats were used, and new vexations practised, especially with respect to her household, as a punishment for her refusal. Her mother was as much averse to the match as she was herself; but certainly she did not lead her in the dislike of it; she only joined, and did nothing to overcome her repugnance. I believe, indeed, that there was some family difference arising out of the share her father (the Duke of Brunswick) formerly had in the expedition which supported the Stadtholder's family against the States in 1788.

During the three or four weeks that this dispute lasted, she only wavered in her resolution from the anxiety to be freed from the thraldom in which she was kept; but any time that she listened with favour to the proposal, the apprehension of a foreign residence put an end to all chance of her yielding; because on one thing she was resolved, and peremptorily,—the establishment in this country as her general residence, and any visit to Holland being only occasional and temporary. Upon the whole subject of her rights, and the Prince's power by law, I had fully informed her, and on one occasion had written a very strong letter to dissuade her from a project she had for a moment conceived, of requiring formally to be considered as of age, which she imagined to be at eighteen. On all that regarded the match I had constant correspondence with her through Lady Charlotte Lindsay chiefly, but sometimes through others of her mother's household.

The following letter relates to this proposed match:

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FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"WHITEHALL, *Tuesday.*

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am just returned from a visit to Princess Charlotte, to whom I have communicated your letter, which she read with attention. She told me that she had constantly persisted (in her correspondence with the Prince of Orange) in her declaration of never leaving England unless under a positive engagement of returning to it in three months, and having her house and establishment here. He has objected, and said that he would not be tied down to weeks and days; and in his last letter insinuated something of her being forced to comply, which has exceedingly offended her, and she is now more firmly resolved than even she appeared to be before, to break off the marriage, if her leaving England is insisted upon. Her present intention is to write to her father (who has never spoken to her about her marriage since the first arrangement of it), and to tell him, in as respectful and good-humoured words as she can, her resolution of not leaving England. She is certainly in good earnest; but what can she do if she is not supported? She tells me that she believes the Prince of Orange is a very good young man, but much under the control of his family, and that his letters have been very different since they have all been about him. I am convinced that the Princess Charlotte is much under the influence of Miss Mercer, who, I think, keeps her very right and steady in her politics, and in many things, but I fear that she does not encourage her to give the support to her mother that she might do in a

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firm but quiet way, and that I think her duty—and indeed her interest — requires that she should do. Princess Charlotte told me that the Duchess of Oldenburgh had apologised to her for not having been to visit the Princess of Wales, which she said she had fully intended to do, but that Count Lieven had entreated her not to do so, as he said the Prince Regent had positively commanded the foreign ministers not to go there. I think that she need not have minded him. What a strange thing it is that a man whom nobody respects should so completely govern everybody! This Duchess does not, however, like him at all, as Princess Charlotte tells me. I have not been able to get any insight into the 'mysterious paragraph;' I think it may announce a work of Lady Douglas's. I had rather of the two that it came from our enemies than from our friends, for they are all more known to be so foolish, and so knavish, that it is more likely for the latter to do us harm than for the former.

"I flatter myself that the Princess is so well aware that Lady Perceval can never do her any good, that she will really have no more to do with her. My pen is so horrible that I can write no more.

"Adieu. I hope to see you as soon as you return to London.—Yours ever truly, C. L.

"Think of having written three pages without a congratulation upon peace! what a joyful event it is!"

The following correspondence still relates to this subject:—

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MISS MERCER ELPHINSTONE* TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"HARLEY STREET.

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I am just returned from Cranbourne Lodge, and I cannot resist the impulse that induces me to trouble you with these few lines to tell you of the wretched state of health and spirits in which I left poor Princess Charlotte. Indeed, I could not let you leave the country without having informed you of the real state of the case. I have long been of opinion that much of the Princess Charlotte's illness depended upon the state of her mind; and I am now more convinced of it than ever, from the dreadful effect her mother's letter announcing her departure from England had upon her. I really never can forget the distress and agitation she was in at the first moment; and even when I left her, two days after, her pulse continued at 98. Mr Kente came to her yesterday morning, and Doctor Bailey and Mr Cline were written to immediately by the ladies-in-waiting. Her Royal Highness complained of severe pains in her knee, and it was certainly more swelled. I assure you I feel seriously uneasy about it, and am convinced that nothing but good air and tranquillity of mind can afford her the smallest chance of regaining her health. Of the last of these remedies I fear she can have but little hope, and this last blow of the Princess's departure I think she has felt more severely than all the

* Margaret Mercer Elphinstone became Baroness Keith on the death of her father, Lord Keith, in 1823, and succeeded to the Scotch Barony of Nairne on the death of William Lord Nairne in 1838. She married in 1817 Auguste-Charles-Joseph, Comte de Flahaut, by whom she had several daughters. Died, November 1865.

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rest. I never saw her so deeply affected and apparently mortified in my life; and the idea that it is not her Royal Highness's intention to return to this country, seems to prey continually upon her mind. If you can give me a *word* of *comfort* upon the subject, pray do, dear Lady Charlotte, and let me entreat you to use every exertion of your influence for Princess Charlotte's sake, to induce the Princess not to make a long absence, which would be so ruinous, both to the interest of mother and daughter, in this country.

"I am quite ashamed of myself for having tormented you with this epistle, but really I am so unhappy about Princess Charlotte's situation altogether that I could not help it. God bless you, dear Lady Charlotte. —With my best wishes, believe me very lovingly yours,

"M. MERCER ELPHINSTONE.

"If you mention this letter to the Princess, pray take care that my name is not committed further, for at this moment it is impossible to be too careful. Excuse this hasty scrawl."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"TEMPLE, *Friday.*

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—As I am obliged to set out for Hothfield early to-morrow morning, I shall not see you for some days; and I wish to let you know what observations I have made since I came to town, upon the result of the different communications which I have had with Parliamentary folks respecting the *Dutch Expedition.*

"I find that the general impression will be in favour of some Parliamentary discussion. Lord Grey, in

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particular, is most zealous (as I expected), and only fears that some bad effect may arise to her Royal Highness from the matter being broached in Parliament. He is examining the subject on its own merits, and I have been furnishing him with all my notes relating to it, the law, precedents, &c. &c.

"As far as former instances go, they are rather against us, for no restrictions were ever imposed in those cases, but they were very unlike the present; and the principle of the thing is clearly with us. I mean to have a long talk with Erskine as soon as I come back, and Lord Thanet (to whom I am going) is sure to be both right and warm. He has deservedly great weight, from his admirable sense and high honour.

"The only two quarters in which there is any coldness or disinclination are the Grenvilles and Holland House. This is partly owing to their *twist* respecting the Princess of Wales, in which they are quite incurable, and which somehow extends itself to all such questions, and partly, I fear, to apprehensions of offending the Prince. Perhaps, from what Tierney and Lord Grenville both say, it may be supposed that they think the *Prince of Orange* would take offence; and they probably look forward to his having more weight than I hope and trust *he or any other* PRINCE ever will have. One of my reasons for this conjecture is, that I find it is the fashion in those quarters (Grenville's and Holland House) to speak of Lord Wellington as the future Government of this country *through* the Prince of Orange. But as to the present subject, if the rest of our friends keep steady, those two juntas will follow the current. I forgot to mention that *Plunkett* takes the thing up strongly.

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"I am still decidedly of opinion that the matter is kept in the best and safest train, by political characters taking it as a political question, and her Royal Highness making her own stand privately without any communication with them. This avoids all chance of committing her, and makes even the most complete failure of the attempt in Parliament of no manner of injury to her.

"Since I came to town, I have heard twice from my friend the Dutch Premier. They are in perfect quiet and without the least alarm *now*, and I think we may really expect a safe end of all our troubles.—Believe me ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM."

TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"HOTHFIELD.

"DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—The enclosed contains the exact state of the case, and is what I had to tell you if we had met. I put it separately, that if you find it more convenient to let Princess Charlotte read it than to tell it, you may do so.

"When I return I shall see you speedily.

"I am still a little uneasy about the advertisement, and if I thought it came from Carlton House, I should almost be for your making Princess Charlotte write to implore her mother to be quiet. Of all moments for taking the field, this does seem the most frantic.*

"The sooner you see the Princess Charlotte the better. I fear her *bestirring* herself, which would do

* This, and the "mysterious paragraph" (p. 187), may probably refer to newspaper passages occasioned by the letter of the Princess (p. 160) having come into the hands of the editor of the 'Morning Chronicle.' See Miss Knight's 'Autobiography,' vol. i. p. 216 *et seq.*

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mischief in every way. Nothing she can do will diminish the foolish and vile fear of the Prince which some folks have, and the others will take up the thing only on its own grounds. Grey's scruples are all for fear of injuring *her*. If you have anything to write, address under cover to Lord Thanet, Hothfield, Kent. —Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

Lady Charlotte Lindsay wrote to me as follows :—

"16*th March* 1814.

"I have found means, without any danger, of letting Princess Charlotte know that I would be with her this morning, and accordingly she received me by herself in Miss Knight's room. She read both your letters very attentively, was very much satisfied with them, and said that it was a great ease to her mind to feel herself in the hands of a person whose integrity, abilities, and discretion she could entirely depend upon; that she should be careful to follow your advice in every respect; and that she was very much obliged to me for having executed her commission so well. She seems very much in earnest in her desire of not leaving England without some Parliamentary security for her return whenever she wishes to do so, and says that she conceives at present, at least, it would be very unsafe for her to go to Holland, as she understands from the young Prince's letters that the levies of troops are going on slowly, and that he finds it very difficult to get them into any state of defence, owing to their indolence, notwithstanding their loyalty to him and his family. Princess Charlotte then spoke a good deal about her mother, and said (what I always

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apprehended would be the case) that she was told that her mother found very great fault with her to everybody, and said that 'she could not think she was her daughter, as she showed such want of character,' and that 'she had no spirit or steadiness.' I denied ever having heard the Princess of Wales hold such language (which, by the by, was a white lie), but I said it was natural for a mother to feel much solicitude about her daughter's attention, and to be very much hurt at not hearing from her as usual, and at seeing her so seldom; but she said that the King was just now so full of Lady Perceval's business, that she was afraid of asking leave to go to her mother. But she promised me that she would do so very soon, and that she would desire the young Prince of Orange to do so as soon as ever he returns to England. She gave me some instances of the manner in which her mother is watched, and how everything is known by the royal family, who are quite uncomfortable."

The following letters are from Miss Knight to Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

MISS KNIGHT TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Friday afternoon.*

"My dear Lady Charlotte,—Pray forgive my not having sooner put an end to your anxiety by writing; but it really has not been in my power till now.

"The conference broke off yesterday in the manner you know; and in the evening Princess Charlotte sent a letter to the Prince of Orange, repeating that, as his duties called him to Holland, and hers retained her in

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England, she considered the matter as at an end after what had passed in the morning. Her Royal Highness has written to the Princess, and has sent her a copy of her letter to the Prince of Orange. She desires to be kindly remembered to you, and requests, if you have an opportunity with any of the Princess's advisers, to say that she has no objection to her letter being shown to any friends, or mentioned, but would not *by any means* have it appear in print.

"She has desired the Prince of Orange to inform the Prince Regent of her letter, but has had no answer. She sent back his picture at the same time.—Believe me, my dear Lady Charlotte, your much obliged E. C. KNIGHT."

MISS KNIGHT TO LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Friday.*

"MY DEAR LADY CHARLOTTE,—I am just returned from the exhibition at Spring Gardens, where I met Miss Hayman. She brought me a commission from Princess Charlotte, for which reason I must see *immediately* Mr Whitbread; and pray let him know that she and Lady Elizabeth come on Sunday morning at 3 o'clock to Kensington Palace. There is a violent storm at Warwick House about what concerns Princess Charlotte's going abroad. Her father intends to frighten her with all sorts of dreadful consequences if she will not obey.—I am in great haste—don't answer—and believe me for ever yours,

"E. C. KNIGHT."

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FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"SEMPLING, *August* 8, 1814.

"MY DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am commanded to send you a copy of a letter that the Princess has just written to Mr Whitbread; I have copied it literally, as you will see. Our baggage is putting on board the Jason, and this night, or early to-morrow, we are to embark. I am much grieved, but not surprised, to find that the idea of the Princess's departure from England has had a terrible effect upon Princess Charlotte: her agitation was so great upon receiving the letter announcing her mother's intention, that Baillie and the surgeons were obliged to be immediately sent for. I heard this from Miss Mercer, to whom I had written to give all the comfort I can respecting the probability that the Princess will return to this country again; and the Princess has written herself to Princess Charlotte, to assure her of this.—Adieu.

"CHARLOTTE LINDSAY."

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CHAPTER XIII.

The Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte.

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE AND COURT POLITICS CONTINUED—STATEMENT ON THE WHOLE "SITUATION" TO LORD GREY—HIS VIEWS IN ANSWER—QUESTION OF THE HEIRESS TO THE THRONE LIVING ABROAD—PRECEDENT IN THE DAUGHTERS OF JAMES II.—THE PRINCESS—LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY—MISS MERCER (LADY KEITH) AND MISS KNIGHT—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—REVELATIONS OF THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF THE REGENT, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE COUNTRY—THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FOREIGN MAGNATES IN LONDON—THE PRINCE REGENT'S DEMAND THAT THE PRINCESS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE AFFAIR—HOW AFFECTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FOREIGN PRINCES IN LONDON — FLIGHT OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE TO HER MOTHER—THE CONSEQUENCE.

In consequence of what had passed with the Princess Charlotte, I wrote to Lord Grey upon the whole entanglement of her situation, and desired him to consider it on its own merits, and also with a view to the state both of public feeling and of parties in Parliament. The following correspondence took place on the subject:—

TO EARL GREY.

"Lancaster, *March* 12, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—I received yours the day before yesterday, and have been prevented by business

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from writing till to-day, when I fear there is no certainty of your receiving this letter before you leave Howick. Therefore I shall write to-morrow or next day at length to Portman Square. In the mean time, I wish you to turn in your mind the insecurity of any promise the Prince of Orange could make to the Princess Charlotte. I doubt not he would say very readily, on her asking some pledge, '*Oh yes, certainly,*' and after the marriage they would do with her as they pleased; so that it seems as if nothing but a Parliamentary proceeding could give any real safety. However, it is clear (as you observe) that this mode should be tried by *her* first, and that the refusal, or, what is much more likely, the grant of the pledge and its subsequent forfeiture, would strengthen the ground for interference. In the mean time, while she does as may be fittest *for her*, there is no reason why in Parliament, and on public grounds, independently of her, the question should not be mooted. But this is leading into a long discussion, and may better be deferred till I write fully. All I am anxious about is to warn you against the personal prejudices which some of our friends are so fond of mixing with even the most sound and general questions. You prevented *these* from interfering upon the subject of Burdett's motion last session, and I daresay you will have a similar difficulty in our cause now. The old Princess's affairs will be sought to be mixed up with this, which in reality stands quite apart from them. It would be perfect folly to mix them together. Of the Cochrane business I know nothing, except that I have received general retainers for the respective parties within the last three or four days, apparently in the contempla-

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tion of some proceedings *in a high tone*. Who is implicated I can't say, except as I see in the newspapers.* Yarmouth and Lowther were at first much talked of. You will see in to-day's papers a good deal of talk about a canvass for me in Westminster. I know nothing at all about it, and shall probably hear no more. I feel pretty indifferent upon the subject, for though I have seen quite enough to convince me that it is the only chance I have of ever seeing the inside of the House of Commons again, it would be a seat somewhat hard to sit upon.—Believe me ever truly yours, H. BROUGHAM."

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *March* 15, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your letter to-day, and am sorry that I have neither notes nor books near me to enable me to enter into the discussion of the point alluded to. But generally, I think, I can trust myself so far as to say that there is no law preventing the heir-apparent from going beyond seas. The only restraining law of this kind of which I am aware, is that clause in the Act of Settlement (12 and 13 W. III.) which provides that the successor to the crown, *after Anne*, shall not go abroad without consent of Parliament; but this is only to restrain the actual sovereign, and it was repealed in the first year of George I. The King for the time being (that is, in the present case, the Regent) has a general power of

* It was in the preceding February that the false rumour about Napoleon, charged as a conspiracy for raising the Funds, occurred, which led to the celebrated imprisonment of Lord Cochrane. See the true history of the affair in Lord Brougham's 'Statesmen of the Time of George III.'

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disposing of the persons of the family under age, for the case of the grandchildren of George I. (so profligately answered by ten or twelve judges) only goes to infants apparently. It is worth remarking, however, that these judges, who argue most strongly for the prerogative, give as one reason the danger of the royal family scattered abroad in foreign countries. But as to positive law there is none, I take it, one way or another. The case is one for Parliamentary interference, upon the broad constitutional grounds. Indeed I am inclined to *think* a *fair* argument against the marriage might be raised (certainly not upon precedent or authority, but upon analogy); for jealous as our law is of the interference of aliens, is it not anomalous that we should have no jealousy of a foreign sovereign prince obtaining such insight as the King-Consort must always possess? However, this is a mere speculation. But, at all events, the principle of it should so far operate as to prevent anything more than is necessary from being permitted. There will be time enough when we meet to discuss this further.

"You will before this time have perceived by my last letter that the same view of the advantage of the Princess retiring for a little time has forcibly struck me, which you appear to feel so strongly. On the other hand, her own strong inclination to have some Parliamentary discussion, by way of security for her, should not be overlooked; and quite independent of *her*, the question should be viewed on its own merits.
—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM."

In answer to what I had written to Lord Grey relating to the difficult situation in which the Princess

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Charlotte was placed, I received from him the following letter, to which he shortly afterwards added a second, supplying an omission he had made in the first:—

FROM LORD GREY.

"Howick, *March* 7, 1814.

"My dear Brougham,—The subject of your letter, which I received last night, is involved, I fear, in a good deal of difficulty. I do not mean that what is right is in any degree doubtful. There can be no question, I think, as to the propriety of stipulating that the Princess's chief residence should be in England; and this, if necessary, I shall not hesitate to state as my opinion in the House of Lords. But if it comes to that, though I may acquit my conscience, and have, as I think I shall have, the best of the argument, I am afraid we shall do little as to the object itself. You know the general servility of Parliament—the timidity, to give it the softest name, of many of our friends, even after all their experience, with respect to any question which may be deemed personal to the Prince—and the motives which would not fail to be ascribed to me personally if I were to appear very forward and eager in such a question. You know me too well to suppose that either the fear of failure, or of the obloquy which might attend it, would deter me from doing what I thought essentially right and necessary; and ultimately it may come to this. But where the interest of another person, and particularly such an interest, is at stake, every previous measure of conciliation should be tried to obtain that which, I fear, cannot be obtained in any other way. In all events, such a course must be useful, either to improve the chances of success, if

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there are any, or to diminish the disadvantages of failure, by showing that strong measures were not resorted to till every other hope had failed.

"I am therefore of opinion that this matter can, in the first instance at least, be brought forward with advantage only by the Princess herself. This ought to have been done when the marriage was first proposed to her. It is not now, however, too late; and a temperate but firm application to the Prince for a previous security that she never shall be compelled to leave England against her will, or for a longer time than she may approve, would, I think, be the right measure. I cannot conceive on what ground such an application could be resisted. It could not, however, fail of success ultimately, if resolutely supported; and at all events would, as I have already said, greatly assist any ulterior measure in Parliament, if such should become necessary.

"In the short interval since I received your letter, I have not been able to look back to the case of Queen Anne, and I am not sure that I have materials here for such a search. But I cannot conceive that this can form any precedent. Queen Anne was married before her father's abdication, when she had an elder sister, not hopeless of children, and a brother between her and the throne. There was not therefore, at that time, any greater necessity for providing for her residence here than for that of our Princess-Royal. Besides, in point of fact, I never heard that it was proposed to take her to Denmark, or that she ever went there. I need not say how widely different the case is of the Princess Charlotte, who now stands next to the Prince in succession to the crown.

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"I have lost no time in saying what has occurred to me on this subject, because I really take a deep interest in it, and am most anxious to do with respect to it whatever may be found most useful for the Princess and the public; and there is nobody whose opinions I shall be more anxious to consult upon it than yours. I shall therefore be very much obliged to you to communicate to me all you think and know. It is, as you say, a case of a very delicate character; but if there are any circumstances of a *peculiar* nature, I should wish to be informed of them. My motives to this wish you will understand from what I have already said, and as to the caution which is required in the manner of conducting it. To do this in the best manner, one should know everything that can be known, whether of a public or a private nature.

"I am very glad you have had no communication on this matter with the old Princess, and would strongly recommend a strict observance of the same reserve; not only because I do not think her discretion to be trusted, but because any appearance of connecting this with her disagreement with the Prince would have the worst effect, both as to the success of the object you have in view and the credit of all those who may assist in promoting it. What I have written I mean only for yourself, and to be communicated to no other person at present.—Ever yours,

"GREY.

"I shall probably set out for London the beginning of next week."

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FROM LORD GREY.

"HOWICK, *March* 15, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The case of Queen Mary is much more in point than that of Queen Anne; but even that is very different from the present, and the times still more. Besides, the motives of James II. for keeping her out of England do not make this a very good precedent.—Yours in haste, GREY."

The Princess Charlotte's resolution appeared to gain daily more strength, as she discovered the intention of sending her abroad; although at one moment, while this was kept concealed from her, she had actually given her consent.

The following letters, written at that time, show the determination on both sides—the Princess's, not to yield without a positive condition of residence in England; the Prince's, to refuse that condition. In fact, it was a refusal on her part to the match:—

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *March* 17, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I was prevented yesterday and the day before from concluding my letter of Monday.

"The Prince's great object is to get the Princess Charlotte out of the way, to Holland; and he will also try to surround her with creatures of his own. This may do for a while; but I am confident she will look about her immediately, and Holland is the country best adapted for boring her, and making her wish to be at home again. Nor is it possible that, while she

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remains there, she should not have access to such Englishmen as may choose to go over; and I presume that if she is kept there by constraint, a few lines of remonstrance—followed, if necessary, by a direct communication to Parliament—would speedily discomfit the plot. I fancy most people would take *her* part in such a contest. Indeed, you will see abundant disposition to do so even now.

"But upon constitutional grounds, and wholly independent of her personal convenience or feelings upon the matter, it should seem that Parliamentary notice ought to be taken of the singular situation in which this marriage will place her—viz., under control of a person *not amenable* to *our laws*, and who may carry her out of the realm. Then if she is carried abroad, and the crown devolves on her, as it may any day, can any situation be conceived more absurd than for the Queen of this country to be abroad as a subject of a foreign state? and a subject, by the laws of that state, incapable of leaving its territory without the consent of her husband?

"I mentioned Miss Mercer as having behaved ill on some occasions. Of this there is no doubt. She has been very selfish, and endeavoured to monopolise the Princess. She has gone great lengths in courting the Prince with this view, and kept the Princess from being attentive to some persons whom he dislikes—*e.g.*, Lord and Lady Tavistock. But I believe she has no influence of any weight.—Yours ever, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"York, *March* 21, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—The circumstance of

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delicacy respecting the Princess Charlotte to which I have alluded, is, that, notwithstanding all appearances (calculated, I admit, to lead towards an opposite conclusion), she continues in the same mind as formerly, retains the same opinion of her father, and is only kept by the constraint incident to her situation from coming to open rupture. The *overt act* of these intentions to which I am especially alluding is, that she has recently opened a communication with me, and desired my advice respecting her marriage and the carrying her out of the country. The person through whom this is carried on is Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and I enclose the last letter received from her, which I beg you to return. One of the two letters which she refers to contained earnest advice to the purport suggested by you. The absolute necessity of keeping this wholly secret—above all, from the old Princess—places Lady Charlotte Lindsay in a very delicate situation; but she is quite convinced that whatever is for the benefit of the young Princess, and tends to keep her out of her father's hands and Yarmouth's, is for the mother's good in the long-run. Miss Knight is another obstacle; for though I think well of her, I would not allow her to know anything about the matter, for the sake of caution; so that I desired Lady Charlotte on no account to say a word while she was by, and this created some delay.

"In order to explain these proceedings, and indeed to vindicate the Princess Charlotte from an imputation of rashness, and myself also, I must go a little back, and mention the two circumstances on which principally I take whatever confidence she has in me to be founded. About the end of 1812 (before the explo-

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sion of *the letter*) she grew extremely impatient, and resolved to *leave Windsor*, by running away to her mother's, and desired this plan to be communicated to me. I need not enter into details, which are long; but I certainly prevented this step from being taken. She then wished to see me privately, to talk over her case, and had arranged a scheme for the purpose; but I refused peremptorily, and explained the extreme danger to herself of such proceedings, but continued to advise her through her mother.

"The other circumstance is, that she having afterwards written a letter, I believe in the most frank and confidential terms, to a political friend in whose discretion I had no kind of confidence, and sent it to me to deliver to him, I of my own authority stopt it and kept it, refusing to deliver it either to the person to whom it was written, or to the mother, through whom I received it. A week had not elapsed before she was quite convinced that I had saved her from a dreadful scrape in both those quarters, and expressed her relief and gratitude most fully.

"I believe that these circumstances, rather than my connection with the Princess of Wales, are the origin of her late communication (and of others of lesser note last summer). The affair of Lady Perceval, indeed, was not likely to make her look much towards her mother at this moment; and, conscientiously speaking, I really could not recommend any one to have any communication with the latter while the most remote possibility remains of her ever seeing that *friend*.

"I must now add that she agreed to the match as a mere matter of convenience and *emancipation*, caring for the Prince of Orange literally nothing. The

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Prince Regent never named it to her, but brought the Prince of Orange to her before he went abroad, and then left the room. The latter popped the question, and she said, Yes. This is the literal fact. These details may furnish you with means of estimating how things stand in that quarter. She is aware of all that has been said against her, and suspected of her, and is much hurt with it, though apparently not denying that her necessities have made her give a colour to such stories. How far she is to be relied on is another matter. I only tell you what I know.

"As for Miss Mercer, she has little or no influence with her, but of this hereafter. You may believe me when I say so. I have more to say, but have no time to-night.—Believe me ever most truly yours,

"H. BROUGHAM.

"Pray write by return."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *April* 14, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose a few notes respecting the heir apparent and presumptive. The books are very meagre on the subject, and we are left almost entirely to the general superintending powers of Parliament. However, these references clearly demonstrate that Parliament has at all times taken the heir or heiress presumptive into its consideration. Indeed I do not know any instance of a difference made between heir apparent and presumptive except in the treason law, and even there it seems to depend on the sex as well as the apparency; for though Lord Hale thinks that the grandson comes within the protection of the statute (25 Ed. III. c. 2), as falling under the words

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(*filz eigne et hiere*), it can scarcely be supposed that the eldest daughter of an heir-apparent deceased, and leaving no sons, would be held to answer the description. The rights to the Duchy, &c., are still more confined to the eldest son. I have not had time to look through my notes on these subjects, but have gone through the parts most likely to offer matter applicable to the case in question.

"If I find anything else I shall send it.

"I send two volumes, one of State Trials and the other of Parliamentary History.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

"*Thursday, ½-past 3 o'clock.*

"DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I am just returned from a three hours' visit at Warwick House, where I arrived at a most critical and interesting moment. When I came in Princess Charlotte told me that she was very anxious to see me, for she had come to a resolution to have a thorough explanation with the Prince of Orange: that as no preparation was making for any house for them, she felt convinced that they meant to play her a trick, and get her out of England as soon as she should be married. She also told me that she found the Prince of Orange much changed in his language about her mother, and taking part more with the Prince Regent; that she was determined to support her mother, and felt that both she and her mother should remain in England, and support and protect each other. In all the popular applause she has lately received, her name has always been coupled with her mother's, which seems to have had a great effect upon her. While we

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were talking the Prince of Orange was announced: she went to him, and desired that I should remain where I was, to hear the result of their conference, which has ended in her *positive declaration* that she will *not leave England now*, but will avail herself of the discretionary power promised her in the contract; and gave as her reason the situation of the Princess of Wales, whom she thought herself bound in duty not to leave under her present circumstances. He appeared to be very unhappy, but seemed to admit that if Princess Charlotte adhered to this resolution, the marriage must be off. He begged her to reconsider it, and left the house in much agitation. All this proves that it was the intention to send them immediately to Holland, or to break off the match in case of Princess Charlotte's availing herself of the power given her in the words of the contract. She seems to be quite resolved not to yield, and has promised to let me know the moment this matter is completely ended. I wish you had been in my pocket to have given your advice; but I think she must not be blamed, for surely she is only consistent in requiring to remain in England, and his behaviour shows that he knew that they meant to send them to Holland immediately. Of course, all this must be quite secret at present. Will it be beneficial or hurtful to the Princess of Wales that it should be known that her daughter insists upon staying in England upon her account? I am to meet the Princess of Wales to-night at the play, for she persists in her intention of going there, although Ward wrote to her, and I gave her your opinion also upon that point. If ladies are allowed to go to the Freemasons' Tavern to-morrow, I shall be there. I have sent to ask Lady

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Elizabeth Whitbread to take me. If she don't go, can you get me admitted, in case I come there with my nephew? Then, perhaps, we might get a little conversation after the business is over. I am afraid that I am as great a plague to you as Lady Westmoreland is to me; but this is a critical moment. Adieu.—Ever truly yours, C. LINDSAY."

Such was the state of things between the Princess Charlotte and her father in July 1814, when he suddenly, by a message, let her know that her ladies were to be changed, and that her establishment was to be put on a new footing, about which she had not been at all consulted.

Having taken every possible precaution to avoid a false step on the Princess's part, we had made up our minds to the bitterest hostility being encountered by her advisers. As all anxiety or doubt on that score was at an end, we only had to await the event of our measures, and certainly could not have hoped for such an error as the adverse party at once committed, and which immediately made the day our own.

The Regent thought he had devised a cunning way of meeting the letter, of which he had intimation, on the Princess requesting to know when and where it would be received.* His difficulty was to answer it; and he made Liverpool state that all communications must be addressed to the ministers, for that as to the letter he himself could neither receive nor read it. There could not be a greater mistake, indeed a more enormous blunder, than he and his advisers committed in this refusal. Of course they must have presumed

* See above, p. 160.

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that the letter, though addressed to him, was much more intended for the public, unless a satisfactory answer should be given; and that nothing could possibly prevent its reaching the public but such an answer to the remonstrance as would place, or be universally believed to place, the Princess and her advisers in the wrong. The refusal to read, or in any way to entertain the subject, gave us a complete right to publish, and to complain of the refusal as an aggravation of the cause of complaint. We published it accordingly, and it was read and devoured by the whole country. I recollect no instance of such effects being produced by any statement of a case, or appeal to the public upon a grievance. The suddenness of the proceeding, and the plain and simple nature of the complaint on a subject by which the domestic feelings of all were affected, no doubt contributed mainly to the effect produced. The impression made against the Prince, and in favour of his wife and child, was universal and inconceivable; and the daughter was regarded as making common cause with her mother—at all events, as suffering under the same maltreatment. The men of Carlton House were undeceived too late, and any answer of an ordinary kind would now have proved unavailing. No defence was possible of the conduct pursued; and any extenuation of it, or even explanation, came too late. Nothing but a positive denial of the statement could be of the least avail. The Prince and his advisers were therefore driven to commit a second error, almost as great as their first. For the first we had not been prepared—it seemed too great a blunder to be possible, and we never had contemplated the possibility. We were not so much taken

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unawares by the second, which was, that they had recourse to recrimination. They raked up all the parts of the evidence taken in the Secret Inquiry of 1806, and published whatever was unexplained, and which made against the Princess, without giving the judgment of entire acquittal pronounced by the commission, composed principally of the Prince's friends, after full examination of the whole matter. Thus all the details of the pregnancy, confinement, and delivery were given, and filled the newspapers for three days, making them utterly offensive to all readers. The public was universally filled with disgust; and though some persons might for a moment give credit to the story, yet there being direct proofs that the child was that of a known mother—a sailmaker's wife at Deptford, as the commission had reported before a week was over — the attempt to impeach the Princess's credit in any way had entirely failed, and the indignation raised by the letter was increased greatly by the course taken to answer it.

But besides these publications of the evidence taken in 1806, and indeed preparatory to that publication—which, however, they always denied, though they could give no explanation of its having got out—they had recourse to a proceeding in the Privy Council as irregular as the one some years before. On the pretence that the letters contained a charge against the Prince of having suborned perjured witnesses in 1806, a summons was issued to all the law lords of the Privy Council, the archbishops and Speaker, Master of the Rolls, and other legal members. To them the evidence taken formerly was referred, with other documents since obtained; upon all which evidence, behind the

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back of the Princess, and their sitting and inquiry not being even communicated to her, they were desired to decide on the propriety of the restrictions laid upon the intercourse of the mother and daughter. They, of course, made a report that the restriction should continue, and also that there was no ground for any charge against the Prince Regent respecting the proceedings of 1806.* The publication of the letters was put forward in the summons as the pretence for this proceeding. But there existed no proof that the Princess had caused the publication, and it was well known that copies of the letter had been given by persons connected with Carlton House; for Lady Melbourne had one, manifestly furnished from that quarter, and another had found its way to a great broker on the Stock Exchange. The whole proceeding excited but little attention; the country was wholly occupied with the Prince's conduct, and this new secret inquiry only added to his extreme unpopularity. The last proceeding was considered as a reassertion, by its result, of the Princess's conduct being, and having been throughout, unexceptionable. Addresses were presented to her from the city of London, and various other towns and some counties, congratulating her upon this new defeat of her enemies; and her mother's death (Duchess of Brunswick, sister of George III.) having happened at this time, many of the addresses were of condolence.

The universal contempt into which the Regent had fallen was attended with great and general commiseration for his wife and daughter—I must say, for the

* This report has been repeatedly published. It will be found in Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 1107, and in the Appendix to Miss Knight's Autobiography.

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moment, with pretty great blame of Whitbread and myself. For the public at large felt much incensed by what had been discovered, yet would apparently have been well pleased that the matter had never been brought before the public at all; and some here and there were even ready enough to blame us for interfering between husband and wife, parent and child, totally forgetting that the parties were members of the royal family and the Government of the country, and thus their conduct was a State affair. A little reflection sufficed to set matters right, and in a month I was quite confident that there would not have been found twenty persons in any part of the country unconnected with party, and beyond the influence of the Government, or rather of the Regent, that did not render us entire justice. I recollect that at the time of the letter appearing, and the first explosion it made, I was on the northern circuit, and was loudly cried out against by all the leaders except Scarlett, and to a certain degree Topping. As for the body of the circuit, they looked upon me as doomed. I had made a personal enemy of the Regent, and could never get over it; and the youngest man among them would not live to see me in a silk gown. It is singular enough that the Regent did long afterwards keep me out of my due rank, though after many intervening causes of quarrel.

Both Whitbread and I saw occasionally difficulties raised by the Princess taking advice of others, such as Lady Perceval and Lady Anne Hamilton, when she conceived that we were too cautious in our councils.

The subject, however, both of the high parties and their advisers, was in the course of a short time

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forgotten in the great events which filled up that year and the beginning of the next—the end of the war and of Napoleon. But next year renewed all the quarrels of the royal parties, and the action of their advisers, when the foreign princes came to England upon the peace.

The arrival of the foreign princes made a great sensation in the town, and caused a display at Court. The Queen (Charlotte) was made to hold a drawing-room for their reception, and the great object of the Regent was to prevent all, even the most ordinary respect and civility, being shown to the Princess his wife. The Queen, by his commands, or request—which, now the King was confined for life, had become equal to commands—refused to receive her at Court, though she might at any moment have become her successor. This was resented by the people to such a degree that the old Queen was not only assailed with yells as she passed along the street, but the vile practice was applied to her of spitting which had been introduced at late elections; and she complained of it on her arrival at the palace in her broken English, but in very plain and expressive terms: "My Lords, I be fifty year and more in this country, and well respected; but now I be shspit on."

In the following letter she announced to the Princess of Wales that her husband had forbidden her the drawing-room:—

"Windsor Castle, *May* 23, 1814.

"The Queen considers it to be her duty to lose no time in acquainting the Princess of Wales that she has received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, in which he states that her Majesty's intention

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of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her Court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons for which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion either in public or private.

"The Queen is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her Majesty's receiving her Royal Highness at her drawing-rooms. CHARLOTTE, R."

To this the Princess returned an answer, which had been carefully considered and prepared, and in communication with the Princess Charlotte. The following letters passed between Whitbread and me on the subject:—

TO SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"WESTMINSTER, *One o'clock.*

"I fear I shall be detained here for half an hour longer; and therefore, in case you go before I can overtake you, I wish to mention what occurs to me, subject to your opinion. I think H.R.H. should to-day send a letter to the Queen, protesting against the order, both on the grounds of the dark insinuations in the Prince Regent's communication, and because her restoration to Court seven years ago was the symbol of her complete acquittal; and she cannot waive the right of going there *now*, without admitting inferences injurious to her honour, especially as certain proceedings have been held respecting her since she

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was last at Court, and it is known that the result of these has been a full confirmation, and, if possible, an extension, of the former acquittal. She should again dare them to *speak out*; assert that *they know* they have nothing to say against her; and then leave the letter a *day*, to see what answer they make. If they do nothing, publish.

"This is what occurs to me as clear. I shall be in Dover Street, if I can't get further, so as to settle the letter before it is finally agreed on.—Yours ever,

"H. B."

FROM S. WHITBREAD, ESQ.

"DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am obliged to go to the committee at Drury Lane, and cannot therefore wait for you, but you may find me there till half-past two.

"I have the copies for you. I feel confident in what I have recommended, but exceedingly regret the untowardness of little circumstances which prevented my having your previous sanction. I purposely abstained from the mention of the Princess Charlotte, and thought it best to construct the letter with the apparent expectation of its ending there—which, upon reflection, I do not think it can or will.

"I do not recollect how she signs herself, therefore be so good as to add her signature, and take such steps as you may think proper about the publication. I think Friday would be better than to-morrow, but the Princess is very impatient for the printing. I shall be very glad to see you—at all events, to have a letter.—Yours truly, S. WHITBREAD.

"DOVER STREET, *May* 24, 1814."

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We met, accordingly, the same evening. I having considered the draft which he had sent me, and being clear that it would not do, especially from its omission of the Princess Charlotte, with whom we had been in communication through her mother, another answer was framed, and, after much consideration, was communicated to the Princess of Wales.

Her letter, as sent to the Queen at Windsor, was as follows:*

"MADAM,—I have received the letter which your Majesty has done me the honour to address to me, prohibiting my appearance at the public drawing-rooms which will be held by your Majesty in the ensuing month, with great surprise and regret.

"I will not presume to discuss with your Majesty topics which must be as painful to your Majesty as to myself.

"Your Majesty is well acquainted with the affectionate regard with which the King was so kind as to honour me up to the period of his Majesty's indisposition, which no one of his Majesty's subjects has so much cause to lament as myself, and that his Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow upon me the most unequivocal and gratifying proof of his attachment and approbation by his public reception of me at his Court, at a season of severe and unmerited affliction, when his protection was most necessary to me, where I have since uninterruptedly paid my respects to your Majesty.

"I am now without appeal or protector, but I cannot so far forget my duty to the King and to myself

* See below, p. 223.

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as to surrender my right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by your Majesty.

"That I may not, however, add to the difficulty and uneasiness of your Majesty's situation, I yield in the present instance to the will of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, announced to me by your Majesty, and shall not present myself at your Majesty's drawing-rooms of next month.

"It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to inquire of your Majesty the reasons of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for this harsh proceeding, of which his Royal Highness can alone be the judge.

"I am unconscious of offence, and in that reflection I must endeavour to find consolation for all the mortifications I experience—even for this, the last, the most unexpected, and the most severe, the prohibition given to me alone to appear before your Majesty to offer my congratulations to your Majesty upon the happy termination of those calamities with which Europe has been so long afflicted, in the presence of the illustrious personages who will in all probability be assembled at your Majesty's Court, with whom I am so closely connected by birth and marriage.

"I beseech your Majesty to do me an act of justice, to which, in the present circumstances, your Majesty is the only person competent, by acquainting those illustrious personages with the motives of personal consideration towards your Majesty which alone induce me to abstain from the exercise of my right to appear before your Majesty; and that I do now, as I have done at all times, defy the malice of my enemies to fix upon me the shadow of any one imputation which could render me unworthy of their society or regard.

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"Your Majesty will, I am sure, not be displeased that I should relieve myself from a suspicion of disrespect towards your Majesty, by making public the cause of my absence from Court at a time when the duties of my station would otherwise peculiarly demand my attendance.—I have the honour to be your Majesty's most obedient daughter-in-law and servant,

"CAROLINE, P.*

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 24, 1814."

The Queen, though at Windsor, returned immediately this answer:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *May* 25, 1814.

"The Queen has received this afternoon the Princess of Wales's letter of yesterday, in reply to the communication which she was desired by the Prince Regent to make to her; and she is sensible of the disposition expressed by her Royal Highness not to discuss with her topics which must be painful to both.

"The Queen considers it incumbent upon her to send a copy of the Princess of Wales's letter to the Prince Regent; and her Majesty could have felt no hesitation in communicating to the illustrious strangers who may possibly be present at her Court the circumstances which will prevent the Princess of Wales from appearing there, if her Royal Highness had not rendered a compliance with her wish to this effect unnecessary, by intimating her intention of making public the cause of her absence.

"CHARLOTTE, R."

* This correspondence was transmitted to the Speaker, and read by him in the House of Commons on the 3d June. The reading was followed by an excited debate.—See Hansard for June 1814, p. 1047.

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The next day a very temperate though firm answer was returned:—

"The Princess of Wales has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a note from the Queen, dated yesterday; and begs permission to return her best thanks to her Majesty for her gracious condescension in the willingness expressed by her Majesty to have communicated to the illustrious strangers who will, in all probability, be present at her Majesty's Court, the reasons which have induced her Royal Highness not to be present.

"Such communication, as it appears to her Royal Highness, cannot be the less necessary on account of any publicity which it may be in the power of her Royal Highness to give to her motives; and the Princess of Wales therefore entreats the active good offices of her Majesty upon an occasion wherein the Princess of Wales feels it so essential to her that she should not be misunderstood. CAROLINE, P.

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 26, 1814."

TO EARL GREY.

"TEMPLE, *May* 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The Queen has sent a formal letter to the Princess of Wales, stating that she has received a communication '*from her son the Prince Regent,*' that for reasons of state he must attend her drawing-rooms, but that 'he is fixed in his resolution never to be in the same place, public or private, with the Princess of Wales, for reasons of which he alone can judge.' Therefore the Queen desires she may not come to Court!!!

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"It being impossible to bear this unless she means to admit all that any one may choose to impute (for the *mysterious reasons* will cover any accusation), she has returned a strong answer, which I have not seen, but on the grounds pointed out by me, referring to the reception at Court seven years ago as a symbol of her acquittal, the subsequent proceedings and further acquittal last year, the reasons alluded to by the Prince, and taking high ground as to anything they may choose to attempt now.

"I was prevented from going to her to-day with Whitbread, by being kept at the King's Bench till a late hour; but I saw him last night, and wrote my ideas on the subject fully this morning. And the letter was drawn up by him on these grounds, and sent off before dinner. The Queen's note came last night, but a day or two is to be given them to retract if they please.

"I suppose no more signal blunder was ever committed. If the Princess had been to wish for a thing, it should have been for this. The Prince must really be mad.—Yours ever most truly, H. B."

TO EARL GREY.

"Temple, *May* 1814.

"Dear Lord Grey,—The troubles of the worthy Regent thicken. He has had an intimation that Alexander means to call on the Princess of Wales when he comes; and this makes him furious. They say Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt is gone to prevent it—probably to prevent him from coming at all. Then the Duchess of Oldenburg is angry at the Carlton House newspapers abusing her; and the Prince, being afraid

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of her, has denied it. For a trifle the Duchess has been good enough to come under Lord Erskine's wing to-day to the King's Bench, Lady Ellenborough receiving her and giving her a breakfast there. But the worst is to come.

"Since I wrote to you I learnt that, by a most unaccountable mistake of my suggestions, the Princess had written a mealy-mouthed letter to the Queen, and *agreed not to go* to Court. The scrape, though very bad, has been turned to excellent account; for that letter being to the Queen, another is now gone to the Prince himself, of the firmest quality possible. I have not time to copy it, as the post is just going; but this is the most material part of it. She reminds him of her challenging him in vain to come forward, and tells him she must submit to his insinuations, or to be treated as guilty after being declared innocent; and she asks him whether he is aware that the time will come when he *must* meet her in public, mentioning 'the *daughter's marriage* and *their own coronation.*' I suppose he will shake a little at this; at least Macmahon said 'he trembled in his shoes' when some one asked whether the Princess's declaration referred to a coronation.

"In short, he is in such a mess that I question if they don't retract and countermand the drawing-rooms. You perceive, of course, that the complying with the Queen's request as to the drawing-rooms, and writing a civil sort of letter at first, does very well with this addition, as it is only sparing the Queen, who acts from compulsion.—Ever yours most truly,

"H. B."

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It was quite impossible that this treatment should be submitted to without a solemn remonstrance, both on the part of the Princess and her daughter. The following letter, therefore, was addressed to the Prince on the same day with the last letter to the Queen, it having been well considered and prepared while that correspondence with the Queen was going on.

It will be found that this letter contains, in a condensed form, the substance of the letter to the Prince of the year before, the grievances which had given rise to that letter having been increased by what happened in the interval; more especially by the new proceeding upon the arrival of the foreign princes.

"Sir,—I am once more compelled to address your Royal Highness, and to enclose for your inspection copies of a note which I have had the honour to receive from the Queen, and of the answer which I have thought it my duty to return to her Majesty. It would be in vain for me to inquire into the reasons of the alarming declaration made by your Royal Highness, that you have taken the fixed and unalterable determination never to meet me in public or in private. Of these your Royal Highness is pleased to state yourself to be the only judge. You will perceive by my answer to her Majesty that I have been only restrained by motives of personal consideration towards her Majesty from exercising my right of appearing before her Majesty at the public drawing-rooms to be held in the ensuing month.

"But, Sir, lest it should be by possibility supposed that the words of your Royal Highness can convey any insinuation from which I shrink, I am bound to

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demand of your Royal Highness what circumstances can justify the proceeding you have thus thought fit to adopt?

"I owe it to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am deeply indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your Royal Highness of what you know, that after open persecution and mysterious inquiries upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that after the first I was restored by the King, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his Court upon my complete acquittal.

"Since his Majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of Parliament and the country, to be proved guilty, or to be treated as innocent. I have been declared what I am—innocent.

"I will not submit to be treated as guilty.

"Your Royal Highness may possibly refuse to read this letter; but the world must know that I have written it; and they will see my real motives for foregoing in this instance the rights of my rank.

"Occasions, however, may arise (one, I trust, is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your Royal Highness must be present also.

"Can your Royal Highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your Royal Highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation?

"I waive my rights in a case where I am not absolutely bound to assert them, in order to relieve the Queen as far as I can from the painful situation in which she is placed by your Royal Highness; not from any consciousness of blame, not from any doubt of the

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existence of those rights, or my own worthiness to enjoy them.

"Sir, the time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling. Many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England; amongst others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law.

"From their society I am unjustly excluded. Others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your Royal Highness in the peace of Europe.

"My daughter will for the first time appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire.

"This season your Royal Highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity; and of all his Majesty's subjects I alone am prevented by your Royal Highness from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy; and am deprived of the indulgence in feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me.—I am, Sir, your Royal Highness's faithful wife, CAROLINE, P.

"CONNAUGHT HOUSE, *May* 26, 1814."

I was dining at Michael Angelo Taylor's, and in the midst of dinner a message came to me that I was wanted at Connaught Place, the residence of the Princess of Wales. I had been up almost all the night before in a cause, and in consequence of this was exceedingly fatigued. I conceived that this was one of the many occasions on which the Princess sent for me unnecessarily, and that the message being verbal must be owing to the accident of her lady-in-waiting being

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out of the way, and I said I was unable to go. The messenger sent back word that I was wanted on most particular business, and that a coach was waiting at the door by express commands. I was obliged to comply, and fell asleep as soon as I stept into it, not awaking till it reached Connaught Place. I stumbled up-stairs, still half-asleep, to the drawing-room. To my astonishment, I found both my hands seized by the Princess Charlotte, who said how impatient she had been at the delay, which was owing to her messenger having first gone to my chambers in the Temple. I asked by what extraordinary accident I had the honour and pleasure of seeing her Royal Highness there. She said, "Oh, it is too long to tell now, for I have ordered dinner, and I hope it will soon come up." She only added that she had come out of Warwick House alone, and had got into the first hackney-coach she could see in Cockspur Street, and had sent to Blackheath for her mother, who arrived some time after with Lady Charlotte Lindsay. We sat down to dinner, and she was in high spirits, seeming to enjoy herself like a bird set loose from its cage. I said I had nearly dined before her message reached me. She said, "You may eat a little bit with us, and at any rate you can carve." I said the only dish I could carve was the soup. However, the dinner went on very merrily. Miss Mercer (afterwards Lady Keith and wife of Count Flahault) had been sent by the Prince as soon as her flight from Warwick House was known, there being no doubt entertained as to where she had gone.

I happened to know that the Duke of Sussex dined in the neighbourhood, and I wrote a note to beg he

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would come, which he did in the course of an hour. There came while we were at table various persons sent by the Regent:—the Chancellor Eldon, Bishop of Salisbury (the tutor), Ellenborough, Adam Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Leach. All arrived one after another, and as they were announced the Princess or her daughter said what was to be done with each. Eldon being named, they said, "Oh no; let him wait in his carriage," which was, like that of the Princess Charlotte and all the others, a hackney-coach. I said a word for Ellenborough as my chief, but in vain. They said he may remain as well as Old Baggs. When Leach was named, they called him "Ridicule," "Reticule," or Little Baggs. But the Bishop was ordered to be shown into the dining-room below—we having dined in the drawing-room above stairs; and so was the Duke of York, who came much later. The Duke of Sussex, not having been sent by the Regent, was brought up-stairs; and none of the others had any communication with our party except the Duke of York, whom the Princess of Wales saw for a few minutes in the room below. It happened, unfortunately, that the Duke of Sussex for the last nine years had not seen the Princess of Wales, or had any communication with her, in consequence of the charge against her which led to the proceedings in 1806 having been made as a communication to him by Lady Douglas, wife of his equerry, and conveyed by the Duke to the Regent. However, no one could have supposed there was the least dryness between them, to see how warmly they embraced. Indeed the Duke had taken no further part in the proceeding than communicating Lady Douglas's story, which he

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was bound to do. He and the Princess talked in German, but this was well understood by the Princess Charlotte and also by Miss Mercer, so that nothing was concealed which passed. After dinner I first begged the Princess Charlotte to give me a full account of what had caused her flight. She said she could not bear any longer the treatment she met with of changing her ladies without her consent, and of interrupting her intercourse with her mother and Margaret (meaning Miss Mercer), her most intimate friend; and that it was her fixed resolution, after throwing herself on her mother's protection, to reside with her entirely. But she dwelt much upon the match; and though I repeated what I had often assured her of, that without her consent freely given it never could take place, she said, "They may wear me out by ill-treatment, and may represent that I have changed my mind and consented." We then conversed upon the subject with the others, and after a long discussion on that and her lesser grievances, she took me aside and asked me what, upon the whole, I advised her to do. I said at once, "Return to Warwick House or Carlton House, and on no account to pass a night out of her own house." She was extremely affected, and cried, asking if I too refused to stand by her. I said quite the contrary, and that as to the marriage I gave no opinion, except that she must follow her own inclination entirely, but that her returning home was absolutely necessary; and in this all the rest fully agreed—her mother, the Duke of Sussex, Miss Mercer, and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, for whom she had a great respect and regard. I said that, however painful it was for me, the necessity was so

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clear and so strong that I had not the least hesitation in advising it. She again and again begged me to consider her situation, and to think whether, looking to that, it was absolutely necessary she should return. The day now began to dawn, and I took her to the window. The election of Cochrane (after his expulsion owing to the sentence of the court, which both insured his re-election and abolished the Pillory) was to take place that day. I said, "Look there, Madam: in a few hours all the streets and the park, now empty, will be crowded with tens of thousands. I have only to take you to that window, and show you to the multitude, and tell them your grievances, and they will all rise in your behalf." "And why should they not?" I think she said, or some such words. "The commotion," I answered, "will be excessive; Carlton House will be attacked—perhaps pulled down; the soldiers will be ordered out; blood will be shed; and if your Royal Highness were to live a hundred years, it never would be forgotten that your running away from your father's house was the cause of the mischief: and you may depend upon it, such is the English people's horror of bloodshed, you never would get over it." She at once felt the truth of my assertion, and consented to see her uncle Frederic (the Duke of York) below stairs, and return with him. But she required one of the royal carriages should be sent for, which came with her governess, and they with the Duke of York went home about five o'clock.* Before she went, however, she desired me to make a minute of her declaration

* See a reference to this scene in 'Contributions to the Edinburgh Review,' by Henry Lord Brougham, vol. i. p. 470, article "George IV. and Queen Caroline."—Edinburgh Review, October 1838.

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that she was resolved not to marry the Prince of Orange, and that if ever there should be an announcement of such a match, it must be understood to be without her consent and against her will. She added, "I desire Augustus" (Duke of Sussex) "and Mr Brougham would particularly take notice of this." When I had made the note, it was read distinctly and signed by all present, she signing first, and six copies were made and signed, and one given to each person present. Her positive injunction was, that if ever we heard the match announced as being to proceed, we should make her declaration in the note public. What had passed was in substance known to the Regent, and put an end to all further attempts to bring about the marriage. It soon got out that the affair was effectually stopt, and the talk in the clubs was, "Young Princy has thrown over the Frog"—alluding to the name given to the Dutchman by Swift, and to the name used to describe the Princess and her mother, arising from an old pleasantry of the Prince, who used to be much a visitor at Mrs Orde's (afterwards Mrs Creevey); and being very kind to the children, he used to make them call him Princy. So the term "Mother," or "Mrs Princy," came afterwards to be used for the Princess, and Young Princy for her daughter.

The Regent never forgave the Duke of Sussex for the part he took in this affair, and charged him, most unjustly, with having contributed to break off the match, in which he had really no kind of share, except from the accident of his dining in the neighbourhood of Connaught Place, and being asked to come on the wholly unexpected occasion of the Princess Charlotte going to her mother's house, which he could not by

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any possibility have foreseen; and it is quite certain that he never had any communication, on any subject, with her before that night, from the terms on which he was with her mother. But the Regent mixed him up with the whole refusal to marry; and having assembled all the family, he gave them warning that they must choose between him and the Duke. All, except the Duke of Gloucester, yielded to this threat. He very manfully refused to give up the Duke of Sussex, and the penalty was not enforced of the Regent's displeasure; for he soon after married his favourite sister, Princess Mary, and ever after enjoyed his share of his favour.*

Cochrane (Dundonald) in his Autobiography has stated that it was the Duke of Sussex who appealed to the Princess Charlotte, by referring to the crowd which would cover the streets at the election, and that she expressed her hope of Cochrane being returned, and her disapproval of his sentence. For this dream of the Duke (if he was the relater of it) there is not the shadow of a foundation. He had no conversation whatever with her but in presence of the rest of the company; and the account which I have here given was in every essential particular published before the Duke's death, and was read by him before it was published. He made one or two trifling corrections, especially as to his having only been the channel of communication in the case of Lady Douglas; and to gratify him I adopted them, as they did not alter materially what had been written. The Duke of Sussex thought it necessary to bring before the House

* The Duke of Gloucester, nephew of George III., married his cousin the Princess Mary, daughter of George III.

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of Lords the treatment of the Princess Charlotte, and was desirous, as was the Princess herself, to interest Lord Grey in this proceeding. But I told them that he certainly would not take a forward part in it, as I knew from his having highly approved of my declining last year to send him a communication from the Princess, and of his having lately expressed his great reluctance to take any active part in the Orange match. I said, however, that I was perfectly confident he would take the right course in Parliament if the question was brought forward, which he very probably thought would be of no benefit to the Princess Charlotte, and he would advise the Duke of Sussex not to move in it. I thereupon wrote as follows to Lord Grey:—

TO EARL GREY.

"*July* 13, 1814.

"My dear Lord Grey,—Having a good deal to say, I make no preface. Last night, between nine and ten, being summoned in great haste to the Princess of Wales's, I went instantly. Being sleepy, I napped the whole way, and on arriving half-awake entered the room and saw strange faces. One ran up to me, took me by the hand, and said she was glad to see me, naming me. I found it was the Princess Charlotte, who said, 'I have just run off.' Miss Mercer on a chair near. I got quite awake now, and desired immediately the particulars from her and Miss Mercer, which I wrote down. They are as follows: The Prince, at six o'clock, entered her room, and said: 'Your establishment here is at an end; to-night you sleep at Carlton House. Miss Knight and all your servants are dismissed. She and every one about you

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are the scandal of the whole town. Your new establishment is all ready at Carlton House, and consists of Lady Ilchester, Lady Rosslyn, two Miss Coates's, and Mrs Campbell' (whom he had turned off for Nott's affair, and abused bitterly). 'You shall see no one, especially Lady Jersey and Miss Rawdon.' She was greatly alarmed, ran into Miss Mercer's room (who was dressing), and while there a knock came: she said, 'I have but a moment; I will go to my mother's.' She rushed out of the house alone, got into a hackney-coach, promised a large reward if driven so as to escape, and arrived at Connaught House. The Princess was out of town airing; she sent after her and brought her back.

"After she left Warwick House the Prince came to Miss Mercer, and learned she was gone—ordered his Cabinet, with Adam and Ellenborough, to be called; spoke to Miss Mercer, saying he would say nothing till they came (you know his cowardice, and always throwing his bad cards on them), but asked Miss Mercer to go with the Bishop of Salisbury. She said, 'Do you give me authority to ask her to come back?' He said, 'No; I say nothing till the ministers come.' However, she got at last authority to demand unconditional submission. The Bishop, after considering, said, 'I will venture to go with you;' so they arrived. They had sent a proposal through him to the Prince before I came; and soon after my arrival the Bishop returned with an answer, 'That Eldon and Ellenborough having shown the ministers the Prince's rights, they were all stout, and demanded unconditional surrender and no terms.' I then said (the Bishop was kept in another room) that as they knew their rights,

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it was my duty, however painful, to inform the Princess how the matter stood, and that it was in vain to deny that the Prince had her wholly in his hands. I reminded her of all I had said and written on this two years ago, and assured her in a very peremptory tone that the only question was, whether she would go with goodwill or be forced from hence by Ellenborough's Habeas Corpus, which I knew he would grant. She was affected beyond description. I have told many a client he was going to be convicted, but I never saw anything like her *stupefaction:* for a quarter of an hour she was lost. But I then made her write a letter to the Prince, giving them a loophole, and offering to return, but requesting assurances of seeing Miss Mercer and keeping Miss Rawdon. I also sent for the Duke of Sussex, whom they had named in their first letter. He came, and offered to do anything he could or I desired. Miss Knight was also sent to see the Prince, and at least the ministers. She could only see the latter, and came back; nothing but war.

"However, the Bishop gave assurance Miss Mercer should see her, and that her maid (Lewis) should be kept.

"At length, at three, came in the Prince's coach, and with his servants, the Duke of York. He was taken to a room alone, and she and Miss Mercer went to him. I made them tell him all that had passed, and claim his assistance. He said his orders were only to bring her back, and make no terms. She demanded access to her friends; he said he had no powers. She demanded his promise to do what he could; he gave it. But he would neither take Miss Mercer nor Miss Knight with him, and her maid (who had come with her things)

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was with difficulty allowed. So she went, after I had given her all manner of advice and encouragement; and Miss Mercer wrote a note to the new lady-in-waiting to see the Princess by her orders, which was to be sent this morning. I have heard no more.

"In all this the worst is that Baillie has certified in writing her health to require sea-bathing. The Prince says he is not convinced of it, and will send her to Cranbourne Lodge, to coop her up. Baillie to-day told the old Princess that if her mind is thus agitated he won't answer for it not proving most dangerous to her health! I doubt if ever there was such base profligacy. I should have added that every scrap of paper in her possession, on an alarm the day before, was carried away to the Duke of Sussex's.

"Now all this is well enough hitherto, but something *must* be done. She says she *never* will marry the Prince of Orange: she vowed it to me in the most solemn way, and gave me authority to say so in her name. Now a conversation on her treatment in the House of Commons will do infinite good, and I am just going to put Tierney on it, and make him find a fit impartial person. But my plan is this, that the Dukes of Kent, Sussex, and Gloucester should remonstrate first with the ministers, they having been consulted, and then in their place in Parliament. It is the only way: they have weight in the country, and it is a public as well as family affair.

"I grieve that you are absent, and can't help thinking that, if time is given for it, you should come up, in case matters are pushed to extremities. It is impossible to deny that the greatest praise is due to the old Princess for her whole behaviour and conduct.

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She gave no selfish advice, but took her daughter's part entirely, and came into all that was thought best for her, though her own case might have been bettered otherwise. Miss Mercer behaved admirably also; and though the Prince counts upon her plainly, and thinks her in his interest, I am sure she is only attached to the Princess Charlotte, who herself behaved in a way to raise her in my estimation extremely. She showed much firmness, but the greatest sensibility and good feeling. I had no idea of her having so much good in her. I had forgot to say that Miss Mercer desired me to say she does not write to you because she trusts to me doing so, and is unwell and fatigued.

"The thing is buzzed over town of course, and was so last night, and all are against the Prince.—Yours ever,

"H. B.

"Of course we can't wait for your commands; but at all events say what occurs, because possibly it may be in time to alter what might be done amiss."

TO EARL GREY.

"EATON SOCON, *July* 21, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—Before leaving town I had much intercourse with our various friends, and some communication with Miss Mercer by letter, as well as constant communication with the Duke of Sussex. I have also observed and heard a great deal of the public feeling; the result is, that, on the whole, I should not be sorry if the question stood over as it now is. Nothing can be better, and I am clear a discussion will rather make the treatment (at least) appear weaker. The marriage part of it might certainly gain. There

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is a good ground for hanging it over their heads, and I have begged the Duke of Sussex to use it thus in case you don't come. He may say that the ministers having acknowledged their responsibility, and the formation of an establishment requiring a little time, he defers the motion till the beginning of next session, in the hopes of their acting in the interval so as to meet the universal wish of the country. The motion is put off (meanwhile) to Wednesday, to give time for hearing your pleasure, by which it will be regulated. You can either write to Lord Rosslyn or the Duke of Sussex; and according to your letter it will be fixed for Friday, or put off as above. The chief reasons that make me desire this arrangement are, the vast impression our questions have made—as one proof, see the 'Times' wheeling round suddenly, as it did in the Princess of Wales's case; but it is quite general and strong—and next, the fear of mischief happening if active measures are taken when neither you nor myself are there. Indeed, your absence is decisive—our friends, many of them, being wavering, to say the least. The conduct of some is without excuse—Lauderdale so zealous for Carlton House that he took the regular ministerial ground of requiring explanation and notice! He was properly licked by Holland, notwithstanding Lady Holland's violence against the young Princess, for no reason that I can divine except personal spite towards me.

"Upon the whole, everything is well at present, and may be kept so and improved by prudent management. The press quite right and zealous. One word on Westminster before I conclude. They begin now to throw the blame on George Ponsonby and Whit-

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bread, who, without having seen the evidence, and ignorant of the whole subject, had the incredible folly to blame the counsel for not calling the witnesses! The history of presumption offers no greater instance. We had *too* good reasons for not calling them; and were I to-morrow to conduct it, I should, after the benefit of their advice, still refuse to call any one of them, and so would all the profession. Adieu.—Yours ever, H. Brougham."

The following is an extract from a letter I received from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

"Connaught House, *July* 12, 1814, *midnight.*

"The Bishop of Salisbury requested an audience of the Princess of Wales, who went to him attended by Lady Charlotte Lindsay. The Bishop said that he earnestly hoped that her Royal Highness would advise Princess Charlotte to return to her father. The Princess of Wales replied, Certainly, and that Princess Charlotte was ready to return. She only hoped to be permitted to retain Miss Knight, and not to be deprived of the satisfaction of seeing her friends. The Bishop then said that this gave him great pleasure. The conversation ended here.

"Charlotte Lindsay."

TO EARL GREY.

"*July* 19, 1814.

"Dear Lord Grey,—I received your excellent and satisfactory letter. I was sure you were *game;* and indeed I verily believe, had you been here, you (if not I also, encouraged by you) would have lodged in the Tower. I at first thought your coming necessary; for

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it would be a tie of friendship with *her* never to be broken or forgotten, and it would be *most* material to the proceeding.

"I now tell you what this is—and I take the whole responsibility, neither Whitbread nor any other being having interfered, and the Duke of Sussex only consulting Romilly after it was begun and in progress, who fully concurred. The Duke of Sussex was evidently the man for the service, and the Lords the place.

"He instantly assented, and on Sunday sent a letter to Lord Liverpool, asking to see her; and if not, saying he should move in the House yesterday or to-day.

"Answer,—'The Regent has read the letter, and gives no commands.' To-day the Duke is gone down to the House to put five questions which I have just given him—viz.:

"1. Does she see her friends as usual?

"2. Does she write and receive letters, and has she pen, ink, and paper?

"3. Is she under the restraints generally of actual imprisonment?

"4. Did not the physicians last year, as this, advise the sea as necessary for recovery of her complaints, by writing under their hands?

"And, 5. She being much above the age when the law has repeatedly recognised her as fit to govern, has any step been taken towards an establishment necessary for her rank, and the part she will soon have to perform?

"Lord Jersey could not go to him, for luckily one part of our case is, that Lord Jersey has Adam's letter, saying nothing particular *towards her* is intended, but that *all* correspondence is interdicted.

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"If no answer is given, he gives a notice for Friday.
"In great haste.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"We have a solemn minute, by Princess Charlotte's desire, to be used by me to show the match is *off for ever.*"

TO EARL GREY.

"YORK, *July* 24, 1814.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I am sorry I did not see you as you passed Ferrybridge, I being at Michael Taylor's.

"The Duke of Sussex will do exactly as he is bid; but the most material point is to combat stoutly the idea of its being a *private* matter. The Crown has the disposal and superintendence of the family. Granted. But in what capacity? As father? No such thing. The case in 1718 relied on by the adversary proves the very reverse; it is as *Crown*, and to the *exclusion* of the natural father. This is an irresistible argument, and it leads to the unavoidable inference that the Crown only exercises the superintendence as an act of state, and through responsible servants. Peace and war, treaties, &c., are matters left to the Crown, as better able to deal with them than the Legislature; so of every other branch of the executive. But do we say that these are not matters of state? No. The care of the family is better in the hands of the Crown. But has the state no interest in the exercise of such a trust? Who else, constitutionally speaking, has *any* interest? The idea of its being a family or domestic affair is completely negatived by the law itself, which (as declared by the

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judges in 1718) takes the care out of the hands of the father himself, and gives it to the King for the time being, who may be a distant relation. What, then, becomes of the trash about interfering between father and daughter? Why, again, is the Princess to be treated as a state criminal? Why are we to have a Queen so brought up? Out of Turkey is there anything so barbarous?

"I wish you would keep one thing in view as far as regards the share I have had in the business—viz., that I am very adverse to the idea of skulking, or keeping in the background. I am answerable for the advice I gave; and in this, as well as every part of the affairs of *both* Princesses, I never said a word, or prevented a step, or advised one, that I am not prepared to avow. This was my language through the whole of the mother's business, and I always desired Whitbread to act for me accordingly. He uniformly *avoided* this, I believe, partly from thinking it better for me, partly from a monopolising spirit; and I have been much injured by the air of intriguing and playing in the background which it gives me. I have been much better pleased to appear *this* time in the front of the battle.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"I am going to set *Peter Plymley* on them.* Now is his time. I only fear he may be lazy. But I mean to get Princess Charlotte to ask it if I fail; and that, I *know*, will do."

Lord Grey, in the following letter, in which he explains his reasons for making the Duke of Sussex give

* Sydney Smith.

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up his motion, gives a very incorrect account of his own speech, which was excellent:*

FROM LORD GREY.

"PORTMAN SQUARE, *Tuesday, July* 26, 1814.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I arrived early yesterday morning, and soon found that nothing was to be done; our friends either timid, much disinclined, or strongly against. Amongst the last particularly Lauderdale and Lord Spencer. Lord Grenville had been written to: answered that he would not come, or if he did, it would only be to deprecate so improper a discussion. Rosslyn, on whose opinion I depended most, was convinced that nothing good was to be hoped from the motion, and much mischief to be apprehended. The case, too, in appearance at least, was much altered. The papers announced the Princess's daily rides in Windsor Park. On Saturday she had come to town to see her mother. Miss Mercer was actually at Cranbourne. The certificate of the physicians which recommended the sea in the *autumn*, it was publicly announced, was to be complied with. The Bishop was prepared with statements of the Prince's kindness to his daughter, and of *des scènes larmoyantes* between them, quite touching. In short, he was ready to say anything, and the Duke of York to support him. *Above all*, the Duke of Sussex was preparing to go into a full statement of the case, private letters and all, in a way that I think would have been fatal, particularly on the point on which I

* On the motion of the Duke of Sussex, that the order for summoning the Lords, on the affairs of the Princess Charlotte, be discharged. —Hansard, p. 835.

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must confess that the Princess is vulnerable, and in which it is known *he* was the instigator; namely, the time and manner of breaking off her marriage. Under all these difficulties I think I could have had the best of the argument, but I should have nobody in reserve to support me; and to do justice to the case, I must have betrayed an intimate acquaintance with all the transactions from the beginning, which, if they had known how to use it, would of itself have furnished a new charge against the Princess, and particularly against Miss Knight; and the Chancellor was not a man to overlook such an advantage.

"Under all these circumstances I could not doubt that the best thing was to get the Duke of Sussex to put off the motion, giving as his reason the appearance of the situation,—of the Princess Charlotte being better, his hope that it would become what it ought to be, and his desire not to risk that hope, while it could exist, by any proceeding on his part which might produce irritation. This he did very well—and answered by Liverpool very moderately, with the exception of a passage at the end about the Prince's parental attention. Of this I took notice; said we had nothing to do in that House with the sovereign, but with his advisers, which they avowed themselves to be on this subject, and that without going into a discussion which I thought it best, under all circumstances, to avoid. I could only say that it would be difficult to convince me that the situation of the Princess Charlotte had been such as was compatible with what Lord Liverpool had said. With this I concluded, having introduced it by avowing myself as the adviser of the Duke of Sussex's withdrawing

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the motion,—not from any feeling of its impropriety; on the contrary, that I felt strongly upon the subject, and knew that the public took a deep interest in it; not from admitting that such a subject was improper to be discussed, whatever might be said of the delicacy of interfering with private matters, when these were connected with an important public interest, and a sufficient case was made out that it was the right and duty of Parliament to interfere, and the education and treatment of the heir of the crown was emphatically a case of that description;—but because, from present appearances, I would hope that such interference might not be necessary, and that conciliation, whilst such a hope could be entertained, ought to be the object of everybody. All this I see Perry has omitted, and given an account that is quite provoking. However, I must acknowledge that I did not consider the thing well, for my head was confused with the eternal rattle and motion of the chaise for three days; but I am sure I said what I have related in substance. I felt uneasy about it afterwards, but Rosslyn assures me that I sufficiently supported both the Princess Charlotte and the Duke of Sussex. The Chancellor answered me. He looked fire and fury; but he *did* nothing, and only said that the proceedings in Parliament had had no effect on the Princess's treatment—an assertion which will perhaps tend rather to confirm than to rebut the opinion of which he seemed to be afraid.

"Upon the whole, and after a night's reflection, I am convinced that the best thing has been done under all the circumstances; that we have more advantage from public opinion now than we should have had after

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a debate; and that if a future agitation of this question should be necessary, *I* shall come forward with more effect, from the disposition I have now shown to forbear. If all our friends had been as stout as Thanet, the case would have been different; but he is literally the only person I have seen whose feelings were up to the mark.

"The Prince's health I believe to be very bad. He certainly was very ill the beginning of last week: his nerves are not equal to the rejoicings for which so much money has been spent, and it is said he means to go out of town: the hooting, hissing, and abuse of the Queen (there was no form of reproach that did not assail her ears), which was more violent and alarming than ever, the other night in her way to Carlton House, have probably had their effect. It was so bad that the Prince ordered all his aides-de-camp to attend her chair home in the morning.

"I have just got your letter. It is, as this will have informed you, too late for any discussion, but the line of argument is exactly what I meant to have followed on the public part of the question, and which I pointed out, as far as in such a discussion it was possible to do so, in what I said last night.

"I shall go back on Thursday with all speed, as I left the poor boy very ill.

"Pray write to me, and tell me you are not very much mortified and disappointed by this lame and impotent conclusion; for I confess I rather feel like a fool in having taken such a journey, and made such an appearance at the end of it.

"Write to Howick, and do come and see us if you can.—Ever yours, GREY."

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It may easily be supposed that, whatever might be pretended or promised, the Princess Charlotte's treatment continued as bad as before the scene at Connaught Place. The following from Lord Grey shows the information he had received, and which was fully confirmed by all that came to my knowledge:—

FROM LORD GREY.—(*Extract.*)

"*Saturday.*

"My dear Brougham,—I have not heard from Miss Mercer since I wrote to you. I believe I forgot to add to the list of cruelties in my last, that Princess Charlotte's allowance has not been paid since she left Warwick House, and that she has been obliged to sell part of her diamonds to pay tradesmen who were distressed for their money, and some pensions to poor people who have no other support. . . . . —Ever yours, Grey."

At the same time I received from Miss Mercer a letter, from which the following is an extract:—

. . . . . .

"I know of *no new grievances*, but all the old ones continue. What she complains most of is, that one of the ladies is obliged either to sleep in the room with her, or in the next with the door open, and that many of her letters have been kept back—all, excepting mine, are sent to be examined at Carlton House, and every parcel she gets is opened first, and rummaged by the ladies-in-waiting.—Yours sincerely."

The presents alluded to in the following letter from

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the Princess Charlotte's most confidential friend, were what I had announced that my friend Prince Czartoryski wished to ask that he might hope she would condescend to accept. They consisted of Polish embellishments connected with different books of great value, and having inscriptions formed of small engraved stones of great rarity, which were according to our alphabet, and the inscriptions were read by that alphabet. I have no doubt that my friend Prince Czartoryski, and those of his suite—one of whom, Count Sierakowski, came to Brougham—entertained hopes of the young Princess receiving a favourable impression of their cause, in support of which I had lately prepared a tract in concurrence with them, and circulated very extensively, under the title of 'An Appeal to the Allies on behalf of Poland.' * It had been presented to the Princess Charlotte.

The following letter is from Lady Charlotte Lindsay :—

"*Sunday.*

"Many thanks for both your letters, which I should have answered immediately, but when I have nothing particular to say, I do not like to be too troublesome. You will be glad to hear that I have had a long letter from Lord G., and that he is better, but he does not say a word about coming to town. *La belle prisonnière* is fully aware of the necessity of being prudent and quiet, and your opinion has at all times so much weight with her, that I have no doubt she will follow your advice strictly in this instance. She is, however, very uneasy at the idea of her mother's re-

* An appeal to the Allies and the English Nation on behalf of Poland. London, 1814. Reviewed in the Edinburgh Review, No. XLIV., art. iii.

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turn; for if it is occasioned by her letters and entreaties, she feels it will be a sad reward for this sacrifice to her interest, to find that all intercourse between them will be immediately put a stop to, and that her return is only to be greeted with fresh insults and mortifications. It really is a very painful and embarrassing situation; and should those letters be shown that you forwarded (which is more than likely), there will be no bounds, I am convinced, to the Regent's rage. She has been strictly questioned lately relative to her former communications with the Duke of Sussex, and if she authorised the step he took last year in Parliament. This, of course, she denied, further than its originating from their meeting at her mother's; and on the whole she got through the conference very well; but I hope these interrogations will not be renewed, as I think they are dangerous.

"I believe she has sent a message to explain what passed to the Duke of Sussex, by the Duke of Kent, which was very right, and I hope will not be misrepresented. I have told her of the attention of your Polish friends, with which I am sure she will be much flattered, but the music must come through the Dragons, if it comes at all; pray send the letter. I think the best way would be to forward the parcel at once to one of her ladies, who will name it to the Regent, and then she will get it immediately. I wish you were not so *perverse* and so *coquettish* about coming into Parliament. I give you no credit for either your ambition or your politics being on the decline. Have you heard of a quarrel between the Prince and the Chancellor about divorcing the Princess? It is said at Windsor that the Chancellor has

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sent in his resignation in consequence.—Yours very sincerely, C. LINDSAY."

It might well be thought likely that objection would be made to the Princess Charlotte receiving these Polish presents without their passing through Carlton House, when, a few weeks before, Lady Jersey having sent her some, an order was given that the Princess should receive nothing from Lady Jersey, unless it was first sent to the Prince, and through him, if he pleased, to his daughter. Possibly this rigour might be defended; but what must be allowed to be wholly inexcusable, was the order that the Princess should herself desire Lady Jersey to send everything she might wish to give her to the Regent, and tell that falsehood of declaring that it was her *own* wish to have this course pursued.

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