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The World's Classics

CCII

LETTERS WRITTEN IN WAR TIME

(XV-XIX CENTURIES)

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LETTERS

WRITTEN IN WAR TIME

(XV-XIX CENTURIES)

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY

H. WRAGG

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PREFACE

THE appearance of this small anthology may seem at first sight but another of those superfluous luxuries that we have been so well warned of late to abjure. There are few houses nowadays where the postman, or post woman, does not make a daily call; there are oceans of printer's ink afloat (if we may venture on a perilous metaphor), and what anyway but a sort of tepid muffin can a letter be, rewritten and corrected for the press ? These and other questions wc prefer to elude, in responding. Good fellow-creatures, let us peisuade you to purchase first, and then to dispute the value of your bargain (in the interim having read it). If you have an ear for the voices of the Past, do these make no appeal ? Here is no deception ; we cry honest men, the pulse and vigour of blood.

War has always been a detested and menacing possibility. Of late years we have thought it less so, conscious of peaceable strains in ourselves ; bu[4] actually at any moment of our history, of any history, the shouting and clamour of battle has been vociferant in men's hearts, though outwardly silent. Joy cometh in the morning, so indeed we trust; but the heaviness of the night precedes, and only the thoughtless and insuperably young ignore the inevitable sequence. What are our thoughts to-day, when so many nations stand confronting Death ? Horror we know, and pa'n ; racking of tender flesh, anguish and desolation of spirit. We need companionship, to enable us to

endure. **Our** brothers stand at our side, and carry the burden with us, but even this is insufficient. Skuld's veil is close, and nowhere is clear promise of light in our days ; we must have the testimony of those gone before to inspire us with confident hope. What have they to tell us, the men who climbed the toppling crags of old ? Perhaps in their records we may find a balm for our wounds. Perhaps in their more unguarded speech, these letters never written for our eyes, we may light upon a message that somehow fits our need, that braces and encourages us for the effort we must make. In any case, it is well to realize our kinship with these elders of our race. And if one should sometimes catch from them a dear laugh by the way, is there any whose load will be thereby less light ?

What pleasure or profit may be found in these pages is very largely the result of Mr. J. C. Smith's most patient criticism and encouragement, and of Miss Duckitt's unfailing literary instinct. It was by no means an easy task, even with such help, to select from a mass of historical correspondence letters excellent enough to please a fastidious public. To my husband I am indebted for the inclusion of Sir Charles Napier, a prince of letter-writers.

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LETTERS IN WAR TIME

FROM THE PASTON LETTERS (15TH CENTUEY)

ROBERT WENYNTON TO THO. DANIEL

Capturing the enemy's fleet

25 *May,* 1449.

Most reverend Master, I recommend me unto your gracious mastership, ever desiring to hear of your worshipful estate ; the which Almighty God maintain it, and increase it unto his pleasance: pleasing you to know of my welfare, and of all your men, at the making of this letter, we were in good health of body, blessed be God.

Moreover, Master, I send you word by Ravly Pickering of all matters, the which I beseech you give him credence, as he will inform you of all. So, Sir, I beseech you in the reverence of God, that ye will inform our Sovereign Lord the King of all matters that I send you in this letter; like as I have sent a letter to my Lord Chancellor and to all my Lords by the said Pickering, the which letter I beseech you that ye take and deliver to my Lord and all my Lords by your own hands, and let the said Pickering declare all things as he hath seen and knoweth.

First, I send you word that when we went to

sea, we took two ships of Brest coming out of Flanders, and then after there is made a great arming in Brittany to meet with me and my fellowship, that is to say, the great ship of Brest, the great ship of Morlaix, the great ship of Vannes, with other eight ships, barges and balingers,[1] to the number of 3,000 men; and so we lay in the sea to meet with them.

And then we met with a flote of a 100 great ships of Pruse, Lubeck, Campe (?), Rostock, Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, betwixt Guernsey and Portland; and then I came aboard the Admiral, and bade them strike in the King's name of England, and they bade me skyte in the King's name of England; and then I and my fellowship said, but [unless] he will strike down the sail that I would oversail them by the grace of God, and God will send me wind and weather; and they bade me do my worst, because I had so few ships and so small, that they scorned with me. And as God would, on Friday last was, we had a good wind; and then we armed to the number of 2,000 men in my fellowship, and made us ready for to oversail them; and then they launched a boat, and set up a standard of truce, and came and spake with me, and there they were yielded all the hundred ships to go with me in what port that me lust and my fellows, but they fought with me the day before, and shot at us a 1,000 guns, and quarrels[2] out of number, and have slain many of my fellowship, and maimed also.

Wherefore methinketh that they have forfeit both ships and goods at our Sovereign Lord the

[1] **A kind of sloop.**
[8] **Square pyramids of iron shot from crossbow.**

King's Will. Beseeching you that ye do your part in this matter, for this I have written to my Lord Chancellor and all my Lords of the King's Council, and so I have brought them all the 100 ships within Wight in spite of them all. And ye might get leave of our Sovereign Lord the King to come hither, it shall turn you to great worship and profit to help make appointment in the King's name, for ye saw never such a sight of ships take into England these 100 winter, for we lie armed night and day to keep them in, to the time that we have tidings of our Sovereign and his Council; for truly they have done harm to me and to my fellowship, and to your ships more than £2,000 worth harm, and therefore I am advised, and all my fellowship, to drown them and slay them without that we have tidings from our Sovereign the King and his Council. And therefore, in the reverence of God, come ye yourself, and ye shall have a great avail and worship of your coming to see a such sight, for I dare well say that I have here at this time all the chief ships of Dutchland [Germany], Holland, Zealand, and Flanders, and now it were time for to treat for a final peace as for that parties.

I write no more to you at this time, but Almighty Jesus have you in his keeping. I write in haste, within Wight, on Sunday at night, after the Ascension of our Lord.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON

Enemies against Yarmouth

12 *Mar.* 1449.

RIGHT worshipful husband, I recommend me to you, desiring heartily to hear of your welfare ....

William Rutt, the which is with Sir John Heveningham, came home from London yesterday, and he said plainly to his master, and to many other folks, that the Duke of Suffolk is pardoned, and hath his men again waiting upon him, and is right well at ease and merry, and is in the King's good grace, and in the good conceit of all the Lords, as well as ever he was.

There be many enemies against Yarmouth and Cromer, and have done much harm, and taken many Englishmen, and put them in great distress, and greatly ransomed them ; and the said enemies be so bold that they come up to the land and play them on Caister Sands and in other places, as homely as they were Englishmen. Folks be right sore afeard that they will do much harm this summer, but if[1] there be made right great purveyance against them.

Other tidings know I none at this time. The blissful Trinity have you in his keeping.

Written at Norwich on St. Gregory's day.

AGNES PASTON TO THE SAME

A perilous dwelling

8 *Mar.* 1457-8.

SON, I greet you and send you God's blessing, and mine; and as for my daughter your wife, she fareth well, blessed be God, as a woman in

[1] Unless.

her plight may do, and all your sons and daughters.

And for as much as ye will send me no tidings, I send you such as be in this country. Richard Lynsted came this day from Paston, and let me wit that on Saturday last past, Dravale, half brother to Warren Harman, was taken with[1] enemies, walking by the seaside, and [they] have him forth with them ; and they took two pilgrims, a man and a woman, and they robbed the woman and let her go, and led the man to the sea, and when they knew he was a pilgrim they gave him money, and set him again on the land. And they have this week taken four vessels off Winterton ; and Happisburgh and Eccles men be sore afeard for taking of more, for there be ten great vessels of the enemies ; God give grace that the sea may be better kept than it is now, or else it shall be a perilous dwelling by the sea coast.

JOHN RUSSE TO JOHN PASTON

A naval engagement

[1462.]

PLEASE your worshipful Mastership to wit, here is a ship of Hythe which saith that John Cole came from the west coast on Wednesday last past, and he saith that the fleet of this land met with sixty sail of Spaniards, Bretons, and Frenchmen, and there took of them fifty, whereof twelve ships were as great as the *Grace de Dieu ;* and there is slain on these parties the Lords Clinton and Dacre, and many gentlemen, youth (?), and other, the number of 4,000; and the said Spaniards were purposed with merchandise into Flanders. My Lord of

[1] By.

Warwick's ship the *Mary Grace* and the *Trinity* had the greatest hurt, for they were foremost. God send grace this be true. On Thursday last past at London was no tidings in certain where the fleet was, nor what they had done, and therefore I fear the tidings the more.

Item, Sir, as for tidings at London, there were arrested by the treasurer forty sails lying in Thames, whereof many small ships ; and it is said, it is to carry men to Calais in all haste, for fear of the King of France for a siege. And it was told me secretly there were 200 in Calais sworn contrary to the King's weal, and for default of their wages ; and that Queen Margaret was ready at Boulogne with much silver to pay the soldiers, in case they would give her entrance. Many men be greatly afeard of this matter, and so the treasurer hath much to do for this cause.

Item, Sir, as for tidings out of Ireland, there were many men at London at the fair of the countries next them of Ireland, and they say these three weeks came there neither ship nor boat out of Ireland to bring no tidings ; and so it seemeth there is much to do there by the Earl of Pembroke. And it is said that the King should be at London as on Saturday or Sunday last past, and men deem that he would to Calais himself ; for the soldiers are so wild there, that they will not let in any man but the King or my Lord Warwick.

Other tidings there were come to London, but they were not published ; but John Wellys shall abide a day the longer to know what they are.

No more unto you, my right honourable master, at this time, but Jesu send you your heart's desire, and amend them that would the contrary.

QUEEN CATHERINE

To KING HENRY VIII

After Flodden

[1513.]

MY Lord Howard hath sent me a lette'r open to your Grace, within one of mine, by the which ye shall see at length the great victory that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence ; and for this cause it is no need herein to trouble your Grace with long writing, but, to my thinking, this battle hath been to your Grace and all your realm the greatest honour that could be, and more than ye should win all the crown of France ; thanked be God of it: and I am sure your Grace forgetteth not to do this, which shall be cause to send you many more such great victories, as I trust he shall do. My husband, for hastiness, with Rogecrosse I could not send your Grace the piece of the King of Scots' coat which John Glyn now bringeth. In this your Grace shall see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banners a King's coat. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have been in peace than have this reward. All that God sendeth is for the best. My Lord of Surrey, my Henry, would fain know your pleasure in the burying of the King of Scots' body, for he hath written to me so. With the next messenger your

Grace's pleasure may be herein known. And with this I make an end : praying God to send you home shortly, for without this no joy here can be accomplished ; and for the same I pray, and now go to our Lady at Walsingham that I promised so long ago to see. At Woburn the 16 day of September.

I send your Grace herein a bill found in a Scottishman's purse of such things as the French King sent to the said King of Scots to make war against you, beseeching you to send Matthew hither as soon this messenger cometh to bring me tidings from your Grace.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

To JAMES VI

Her greatest glory

[Aug. 1588.]

Now may appear, my dear brother, how malice conjoined with might strivest to make a shameful end to a villainous beginning, for, by God's singular favour, having their fleet well-beaten in our narrow seas, and pressing, with all violence, to achieve some watering-place, to continue their pretended invasion, the winds have carried them to your coasts, where I doubt not they shall receive small succour and less welcome ; unless those lords that, so traitorous like, would belie their own prince, and promise another king relief in your name, be suffered to live at liberty, to dishonour you, peril you, and advance some other (which God forbid you suffer them live to do). Therefore I send you this gentleman, a rare young man and a wise, to declare unto you my full opinion in this great cause, as one that never will abuse you to serve my own turn ; nor will you do aught that myself would not perform if I were in your place. You may assure yourself that, for my part, I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning, though not the end, of the ruin of that king, that, most unkingly, even in midst of treating peace, begins this wrongful war. He hath procured my greatest

glory that meant my sorest wrack, and hath so dimmed the light of his sunshine, that who hath a will to obtain shame let them keep his forces company. But for all this, for yourself sake, let not the friends of Spain be suffered to yield them force ; for though I fear not in the end the sequel, yet if, by leaving them unhelped, you may increase the English hearts unto you, you shall not do the worst deed for your behalf; for if aught should be done, your excuse will play the *boiteux* ; if you make not sure work with the likely men to do it. Look well unto it, I beseech you.

The necessity of this matter makes my scribbling the more speedy, hoping that you will measure my good affection with the right balance of my actions, which to you shall be ever such as I have professed, not doubting of the reciproque of your behalf, according as my last messenger unto you hath at large signified, for the which 1 render you a million of grateful thanks together, for the last general prohibition to your subjects not to foster nor aid our general foe, of which I doubt not the observation if the ringleaders be safe in your hands ; as knoweth God, who ever have you in his blessed keeping, with many happy years of reign.

LEONEL SHARP TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

The Queen's appeal

I REMEMBER, in eighty-eight, waiting upon the Earl of Leicester at Tilbury Camp, and in eighty-nine going into Portugal with my noble master the Earl of Essex, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the camp one night, guarded with her army, the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of Don Pedro, who was taken, and brought in by Sir Francis Drake, which examination the Earl of Leicester delivered unto me to publish to the army in my next sermon. The sum of it was this.

Don Pedro being asked what was the intent of their coming, stoutly answered the Lords, What, but to subdue your nation, and root it out ?

Good, said the Lords : and what meant you then to do with the Catholics ? He answered, We meant to send them (good men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are heretics to Hell. Yea, but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord and wire ? (whereof they iiad great store in their ships). What? said he, we meant to whip you heretics to death, that have assisted my master's rebels, and done such dishonours to our Catholic king and people. Yea, but what would you have done, said they, with their young children ? They, said he, which were above seven years old, should have gone the way their fathers went; the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the letter L for Lutheran, to perpetual bondage.

This, I take God to witness, I received of those great Lords upon examination taken by the council, and by commandment delivered it to the army.

The Queen, the next morning, rode through all the squadrons of her army, as armed Pallas, attended by noble footmen, Leicester, Essex, and Norris then Lord Marshal, and divers other great lords. Where she made an excellent oration to her

army, which the next day after her departure, I was commanded to redeliver to all the army together, to keep a public fast.

Her words were these :

* My loving people, we have been persuaded by |ome that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourself to armed multitudes for fear of treachery : but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself, that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too ; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and re warder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns ; and we do assure you in the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my Lieutenant General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble or w[T]orthy subject: not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in

the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people.'

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but myself, and such as I have gi ren it to ; and therefore I made bold to send it unto you, if you have it not already.

SIR EDMUND VERNEY

TO HIS SON

Border bickerings

York, 25 *Apr.* [1639.]

YESTERDAY the king received a letter from my lord of Essex that was sent him to Berwick, from the lords of the covenant. I think there was twenty of their hands to it. He sent it sealed up, as he received it, to the king; but with the letter they sent a copy of it open, to the intent that if my lord made any scruple of receiving it, yet the messenger might read it to my lord.

The letter was to this purpose: first, they express great civility to my lord, and they seem to wonder that a man so well affected to the peace and welfare of his country will appear in such a way as he does in this business, and they wonder that there is such unusual preparations for war in England; and they take notice of the diligence that is used for the fortifying of Berwick, protesting that they never had a thought of offering the least injury to this kingdom, that they have often represented their grievances to his majesty, and by reason of some ill-minded men of their nation can obtain no answer of them. They say, they hear the king is coming towards them with a powerful army, which they conceive is intended to fall upon them. They farther say, that they have done nothing but

what is warranted by their laws, and they conclude with a great desire of amity and peace with this kingdom; adding to it, that if they be invaded, they must and will defend themselves and their liberties, as long as there is a man living amongst them. All these heads are in the letter; but, in my opinion, they are expressed with a great deal of modesty. Yet my lord general (who is tender of the honour of the king) thinks it full of insolence and braving the king. In brief, I fear it will rather exasperate than mollify, and add fuel to that fire that raged enough before. Truly I think it will come to blows, but you must not say so to your mother. The king increases his army, and makes all the haste he can thither, but I hope it is but to see what party will come to him, for our men will be long ere they learn their lesson.

I have not yet seen my armour, for it is at Newcastle, but I believe there is never a long gauntlet sent with it. I bespake it, and was promised one by Hill, but in my absence I fear he forgot it. I pray speak with Hill about it, and if he has sent none, let him make one with all the speed he can possibly; for it will kill a man to serve in a whole cuirass. I am resolved to use nothing but back, breast, and gauntlet. If I had a pot for the head that were pistol proof, it may be I would use it, if it were light; but my whole helmet will be of no use to me at all. I pray go or send about this the next day after you receive this letter, and speak to Hill to make it with speed, and let it be sent to the mayor of Newcastle for my use, and I will take order with him about it. I hope there will be some ships coming daily to Newcastle for coals; by some of them you must send it,

with an extraordinary charge to deliver it with all speed to the mayor.

I pray thank your wife, Nance, Doll, and honest Natt, for their kind letters, but truly I can write to none of them now. My best love to them ail, and my service to all my friends with you, and all the next house.

Say nothing of this gauntlet to your mother ; it may give her causeless fears. The Lord God of heaven bless you.

To THE SAME

A troublesome headpiece

11 *May.*

... I have received all my arms that you sent, and I have a long gauntlet, but I have never a short one, nor is it any matter, for I will never use more than back and breast. I pray haste away my pot, and take care it be wide enough, for this is so much too little that nobody but a mad man could have been so mad as to mistake so grossly ; therefore take care it be wide enough now.

This afternoon there is news come for certain that 2,000 Scots are come within ten mile of Berwick. They say 8,000 more is coming after them, and 2,000 more are gone to lie near Carlisle. We shall soon have blows now, but I believe it will be skirmishes with the horse, and no battle till towards the end of summer. It is folly to think any longer of a peace. We shall be suddenly engaged now.

God of his mercy send us well to meet either here or hereafter. God of heaven and earth bless you and all yours. Farewell.

11 May (later).

I have tried my arms, and the headpiece is very much too little for me. If the pot I expect daily from him be so too I am undone. I pray send to him about it as soon as you receive this letter. This will come upon no part of my head, it is so very little. The rest of my arms are fit, but I shall never use more than back and breast . . .

TO THE SAME

A business letter

22 *May.*

Now for the business here,—It stands thus: part of our army, and indeed all of it except the privy chamber men, is marched away to the rendezvous, which is within four mile of Berwick. To-morrow the king removes, and will be there the next day, if nothing happens to change his resolution. I am instantly going to view the ground, and place his tent ready against he comes. My Lord of Holland has been these six days upon the border, and till now the Scots have not been seen in any great number, though we have often heard of great armies coming towards us ; but he advertises the king now, that there are 1,500 men come to the borders already, and that they are informed there is 15,000 foot and 4,000 horse following them apace, all which they expect there by Saturday next. If this be true, and that they will make use of the advantage they have us at, I doubt they will force us to a dishonourable retreat, or else the king must hazard this army, which certainly he will not do at this disadvantage ; but we have had so many alarms of great armies

coming, when there was in truth no such thing, that we believe this will prove a brag too. Within ten or twelve days we expect a great supply to our army, and if they let us alone till they come to us and that we are entrenched, we think they will not be able to hurt us, and yet we shall always vex them. For my part, I believe that if ever they can make a force against us, it will be now before we entrench, for I neither think them fools, nor so well natured as to sutler themselves to be almost blocked up on all sides if they can help it. Some are of opinion that they are a little divided since the proclamation, for it is certain the covenanters has forbidden any man to read it upon pain of death and this [it] is conceived stumbles many that are misled by an implicit faith.

There was some dozen troopers of Mr. Goering's that were riding upon the Scottish border; their business was to inquire after Mr. Goering, who was ridden privately out to view the passages, and not returning so soon as was expected, they went in search after him. Where, upon a sudden, they might perceive about thirty horsemen making apace towards them. Charles Price, who commands Goering's troop, was there, and stayed till they came, and asked them if they were friends to the king. They answered ' yes'; so bade them uncock their pieces, and his men should do the like. They denied it. Why then, says Price, let us put off our hats on both sides and part. In the mean, a musket was shot at Price's corporal and broke his arm, and hurt him in the body. With that, one of Price his men shot and killed one of the Scots, and then they were willing on both sides to leave one another.

My Lord of Holland writ to my Lord Hume to acquaint him with the manner of the business, and to excuse it, who returned for answer that he desired my Lord of Holland to keep the English off from the Scots border, or else these accidents would often happen, and draw on greater inconveniences. This is the first blood has been drawn in the business; if more must be lost in this unhappy quarrel, I pray God it may be at the same rate . . .

DR. DENTON TO RALPH VERNEY

A dauntless warrior

11 *June* [1039].

RALPH, the very next day after I writ to you, your father was one of the 800 horsemen that were in a very fair way to be all cut off; for pistols and carabines were all cocked, swords drawn, and trumpets going to mouth, which had sounded had not some in the interim spied forces in an ambush, which made them to make an honourable retreat, since which time they have petitioned the King. Your father hath carried messages to and fro, and this day English and Scotch nobility meet at our general's tent, and we are in great hope of an honourable peace; if not, your father, having quartered himself with my Lord of Holland, he will be almost in every danger, and now no persuasions can remove him thence; but I believe he will never stir but with my Lord. . . . .

SIR EDMUND VERNEY TO HIS SON

A novel porridge pot

15 *June* [1639].

EVERYTHING is agreed on, and Monday appointed for a full conclusion. The King has promised them a new assembly, and to ratify in parliament anything that shall be agreed on in their assembly. They insisted much upon a ratification of their last assembly, but the King would not yield to it. Slore particulars I have not time to send you, nor do I think your curiosity is so great but that the news of peace will satisfy it. But now we must travel to Edinburgh to the assembly and parliament, so that though we have peace we shall have no quiet a great while. ... I hear nothing of my pot from Hill. I will now keep it to boil my porridge in.

OLIVER CROMWELL

To SIR WILLIAM SPRING AND MAURICE BARROW

Worthy of honour

Cambridge, *Sept* 1643.

I HAVE been now two days at Cambridge, in expectation to hear the fruit of your endeavours in Suffolk towards the public assistance. Believe it, you will hear of a storm in few days ! You have no Infantry at all considerable ; hasten your Horses ;—a few hours may undo you, neglected.—I beseech you be careful what Captains of Horse you choose, what men be mounted : a few honest men are better than numbers. Some time they must have for exercise. If you choose godly honest men to be Captains of Horse, honest men will follow them; and they will be careful to mount such.

The King is exceeding strong in the West. If you be able to foil a force at the first coming of it, you will have reputation ; and that is of great advantage in our affairs. God hath given it to our handful; let us endeavour to keep it. I had rather have a plain russet-coated Captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call * a Gentleman' and is nothing else. I honour a *Gentleman* that is so indeed !—

I understand Mr. Margery hath honest men will follow him : if so, be pleased to make use of him ;

it much concerns your good to have conscientious men. I understand that there is an Order for me to have 3,000/. out of the Association ; and Essex hath sent their part, or near it. I assure you we need exceedingly. I hope to find your favour and respect. I protest, if it were for myself, I would not move you. That is all, from

Your faithful servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. If you send such men as Essex hath sent, it will be to little purpose. Be pleased to take care of their march; and that such may come along with them as will be able to bring them to the main Body; and then I doubt not but we shall keep them, and make good use of them.—I beseech you, give countenance to Mr. Margery ! Help him in raising his Troop; let him not want your favour in whatsoever is needful for promoting this work ;—and *command* your servant. If he can raise the horses from Malignants, let him have your warrant : it will be of special service.

To S. SQUIRE

No war on women

Peterborough, 2 *Dec.* 1643.

I THINK I have heard you say that you had a relation in the Nunnery at Loughborough. Pray, if you love her, remove her speedily; and I send you a Pass,—as we have orders to demolish it, and I must not dispute orders :—There is one of the Andrews' in it; take her away. Nay give them heed to go, if they value themselves. I had rather

they did. I like no war on women. Pray prevail on all to go, if you can. I shall be with you at Oundle in time.

To THE REVEREND MR. HITCH

Services at Ely

10 *Jan,* 1643-4.

LEST the Soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the Cathedral Church, I require you to forbear altogether your Choir-service, so unedifying and offensive :—and this as you shall answer it, if any disorder should arise thereupon.

I advise you to catechise, and read and expound the Scripture to the people ; not doubting but the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, will direct you farther. I desire your Sermons [too], where usually they have been,—but more frequent.

To VALENTINE WALTON

After Marsden Moor

[Leaguer before York] 5 *July,* 1644.

IT'S our duty to sympathize in all mercies; and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together.

Truly England and the Church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great Victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this War began. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the

Godly Party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The Left Wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now; but I believe, of Twenty-thousand the Prince hath not Four-thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.—

Sir, God hath taken away your eldest Son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died.

Sir, you know my own trials this way : but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russel and myself he could not express it, * It was so great above his pain.' This he said to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said, One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, What that was ? He told me it was, That God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall, his horse being killed with the bullet, and as I am informed three horses more, I am told he bid them, Open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run. Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the Army, of all that knew him. But few knew him ; for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious Saint in

Heaven; wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. You r lay do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the Church of God make you to forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength: so prays

Your truly faithful and loving brother.

My love to your Daughter, and my Cousin Perceval, Sister Desborow and all friends with you.

To WILLIAM LENTHALL

The hand of God at Naseby

Harborough, 14 *June,* 1645.

BEING commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us.

We marched yesterday after the King, who went before us from Daventry to Harborough; and quartered about six miles from him. This day we marched towards him. He drew out to meet us; both Armies engaged. We, after three hours fight very doubtful, at last routed his Army; killed and took about 5,000,—very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about 200 carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest Backers. We pursued the Enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the King fled.

Sir, this is none other but the hand of God ; and to Him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with Him. The General served you with all faithfulness and honour : and the best commendation I can give him is, That I daresay he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. Which is an honest and a thriving way:—and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty ; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he rights for.

To THOMAS KNYVETT

A generous appeal

London, 27 *July,* 1646.

I CANNOT pretend any interest in you for anything I have done, nor ask any favour for any service I may do you. But because I am conscious to myself of a readiness to serve any gentleman in all possible civilities, I am bold to be beforehand with you to ask your favour on behalf of your honest poor neighbours of Hapton, who, as I am informed, are in some trouble, and are likely to be put to more, by one Robert Browne your Tenant, who, not well pleased with the way of these men, seeks their disquiet all he may.

Truly nothing moves me to desire this more than the pity I bear them in respect of their honesties,

and the trouble I hear they are likely to suffer for their consciences. And however the world interprets it, I am not ashamed to solicit for such as are anywhere under pressure of this kind ; doing even *rs* I would be done by. Sir, this is a quarrelsome age ; and the anger seems to me to be the worse, where the ground is difference of opinion ;—which to cure, to hurt men in their names, persons or estates, will not be found an apt remedy. Sir, it will not repent you to protect those poor men of Hapton from injury and oppression : which that you would is the effect of this Letter. Sir, you will not want the grateful acknowledgement, nor utmost endeavours of requital from your most humble servant.

To HIS DAUGHTER BRIDGET IRETON

Seeking and finding

London, 25 *Oct.* 1646.

I WRITE not to thy Husband; partly to avoid trouble, for one line of mine begets many of his, which I doubt makes him sit up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed at this time, having some other considerations.

Your friends at Ely are well: your Sister Claypole is, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. She sees her own vanity and carnal mind ; bewailing it: she seeks after (as I hope also) what will satisfy. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next to a finder ; and such an one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder ! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without

some sense of self, vanity and badness ? Who ever tasted that graciousness of His, and could go less in desire,—less than pressing after full enjoyment ? Dear Heart, press on ; let not Husband, let not anything cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy Husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him ; do so for me.

My service and dear affections to the General and Generaless. I hear she is very kind to thee ; it adds to all other obligations.

To WILLIAM LENTHALL

The storming of Tredah

Dublin, 17 *Sept.* 1649.

YOUR Army being safely arrived at Dublin ; and the Enemy endeavouring to draw all his forces together about Trim and Tecroghan, as my intelligence gave me,—from whence endeavours were made by the Marquis of Ormond to draw Owen Roe O'Neil with his forces to his assistance, but with what success I cannot yet learn,—I resolved, after some refreshment taken for our weather-beaten men and horses, and accommodations for a march, to take the field. And accordingly, upon Friday the 30th of August last, rendezvoused with eight regiments of foot, six of horse and some troops of dragoons, three miles on the north side of Dublin. The design was, To endeavour the regaining of Tredah ; or tempting the Enemy, upon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight.

Your Army came before the Town upon Monday-following. Where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries; which took up the more time because divers of the Mattering guns were on shipboard. Upon Monday the 9th of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then Governor, a summons, To deliver the Town to the use of the Parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the Steeple of the Church on the south side of the Town, and to beat down a Tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the Chart enclosed.

Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The place pitched upon was that part of the Town-wall next a Church called St. Mary's ; which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that Church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse ; and we did not conceive that any part of the Town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The batteries planted were two : one was for that part of the Wall against the east end of the said Church ; the other against the Wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the Enemy made six retrenchments : three of them from the said Church to Duleek Gate ; and three of them from the east end of the Church to the Town-wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the

corner Tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south Wall.

Upon Tuesday the 10th of this instant, about five o'clock in the evening, we began the Storm : and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight hundred men ; the Enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss ; Colonel Castle being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died : and divers officers and soldiers doing their duty killed and wounded. There was a Tenalia to flanker the south Wall of the Town, between Duleek Gate and the corner Tower before mentioned ;—which our men entered, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the Enemy, which they put to the sword. And this [Tenalia] they held : but it being without the Wall, and the sally-port through the Wall into that Tenalia being choked up with some of the Enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for an entrance into the Town that way.

Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as is before expressed ; yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt: wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the Enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the Enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the Wall,—they gave ground, and our men became masters both of their retrenchments and [of] the Church; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet

they proved of excellent use to us ; so that the Enemy could not [now] annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse ; which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty.

Divers of the Enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount : a place very strong and of difficult access ; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the Town : and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men : —divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's Church-steeple, some the west Gate, and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames : * God damn me, God confound me ; I burn, I burn.'

The next day, the other two Towers were summoned ; in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves: and we know ing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head ;

and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other Tower were all spared, as to their lives only ; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood ; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this Garrison were the flower of their army. And their great expectation was, that our attempting this place would put fair to ruin us ; they being confident of the resolution of their men, and the advantage of the place. If we had divided our force into two quarters to have besieged the North Town and the South Town, we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our Army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their Army, and have fought with which part [of ours] they pleased,—and at the same time have made a sally with 2,000 men upon us, and have left their walls manned; they having in the Town the number hereafter specified, but some say near 4,000.

Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk ; which the Enemy quitted, and we are possessed of,—as also [of] another Castle they deserted, between Trim and Tredah, upon the Boyne. I sent a party of horse and dragoons to a House within five miles of Trim, there being then in Trim some Scots Companies, which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond. But upon the news of

Tredah, they ran away ; leaving their great guns behind them, which also we have possessed.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon Some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly ? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again ; and gave the Enemy courage, and took it away again ; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory.

It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the Mass in some places of the Town that had been monasteries ; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great Church called St. Peter's, and they had public Mass there : and in this very place near 1,000 of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two ; the one of which was Father Peter TaafT, brother to the Lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a Lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that Tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a Friar ; but that did not save him.

A great deal of loss in this business fell upon Colonel Hewson's, Colonel Castle's, and Colonel Ewer's regiments. Colonel Ewer having two Field-Officers in his regiment shot; Colonel Castle

and a Captain of his regiment slain; Colonel Hewson's Captain-Lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost 100 men upon the place, though many be wounded.

I most humbly pray the Parliament may be pleased [that] this Army may be maintained; and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on affairs here, [such] as may give a speedy issue to this work. To which there seems to be a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a force ; yet surely to stretch a little for the present, in following God's providence, in hope the charge will not be long—I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcilable or malicious principles) unfit for me to move, For a constant supply; which, in human probability as to outward things, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work. And indeed if God please to finish it here as He hath done in England, the War is like to pay itself.

We keep the field much ; our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold. But yet the Country-sickness overtakes many : and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot, may be sent us. For it's easily conceived by what the Garrisons already drink up, what our Field-Army will come to, if God shall give more Garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most obedient servant.

To RICHARD MAYOR

Greatness of little value

Alnwick, 17 *July,* 1650.

THE exceeding crowd of business I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my heart beareth me witness I want no affection to you or yours ; you are all often in my poor prayers.

I should be glad to hear how the little Brat doth. I could chide both Father and Mother for their neglects of me : I know my Son is idle, but I had better thoughts of Doll. I doubt now her Husband hath spoiled her ; pray tell her so from me. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my Daughter be breeding, I will excuse her ; but not for her nursery ! The Lord bless them. 1 hope you give my Son good counsel; I believe he needs it. He is in the dangerous time of his age ; and it's a very vain world. 0, how good it is to close with Christ betimes;—there is nothing else worth the looking after. I beseech you call upon him,—I hope you will discharge my duty and your own love : you see how I am employed. I need pity. I know what I feel. Great place and business in the world is not worth the looking after ; I should have no comfort in mine but that my hope is in the Lord's presence. I have not sought these things ; truly I have been called unto them by the Lord; and therefore am not without some assurance that He will enable His poor worm and weak servant to do His will, and to fulfil my generation. In this I desire your

prayers. Desiring to be lovingly remembered to my dear Sister, to our Son and Daughter, to my Cousin Ann and the good Family, I rest,

Your very affectionate brother.

To SIR ARTHUR HASELRIG

A perilous eve

[Dunbar] 2 *Sept.* 1650.

WE are upon an Engagement very difficult. The Enemy hath blocked up our way at the Pass at Copperspath, through which we cannot get without almost a miracle. He lieth so upon the Hills that we know not how to come that way without great difficulty ; and our lying here daily consumeth our men, who fall sick beyond imagination.

I perceive, your forces are not in a capacity for present release. Wherefore, whatever becomes of us, it will be well for you to get what forces you can together ; and the South to help what they can. The business nearly concerneth all Good People. If your forces had been in a readiness to have fallen upon the back of Copperspath, it might have occasioned supplies to have come to us. But the only wise God knows what is best. All shall work for Good. Our spirits are comfortable, praised be the Lord,—though our present condition be as it is. And indeed we have much hope in the Lord ; of whose mercy we have had large experience.

Indeed do you get together what forces you can against them. Send to friends in the South to help with more. Let H. Vane know what I write.

I would not make it public, lest danger should accrue thereby. You know what use to make hereof. Let me hear from you.

I rest, your servant.

It's difficult for me to send to you. Let me hear from [you] after [you receive this].

To HIS WIFE

Tender affection

Edinburgh, 3 *May*, 1651.

I COULD not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my Dear, who is very much in my heart. It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth: the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

I am glad to hear thy Son and Daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the Family. Still pray for thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

LADY BRILLIANA HARLEY

TO HER SON EDWARD

In sore straits

13 *Dec.* 1642.

MY DEAR NED,

My heart has been in no rest since you went, I confess I was never so full of sorrow. I fear the provision of corn and malt will not hold out, if this continue ; and they say they will burn my barns ; and my fear is that they will place soldiers so near me that there will be no going out. My comfort is that you are not with me, lest they should take you ; but I do most dearly miss you. I wish, if it pleased God, that I were with your father. I would have writ to him, but I durst not write upon paper. Dear Ned, write to me, though you write upon a piece of cloth, as this is. I pray God bless you, as I desire my own soul should be blessed. There's a 1,000 dragoneers came into Hereford five hours after my lord Hereford.

TO THE SAME

** The malice that can be '*

28 *Jan.* 1643.

YOUR welcome letter I received on Monday last, but Hopkis was taken at Eichards Castle, but sent me your father's letter and yours. But I hear

he had six other letters, and they were carried to Mr. Coningsby. He is still at Hereford. How he will be used I know not; for poor Griffiths was cruelly used, but he is now set at liberty. But the poor drummer is still in the dungeon, and Griffiths says he fears he will die. I cannot send to release him.

My dear Ned, I know it will grieve you to know how I am used. It is with all the malice that can be. Mr. Wigmore will not let the fowler bring me any fowl, nor will not suffer any of my servants pass. They have forbid my rents to be paid. They drove away the young horses at Wigmore, and none of my servants dare go scarce as far as the town. And dear Ned, if God were not merciful to me, I should be in a very miserable condition. I am threatened every day to be beset with soldiers. My hope is, the Lord will not deliver me nor mine into their hands ; for surely they would use all cruelty towards me, for I am told that they desire not to leave your father neither root nor branch. You and I must forgive them. Dear Ned, desire the prayers of the godly for us at Brompton. I desire to ... as it is possible that I may keep the possession of your father's house for him.

I know not whether this will come to your hand or no, but this I know, that I long to hear from you, and I pray God bless you, as I desire the soul should be blessed, of your

Most affectionate mother.

CHARLES I

To PRINCE RUPERT

In extreme necessity

Ticknill, 14 *June,* 1644.

FIRST I must congratulate with you, for your good successes, assuring you that the things themselves are no more welcome to me, than that you are the means. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for which I have taken all possible ways, have sent both to Ireland and Bristol. . . . What I can get from Bristol (of which there is not much certainty, it being threatened to be besieged) you shall have.

But now I must give you the true state of my affairs, which if their condition be such as enforces me to give you more peremptory commands than I would willingly do, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteem my Crown little less, unless supported by your sudden march to me, and a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here: but if York be relieved, and you beat the rebels' armies of both kingdoms which are before it; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (upon the defensive) to spin out time, until you come to assist me. Wherefore I command and conjure you by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, that (all new enterprises laid aside)

you immediately march (according to your first intention) with all your force to the relief of York: but if that be either lost, or have freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot undertake that work: that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worcester, to assist me and my army, without which, or your having relieved York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards have, most infallibly will be useless unto me. You may believe that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus unto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no ways doubt of your punctual compliance.

To PRINCE MAURICE

Concerning Prince Rupert

Newtown, 20 *Sept.* 1645.

WHAT through want of time, or unwillingness, to speak to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Rupert's present condition. The truth is, that his unhandsome quitting the castle and fort of Bristol, hath enforced me to put him off those commands which he had in my armies, and have sent him a pass to go beyond seas; now though I could do no less than this, for which (believe me) I have too much reason upon strict examination, yet I assure you, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more grief than any misfortune since this damnable rebellion) hath no ways proceeded from his change of affection to me or my

cause; but merely by having his judgement seduced by some rotten-hearted villains making fair pretensions to him; and I am resolved so little to forget his former services, that, whensoever it shall please God to enable me to look upon my friends like a King, he shall thank God for the pains he hath spent in my armies. So much for him; now for yourself. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it noways staggers me in that good opinion which I have ever had of you, and, so long as you shall not be weary of your employments under me, I will give you all the encouragement and contentment that lies in my power.

To HENRIETTA MAKIA

Forsaken

Oxford, 22 *Apr.* 1646.

SINCE Monday was fortnight, I have not received any letters from thee, which I only impute to the obstruction of passages, having failed of my ordinary intelligence from London, so that I am very doubtful how this will come to thee, which is the dispatch of the greatest importance, and the saddest, that I ever sent thee. Finding now my condition much worse than ever, by the relapsed perfidiousness of the Scots, which I so little suspected before Sunday last that I received account of that business from Montrevil, as I did not care what hazard I undertook for the putting myself into their army, for I resolved from hence to venture the breaking thro' the rebels' quarters (which, upon my word, was neither a safe nor easy

work) to meet them where they should appoint; and I was so eager upon it, that, had it not been for Prince Rupert's backwardness, I had tried it without hearing from them, being impatient of <^elay. And when the rebels' forces came so thick about, so that I found that way of passing impossible, then I resolved and had laid my design how to go in a disguise. And, that no time might be lost, I wrote a letter to Montrose to make him march up and join with them, in case he found by Montrevil, by whom I sent the letter, that they were really agreed with me.

Thus thou seest that I neither eschewed danger nor spared pains to have made this conjunction with the Scots, which thou so much desiredst, and which I think the fittest for my affairs ; and thou will as plainly see, by what secretary Nicholas sends thee, their base, unworthy dealing, in retracting of almost all which was promised Montrevil from London, even to the being ashamed of my company, desiring me to pretend that my coming to them was only in my way to Scotland. But the pointing at their falsehood must not make me forget to give Montrevil his due, who seriously hath carried himself in this business with perfect integrity (for the least slip of honesty in him had been my ruin), of which the burning of my warrant for the rendering of Newark being sufficient proof, if there had been no other.

All this doth plainly show thee how my condition is, the difficulty of resolving of what to do being answerable to the sadness of it; but the renewing of thy advices upon all kind of suppositions hath in a manner directed me what to do. Wherefore, to eschew all kind of captivity, which,

if I stay here, I must undergo, I intend (by the grace of God) to get privately to Lynn; where I will yet try if it be possible to make such a strength, as to procure honourable and safe conditions from the rebels ; if not, then I resolve to go by sea to Scotland, in case I shall understand that Montrose be in condition fit to receive me, otherwise I mean to make for Ireland, France, or Denmark, but to which of these I am not yet resolved ; desiring, if it may be, to have thy judgement before I put to sea, to direct my course by. In the meantime, I conjure thee, by thy constant love to me, that if I should miscarry (whether by being taken by the rebels or otherwise), to continue the same active endeavours for Prince Charles as thou hast done for me, and not whine for my misfortunes in a retired way, but, like thy father's daughter, vigorously assist Prince Charles to regain his own. This thou canst not refuse to perform, knowing the reality of thy love to him who is eternally thine.

To THE SAME

Barbarously baited

Newcastle, 10 *June,* 1646.

THESE two last weeks I heard not from thee, nor any about thee, which hath made my present condition the more troublesome, but I expect daily the contentment of hearing from thee. Indeed I have need of some comfort, for I never knew what it was to be barbarously baited before, and these five or six days last have much surpassed, in rude pressures against my conscience, all the rest since I came

to the Scotch army; for, upon I know not what intelligence from London, nothing must serve but my signing the covenant (the last was, my commanding all my subjects to do it), declaring absolutely, and without reserve, for Presbyterian government, and my receiving the Directory in my family, with an absolute command for the rest of the kingdom ; and if I did not all this, then a present agreement must be made with the parliament, without regard of me, for they said that otherways they could not hope for peace or a just war. It is true they gave me many other fair promises in case I did what they desired (and yet for the militia they daily give ground) ; but I answered them, that what they demanded was absolutely against my conscience, which might be persuaded, but would not be forced by anything they could speak or do. This was the sum of divers debates and papers between us, of which I cannot now give thee an account. At least [last ?] I made them be content with another message to London, requiring an answer to my former, with an offer to go thither upon honourable and just conditions. Thus all I can do is but delaying of ill, which I shall not be able to do long without assistance from thee. I cannot but again remember thee, that there was never man so alone as I, and therefore very much to be excused for the committing of any error, because I have reason to suspect everything that these advised me, and to distrust mine own single opinion, having no living soul to help me. To conclude, all the comfort I have is in thy love and a clear conscience. I know the first will not fail me, nor (by the grace of God) the other. Only I desire thy particular

help, that I should be as little vexed as may be ; for, if thou do not, I care not much for others. I need say no more of this, nor will at this time, but that I am eternally thine.

To PRINCESS ELIZABETH

A loving father

Newport, 14 *Oct* 1648.

IT is not want of affection that makes me write so seldom to you, but want of matter such as I could wish, and indeed I am loth to write to those I love when I am out of humour (as I have been these days by past) lest my letters should trouble those I desire to please, but having this opportunity I would not lose it; though, at this time, I have nothing to say, but God bless you. So I rest

Your loving Father,
CHARLES E.

Give your Brother my blessing with a kiss ; and commend me kindly to my Lady Northumberland by the same token.

HENRIETTA MARIA

To CHARLES I

At his old game

The Hague, 11 *May* [1642].

I HAVE received your letter by the post, with the message that the Parliament has sent you, which I think is pretty fair, since they believe they can have everything by speaking high words. As to your journey into Ireland, I say nothing about it, having written on that subject before ; but as to the discourse you have had with Culpepper (?) about Hull, I must say in truth, that to me it is a strange thing, that there is any one who can argue against that, and that you have not attempted to get it already ; for the longer you wait, the worse it will be : and [can you] believe, that if there come a fleet to fetch away the arms, you will be able to hinder it ? If, before that, you do not get the place, the folly is so great, that I do not understand it. Delays have always ruined you., As to your answer on the"militia, I would"beiteve that you will not consent to pass it for two years, as I understand you will be pressed to do, and that you will refuse it. But perhaps, it is already done ; you are beginning again your old game of yielding everything. For my own consolation, however, I will hope the contrary, till I hear the decision ; for I confess that if you do it, you ruin me in

ruining yourself ; and that, could I have believed it, I should never have quitted England ; for my journey is rendered ridiculous by what you do, having broken all the resolutions that you and I had taken, except of going where you are, and that to do nothing. If you had been willing to cede the militia when I was in England, I could have satisfied the Parliament, as I said ; but you have done in this, I am afraid, as you did in the affair of the bishops ; for at one time, you could have entered into an accommodation about that, and you were obstinate that you would not, and after all, you yielded it. Meanwhile, I went out of England, contrary to every body's opinion, in the confidence I had of what you would do, and I have made myself ridiculous ; whereas, if you had done as you had resolved, it would have been seen that what you yielded all that time, was only out of fear of danger to my person, and from your affection to me, and not for want of resolution, and that I had been in the right to go away : whereas, hitherto there is ground for believing that it is a vagary or a folly ; for as for staying in York, without doing anything, I might have done that.

Forgive me for writing all this to you : the truth is, that I see I shall be constrained by my misfortunes, to retire to some place where I can pray to God for you. I understand they are willing to give you tonnage and poundage for three years. I repeat to you, that if you cannot have it as you ought, that is to say, in your own power to dispose of it, you pass a thing against yourself : you see it by experience, for all that has **been hitherto** done with it, has been against you.

As to what you write me, concerning the 7,000 pieces, I will not fail to send them.

As to the esquire of James, the man to whom you have promised it is Mr.——. He was a cornet of Henry Percy's company, a gentleman of worth. I think, that for the present, one in that place is enough. I send you this man express, hoping that you will not have passed the militia bill. If you have, I must think about retiring for the present, into a convent, for you are no longer capable of protecting any one, not even yourself.

Adieu, my dear heart.

TO THE SAME

Anxious misgivings

31 *Aug.* 1642.

I HAD sent off a person to come to you, but the wind has not permitted. I am in extreme anxiety, hearing no tidings from you, and those from London are not advantageous to you. Perhaps by this they think to frighten me into an accommodation ; but they are deceived. I never in my life did anything from fear, and I hope I shall not begin by the loss of a crown ; as to you, you know well that there have been persons who have said that you were of that temper ; if that be true, I have never recognized it in you, but I still hope, even if it has been true, that you will show the contrary, and that no fear will make you submit to your own ruin and that of your posterity. For my own part, I do not see the wisdom of these Messieurs rebels, in being able to imagine that they will

make you come by force to their object, and to an accommodation; for as long as you are in the world, assuredly England can have no rest nor peace, unless you consent to it, and assuredly that cannot be unless you are restored to your just prerogatives : and if even in the beginning you should meet with misfortunes, you will still have friends enough who will assist you to replace yourself. I have never yet seen nor read an example which can make me doubt of it by any means. Resolution and constancy are two things very necessary to it, assisted by the justice of our cause. Neither God nor men of honour will abandon you, provided you do not abandon yourself.

You see that I do not even fear lest this should be opened. I will venture to say that although it be not thought good, it will not be printed ; that would be just the contrary of what is now done, for what they find just and good they hide, and what is thought bad is printed. That shows that JUSTICE suffers with us. Always take care that we have her on our side : she is a good army, and one which will at last conquer all the world, and which has no fear. Although perhaps for a time she hide herself, it is only to strengthen herself to return with greater force. She is with you, and therefore you should not fear : you will both come out together, and will appear more glorious than ever. I am very sure of it. See the effects of a melancholy solitude, but not at all of vexation, for, when I reflect well on all these things that I have been writing to you, I find myself so satisfied that no ill-humour can have any power over me, not even the ordinances of Parliament, which are the effects of one of the worst humours in the

world. Considering the style of this letter, if I knew any Latin, I ought to finish with a word of it; but as I do not, I will finish with a French one, which may be translated into all sorts of languages, that I am yours after death, if it be possible.

JOHN EVELYN

To RICHARD BROWNE

In straiter custody

6 *Dec.* 1647.

BEING about a day old in town, since my Sussex journey, where I have put mine estate in some better posture than it was, and am much obliged to my uncle William for his company, I have employed yesterday and a part of the present to inform myself of intelligence fit to furnish you withal; for which purpose I went yesterday as far as Chelsea, and dined with Sir John 31, who showed me extraordinary courtesy, and more than twice conjured me to make trial of his friendship upon all occasions, as if somebody had expressly bespoken him ; that evening I made a visit to my Lord of 36, and my character goes among all mine acquaintance for the civilest traveller that ever returned ; for I was expected all ribbon, feather, and romanyo, which has turned much to my account, though better spoken from another. I have been this day at St. James's to have moved Mr. 118 in the fresh prosecution of our business, and brought it to a personal treaty with his friend the Colonel; but he being gone to visit his uncle, who lies a dying, as others think, sick out of design, as usually he is once a month, to have leisure to tell and dispose of his vast treasure, I could not compass mine intention as I hope very shortly to do.

From here I called upon 131, where, though I found your Cousin Fanshawe and my Lord Arundel of Wardour (very good company), yet I brought back little news but what you will find enclosed in this pamphlet, being very ingeniously the full substance of what is positively true.

It is said that his Majesty is in straiter custody in the Isle of Wight than ever he was at Hampton Court, but this is not generally believed. The propositions are certainly to be sent him some time this present week, and many there are who are confident he will sign them. For my part, I think the personal treaty a mere juggle, and that his Majesty shall never be the nearer to London, if they have power to adjourn, where and when they please. The Bang's case is just like the disarmed man, who, whether he agree that his antagonist shall keep his weapon or not, is forced to let him have it. The Parliament have gotten the power, and now they ask his Majesty by these propositions whether he assent they should keep it, when, as in truth, they are agreed upon it already, in despite of his teeth. From whence I conclude that if he sign them, he will be but *in statu quo nunc* ; and if he refuse them, in far greater peril than ever he was yet, since he was sold to those tyrants. But, that which is news indeed, the agitators are for certain reconciled with the army, and, since the last council, held by them (as I take it) on Saturday last, as high and strong as ever they were ; which is a mutation that makes us all at a maze what project is now a-working.

You will shortly hear of Cromwell's vision, and how on Friday night last he being strucken blind for the space of four hours, during which he had

a conference with God, persuading him to adjust with the holy agitators, he next day put it in execution. To-morrow we look for strange things; these monsters and some principal of the army being expected at the parliament, some say, absolutely to dissolve them, others, more discerning, to purge them again of about 70 moderate humours that hinder operations. *Quorsum haec?* 0 Heavens ! we are now more in the dark than ever, and I protest unto you things were never more unriddleable than at this instant of time, after so many fair and promising expectations. 1 have lately newly learned that the army are generally marching into Hampshire : what that signifies I give you leave to judge ; as well as conjecture of their affections to the settling of his Majesty, by those letters of my Lord Digby, published on purpose to enfever the people against him, as one that practised a parley in Ireland to subdue them in England.

This, Sir, is all our news at present; and I cordially wish that, in case it be no better, it would suddenly be worse, that so we may know where to apply ourselves and interest, in which (I do not doubt) but I shall prove serviceable unto you effectually. In the meantime I must not forget to advise you of a secret which was imparted me by a real friend who wishes you well for my sake, my old cousin 34, 51, 7, 13, 20, 2, 14, a quick, honest, shrewd man, and one I dare confide in; and it was that he should be told by one, who was very intimate with his Majesty, that 82 had an ill opinion of you, as if you had held intelligence with some here, for which (seeing there was no conjuring him to discover me the persons) I rendered him

many thanks : but conjecture, from the daily conversation of your brother Sir D 41, and Mr. 32 with him, that it must be one of them ; and of them rather the first, because, for the Jatter, I have ever heard him declare himself so much your friend : but this is a time that shall well warrant all suspicion ; and as I hope it will nothing discourage you, as innocence and a good conscience is a perpetual feast, so I am confident you will not forget to make such use thereof as stands with your interest, and excuse me for this impartial boldness which I always assume in rendering you the best intelligence I can learn : for so is my duty.

Tc

The cv

SINCE mine of May 10th, here is arrived so small intelligence from the army, on whose actions depend all our expectations, that I know not what to write, where to fix. The General is still pursuing the reduction of the levellers, which he is resolved to do, either by money, promises, or blows. And it is certain that Colonel Reynolds, attempting to reduce a party of them near Banbury, had his lieutenant slain ; so that there is blood drawn, though, it is said, he afterwards dispersed them. What the rest (in a great body) have done, or will do, is not mine to determine ; but the most sober men believe it will conclude, at least, in a present and superficial accommodation ; others,

and they not few, that they will never be appeased till this Council be abolished, the Parliament determined, and all their demands absolutely granted.

In the meantime, to stay your stomachs at Paris, it is now communicated to me as a very great secret, even from persons of very great moderation and singular interest, that this defection of theirs hath something more in it than as yet appeareth, and that they have privately debated these brief particulars, viz. :

1. If slaves, then to him that hath right; to a king rather than fellow-subjects.

2. If-free, as free as heaven and earth can make us ; for in a month's revolution great mutations may be made, and great ones called to account.

3. To incline to monarchy strictly regulated.

4. A speedy rendezvous, and declaration according to papers dispersed by faithful hands into all parts of the kingdom.

5. A dilemma put upon the Parliament either to try or not to try John Lillburne ; if not, then sure to revenge the injury ; if, then just ground of discontent.

6. Quaere,—How to supply with Officers ? Reply,—Any soldiers created by them were as able as any now in commission; for did not we make them all at Triploe Heath ?

7. Quaere, — How to prevent future ruin, in respect some of us are for an universal toleration ; others, for English freedom only ? Reply,—This to be debated next meeting.

And doth not this carry a serious face with it ? How facile a thing it is to deceive the credulous Cavalier ! In his hope he hugs himself, sits still,

and expects. But I am not apt to be caught with chaff, neither would I have you believe *omne hoc micans aurum esse.*

If my next do not inform you of an accord, believe it that there is suspicion that they will have their scope of reigning, which is all they contest for ; and I verily think an accommodation can be but temporary. For any other loyal inclinations in them, I can in no way deduce it.

The L.-Gen. Cromwell is returned to London, to make all sure here, where he hath caused treble watches to be kept for this night past. The corpse of Dorislaus, now brought hither, is to be interred with pompous solemnity. Here is yet no more ou'-. of Ireland nor the North ; and now to ourselves.

To SIR THOMAS CLIFFORD

The Dutch prisoners

16 *June,* 1665.

I WAS in precinct for my journey when your letter arrived, which imparted to us that most glorious victory, in which you have had the honour to be a signal achiever. I pray God we may improve it as it becomes us: his Royal Highness's being safe becomes a double instance of rejoicing to us ; and I do not know that ever I beheld a greater and more solemn expression of it, unless it were that on his Majesty's restoration, than this whole city testified the last night, and which I cannot figure to you without hyperboles. I am heartily sorry for those heroes that are fallen, though it could not have been on a more transcendant occasion. Sir, I communicated your

letter to my Lord Arlington, and to his Majesty, who read it greedily. My greatest solicitude is now how to dispose of the prisoners in case you should be necessitated to put them in at the Downs, in order to which my Lord Duke of Albemarle has furnished me with 400 foot and a troop of horse, to be commanded by me for guards if need require ; and I am just going to put all things in order. His Grace concludes with me that Dover Castle would be the most con venient place for their custody, but would by no means invade his Royal Highness's particular province there without his Highness's consent, and therefore advises me to write his Highness for positive commands to the Lieutenant. It is therefore my humble request that you will move him therein, it being of so great importance at this time, and not only for his Castle of Dover, but the forts likewise near it; and that (besides my own guards) he would be pleased that a competent number of land soldiers might be sent with them from on board, to prevent all accidents, till they come safe to me; for it was so likewise suggested by his Grace, who dismissed me with this expedient: ' Mr. Evelyn,' says he,' when we have filled all the gaols in the country with our prisoners, if they be not sufficient to contain them, as they sent our men to the East Indies last year, we will send them to the West this year by a just retaliation.' Sir, I think fit to let you understand, that I have three days since obtained of the Council a Privy Seal, which I moved might be £20,000, in regard of the occasion ; together with the use and disposal of the Savoy Hospital (which I am now repairing and fitting up, having given

order for 50 beds to be new made, and other utensils), all which was granted. I also obtained an Order of Council for power both to add to our servants, and to reward them as we should see -cause. His Majesty has sent me three chests of linen, which he was pleased to tell me of himself before I knew they were gone ; so mindful and obliging he is, that nothing may be wanting. Sir, I have no more to add, but the addresses of my most humble duty to his Royal Highness, and my services to Mr. Coventry.

To SIR PHILIP WARWICK

Scarcity of money

Sayes Court, 30 *Sept.* 1665.

YOUR favour of the 16th current from Stratton has not only enlightened mine eyes, but confirmed my reason : for sure I am I durst write nothing to you which could carry in it the least diffidence of your most prudent economy ; and you are infinitely mistaken in me if you think I have not established my opinion of your sincerity and candour in all that you transact, upon a foundation very remote from what the world does ordinarily build upon: I am sufficiently satisfied to whose care our supplies did naturally belong : for I do not believe the sums we have received to carry on our burthen thus far (trifling as they have been compared to the occasion) proceeded from his (Sir George's) good nature (which I have been much longer acquainted with than you), but to shift the clamour which our necessities have

compelled us to ; whilst our task-masters exacted brick without allowing us straw. And if I have expressed anything to you in a style more zealous than ordinary, it has been to lay before you a calamity which nothing can oppose but a sudden supply; and for that my Lord Arlington (to whom I have frequently said as much) directed me to the proper object : Nor was what I writ a prophecy at adventure : One fortnight has made me feel the utmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and with my affections ;—to have 25,000 prisoners, and 1,500 sick and wounded men to take care of, without one penny of money, and above £2,000 indebted : It is true, I am but newly acquainted with business, and I now find the happy difference betwixt speculation and action to the purpose ; learning that at once, which others get by degrees ; but I am sufficiently punished for the temerity, and I acknowledge the burthen insupportable: Nor indeed had I been able to obviate this impetuous torrent, had not his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and my Lord Sandwich (in pure compassion of me) unanimously resolved to strain their authority, and to sell (though not a full quorum) some of the prizes, and break bulk in an Indian ship, to redeem me from this plunge : and all this, for the neglect of his personal care—whom you worthily perstringe, though for domestic respects and other relations they were not willing to express their resentments. Sir, I am in some hopes of touching the £5,000 some day this week; but what is that, to the expense of £200 the day ? Is there no exchange or pecuniary redemption to be proposed ? or is his Majesty resolved to maintain the armies of his

enemies in his own bosom ? whose idleness makes them sick, and their'sickness redoubles the charge ! I am amazed at this method, but must hold my tongue. Why might not yet the French, who are numerous in this last action (and in my conscience have enough of the sea), be sent home to their master, not to gratify but plague him with their unprofitable numbers ?

Sir, I most humbly acknowledge your goodness for the confidence you have in me, and for that *Arcanum*, the accompt of the disposure and assignment of this prodigious royal aid of £2,500,000 which you have so particularly imparted to me, and that I should have preserved with all due caution, though you had enjoined me none. If I obtain this small sum of £5,000 it will be a breathing till I can meet my brother commissioners at Oxford, whither I am summoned to join for the effects and settlements of some of those more solid appointments mentioned in your audit, and which you have promised to promote ; and therefore I will trouble you no further at present, than to let you know, that upon that account of your encouragement (I mean the providence of God and my sole desires of serving him in any thing which I hope he may accept, for I swear to you no other consideration should tempt me a second time to this trouble) I am resolved to maintain my station, and to refuse nothing that may contribute to his Majesty's service, or concern my duty.

JOHN LOCKE

To MR. STRACHY

Disaster at Chatham

15 *June*, 1667.

I BELIEVE report hath increased the ill news we have here; therefore, to abate what possibly fear may have rumoured, I send you what is vouched here for nearest the truth. The Dutch have burned seven of our ships in Chatham, viz. the *Royal James*, *Royal Oak*, *London*, *Unity*, *St. Matthias*, *Charles V*, and the *Royal Charles*, which some say they have towed off, others that they have burned. One man of war of theirs was blown up, and three others they say are stuck in the sands; the rest of their fleet is fallen down out of the Medway into the Thames. It was neither excess of courage on their part, nor want of courage in us, that brought this loss upon us ; for when the English had powder and shot, they fought like themselves, and made the Dutch feel them ; but whether it were fortune, or fate, or anything else, let time and tongues tell you, for I profess I would not believe what every mouth speaks. It is said this morning the French fleet are seen off the Isle of Wight. I have neither the gift nor heart to prophesy, and since I remember you bought a new cloak in the hot weather, I know you are apt enough to provide against

a storm. Should I tell you that I believe but half what men of credit and eye-witnesses report, you would think the world very wicked and foolish, or me very credulous. Things and persons are ihe same here, and go on at the same rate they did before, and I, among the rest, design to continue

Your faithful friend and servant,

J. L.

I think the hull of three or four of our great ships are saved, being sunk to prevent their burning totally. We are all quiet here, but raising of forces apace.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

To THE DUCHESS

The victory of Blenheim

13 *Aug.* 1704.

I HAVE not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. Mon[er]. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Col[l]. Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two by another more at large.

TO THE SAME

The battle

14 *Aug.* 1704'.

BEFORE the battle was quite done yesterday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty's arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the Marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8,000 men, and near 1,500 officers. In short, the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined ; that of the elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Marsin,

which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid has not had much loss, for I can't find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that Monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the Marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England ; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expense, and I think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this, as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this ; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war.

To LORD GODOLPHIN

Near Louvain

29 *July*, 1705.

You will have here enclosed her majesty's letter, which by mistake was forgot in my last. I am now almost in despair of having that advantage we ought to expect from our last success ; for we have now been here nine days in sight of the enemy, the river Dyle only between us. On Wednesday last it was unanimously resolved we should pass it the next morning ; but that afternoon there fell so much rain that made it impracticable ; but the fair weather has made it as it was, so that I resolved to have passed it this morning. Upon which the deputies held a council with all the generals of Monsieur Overkirk's army, who have unanimously retracted their opinion, and declared the passage of the river to be of too dangerous a consequence, which resolution, in my opinion, will spoil the whole campaign. They have, at the same time, proposed to me to attack the French on their left, but I know they will let that fall also as soon as they shall see the ground ; for that has much more difficulties in it than what I was desirous they should do. In short, these generals are so cautious that we shall be able to do nothing, unless an occasion offers, which must be put in execution before they can have a council of war. It is very mortifying to find much more obstructions from friends than from enemies; but that is now the case with me, and yet I dare not show my resentment for fear of too much alarming the Dutch, and indeed encouraging the enemy.

TO THE SAME

Ramillies

Monday, 24 *May*, N.S. [1706.]

I BELIEVE my last might give you expectation of an action. We have been in perpetual motion ever since; and on Sunday last we came in presence with the enemy, who came with the same intentions I had, of fighting. We began to make our lines of battle about eleven o'clock, but we had not all our troops till two in the afternoon, at which time I gave orders for attacking them. The first half-hour was very doubtful, but I thank God after that we had success in our attacks, which were on a village in the centre ; and on the left we pursued them three leagues, and the night obliged us to give it over. Having been all Sunday, as well as last night, on horseback, my head aches to that degree that I must refer you to the bearer. I shall only add, that we beat them into so great a consternation, that they abandoned all their cannon ; their baggage they had sent away in the morning, being resolved to light. They had 128 squadrons, and 74 battalions. We had 123 squadrons, and 73 battalions ; so that you see the armies were near of a strength ; but the general officers which are taken, tell us that they thought themselves sure of victory, by having all the king of France's household, and with them the best troops of France. You will easily believe this victory has lost us a good many men and officers; but I thank God we have but three English regiments that have much suffered ;

the Dutch horse and foot have suffered more than we. I am going to get a little rest, for if our bread comes by six this evening, I will then march to Louvain this night, in hopes to find them in such disorder, as that we may be encouraged to attack them behind their lines, for they can have no cannon but what they can take out of Louvain. I beg you will assure the queen, that I act with all my heart, and you know how necessary it is for her affairs that we should have good success.

Poor Bingfield is killed, and I am told he leaves his wife and mother in a bad condition.

MRS. BURNETT TO THE DUCHESS

Joy at victory

12 *August*, o.s. 1704.

THOUGH your grace's moments are so valuable that I should fear to trouble you with my most humble thanks, till you had more leisure to receive such worthless tributes, yet I cannot defer letting your grace know the joy I see in every one I meet. The common people, who I feared were grown stupid, have and do now show greater signs of satisfaction and triumph, than I think I ever saw before on any good success whatever; and after the first tribute of praise to God, the first cause of all that is good, every one studies who shall most exalt the Duke of Marlborough's fame, by admiring the great secrecy, excellent conduct in the design, and wonderful resolution and courage in the execution. The emperor can give no title half so glorious as such an action. How much

blood and treasure has been spent to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to give a balance to Europe ; and when, after so long a struggle, the event remained under great uncertainty, to have the glory to break the chain, give the greatest blow to that tyranny that it ever had, have an emperor to owe his empire to the queen's armies, as conducted by his grace, are splendours that outshine any reward they can receive.

I do not wonder you are all joy. You have just cause for it, and to recount every day with the utmost thankfulness the amazing blessings God has heaped upon you. The bishop heartily prays for the continuance of the duke's success, so that the queen may have the greatest glory that is possible, that is, the restoring peace and liberty to Europe, and, what is greater, the free profession of the Protestant religion, wherever it has been persecuted or oppressed ; and that after her, her ministers, who are the instruments, may share in the lasting blessings and glory due to such benefactors to mankind. Sure no honest man can refuse to unite in such noble designs. I am really giddy with joy, and, if I rave, you must forgive me. I can lament for no private loss, since God has given such a general mercy. In death it would be a matter of joy to me to have lived so long as to hear it.

The bishop said he could not sleep, his heart was so charged with joy. He desires your grace would carefully lay up that little letter, as a relic that cannot be valued enough. Some wiser people than myself think the nation is in so good a humour with this great success, and the plentiful harvest, that better circumstances can hardly

meet for a new parliament; and, with a little care, it may be as good a one as the depraved manners of this nation is capable of. I pray God direct and prosper all her majesty's counsels and resolutions in this, and everything else, and make her the universal protectress of truth and charity. And may your grace be ever a happy favourite, happy in all your advices and services, and happy in her majesty's kind approbation and esteem ; and may every honest heart love you as well, and endeavour to serve you as faithfully, as does your grace's most obedient, &c.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR TO THE DUKE

Congratulations

Cockpit, 24 *May,* o.s. 1706.

MY lord, if I did not write sooner to your grace, upon the mighty success with which God has been pleased to bless your arms in the glorious days of Ramillies, it was that I thought you as yet too busy in pursuing the sad remains of the troops you there defeated, and in receiving the acknowledgements of the cities you delivered, that you would hardly find time to read my letter. And now I do write, my lord, it is rather to express my own particular joy and satisfaction, that your grace is preserved from those dangers, to which your person was exposed in the battle, than to endeavour to describe the glory of the victory, the defeat of sixty thousand the best men that France ever saw, and the restitution of Brabant and Flanders, projected and achieved by the

council and conduct of one English subject. My wishes for the continuance of all good to my patron and protector, may properly be the contents of a private man's letter : the conquests and honours of the Duke of Marlborough, must be the subject of our historians, and the theme of our orators and poets. Learning and gratitude must conspire to set his actions above oblivion and envy, and all parties and degrees of men, who wish well to their country, are obliged to praise the success of that general, who has carried the glory of the English arms beyond what our chronicles can parallel, or our own imagination could have expected. In one word, my lord, without aiming at any flattery to your grace, I think all honest men join heartily in this justice to your merit; though I must tell you, that amongst us some there are that are so bad as to do it, only because they are ashamed or afraid to do otherwise, and that there are more Stevens's than one.

But of this I will not trouble your grace at present, though it may give me occasion of speaking or writing to you on that subject hereafter. For my own part, I must confess in honest prose, as I did two years since in indifferent verse, that I did not see how the honour of Blenheim field could be improved ; and, as matters now stand, I see your grace at such a pitch of glorv, that I can wish no farther for you in that behalf.

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU

To MR. POPE

Among the Turks in Serbia

Belgrade, 12 *Feb,* as. [1717.]

THIS little digression has interrupted my telling you we passed over the fields of Carlowitz, where the last great victory was obtained by Prince Eugene over the Turks. The marks of that glorious bloody day are yet recent, the field being strewed with the skulls and carcasses of unburied men, horses, and camels. I could not look without horror, on such numbers of mangled human bodies, and reflect on the injustice of war, that makes murder not only necessary but meritorious. Nothing seems to be a plainer proof of the irrationality of mankind (whatever fine claims we pretend to reason) than the rage with which they contest for a small spot of ground, when such vast parts of fruitful earth lie quite uninhabited. It is true, custom has now made it unavoidable ; but can there be a greater demonstration of want of reason, than a custom being firmly established, so plainly contrary to the interest of man in general ? I am a good deal inclined to believe Mr. Hobbes, that the state of nature is a state of war ; but thence I conclude human nature not rational, if the word reason means common sense, as I suppose it does. I have a great many admirable arguments to support this reflection ; but

I won't trouble you with them, but return, in a plain style, to the history of my travels.

We were met at Betsko (a village in the midway between Belgrade and Peterwaradin) by an aga of the janissaries, with a body of Turks, exceeding the Germans by one hundred men, though the pasha had engaged to send exactly the same number. You may judge by this of their fears. I am really persuaded, that they hardly thought the odds of one hundred men set them even with the Germans; however, I was very uneasy till they were parted, fearing some quarrel might arise, notwithstanding the parole given.

We came late to Belgrade, the deep snows making the ascent to it very difficult. It seems a strong city, fortified on the east side by the Danube, and on the south by the river Save, and was formerly the barrier of Hungary. It was first taken by Solyman [the] Magnificent, and since by the Emperor's forces, led by the Elector of Bavaria, who held it only two years, it being retaken by the Grand Vizier, and is now fortified with the utmost care and skill the Turks are capable of, and strengthened by a very numerous garrison of their bravest janissaries, commanded by a pasha seraskier (i. e. general). This last expression is not very just; for, to say truth, the seraskier is commanded by the janissaries, who have an absolute authority here, not much unlike a rebellion, which you may judge of by the following story, which, at the same time, will give you an idea of the admirable intelligence of the governor of Peterwaradin, though so few hours distant. We were told by him at Peterwaradin, that the garrison and inhabitants of Belgrade were so

weary of the war, they had killed their pasha about two months ago, in a mutiny, because he had suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by a bribe of five purses (five hundred pounds sterling), to give permission to the Tartars to ravage the German frontiers. We were very well pleased to hear of such favourable dispositions in the people; but when we came hither, we found the governor had been ill-informed, and this the real truth of the story. The late pasha fell under the displeasure of his soldiers, for no other reason but restraining their incursions on the Germans. They took it into their heads, from that mildness, he was of intelligence with the enemy, and sent such information to the Grand Signior at Adrianople ; but, redress not coming quick from thence, they assembled themselves in a tumultuous manner, and by force dragged their pasha before the cadi and mufti, and there demanded justice in a mutinous way ; one crying out, Why he protected the infidels ? Another, Why he squeezed them of their money ? that *[sic]* easily guessing their purpose, he calmly replied to them, that they asked him too many questions ; he had but one life, which must answer for all. They immediately fell upon him with their scimitars (without waiting the sentence of their heads of the law), and in a few moments cut him in pieces. The present pasha has not dared to punish the murder ; on the contrary, he affected to applaud the actors of it, as brave fellows, that knew how to do themselves justice. He takes all pretences of throwing money among the garrison, and suffers them to make little excursions into Hungary, where they burn some poor Eascian houses.

To THE PRINCESS OF WALES

The Janissaries

Adrianople, 1 *April,* o.s. [1717.]

WE crossed the deserts of Serbia, almost quite overgrown with wood, though a country naturally fertile, and the inhabitants industrious; but the oppression of the peasants is so great, they are forced to abandon their houses, and neglect their tillage, all they have being a prey to the janissaries, whenever they please to seize upon it. We had a guard of five hundred of them, and I was almost in tears every day to see their insolences in the poor villages through which we passed.

After seven days* travelling through thick woods, we came to Nissa, once the capital of Serbia, situate in a fine plain on the river Nissava, in a very good air, and so fruitful a soil, that the great plenty is hardly credible. I was certainly assured, that the quantity of wine last vintage was so prodigious, they were forced to dig holes in the earth to put it in, not having vessels enough in the town to hold it. The happiness of this plenty is scarce perceived by the oppressed people. I saw here a new occasion for my compassion. The wretches that had provided twenty waggons for our baggage from Belgrade hither for a certain hire, being all sent back without payment, some of their horses lamed, and others killed, without any satisfaction made for them. The poor fellows came round the house weeping and tearing their hair and beards in the most pitiful manner,

without getting anything but drubs from the insolent soldiers. I cannot express to your R. H. how much I was moved at this scene. I would have paid them the money out of my own pocket, with all my heart; but it had been only giving so much to the aga, who would have taken it from them without any remorse.

After four days' journey from this place over the mountains, we came to Sophia, situate in a large beautiful plain on the river Isca, or Iscae, surrounded with distant mountains. It is hardly possible to see a more agreeable landscape. The city itself is very large, and extremely populous. Here are hot baths, very famous for their medicinal virtues.—Four days' journey from hence we arrived at Philipopoli, after having passed the ridges between the mountains of Haemus and Rhodope, which are always covered with snow. This town is situate on a rising ground near the river Hebrus, and is almost wholly inhabited by Greeks: here are still some ancient Christian churches. They have a bishop ; and several of the richest Greeks live here ; but they are forced to conceal their wealth with great care, the appearance of poverty (which includes part of its inconveniences) being all their security against feeling it in earnest. The country from hence to Adrianople is the finest in the world. Vines grow wild on all the hills ; and the perpetual spring they enjoy makes everything look gay and flourishing. But this climate, as happy as it seems, can never be preferred to England, with all its snows and frosts, while we are blessed with an easy government, under a king who makes his own happiness consist in the liberty of his people,

and chooses rather to be looked upon as their father than their master.

This theme would carry me very far, and I am sensible that I have already tired out your E. H.'s patience. But my letter is in your hands, and you may make it as short as you please, by throwing it into the fire, when you are weary of reading it.

To HER HUSBAND

English politics a laughing-stock

[Turin] 11 *April,* N.S. [1741.]

I TAKE this opportunity of writing to you on many subjects in a freer manner than I durst do by the post[1], knowing that all letters are opened both here and in other places, which occasions them to be often lost, besides other inconveniences that may happen. The English politics are the general jest of all the nations I have passed through; and even those who profit by our follies cannot help laughing at our notorious blunders ; though they are all persuaded that the minister does not act from weakness but corruption, and that the Spanish gold influences his measures. I had a long discourse with Count Mahony on this subject, who said, very freely, that half the ships sent to the coast of Naples, that have lain idle in our ports last summer, would have frightened the Queen of Spain into a submission to whatever terms we thought proper to impose. The people, who are loaded with taxes, hate the Spanish government, of which I had

[1] **The letter was conveyed by Mr. Mackenzie.**

daily proofs, hearing them curse the English for bringing their king to them, whenever they saw any of our nation : but I am not much surprised at the ignorance of our ministers, after seeing what creatures they employ to send them intelligence. Except Mr. Villette, at this court, there is not one that has common sense : I say this without prejudice, all of them having been as civil and serviceable to me as they could. I was told at Rome, and convinced of it by circumstances, there have been great endeavours to raise up a sham plot: the person who told it me was an English antiquarian, who said he had been offered any money to send accusations. The truth is, he had carried a letter, wrote by Mr. Mann, from Florence to that purpose to him, which he showed in the English palace ; however, I believe he is a spy, and made use of that stratagem to gain credit. This court makes great preparations for war : the king is certainly no bright genius, but has great natural humanity: his minister, who has absolute power, is generally allowed to have sense ; as a proof of it, he is not hated as the generality of ministers are. I have seen neither of them, not going to court because I will not be at the trouble and expense of the dress, which is the same as at Vienna. I sent my excuse by Mr. Villette, as I hear is commonly practised by ladies that are only passengers. I have had a great number of visitors ; the nobility piquing themselves on civility to strangers. The weather is still exceedingly cold, and I do not intend to move till I have the prospect of a pleasant journey.

TO THE SAME

Travel in war time

Brescia, 23 *Aug.* N.S. [1740.]

You will be surprised at the date of this letter, but Avignon has been long disagreeable to me on many accounts, and now more than ever, from the concourse of Scotch and Irish rebels that choose it for their refuge, and are so highly protected by the vice-legate, that it is impossible to go into any company without hearing a conversation that is improper to be listened to, and dangerous to contradict. The war with France hindered my settling there for reasons I have already told you ; and the difficulty of passing into Italy confined me, though I was always watching an opportunity of returning thither. Fortune at length presented me one.

I believe I wrote you word, when I was at Venice, that I saw there the Count of Wackerbarth, who was governor to the Prince of Saxony, and is favourite of the King of Poland, and the many civilities I received from him, as an old friend of his mother's. About a month since came to Avignon, a gentleman of the bedchamber of the prince, who is a man of the first quality in this province, I believe charged with some private commission from the Polish court. He brought me a letter of recommendation from Count Wackerbarth, which engaged me to show him what civilities lay in my power. In conversation I lamented to him the impossibility of my

attempting a journey to Italy, where he was going. He offered me his protection, and represented to me that if I would permit him to wait on me, I might pass under the notion of a Venetian lady. In short, I ventured upon it, which has succeeded very well, though I met with more impediments in my journey than I expected. We went by sea to Genoa, where I made a very short stay, and saw nobody, having no passport from that state, and fearing to be stopped, if I was known. We took postchaises from thence the 16th of this month, and were very much surprised to meet, on the Briletta, or Pochetta, the baggage of the Spanish army, with a prodigious number of sick and wounded soldiers and officers, who marched in a very great hurry. The Count of Palazzo ordered his servants to say we were in haste for the service of Don Philip, and without further examination they gave us place everywhere; notwithstanding which, the multitude of carriages and loaded mules which we met in these narrow roads, made it impossible for us to reach Scravalli till it was near night. Our surprise was great to find, coming out of that town, a large body of troops surrounding a body of guards, in the midst of which was Don Philip in person, going a very round trot, looking down, and pale as ashes. The army was in too much confusion to take notice of us, and the night favouring us, we got into the town, but, when we came there, it was impossible to find any lodging, all the inns being filled with wounded Spaniards. The Count went to the governor, and asked a chamber for a Venetian lady, which he granted very readily; but there was nothing in it but the bare walls, and in

less than a quarter of an hour after the whole house was empty both of furniture and people, the governor flying into the citadel, and carrying with him all his goods and family. We were forced to pass tl e night without beds or supper. About daybreak the victorious Germans entered the town. The Count went to wait on the generals, to whom, I believe, he had a commission. He told them my name, and there was no sort of honour or civility they did not pay me. They immediately ordered me a guard of hussars (which was very necessary in the present disorder), and sent me refreshments of all kinds. Next day I was visited by the Prince of Badin Dourlach, the Prince Loiiestein, and all the principal officers, with whom I passed for a heroine, showing no uneasiness, though the cannon of the citadel (where was a Spanish garrison) played very briskly. I was forced to stay there two days for want of post-horses, the postmaster being fled, with all his servants, and the Spaniards having seized all the horses they could find. At length I set out from thence the 19th instant, with a strong escort of hussars, meeting with no further accident on the road, except at the little town of Vogherra, where they refused post-horses, till the hussars drew their sabres. The 20th I arrived safe here. It is a very pretty place, where I intend to repose myself at least during the remainder of the summer. This journey has been very expensive ; but I am very glad I have made it. I am now in a neutral country, under the protection of Venice. The Doge is our old friend Grimani, and I do not doubt meeting with all sort of civility. When I set out I had so bad a fluxion

on my eyes, I was really afraid of losing them : they are now quite recovered, and my health better than it has been for some time. I hope yours continues good, and that you will always take care of it. Direct for me at Brescia by way of Venice.

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,. EARL OF CHESTERFIELD

TO HIS SON

Rumours from divers quarters

30 *Sept.* 1757.

WE now begin to think that our great and secret expedition is intended for Martinico and St. Domingo ; if that be true, and we succeed in the attempt, we shall recover, and the French lose, one of the most valuable branches of commerce, I mean sugar. The French now supply all the foreign markets in Europe with that commodity; we only supply ourselves with it. This would make us some amends for our ill luck, or ill conduct, in North America ; where Lord Loudon, with twelve thousand men, thought himself no match for the French with but seven; and Admiral Holbourne, with seventeen ships of the line, declined attacking the French, because they had eighteen, and a greater weight of *metal*, according to the new sea-phrase, which was unknown to Blake. I hear that letters have been sent to both, with very severe reprimands. I am told, and I believe' it is true, that we are negotiating with the Corsican, I will not say rebels, but assertors of their natural rights ; to receive them, and whatever form of government they think fit

to establish, under our protection, upon condition of their delivering up to us Port Ajaccio ; which may be made so strong and so good a one, as to be a full equivalent for the loss of Port Mahon. This is, in my mind, a very good scheme ; for though the Corsicans are a parcel of cruel and perfidious rascals, they will in this case be tied down to us by their own interest and their own danger : a solid security with knaves, though none with fools. His Royal Highness the Duke is hourly expected here : his arrival will make some bustle ; for I believe it is certain, that he is resolved to make a push at the Duke of N., Pitt, and Co.; but it will be ineffectual, if they continue to agree, as, to my *certain knowledge* they do at present. This Parliament is theirs ; *oaetera quis nescit* ?

4 *Nov.* 1757.

This winter, I take for granted, must produce a peace of some kind or another; a bad oni for us, no doubt, and yet perhaps better than we should get the year after. I suppose the King of Prussia is negotiating with France, and endeavouring by those means to get out of the scrape, with the loss only of Silesia, and perhaps Halberstadt, by way of indemnification to Saxony; and, considering all circumstances, he would befell off upon those terms. But then how is SweJden to be satisfied ? Will the Russians restore MemeL? Will France have been at all this expense *gratis* ? Must there be no acquisition for tlfem in Flanders ? I dare say they have stipulated something of that sort for themselves, by the additional and secret treaty, which I know they made, last May, with

the Queen of Hungary. Must we give up whatever the French please to desire in America, besides the cession of Minorca in perpetuity ? I fear we must, or else raise twelve millions more next year, to as little purpose as we did this, and have consequently a worse peace afterwards. I turn my eyes away, as much as I can, from this miserable prospect; but, as a citizen and member of society, it recurs to my imagination notwithstanding all my endeavours to banish it from my thoughts. I can do myself nor my country no good ; but I feel the wretched situation of both : the state of the latter makes me better bear that of the former ; and, when I am called away from my station here, I shall think it rather (as Cicero says of Crassus) *Mors donata quam vita erepta.*

To THE SAME

Anticipations

20 *Nov.* 1757.

THE King of Prussia's late victory, you are better informed of than we are here. It has given infinite joy to the unthinking public, who are not aware that it comes too late in the year, and too late in the war, to be attended with any very great consequences. There are six or seven thousand of the human species less than there were a month ago, and that seems to me to be all. However, I am glad of it, upon account of the pleasure and the glory which it gives the King of Prussia, to whom I wish well as a man, more than as a King. And surely he is so great a man, that, had he lived seventeen or eighteen hundred

years ago, and his life been transmitted to us in a language that we could not very well understand, I mean either Greek or Latin, we should have talked of him as we do now of your Alexanders, your Caesars, and others, with whom, I believe, we have but a very slight acquaintance. *Au reste,* I do not see that his affairs are much mended by this victory. The same combination of the great Powers of Europe against him still subsists, and must at last prevail. I believe the French army will melt away, as is usual, in Germany; but his army is extremely diminished by battles, fatigues, and desertion; and he will find great difficulties in recruiting it, from his own already exhausted dominions. He must therefore, and to be sure will, negotiate privately with the French, and get better terms that way than he could any other.

TO THE SAME

Two warlike expeditions

London, 8 *Feb.* 1758.

I RECEIVED by the same post your two letters of the 13th and 17th past; and yesterday that of the 27th, with the Russian Manifesto enclosed; in which her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias has been pleased to give every reason, except the true one, for the march of her troops against the King of Prussia. The true one, I take to be, that she has just received a very great sum of money from France, or the Empress Queen, or both, for that purpose. *Point d'argent point de*

Eusse is now become a maxim. Whatever may be the motive of their march, the effects must be bad; and, according to my speculations, those troops will replace the French, in Hanover and Lower Saxony; and the French will go and join the Austrian army. You ask me, if I still despond? Not as much as I did after the battle of Colen: the battles of Rosbach and Lissa were drams to me, and gave me some momentary spirits; but, though I do not absolutely despair, I own I greatly distrust. I readily allow the King of Prussia to be *nee fluribus impar*; but still, when the *plures* amount to a certain degree of plurality, courage and abilities must yield at last. Michel here assures me, that he does not mind the Russians; but as I have it from the gentleman's own mouth, I do not believe him. We shall very soon send a squadron to the Baltic, to entertain the Swedes; which I believe will put an end to their operations in Pomerania; so that I have no great apprehensions from that quarter; but Russia, I confess, sticks in my stomach.

Everything goes smoothly in Parliament; the King of Prussia has united all our parties in his support; and the Tories have declared that they will give Mr. Pitt unlimited credit for this Session; there has not been one single division yet upon public points, and I believe will not. Our American expedition is preparing to go soon; the disposition of that affair seems to me a little extraordinary. Abercrombie is to be the sedentary, and not the acting Commander; Amherst, Lord Howe, and Wolfe, are to be the acting, and I hope the active, officers. I wish they may agree. Amherst, who is the oldest officer, is under

the influence of the same great person who influenced Mordaunt, so much to the honour and advantage of this country. This is most certain, that we have force enough in America to eat up the French alive in Canada, Quebec, and Louisbourg, if we have but skill and spirit enough to exert it properly; but of that I am modest enough to doubt.

TO THE SAME

Looking forward to peace

18 *May*, 1758.

THE King of Prussia is probably, by this time, at the gates of Vienna, making the Queen of Hungary really do what Monsieur de Belleisle only threatened; sign a peace upon the ramparts of her capital. If she is obstinate, and will not, she must fly either to Presburg or to Innsbruck, and Vienna must fall. But I think he will offer her reasonable conditions enough for herself; and I suppose that, in that case, Caunitz will be reasonable enough to advise her to accept of them. What turn would the war take then? Would the French and Russians carry it on without her? The King of Prussia, and the Prince of Brunswick, would soon sweep them out of Germany. By this time too, I believe, the French are entertained in America with the loss of Cape Breton; and in consequence of that, Quebec; for we have a force there equal to both those undertakings, and officers there, now, that will execute what Lord L——never would so much as attempt. His appointments were too consider-

able to let him do anything that might possibly put an end to the war. Lord Howe, upon seeing plainly that he was resolved to do nothing, had asked leave to return, as well as Lord Charles Hay.

We have a great expedition preparing, and which will soon be ready to sail from the Isle of Wight; fifteen thousand good troops, eighty battering cannons, besides mortars, and every other thing in abundance, fit for either battle or siege. Lord Anson desired, and is appointed, to command the fleet employed upon this expedition ; a proof that it is not a trifling one. Conjectures concerning its destination are infinite ; and the most ignorant are, as usual, the boldest conjectures. If I form any conjectures, I keep them to myself, not to be disproved by the event; but, in truth, I form none : I might have known, but would not.

Everything seems to tend to a peace next winter : our success in America, which is hardly doubtful, and the King of Prussia's in Germany, which is as little so, will make France (already sick of the expense of the war) very tractable for a peace. I heartily wish it; for, though people's heads are half turned with the King of Prussia's success, and will be quite turned, if we have any in America, or at sea, a moderate peace will suit us better than this immoderate war of twelve millions a year.

To THE SAME

Great events impending

30 *May*, 1758.

I CANNOT expound to myself the conduct of the Russians. There must be a trick in their not marching with more expedition. They have either had a sop from the King of Prussia, or they want an animating dram from France and Austria. The King of Prussia's conduct always explains itself by the events ; and, within a very few days, we must certainly hear of some very great stroke from that quarter. I think I never in my life remember a period of time so big with great events as the present. Within two months the fate of the House of Austria will probably be decided : within the same space of time, we shall certainly hear of the taking of Cape Breton, and of our army's proceeding to Quebec : within a few days, we shall know the good or ill success of our great expedition; for it is sailed : and it cannot be long before we shall hear something of the Prince of Brunswick's operations, from whom I also expect good things. If all these things turn out as there is good reason to believe they will, we may once, in our turn, dictate a reasonable peace to France, who now pays seventy per cent, insurance upon its trade, and seven per cent, for all the money raised for the service of the year.

TO THE SAME

English gains hy the 'peace

Bath, 13 *Nov.* 1762.

I HAVE received your letter, and believe that your Preliminaries are very near the mark ; and, upon that supposition, I think we have made a tolerable good bargain with Spain; at least, full as good as I expected, and almost as good as I wished, though I do not believe that we have got *all* Florida ; but, if we have St. Augustin, as I suppose, that, by the figure of *pars pro toto,* will be called all Florida. We have by no means made so good a bargain with France ; for, in truth, what do we get by it, except Canada, with a very proper boundary of the river Missisippi ? and that is all. As for the restrictions upon the French fishery in Newfoundland, they are very well *per la predica,* and for the Commissary whom we shall employ ; for he will have a good salary from hence, to see that those restrictions are complied with ; and the French will double that salary, that he may allow them all to be broken through. It is plain to me, that the French fishery will be exactly what it was before the war.

The three Leeward islands, which the French yield to us, are not, all together, worth half so much as that of St. Lucia, which we give up to them. Senegal is not worth one quarter of Goree. The restrictions of the French, in the East Indies, are as absurd and impracticable as those of Newfoundland ; and you will live to see the French trade to the East Indies, just as they did before

the war. But, after all I have said, the Articles are as good as I expected with France, when I considered that no one single person, who carried on this negotiation on our parts, was ever concerned or consulted in any negotiation before. Upon the whole, then, the acquisition of Canada has cost us fourscore millions sterling. I am convinced we might have kept Guadaloupe, if our negotiators had known how to have gone about it.

His Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal is the best off of any body in this transaction; for he saves his kingdom by it, and has not laid out one moidore in defence of it. Spain, thank God, in some measure, *paie les pots casses*; for, besides St. Augustin, Logwood, &c, it has lost at least four millions sterling, in money, ships, &c.

HORACE WALPOLE

To HORACE MANN

Trial of rebel lords

1 *Aug.* 1746.

I AM this moment come from the conclusion of the greatest and most melancholy scene I ever yet saw ! you will easily guess it was the trials of the rebel Lords. As it was the most interesting sight, it was the most solemn and fine : a coronation is a puppet-show, and all the splendour of it idle ; but this sight at once feasted one's eyes and engaged all one's passions. It began last Monday; three parts of Westminister Hall were inclosed with galleries, and hung with scarlet; and the whole ceremony was conducted with the most awful solemnity and decency, except in the one point of leaving the prisoners at the bar, amidst the idle curiosity of some crowd, and even with the witnesses who had sworn against them, while the Lords adjourned to their own House to consult. No part of the royal family was there, which was a proper regard to the unhappy men, who were become their victims. One hundred and thirty nine Lords were present, and made a noble sight on their benches *frequent and full* ! The Chancellor was Lord High Steward ; but though a most comely personage with a fine voice, his behaviour was mean, curiously searching for occasion to bow

to the minister that is no peer, and constantly applying to the other ministers, in a manner, for their orders ; and not even ready at the ceremonial. To the prisoners he was peevish; and instead of keeping up to the humane dignity of the law of England, whose character it is to point out favour to the criminal, he crossed them, and almost scolded at any offer they made towards defence. I had armed myself with all the resolution I could, with the thought of their crimes and of the danger past, and was assisted by the sight of the Marquis of Lothian in weepers for his son who fell at Culloden—but the first appearance of the prisoners shocked me ! their behaviour melted me ! Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Cromartie are both past' forty, but look younger. Lord Kilmarnock is tall and slender, with an extreme fine person : his behaviour a most just mixture between dignity and submission; if in anything to be reprehended, a little affected, and his hair too exactly dressed for a man in his situation ; but when I say this, it is not to find fault with him, but to show how little fault there was to be found. Lord Cromartie is an indifferent figure, appeared much dejected, and rather sullen : he dropped a few tears the first day, and swooned as soon as he got back to his cell. For Lord Balmerino, he is the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw : the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. . . . When they were to be brought from the Tower in separate coaches, there was some dispute in which the axe must go—old Balmerino cried, Come, come, put it with me At the bar, he plays with his fingers upon the axe,

while he talks to the gentleman-gaoler; and one day somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial, a little boy was near him, but not tall enoi gh to see ; he made room for the child and placed him near himself.

When the trial began, the two Earls pleaded guilty ; Balmerino not guilty, saying he could prove his not being at the taking of the castle of Carlisle, as was laid in the indictment. Then the King's counsel opened, and Serjeant Skinner pronounced the most absurd speech imaginable; and mentioned the Duke of Perth,' who ', said he, ' I see by the papers is dead'. Then some witnesses were examined, whom afterwards the old hero shook cordially by the hand. The Lords withdrew to their House, and returning, demanded of the judges, whether one point not being proved, though all the rest were, the indictment was false ? to which they unanimously answered in the negative. Then the Lord High Steward asked the Peers severally, whether Lord Balmerino was guilty ! All said,' guilty upon honour', and then adjourned, the prisoner having begged pardon for giving them so much trouble. While the Lords were withdrawn, the Solicitor-General Murray (brother of the Pretender's minister) officiously and insolently went up to Lord Balmerino, and asked him, how he could give the Lords so much trouble, when his solicitor had informed him that his plea could be of no use to him ? Balmerino asked the bystanders who this person was ? and being told, he said, Oh, Mr. Murray ! I am extremely glad to see you ; I have been with several of your relations ; the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us

at Perth.' Are not you charmed with this speech? how just it was! As he went away, he said,' They call me Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard, I should have followed it, for I could not starve.' The worst of his case is, that after the battle of Dunblain, having a company in the Duke of Argyll's regiment, he deserted with it to the rebels, and has since been pardoned. Lord Kilmarnock is a Presbyterian, with four earldoms in him, but so poor since Lord Wilmington's stopping a pension that my father had given him, that he often wanted a dinner. Lord Cromartie was receiver of the rents of the King's second son in Scotland, which, it was understood, he should not account for; and by that means had six hundred a year from the Government: Lord Elibank, a very prating, impertinent Jacobite, was bound for him in nine thousand pounds, for which the Duke is determined to sue him.

When the Peers were going to vote, Lord Foley withdrew, as too well a wisher; Lord Moray, as nephew of Lord Balmerino—and Lord Stair,—as, I believe, uncle to his great-grandfather. Lord Windsor, very afEectedly, said,' I am sorry I must say, *guilty upon my honour*.[9] Lord Stamford would not answer to the name of *Henry*, having been christened *Harry*—what a great way of thinking on such an occasion! I was diverted too with old Norsa ... an old Jew that kept a tavern; ... I said, 'I really feel for the prisoners!' old Issachar replied,'Feel for them! pray, if they had succeeded, what would have become of *all us* ?' When my Lady Townshend heard her husband vote, she said, I always knew *my* Lord was *guilty*, but

I never thought he would own it *upon his honour.'* Lord Balmerino said, that one of his reasons for pleading *not guilty,* was, that so many ladies might not be disappointed of their show.

On A Wednesday they were again brought to Westminster Hall, to receive sentence ; and being asked what they had to say, Lord Kilmarnock, with a fine voice, read a very fine speech, confessing the extent of his crime, but offering his principles as some alleviation, having his eldest son (his second unluckily was with him), in the Duke's army, *fighting for the liberties of his country at Culloden, where his unhappy father was in arms to destroy them.* He insisted much on his tenderness to the English prisoners, which some deny, and say that he was the man who proposed their being put to death, when General Stapleton urged that *he* was come to fight, and not to butcher ; and that if they acted any such barbarity, he would leave them with all his men. He very artfully mentioned Van Hoey's letter, and said how much he should scorn to owe his life to such intercession. Lord Cromartie spoke much shorter, and so low, that he was not heard but by those who sat very near him ; but they prefer his speech to the other He mentioned his misfortune in having drawn in his eldest son, who is prisoner with him ; and concluded with saying, ' If no part of this bitter cup must pass from me, not mine, 0 God, but Thy will be done !' If he had pleaded *not guilty,* there was ready to be produced against him a paper signed with his own hand, for putting the English prisoners to death.

Lord Leicester went up to the Duke of Newcastle, **and** said,' I never heard so great an orator as Lord

Kilmarnock ! if I was your Grace, I would pardon him, and make him *Paymaster?*

That morning a paper had been sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower for the prisoners ; he gave it to Lord Cornwallis, the governor, who carried it to the House of Lords. It was a plea for the prisoners, objecting that the late Act for regulating the trials of rebels did not take place till after their crime was committed. The Lords very tenderly and rightly sent this plea to them, of which, as you have seen, the two Earls did not make use ; but old Balmerino did, and demanded counsel on it. The High Steward, almost in a passion, told him, that when he had been offered counsel, he did not accept it. Do but think on **the** ridicule of sending them the plea, and then denying them counsel on it! The Duke of Newcastle, who never lets slip an opportunity of being absurd, took it up as a ministerial point, in defence of his creature the Chancellor ; but Lord Granville moved, according to order, to adjourn to debate in the chamber of Parliament, where the Duke of Bedford and many others spoke warmly for their having counsel; and it was granted. I said *their,* because the plea would have saved them all, and affected nine rebels who had been hanged that very morning; particularly one Morgan, a poetical lawyer. Lord Balmerino asked for Forester and Wilbraham ; the latter a very able lawyer in the House of Commons, who, the Chancellor said privately, he was sure would as soon be hanged as plead such a cause. But he came as counsel to-day (the third day), when Lord Balmerino gave **up** his **plea** as invalid, and submitted, without any speech. The High Steward then made his, very

long and very poor, with only one or two good passages ; and then pronounced sentence !

To THE SAME

By rig's sentence

30 *Jan*, 1757.

ALL England is again occupied with Admiral Byng ; he and his friends were quite persuaded of his acquittal. The court martial, after the trial was finished, kept the whole world in suspense for a week ; after great debates and divisions amongst themselves, and dispatching messengers hither to consult lawyers whether they could not mitigate the article of war, to which a negative was returned, they pronounced this extraordinary sentence on Thursday: they condemn him to death for *negligence,* but acquit him of *disaffection* and *cowardice* (the other heads of the article), specifying the testimony of Lord Robert Bertie in his favour, and unanimously recommending him to mercy ; and accompanying their sentence with a most earnest letter to the Lords of the Admiralty to intercede for his pardon, saying, that finding themselves tied up from moderating the article of war, and not being able in conscience to pronounce that he had done all he could, they had been forced to bring him in guilty, but beg he may be spared. The discussions and differences of opinions on this sentence are incredible. The cabinet council, I believe, will be to determine whether the King shall pardon him or not: some who wish to make him the scapegoat for their own neglects, I fear, will try to complete his fate, but I should think the

new administration will not be biased to blood by such interested attempts. He bore well his unexpected sentence, as he has all the outrageous indignities and cruelties heaped upon him. . . .

To THE SAME

Byng's fate in the balance

13 *Feb.* 1757.

AFTER a fortnight of the greatest variety of opinions, Byng's fate is still in suspense. The court and the late ministry have been most bitter against him; the new Admiralty most good-natured; the King would not pardon him. They would not execute the sentence, as many lawyers are clear that it is not a legal one. At last the council has referred it to the twelve judges to give their opinion: if not a favourable one, he dies! He has had many fortunate chances; had the late Admiralty continued, one knows how little any would have availed him. Their bitterness will always be recorded against themselves: it will be difficult to persuade posterity that all the shame of last summer was the fault of Byng! Exact evidence of whose fault it was, I believe posterity will never have: the long-expected inquiries are begun, that is, some papers have been moved for, but so coldly, that it is plain George Townshend and the Tories are unwilling to push researches that must necessarily reunite Newcastle and Fox. In the meantime, Mr. Pitt stays at home, and holds the House of Commons *in commendam.* I do not augur very well of the ensuing summer; a detachment is going to America under a commander

whom a child might outwit, or terrify with a popgun ! The confusions in France seem to thicken with our mismanagements : we hear of a total change in the ministry there, and of the disgrace both of Machault and D'Argenson, the chiefs of the parliamentary and ecclesiastic factions. That the King should be struck with the violence of their parties, I don't wonder : it is said, that as he went to hold the *lit de justice,* no mortal cried *Vive le Roi!* but one old woman, for which the mob knocked her down, and trampled her to death.

To THE SAME

No mercy

3 *Mar,* 1757.

I HAVE deferred writing to you till I could tell you something certain of the fate of Admiral Byng : no history was ever so extraordinary, or produced such a variety of surprising turns. In my last I told you that his sentence was referred to the twelve judges. They have made law of that of which no man else could make sense. The Admiralty immediately signed the warrant for his execution on the last of February—that is, three signed : Admiral Forbes positively refused, and would have resigned sooner. The Speaker would have had Byng expelled the House, but his tigers were pitiful. Sir Francis Dashwood tried to call for the court martiaPs letter, but the tigers were not so tender as that came to. Some of the court martial grew to feel as the execution advanced: the City grew impatient for it. Mr. Fox tried to represent the new ministry as compassionate, and

has damaged their popularity. Three of the court martial applied on Wednesday last to Lord Temple to renew their solicitation for mercy. Sir Francis Dashwood moved a repeal of the bloody twelfth article : the House was savage enough ; yet Mr. Dodington softened them, and not one man spoke directly against mercy. They had nothing to fear: the man, who, of all defects, hates cowardice and avarice most, and who has some little objection to a mob in St. James's Street, has magnanimously forgot all the services of the great Lord Torrington. On Thursday seven of the court martial applied for mercy: they were rejected. On Friday a most strange event happened. I was told at the House that Captain Keppel and Admiral Norris desired a bill to absolve them from their oath of secrecy, that they might unfold something very material towards saving the prisoner's life. I was out of Parliament myself during my re-election, but I ran to Keppel; he said he had never spoken in public, and could not, but would give authority to anybody else. The Speaker was putting the question for the orders of the day, after which no motion could be made : it was Friday, the House would not sit on Saturday, the execution was fixed for Monday. I felt all this in an instant, dragged Mr. Keppel to Sir Francis Dashwood, and he on the floor before he had taken his place, called out to the Speaker, and though the orders were passed, Sir Francis was suffered to speak. The House was wondrously softened: pains were taken to prove to Mr. Keppel that he might speak, notwithstanding his oath ; but he adhering to it, he had time given **him** till next morning to consider and consult some

of his brethren who had commissioned him to desire the bill. The next day the King sent a message to our House, that he had respited Mr. Byng for a fortnight, till the bill could be passed, and he ihould know whether the Admiral was unjustly condemned. The bill was read twice in our House that day, and went through the committee ; Mr. Keppel affirming that he had something, in his opinion, of weight to tell, and which it was material his Majesty should know, and naming four of his associates who desired to be empowered to speak. On Sunday all was confusion again, on news that the four disclaimed what Mr. Keppel had said for them. On Monday, he told the House that in one he had been mistaken ; that another did not declare off, but wished all were to be compelled to speak ; and from the two others he produced a letter upholding him in what he had said. The bill passed by 153 to 23. On Tuesday it was treated very differently by the Lords. The new Chief Justice and the late Chancellor pleaded against Byng like little attorneys, and did all they could to stifle truth. That all was a good deal. They prevailed to have the whole court martial at their bar. Lord Hardwicke urged for the intervention of a day, on the pretence of a trifling cause of an Irish bankruptcy then depending before the Lords, though Lord Temple showed them that some of the captains and admirals were under sailing orders for America. But Lord Hardwicke and Lord Anson were expeditious enough to do what they wanted in one night's time ; for the next day, yesterday, every one of the court martial defended their sentence, and even the three conscientious said not one syllable of their desire of the **bill,**

which was accordingly unanimously rejected, and with great marks of contempt for the House of Commons.

This is as brief and as clear an abstract as I can give you of a most complicated affair, in which I have been a most unfortunate actor, having to my infinite grief, which I shall feel till the man is at peace, been instrumental in protracting his misery a fortnight, by what I meant as the kindest thing I could do. I never knew poor Byng enough to bow to ; but the great doubtfulness of his crime and the extraordinariness of his sentence, the persecution of his enemies, who sacrifice him for their own guilt and the rage of a blinded nation, have called forth all my pity for him. His enemies triumph; but who can envy the triumph of murder ?

TO THE SAME

Byng's execution

17 *Mar.* 1757.

ADMIKAL BYNG'S tragedy was completed on Monday—a perfect tragedy, for there were variety of incidents, villany, murder, and a hero ! His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances, nay, the revolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind ; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him, said, Which of us is tallest ?' He replied, ' Why this ceremony ? I know what it means ; let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said, that being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded on

the coolest reflection that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are ; came out at twelve, sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death ; but being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted, gave the signal at once, received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell. Do cowards live or die thus ? Can that man want spirit who only fears to terrify his executioners ? Has the aspen Duke of Newcastle lived thus ? Would my Lord Hardwicke die thus, even supposing he had nothing on his conscience ?

TO THE SAME

Fall of Cherbourg

24 *Aug,* 1758.

You must go into laurels, you must go into mourning. Our expedition has taken Cherbourg shamefully—I mean the French lost it shamefully, and then stood looking on while we destroyed all their works, particularly a basin that had cost vast sums. But, to balance their awkwardness with ours, it proved to be an open place, which we might have taken when we were before it a month ago. The fleet is now off Portland, expecting orders for landing or proceeding. Prince Edward gave the ladies a ball, and told them he was too young to know what was good breeding in France, therefore he would behave as he should if meaning

to please in England—and kissed them all. Our next and greatest triumph is the taking of Cape Breton, the account of which came on Friday. The French have not improved like their wines by crossing the sea ; but lost their spirit at Louisbourg as much as on their own coast. The success, especially in the destruction of their fleet, is very great: the triumphs not at all disproportionate to the conquest, of which you will see all the particulars in the *Gazette*. Now for the chapter of cypresses. The attempt on Crown Point has failed ; Lord Howe was killed in a skirmish ; and two days afterward by blunders, rashness, and bad intelligence, we received a great blow at Ticonderoga. There is a *Gazette*, too, with all the history of this. My hope is that Cape Breton may buy us Minorca and a peace. I have great satisfaction in Captain Hervey's gallantry ; not only he is my friend, but I have the greatest regard for and obligations to my Lady Hervey; he is her favourite son and she is particularly happy.

Mr. Wills is arrived and has sent me the medals, for which I give you a million of thanks ; the scarce ones are not only valuable for the curiosity of them, but for their preservation. I laughed heartily at the Duke of Argyll, and am particularly pleased with the *Jesus Rex noster*.

Che vert, the best and most sensible of the French officers, has been beat by a much smaller number under the command of Imhoff, who, I am told, would be very stupid, if a *German* could be so. —I think they hope a little still for Hanover, from this success. Of the King of Prussia—not a word.

To THE SAME

Gossip of sorts

9 *Sept.* 1758.

WELL! the King of Prussia is found again—where do you think? only in Poland, up to the chin in Russians! Was ever such a man! He was riding home from Olmiitz; they ran and told him of an army of Muscovites, as you would of a covey of partridges; he galloped thither, and shot them. But what news I am telling you!—I forgot that all ours comes by water-carriage, and that you must know everything a fortnight before us. It is incredible how popular he is here; except a few, who take him for the same person with Mr. Pitt, the lowest of the people are perfectly acquainted with him: as I was walking by the river the other night, a bargeman asked me for something to drink the King of Prussia's health. Yet Mr. Pitt specifies his own glory as much as he can: the standards taken at Louisbourg have been carried to St. Paul's with much parade; and this week, after bringing it by *land* from Portsmouth, they have dragged the cannon of Cherbourg into Hyde Park, on pretence of diverting a man, at whom, in former days, I believe, Mr. Pitt has laughed for loving such rattles as drums and trumpets. Our expedition, since breaking a basin at Cherbourg, has done nothing, but are dodging about still. Prince Edward gave a hundred guineas to the poor of Cherbourg, and the general and the admiral twenty-five apiece. I love charity, but sure this is excess of it, to lay out thousands, and venture so many lives, for the opportunity of giving a

Christmas-box to your enemies! Instead of beacons, I suppose, the coast of France will be hung with pewter-pots with a slit in them, as prisons are, to receive our alms.

Don't trouble yourself about the Pope : I am content to find that he will by no means eclipse my friend. You please me with telling me of a collection of medals bought for the Prince of Wales. I hope it is his own taste; if it is only thought right that he should have it, I am glad.

I am again got into the hands of builders, though this time to a very small extent; only the addition of a little cloister and bedchamber. A day may come that will produce a gallery, a round tower, a larger cloister, and a cabinet, in the manner of a little chapel: but I am too poor for these ambitious designs yet, and I have so many ways of dispersing my money, that I don't know when I shall be richer. However, I amuse myself infinitely ; besides my printing-house, which is constantly at work, besides such a treasure of taste and drawing as my friend Mr. Bentley, I have a painter in the house, who is an engraver too, a mechanic, and everything. He was a Swiss engineer in the French service ; but his regiment being broken at the peace, Mr. Bentley found him in the isle of Jersey and fixed him with me. He has an astonishing genius for landscape, and added to that, all the industry and patience of a German. We are just now practising, and have succeeded surprisingly in a new method of painting, discovered at Paris by Count Caylus, and intended to be the encaustic method of the ancients. My Swiss has painted, I am writing the account, and my press is to notify our improvements. As you

will know that way, I will not tell you here at large. In short, to finish all the works I have in hand, and all the schemes I have in my head, I cannot afford to live less than fifty years more. What pleasure it would give me to see you here for a moment! I should think I saw you and your dear brother at once! Can't you form some violent secret expedition against Corsica or Port Mahon, which may make it necessary for you to come and settle here? Are we to correspond till we meet in some unknown world? Alas! I fear so; my dear Sir, you are as little likely to save money as I am—would you could afford to resign your crown and be a subject at Strawberry Hill! Adieu!

P.S. I have forgot to tell you of a wedding in our family; my brother's eldest daughter is to be married to-morrow to Lord Albemarle's third brother, a canon of Windsor. We are very happy with the match. . . . The bride is very agreeable, and sensible, and good; not so handsome as her sisters, but farther from ugliness than beauty. It is the second, Maria, who is beauty itself! her face, bloom, eyes, hair, teeth, and person are all perfect. You may imagine how charming she is, when her only fault, if one must find one, is, that her face is rather too round. She has a great deal of wit and vivacity, with perfect modesty. I must tell you too of their brother: he was on the expedition to St. Maloes; a party of fifty men appearing on a hill, he was dispatched to reconnoitre with only eight men. Being stopped by a brook, he prepared to leap it; an old sergeant dissuaded him, from the inequality of the numbers. 'Oh!' said the boy, I will tell you what; our profession is bred

up to so much regularity that any novelty terrifies them—with our light English horses we will leap the stream ; and I'll be d—d if they don't run.' He did so—and they did so. However, he was not content; but insisted that each of his party should carry back a prisoner before them. They had got eight, when they overtook an elderly man, to whom they offered quarter, bidding him lay down his arms. He replied, they were English, the enemies of his King and country ; that he hated them, and had rather be killed. My nephew hesitated a minute, and then said, 'I see you are a brave fellow, and don't fear death, but very likely you fear a beating—if you don't lay down your arms this instant, my men shall drub you as long as they can stand over you.' The fellow directly flung down his arms in a passion. The Duke of Marlborough sent my brother word of this, adding, it was the only clever action in their whole exploit. Indeed I am pleased with it; for besides his spirit, I don't see, with this thought and presence of mind, why he should not make a general. I return to one little word of the King of Prussia—shall I tell you ? I fear all this time he is only fattening himself with glory for Marshal Daun, who will demolish him at last, and then, for such service, be shut up in some fortress or in the Inquisition—for it is impossible but the house of Austria must indemnify themselves for so many mortifications by some horrid ingratitude !

To THE SAME

Expedition to Quebec

9 *Feb.* 1759.

THE Dutch have not declared war and interrupted our correspondence, and yet it seems ceased as if we had declared war with one another. I have not heard from you this age—how happens it? I have not seized any ships of yours—you carry on no counterband trade!—oh! perhaps you are gone *incognito* to Turin, are determined to have a King of Prussia of your own! I expect to hear that the King of Sardinia, accompanied by Sir Horace Mann, the British minister, suddenly appeared before Parma at the head of an hundred thousand men, and had been *privately* landed at Leghorn. I beg, as Harlequin did when he had a house to sell, that you will send me a brick, as a sample of the first town you take—the Strawberry Press shall be preparing a congratulatory ode.

The Princess Koyal has been dead some time; and yet the Dutch and we continue in amity, and put on our weepers together. In the meantime our warlike eggs have been some time under the hen, and one has hatched and produced Goree. The expedition, called to Quebec, departs on Tuesday next, under Wolfe and George Townshend, who has thrust himself again into the service, and as far as wrongheadedness will go, very proper for a hero. Wolfe, who was no friend of Mr. Conway last year, and for whom I consequently have no affection, has great merit, spirit, and alacrity, and shone extremely at Louisbourg. I am not such a, Juno but I will forgive him after eleven more

labours. Prince Edward asked to go with them, but was refused. It is clever in him to wish to distinguish himself; I, who have no partiality to royal blood, like his good-nature and good breeding.

To THE SAME

Pitt and this little island

16 *Oct.* 1759.

I LOVE to prepare your countenance for every event that may happen, for an ambassador, who is nothing but an actor, should be that greatest of actors, a philosopher; and with the leave of wise men (that is, hypocrites), philosophy I hold to be little more than presence of mind: now undoubtedly preparation is a prodigious help to presence of mind. In short, you must not be surprised that we have failed at Quebec, as we certainly shall. You may say, if you please, in the style of modern politics, that your court never supposed it could be taken ; the attempt was only made to draw off the Russians from the King of Prussia, and leave him at liberty to attack Daun. Two days ago came letters from Wolfe, despairing, as much as heroes can despair. The town is well victualled, Amherst is not arrived, and fifteen thousand men encamped defend it. We have lost many men by the enemy, and some by our friends —that is, we now call our nine thousand only seven thousand. How this little army will get away from a much larger, and in this season in that country, I don't guess—yes, I do.

You may be making up a little philosophy too

against the invasion, which is again come into fashion, and with a few trifling incidents in its favour, such as our fleet dispersed and driven from their coasts by a great storm. Before that, they were actually embarking, but with so ill a grace that an entire regiment mutinied, and they say is broke. We now expect them in Ireland, unless this dispersion of our fleet tempts them hither. If they do not come in a day or two, I shall give them over.

You will see in our gazettes that we make a great figure in the East Indies. In short, Mr. Pitt and this little island appear of some consequence even in the map of the world. He is a new sort of Fabius,

Qui verbis restituit rem.

To THE SAME

Siege of Quebec

20 *June*, 1760.

WHO the deuce was thinking of Quebec? America was like a book one has read and done with; or at least if one looked at the book, one just recollected that there was a supplement promised, to contain a chapter on Montreal, the starving and surrender of it—but here are we on a sudden reading our book backwards. An account came two days ago that the French, on their march to besiege Quebec, had been attacked by General Murray, who got into a mistake and a morass, attacked two bodies that were joined, when he hoped to come up with one of them before the junction, was enclosed, embogged, and defeated.

By the list of officers killed and wounded, I believe there has been a rueful slaughter—the place, too, I suppose will be retaken.

To HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY

He congratulates him

23 *July*, 1761.

WELL, *mon beau cousin !* you may be as cross as you please now : when you beat two marshals of France and cut their armies to pieces, I don't mind your pouting ; but in good truth, it was a little vexatious to have you quarrelling with me, when I was in greater pain about you than I can express. I will say no more ; make a peace, under the walls of Paris if you please, and I will forgive you all—but no more battles : consider, as Dr. Hay said, it is cowardly to beat the French now.

Don't look upon yourselves as the only conquerors in the world. Pondicherry is ours, as well as the field of Kirk Denckirk. The Park guns never have time to cool; we ruin ourselves in gunpowder and sky-rockets. If you have a mind to do the gallantest thing in the world after the greatest, you must escort the Princess of Mecklenburg through France. You see what a bully I am ; the moment the French run away, I am sending you on expeditions. I forgot to tell you that the King has got the isle of Dominique and the chicken-pox, two trifles that don't count in the midst of all these festivities. No more does your letter of the 8th, which I received yesterday : it is the one that is to come after the 16th, that I shall receive graciously.

Friday, 24.

Not satisfied with the rays of glory that reached Twickenham, I came to town to bask in your success; but am most disagreeably disappointed to find you must beat the French once more, who seem to love to treat the English mob with subjects for bonfires. I had got over such an alarm, that I foolishly ran into the other extreme, and concluded there was not a French battalion left entire upon the face of Germany. Do write to me; don't be out of humour, but tell me every motion you make: I assure you I have deserved you should. Would you were out of the question, if it were only that I might feel a little humanity! There is not a blacksmith or link-boy in London that exults more than I do, upon any good news, since you went abroad. What have I to do to hate people I never saw, and to rejoice in their calamities? Heaven send us peace, and you home! Adieu!

To THE REV. WILLIAM MASON

A continent of cowards

7 *Aug.* 1775.

LET me tell you you have no more taste than Dr. Kenrick, if you do not like Madame de Sevigne's Letters. Read them again; they are one of the very few books, that, like Gray's Life, improve upon one every time one reads them. You have still less taste, if you like my letters, which have nothing original, and if they have anything good so much the worse, for it can only be from having read her

letters and his. He came perfect out of the egg-shell, and wrote as well at eighteen as ever he did ; nay, letters better, for his natural humour was in its bloom, and not wrinkled by low spirits, dissatisfaction, or the character he had assumed. I do not care a straw whether Dr. Kenrick and Scotland can persuade England that he was no poet. There is no common sense left in this country :—

With Arts and Sciences it travelled West.

The Americans will admire him and you, and they are the only people by whom one would wish to be admired. The world is divided into two nations—men of sense that *will* be free, and fools that like to be slaves. What a figure do two great empires make at this moment! Spain, mistress of Peru and Mexico, amazes Europe with an invincible armada ; at last it sails to Algiers, and disbarks its whole contents, even to the provisions of the fleet. It is beaten shamefully, loses all its stores, and has scarce bread left to last till it gets back into its own ports !

Mrs. Britannia orders her senate to proclaim America a continent of cowards, and vote it should be starved unless it will drink tea with her. She sends her only army to be besieged in one of their towns, and half her fleet to besiege the *terra jirma*; but orders her army to do nothing, in hopes that the American senate at Philadelphia will be so frightened at the British army being besieged in Boston, that it will sue for peace. At last she gives her army leave to sally out, but being twice defeated, she determines to carry on the war so vigorously till she has not a man left, that all England will be satisfied with the total loss of America ; and if

everybody is satisfied, who can be blamed ? Besides, is not our dignity maintained ? have not we carried our majesty beyond all example ? When did you ever read before of a besieged army threatening military execution on the country of the besiegers! *car tel est notre plaisir!* But, alack ! we are like the mock doctor ; we have made the heart and the liver change sides ; *cela itoit autrefois ainsi, mats nous avons change tout cela !*

EDMUND BURKE

To C. J. Fox

Humours of the English

8 *Oct* 1777.

. . . As to that popular humour, which is the medium we float in, if I can discern anything at all of its present state, it is far worse than I have ever known or could ever imagine it. The faults of the people are not popular vices, at least they are not such as grow out of what we used to take to be the English temper and character. The greatest number have a sort of a heavy, lumpish acquiescence in Government, without much respect or esteem for those that compose it. I really cannot avoid making some very unpleasant prognostics from this disposition of the people. I think many of the symptoms must have struck you ; I will mention one or two that are to me very remarkable. You must know that at Bristol we grow, as an election interest, and even as a party interest, rather stronger than we were when I was chosen. We have just now a majority in the corporation. In this state of matters, what, think you, have they done ? They have voted their freedom to Lord Sandwich and Lord Suffolk; and the first at the very moment when the American privateers were domineering in the Irish Sea, and taking the Bristol traders in the

Bristol Channel; to the latter, when his remonstrances on the subject of captures were the jest of Paris and of Europe. This fine step was taken, it seems, in honour of the zeal of these two profound statesm m in the prosecution of John the Painter, so totally negligent are they of everything essential, and so long and so deeply affected with trash the most low and contemptible ; just as if they thought the merit of Sir John Fielding was the most shining point in the character of great ministers, in the most critical of all times, and, of all others, the most deeply interesting to the commercial world. My best friends in the corporation had no other doubts on the occasion, than whether it did not belong to me, by right of my representative capacity, to be the bearer of this auspicious compliment. In addition to this, if it could receive any addition, they now employ me to solicit, as a favour of no small magnitude, that, after the example of Newcastle, they may be suffered to arm vessels for their own defence in the Channel. Their memorial, under the seal of Merchants' Hall, is now lying on the table before me.

Not a soul has the least sensibility on finding themselves, now for the first time, obliged to act as if the community was dissolved, and, after enormous payments towards the common protection, each part was to defend itself, as if it were a separate state. I don't mention Bristol as if that were the part furthest gone in this mortification. Far from it; I know that there is rather a little more fife in us than in any other place. In Liverpool they are literally almost ruined by this American War; but they love it as they suffer from it. In short, from whatever I see, and from

whatever quarter I hear, I am convinced that everything that is not absolute stagnation is evidently a party spirit, very adverse to our politics, and to the principles from whence they arise. There are manifest marks of the resurrection of the Tory party. They no longer criticize, as all disengaged people in the world always will, on the acts of Government; but they are silent under every evil, and hide and cover up every ministerial blunder and misfortune, with the officious zeal of men who think they have a party of their own to support in power. The Tories do universally think their power and consequence involved in the success of this American business. The clergy are astonishingly warm in it, and what the Tories are when embodied and united with their natural head the Crown, and animated by their clergy, no man knows better than yourself. As to the Whigs, I think them far from extinct. They are, what they always were (except by the able use of opportunities), by far the weakest party in this country. They have not yet learned the application of their principles to the present state of things ; and as to the Dissenters, the main effective part of the Whig strength, they are, to use a favourite expression of our American campaign style,' not all in force'. They will do very little. ... In this temper of the people I do not wholly wonder that our Northern friends look a little towards events ; in war, particularly, I am afraid it must be so. There is something so weighty and decisive in the events of war, something that so completely overpowers the imagination of the vulgar, that all counsels must, in a great degree, be subordinate to,

and attendant on them. . . . We shall be lucky enough if, keeping ourselves attentive and alert, we can contrive to profit of the occasions as they arise ; though I am sensible that those who are best pro ided with a general scheme, are fittest to take advantage of all contingencies.

To THE PUBLIC

Denouncing the French Revolution

[1796.]

MERE locality does not constitute a body politic. Had Cade and his gang got possession of London, they would not have been the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. The body politic of France existed in the majesty of its throne ; in the dignity of its nobility ; in the honour of its gentry ; in the sanctity of its clergy; in the reverence of its magistracy; in the weight and consideration due to its landed property in the several bailliages ; in the respect due to its movable substance represented by the corporations of the kingdom.

All these particular *moleculae* united, form the great mass of what is truly the body politic in all countries. They are so many deposits and receptacles of justice ; because they can only exist by justice. Nation is a moral essence, not a geographical arrangement, or a denomination of the nomenclator. France, though out of her territorial possession, exists; because the sole possible claimant, I mean the proprietary, and the government to which the proprietary adheres, exists and

claims. God forbid, that if you were expelled from your house by ruffians and assassins, that I should call the material walls, doors, and windows of —, the ancient and honourable family of —. Am I to transfer to the intruders, who, not content to turn you out naked to the world, would rob you of your very name, all the esteem and respect I owe to you? The regicides in France are not France. France is out of her bounds, but the kingdom is the same.

To illustrate my opinions on this subject, let us suppose a case, which, after what has happened, we cannot think absolutely impossible, though the augury is to be abominated, and the event deprecated with our most ardent prayers. Let us suppose then, that our gracious Sovereign was sacrilegiously murdered ;" his exemplary queen, at the head of the matronage of this land, murdered in the same manner ; that those princesses whose beauty and modest elegance are the ornaments of the country, and who are the leaders and patterns of the ingenuous youth of their sex, were put to a cruel and ignominious death, with hundreds of others, mothers and daughters, ladies of the first distinction; that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, princes the hope and pride of the nation, with all their brethren, were forced to fly from the knives of assassins; that the whole body of our excellent clergy were either massacred or robbed of all, and transported; the Christian religion, in all its denominations, forbidden and persecuted ; the law totally, fundamentally, and in all its parts, destroyed; the judges put to death by revolutionary tribunals; the Peers and Commons robbed to the last acre of their estates— massacred, if they stayed, or obliged to seek life in

flight, in exile, and in beggary; that the whole landed property should share the very same fate; that every military and naval officer of honour and rank, almost to a man, should be placed in the samo description of confiscation and exile; that the principal merchants and bankers should be drawn out, as from an hen-coop, for slaughter; that the citizens of our greatest and most flourishing cities, when the hand and the machinery of the hangman were not found sufficient, should have been collected in the public squares, and massacred by thousands with cannon; if three hundred thousand others should have been doomed to a situation worse than death in noisome and pestilential prisons ;—in such a case, is it in the faction of robbers I am to look for my country ? Would this be the England that you and I, and even strangers, admired, honoured, loved, and cherished ? Would not the exiles of England alone be my government and my fellow citizens ? Would not their places of refuge be my temporary country ? Would not all my duties and all my affections be there, and there only ? Should I consider myself as a traitor to my country, and deserving of death, if I knocked at the door and heart of every potentate in Christendom to succour my friends, and to avenge them on their enemies ? Could I, in any way, show myself more a patriot ? What should I think of those potentates who insulted their suffering brethren ; who treated them as vagrants, or at least as mendicants ; and could find no allies, no friends, but in regicide murderers and robbers ? What ought I to think and feel, if being geographers instead of kings, they recognized the desolated cities, the wasted fields, and the rivers

polluted with blood, of this geometrical measurement, as the honourable member of Europe, called England? In that condition what should we think of Sweden, Denmark, or Holland, or whatever Power afforded us a churlish and treacherous hospitality, if they should invite us to join the standard of our king, our laws, and our religion, if they should give us a direct promise of protection—if after all this, taking advantage of our deplorable situation, which left us no choice, they were to treat us as the lowest and vilest of all mercenaries? If they were to send us far from the aid of our king, and our suffering country, to squander us away in the most pestilential climates for a venal enlargement of their own territories, for the purpose of trucking them, when obtained, with those very robbers and murderers they had called upon us to oppose with our blood? What would be our sentiments, if in that miserable service we were not to be considered either as English, or as Swedes, Dutch, Danes, but as outcasts of the human race? Whilst we were fighting those battles of their interests, and as their soldiers, how should we feel if we were to be excluded from all their cartels? How must we feel, if the pride and flower of the English nobility and gentry, who might escape the pestilential clime, and the devouring sword, should, if taken prisoners, be delivered over as rebel subjects, to be condemned as rebels, as traitors, as the vilest of all criminals, by tribunals formed of Maroon negro slaves, covered over with the blood of their masters, who were made free and organized into judges, for their robberies and murders? What should we feel under this inhuman, insulting, and barbarous protection

of Muscovites, Swedes, or Hollanders ? Should we not obtest Heaven, and whatever justice there is yet on earth ? Oppression makes wise men mad • but the distemper is still the madness of the wise, which is oetter than the sobriety of fools. Their cry is the voice of sacred misery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the sanctified frenzy of prophecy and inspiration — in that bitterness of soul, in that indignation of suffering virtue, in that exaltation of despair, would not persecuted English loyalty cry out, with an awful warning voice, and denounce the destruction that waits on monarchs, who consider fidelity to them as the most degrading of all vices ; who suffer it to be punished as the most abominable of all crimes ; and who have no respect but for rebels, traitors, regicides, and furious negro slaves, whose crimes have broke their chains ? Would not this warm language of high indignation have more of sound reason in it, more of real affection, more of true attachment, than all the lullabies of flatterers, who would hush monarchs to sleep in the arms of death ? Let them be well convinced, that if ever this example should prevail in its whole extent, it will have its full operation. Whilst kings stand firm on their base, though under that base there is a sure-wrought mine, there will not be wanting to their levees a single person of those who are attached to their fortune, and not to their persons or cause : but hereafter none will support a tottering throne. Some will fly for fear of being crushed under the ruin ; some will join in making it. They will seek in the destruction of royalty, fame, and power, and wealth, and the homage of kings, with Reubel, with Carnot, with Revelliere,

and with the Merlins and the Talliens, rather than suffer exile and beggary with the Condes, or the Broglies, the Castries, the D'Avrais, the Serrents, the Cazales, and the long line of loyal, suffering patriot nobility, or to be butchered with the oracles and the victims of the laws, the D'Ormesons, the D'Espremenils, and the Malesherbes. This example we shall give, if instead of adhering to our fellows in a cause which is an honour to us all, we abandon the lawful government and lawful corporate body of France, to hunt for a shameful and ruinous fraternity, with this odious usurpation that disgraces civilized society and the human race.

And is then example nothing ? It is everything. Example is the school of mankind, and they will learn at no other. This war is a war against that example. It is not a war for Louis the Eighteenth, or even for the property, virtue, fidelity of France. It is a war for George the Third, for Francis the Second, and for all the dignity, property, honour, virtue, and religion of England, of Germany, and of all nations. . ..

WILLIAM COWPER

To JOSEPH HILL

The war with America

9 *Dec.* 1781.

HAVING returned you many thanks for the fine cod and oysters you favoured me with, though it is now morning I will suppose it afternoon, that you and I dined together, are comfortably situated by a good fire, and just entering on a sociable conversation. You speak first, because I am a man of few words.

Well, Co wper, what do you think of this American war ?

I. To say the truth, I am not very fond of thinking about it; when I do, I think of it unpleasantly enough. I think it bids fair to be the ruin of the country.

You. That's very unpleasant indeed ! If that should be the consequence, it will be the fault of those who might put a stop to it if they would.

Z. But do you really think that practicable ?

You. Why not ? If people leave off fighting, peace follows of course. I wish they would withdraw the forces and put an end to the squabble.

Now I am going to make a long speech.

. You know the complexion of my sentiments upon some subjects well enough, and that I do not look upon public events either as fortuitous, or

absolutely derivable either from the wisdom or folly of man. These indeed operate as second causes ; but we must look for the cause of the decline or the prosperity of an empire elsewhere. I have long since done complaining of men and measures, having learned to consider them merely as the instruments of a higher Power, by which he either bestows wealth, peace, and dignity upon a nation when he favours it; or by which he strips it of all those honours, when public enormities long persisted in provoke him to inflict a public punishment. The counsels of great men become as foolish and preposterous when he is pleased to make them so, as those of the frantic creatures in Bedlam, when they lay their distracted heads together to consider of the state of the nation. But I go still further. The wisdom, or the want of wisdom, that we observe or think we observe in those that rule us, entirely out of the question, I cannot look upon the circumstances of this country, without being persuaded that I discern in them an entanglement and perplexity that I have never met with in the history of any other, which I think preternatural (if I may use the word on such a subject), prodigious in its kind, and such as human sagacity can never remedy. I have a good opinion of the understanding and integrity of some in power, yet I see plainly that they are unequal to the task. I think as favourably of some that are not in power, yet I am sure they have never yet in any of their speeches recommended the plan that would effect the salutary purpose. If we pursue the war, it is because we are desperate ; it is plunging and sinking year after year into still greater depths of calamity. If we relinquish it,

the remedy is equally desperate, and would prove I believe in the end no remedy at all. Either way we are undone. Perseverance will only enfeeble us more - we cannot recover the colonies by arms. If we discontinue the attempt, in that case we fling away voluntarily what in the other we strive ineffectually to regain; and whether we adopt the one measure or the other, are equally undone: for I consider the loss of America as the ruin of England. Were we less encumbered than we are at home, we could but ill afford it; but being crushed as we are under an enormous debt that the public credit can at no rate carry much longer, the consequence is sure. Thus it appears to me that we are squeezed to death, between the two sides of that sort of alternative which is commonly called a cleft stick, the most threatening and portentous condition in which the interests of any country can possibly be found.

I think I have done pretty well for a man of few words, and have contrived to have all the talk to myself. I thank you for not interrupting me.

To THE SAME

Things going wrong

31 *Jan.* 1782.

HAVING thanked you for a barrel of very fine oysters, I should have nothing more to say, if I did not determine to say everything that may happen to occur. The political world affords us no very agreeable subjects at present, nor am I sufficiently conversant with it, to do justice to so magnificent a theme, if it did. A man that lives as I do,

whose chief occupation, at this season of the year, is to walk ten times in a day from the fireside to his cucumber frame and back again, cannot show his wisdom more, if he has any wisdom to show, than by leaving the mysteries of government to the management of persons, in point of situation and information, much better qualified for the business. Suppose not, however, that I am perfectly an unconcerned spectator, or that I take no interest at all in the affairs of my country; far from it—I read the news—I see that things go wrong in every quarter. I meet, now and then, with an account of some disaster that seems to be the indisputable progeny of treachery, cowardice, or a spirit of faction; I recollect that in those happier days, when you and I could spend our evening in enumerating victories and acquisitions that seemed to follow each other in a continued series, there was some pleasure in hearing a politician; and a man might talk away upon so entertaining a subject, without danger of becoming tiresome to others, or incurring weariness himself. When poor Bob White brought me the news of Boscawen's success off the coast of Portugal, how did I leap for joy! When Hawke demolished Conflans, I was still more transported. But nothing could express my rapture, when Wolfe made the conquest of Quebec. I am not, therefore, I suppose, destitute of true patriotism, but the course of public events has, of late, afforded me no opportunity to exert it. I cannot rejoice, because I see no reason, and I will not murmur, because for that I can find no good one. And let me add, he that has seen both sides of fifty, has lived to little purpose, if he has not other views of the world than he had when

he was much younger. He finds, if he reflects at all, that it will be to the end, what it has been from the beginning : a shifting, uncertain, fluctuating scene ; that nations, as well as individuals, have their seasons of infancy, youth, and age. If he be an Englishman, he will observe that ours, in particular, is affected with every symptom of decay, and is already sunk into a state of decrepitude. I am reading Mrs. Macaulay's History. I am not quite such a superannuated simpleton, as to suppose that mankind were wiser or much better, when I was young, than they are now. But I may venture to assert, without exposing myself to the charge of dotage, that the men whose integrity, courage, and wisdom, broke the bands of tyranny, established our constitution upon its true basis, and gave a people, overwhelmed with the scorn of all countries, an opportunity to emerge into a state of the highest respect and estimation, make a better figure in history than any of the present day are likely to do, when their petty harangues are forgotten, and nothing shall survive but the remembrance of the views and motives with which they made them.

My dear friend, I have written at random, in every sense, neither knowing what sentiments I should broach, when I began, nor whether they would accord with yours. Excuse a rustic, if he errs on such a subject, and believe me sincerely yours.

To LADY HESKETH

An unhappy people

1 July, 1790.

INSTEAD of beginning with the saffron-vested morning, to which Homer invites me, on a morning that has no saffron vest to boast, I shall begin with you——

The French, who like all lively folks are extreme in everything, are such in their zeal for freedom; and if it were possible to make so noble a cause ridiculous, their manner of promoting it could not fail to do so. Princes and peers reduced to plain gentlemanship, and gentles reduced to a level with their own lackeys, are excesses of which they will repent hereafter. Differences of rank and subordination are, I believe, of God's appointment, and consequently essential to the well-being of society : but what we mean by fanaticism in religion is exactly that which animates their politics; and unless time should sober them, they will, after all, be an unhappy people. Perhaps it deserves not much to be wondered at, that at their first escape from tyrannic shackles they should act extravagantly, and treat their kings as they have sometimes treated their idols. To these, however, they are reconciled in due time again, but their respect for monarchy is at an end. They want nothing now but a little English sobriety, and that they want extremely : I heartily wish them some wit in their anger, for it were great pity that so many millions should be miserable for want of it.

To THE SAME

A right to self-government

1 *Dec.* 1792.

THE French are a vain and childish people, and conduct themselves on this grand occasion with a levity and extravagance nearly akin to madness ; but it would have been better for Austria and Prussia to let them alone^ All nations have a right to choose their own mode of government, and the sovereignty of the people is a doctrine that evinces itself; for whenever the people choose to be masters they always are so, and none can hinder them. God grant that we may have no revolution here, but unless we have a reform, we certainly shall. Depend upon it, my dear, the hour is come when power founded in patronage and corrupt majorities must govern this land no longer. Concessions too must be made to dissenters of every denomination. They have a right to them, a right to all the privileges of Englishmen, and sooner or later, by fair means or by force, they will have them.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

To CAPTAIN MACKENZIE[1]

An impending evil

[? *Sept.* 1774.]

ALTHOUGH you are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency and what not, give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused, grossly abused. This I advance with a degree of confidence and boldness which may claim your belief, having better opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the people you are among, from the leaders of them, in opposition to the present measures of the administration, than you have from those whose business it is, not to disclose truths, but to misrepresent facts, in order to justify to the world as much as possible their conduct. Give me leave to add (and I think I can announce it as a fact) that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence ; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which, life, liberty, and property are rendered wholly insecure. These, sir, being certain

[1] An officer in the British army.

consequences which must naturally result from the late Acts of Parliament relative to America in general and the government of Massachusetts Bay in particular, is it to be wondered at, I repeat, that ir sn who wish to avert the impending blow should attempt to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence if it cannot be averted ? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative ? And, again, give me leave to add, as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the Ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of.

LORD COLLINGWOOD

To HIS WIFE

A brush with the Spaniards

Excellent, off Lagos, 17 *Feb.* 1797.

I AM sure you will be glad to hear from me after such a day as we have had on the 14th (Valentine's day). It was indeed a glorious one, and it seldom falls to the lot of any man to share in such a triumph. First, my love, I am as well as I ever was in my life, and have now pretty well got the better of my fatigue. Now for history. We were cruising at sea, off Cape St. Vincent, with fifteen sail of the line, when the Admiral first received information that the Spanish fleet, twenty-eight sail of the line, were come down the Mediterranean; and a day or two afterwards that twenty-seven sail were in our neighbourhood, one being left at Gibraltar with ten or twelve frigates, making in all thirty-eight or forty sail. We were fifteen, and four frigates. He determined to attack them. On the night of the 13th, the weather being fine, but thick and hazy, we heard their signal-guns, which announced their vicinity, and soon after day-light we saw them very much scattered, while we were a compact little body. We flew to them as a hawk to his prey, passed through them in the disordered state in which they were, separated them into two distinct parts, and then

tacked upon their largest division. The *Culloden* and *Captain,* Commodore Nelson's ship, were the first that brought them to close action. I by chance became the Admiral's leader (for the circumf tances were such as would admit of no regular order), and had the good fortune to get very early into action. The first ship we engaged was the *San Salvador del Mondo,* of 112 guns, a first-rate ; we were not farther from her when we began than the length of our garden. Her colours soon came down, and her fire ceased. I hailed, and asked if they surrendered ; and when, by signs made by a man who stood by the colours, I understood that they had, I left her to be taken possession of by somebody behind, and made sail for the next, but was very much surprised on looking back to find her colours up again, and her battle recommenced. We very soon came up with the next, the *San Isidrd,* 74, so close alongside, that a man might jump from one ship to the other. Our fire carried all before it; and in ten minutes she hauled down her colours; but I had been deceived once, and obliged this fellow to hoist English colours before I left him, and made a signal for somebody behind to board him, when the Admiral ordered the *Lively* frigate to take charge of him. Then making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the *San Nicholas,* of 80 guns, which happened at the time to be abreast of the *San Josef,* of 112 guns ; we did not touch sides, but you could not put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and, in attempting to extricate themselves, they got on board each other. My good friend, the

Commodore, had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled. Having engaged them until their fire ceased on me, though their colours were not down, I went on to the *Santissima Trinidada,* the Spanish Admiral Cordova's ship, of 132 guns, on four complete decks—such a ship as I never saw before. By this time our masts, sails, and rigging, were so much shot, that we could not get so near her as I would have been ; but near enough to receive much injury from her, both in my men and ship. We were engaged an hour with this ship, and trimmed her well; she was a complete wreck. Several others of our ships came up, and engaged her at the same time ; but evening approaching, and the fresh Spaniards coming down upon us, the Admiral made the signal to withdraw, carrying off the four ships that had surrendered to our fleet.

The ships longest and most engaged were, *Gulloden,* Captain Troubridge; *Captain,* Commodore Nelson ; the *Blenheim,* Captain Frederick ; and *Prince George,* Rear-Admiral W. Parker and Captain Irwin. I had eleven men killed, and many wounded : everybody did well. I am persuaded there will be no complaints of this little fleet; and when the disparity of force is considered, the taking two first-rates, with two flag-officers, is a new thing. I have got a Spanish double-headed shot, fired from the *Santissima Trinidada,* which I intend as a present to your father, to put amongst his curiosities : it weighs 50 lb. These are no jokes, when they fly about one's head. God bless you ! my dearest love; may you ever be happy !

To SIR **H.** NELSON

A lesson in humility

Off Cadiz, 1798.

I CANNOT, my dear friend, express how great my joy is for the complete and glorious victory you have obtained over the French,—the most decisive, and in its consequences perhaps the most important to Europe that was ever won ; and my heart overflows with thankfulness to the Divine Providence for his protection of you through the great dangers which are ever attendant on services of such eminence. So total an overthrow of their fleet, and the consequent deplorable situation of the army they have in Africa, will, I hope, teach those tyrants in the Directory a lesson of humility, and dispose them to peace and justice, that they may restore to those states which they have ruined all that can now be saved from the wreck of a subverted government and plundered people. I lament most sincerely the death of Captain Westcott; he was a good officer, and a worthy man ; but if it were a part of our condition to choose a day on which to die, where could we have found one so. memorable, so eminently distinguished among great days ? I have been here miserable enough all the summer ; but I hope to go to England very soon. The *Barfleur*, *Northumberland*, and some other ships, are expected to relieve the old ones.—Say to Lady Nelson, when you write to her, how much I congratulate her on the safety, honours, and services of her husband. Good God ! what must be her feelings ! how great

her gratitude to Heaven for such mercies !—Pray give my hearty congratulations to all my friends in your fleet. I am glad to understand my worthy Ball and Darby are recovering. That success may ever attend you, is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate friend.

To J. E. BLACKETT

Melancholy days

Barfleur, Cawsand Bay, 18 *Jan.* 1801.

I HAVE been a long time here, and do not know when I shall remove. It has been a melancholy, forlorn time to me ; and I have not been quite well. There is a dreadful languor that I cannot shake oif ; but when Sarah comes, when I see her, I shall then be well. I do not write to her because I think it likely they are now on their journey southward. Shall we ever have peace ? I confess I do not expect to see it. All Europe has combined to reduce the power and annihilate the glory of England ; but the stand we will make will be that of the lion at the mouth of his cave. I do not wish to live to see the honour of our country faded, or its interests injured ; nor do I think it probable that I shall. The Danes and Swedes have joined the coalition, and we now seize them all.

You have been made happy this winter in the visit of your daughter. How glad should I have been could I have joined you ; but it will not be long; two years more will, I think, exhaust me completely, and then I shall be fit only to be

nursed. God knows how little claim I have on anybody to take that trouble. My daughters can never be to me what yours have been, whose affections have been nurtured by daily acts of kindness. They may be told that it is a duty to regard me, but it is not reasonable to expect that they should have the same feeling for a person of whom they have only heard; but if they are good and virtuous, as I hope and believe they will be, I may share at least in their kindness with the rest of the world.

To THE SAME

Joyful anticipations

Barjleur, off Brest, 16 *Oct.* 1801.

I CANNOT tell you how much joy the news of the peace gave me. The hope of returning to my family, and living in quiet and comfort among those I love, fills my heart with gladness. The tidings came to us at the happiest time. I was to take leave of my wife after breakfast, and we were both sad enough, when William came running in with one of his important faces on, and attempted to give his information in a speech; but, after two or three efforts, which were a confused huddle of inarticulate sounds, he managed to bring out. Peace! Peace! which had just as good an effect as the finest oration he could have made on the subject. As I was obliged to sail, we parted in two hours after, but it was only to meet again very soon. I joined the fleet on the 13th, which was going on in the usual style, blockading

Brest as closely as ever ; and I think it probable we shall continue at sea till the fleet is to be dismantled, to prevent as much as possible the confusion which a multitude makes, all anxious for their discharge. We shall thus drop of! gradually ; and I hope by Christmas to have the pleasure of embracing you all.

The moment the French in Brest heard the preliminaries were signed, they sent out a flag of truce with the information to Admiral Cornwallis, and their congratulations on the approaching amity of the two countries. The English officer who was sent in with a return of the compliment was treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness, both by the French and Spanish. They feasted him all the time he stayed there, and carried him to the plays and places of entertainment. I hope now we have seen the end of the last war that will be in our days, and that I shall be able to turn my mind to peaceful occupations. I must endeavour to find some employment, which, having at least the show of business, may keep my mind engaged, and prevent that languor to which, from constitution, I am more subject than most people, but which never intrudes upon my full occupation. At present we know nothing of what is going on in England, for, though dispatches are arriving and going from the Admiral daily, the fleet in general have no communication with those vessels, not even to the receiving or sending a letter,—so that I cannot tell when this will come to you. A letter to Sarah, which I wrote when I arrived here, is still by me. This suspension of correspondence is, perhaps, very proper at this time, preserving things here in the same state

until they are prepared for speedily disbanding us on our arrival in port.

I wish you would have the goodness to ask Mr.——how he proposes his son should proceed. I would recommend his taking him home, and putting him to a good mathematical school, perfecting him, under his own eye, in navigation, astronomy, mechanics, and fortification. He knows now enough of ships to make the application of what he learns easy to him ; and when his head is well stocked, he will be able to find employment and amusement without having recourse to company, which is as often bad as good. He has sense and spirit enough to make a good officer and an honourable man ; but he must make his studies a business, to which he must be entirely devoted : drawing is the best kind of recreation. If he be sent immediately to sea, he may become a good sailor, but not qualified to fill the higher offices of his profession, or to make his way to them.

How glad will my heart be to see you all at my own home ! I look on the day to be at hand when I shall be very, very happy indeed.

TO THE SAME

Acorns and oaks

Dreadnought, off Ushant, 4 *Feb.* 1805.

IN the middle of last month we put into Torbay, where we were a week ; but the being in Torbay is no great relief, for no person or boat goes on shore. We visit our friends and neighbours in the fleet, but have no communication with the

rest of the world, without they come on board, and take the chance of a cruise. The sailing of the enemy's squadron from Rochefort, and evading Sir Thomas Graves, seems to intimate that something is soon to be undertaken by them. It is not yet well ascertained where that squadron is ; but by the route in which they were seen, Brest seemed to be their destination, and if they are arrived there, it will be a proof how little practicable it is to block up a port in winter. To sail from one blockaded port, and enter another where the whole fleet is, without being seen, does not come within the comprehension of the city politicians. Their idea is, that we are like sentinels standing at a door, who must see, and may intercept all who attempt to go into it. But so long as the ships are at sea they are content, little considering that every one of the blasts which we endure lessens the security of the country. The last cruise disabled five large ships, and two more lately ; several of them must be docked.

If the country gentlemen do not make it a point to plant oaks wherever they will grow, the time will not be very distant when, to keep our Navy, we must depend entirely on captures from the enemy. You will be surprised to hear that most of the knees which were used in the *Hibernia* were taken from the Spanish ships captured on the 14th February, and what they could not furnish was supplied by iron. I wish everybody thought on this subject as I do ; they would not walk through their farms without a pocketful of acorns to drop in the hedge-sides, and then let them take their chance.

TO THE SAME

Trafalgar

Queen, 2 *Nov.* 1805.

I WROTE to my dear Sarah a few lines when I sent my first dispatches to the Admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the good people of England, for there never was such a combat since England had a fleet. In three hours the combined forces were annihilated, upon their own shores, at the entrance of their port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success, but by the best I have, twenty sail of the line surrendered to us; out of which, three, in the furious gale we had afterward, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance and got in. These were the *Santa Anna,* the *Alqeziras,* and *Neptune* (the last since sunk and lost) ; the *Santa Anna's* side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar are the *San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno,* and *Swiftsure ;* fourteen others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the *Bahama* I have yet hope of saving ; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those ships which effected their escape into Cadiz are quite wrecks ; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four Admirals—Villeneuve, the Commander-in-Chief, Vice-Admiral D'Alava, Rear-Admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and the French Admiral, Magon, who was killed—besides a great number of brigadiers (commanders). D'Alava, wounded, was

driven into Cadiz in the *Santa Anna*; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm (amputated, I have heard, but not from him). Of men, their loss is many thousands, for I reckon, in the captured ships, we took 20,000 prisoners, including the troops. This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to me to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. 1 cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike anything that I have Jeft in the Navy—a brotherhood of more than thirty years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel, we made our line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow very tired of the sea soon; my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory ruined our prospect of prizes. Our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore; the prizes were left to their fate, and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed, by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them, indeed I hardly know what, but not less

than fifteen or sixteen,—the total ruin of the combined fleet. To alleviate the miseries of the wounded as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solana, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity ; all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solana sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our woun ded men. Our officers and men who were wrecked in some of the prize ships were most kindly treated : all the country was on the beach to receive them ; the priests and women distributing wine, and bread, and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them ; whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief. After the battle, I shifted my flag to the *Euryalus* frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders; and when the ships were destroyed, and the squadron in safety, I came here, my own ship being totally disabled. She lost her last mast in the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive ; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder ; Thompson wounded in the arm, and, just at the conclusion of the action, his leg was broke by a splinter ; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in a forlorn state ; my servants are killed ; my luggage, what is left, is on board the *Sovereign;* and Clavell is wounded. I have

appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson, and Captain Thomas, my old Lieutenant, Post-Captains ; Clavell and the First Lieutenant of the *Victory* are made Commanders ; but I hope the Admiralty will do more for them, for in the history of our Navy there is no instance of a victory so complete and so great. The ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks, and they have neither stores nor inclination to refit them. I shall now go, as soon as I get a sufficient squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthagenians ; if I can get at them, the naval war will be finished in this country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business, for though the loss of the enemy may be estimated at near four millions, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argemoso, who was formerly Captain of the *Isidro,* commanded the *Monarca,* one of our captures; he sent to inform me he was in the *Leviathan,* and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance' sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of adoration ; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends. I dare say your neighbour, Mr.———, will be delighted with the history of the battle. If he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry; it would have new strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear sir, may you ever be happy! It is very long since I heard from home.

I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this ship: another such fight will season them pretty well. We had forty-seven killed, ninety-four wounded.

To HIS WIFE

Kindness itself

Queen, at Sea, 17 *Feb.* 1806.

THE brig is arrived from Newcastle, and has brought me your welcome letter, and my heart is exceedingly relieved by the news of your being well. It is now three months since I had a letter of any kind from England, and a miserable time I have had of it. The uncertainty as to where these fleets and squadrons are, and the dread that they should slip by me, and get into the Mediterranean, wear me down. Would it were peace, that I might enjoy some respite from cares that overpower me. I have written you many letters, with very little information to give you of anything: for I know no more of the world you are living in than if I were an inhabitant of the moon. How sorry I am for poor Miss———. I am sure you will spare no pains for her; and do not lose sight of her when she goes to Edinburgh. Tell her that she must not want any advice or any comfort: but I need not say this to you, my beloved, who are kindness itself. I am much obliged to the corporation of Newcastle for every mark which they give of their esteem and approbation of my service: but where shall we find a place in our small house for all those vases and

epergnes ? A kind letter from them would have gratified me as much, and have been less trouble to them.

MY DARLINGS, LITTLE SARAH AND MARY,

I was delighted with your last letters, my blessings, and desire you to write to me very often, and tell me all the news of the city of Newcastle and town of Morpeth. I hope we shall have many happy days, and many a good laugh together yet. Be kind to old Scott; and when you see him weeding my oaks, give the old man a shilling.

May God Almighty bless you !

To HIS WIFE

Homely inquiries

Ocean, 16 *June,* 1806.

THIS day, my love, is the anniversary of our marriage, and I wish you many happy returns of it. If ever we have peace, I hope to spend my latter days amid my family, which is the only sort of happiness I can enjoy. After this life of labour, to retire to peace and quietness is all I look for in the world. Should we decide to change the place of our dwelling, our route would of course be to the southward of Morpeth : but then I should be for ever regretting those beautiful views, which are nowhere to be exceeded ; and even the rattling of that old wagon that used to pass our door at six o'clock in a winter's morning had its charms. The fact is, whenever I think how I am to be happy again, my thoughts carry

me back to Morpeth, where, out of the fuss and parade of the world, surrounded by those I loved most dearly and who loved me, I enjoyed as much happiness as my nature is capable of. Many things chat I see in the world give me a distaste to the finery of it. The great knaves are not like those poor unfortunates, who, driven perhaps to distress from accidents which they could not prevent, or at least not educated in principles of honour and honesty, are hanged for some little thievery; while a knave of education and high breeding, who brandishes his honour in the eyes of the world, would rob a state to its ruin. For the first, I feel pity and compassion; for the latter, abhorrence and contempt: they are the tenfold vicious.

Have you read—but what I am more interested about, is your sister with you, and is she well and happy? Tell her—God bless her! — I wish I were with you, that we might have a good laugh. God bless me! I have scarcely laughed these three years. I am here, with a very reduced force, having been obliged to make detachments to all quarters. This leaves me weak, while the Spaniards and French within are daily gaining strength. They have patched and pieced until they have now a very considerable fleet. Whether they will venture out I do not know: if they come, I have no doubt we shall do an excellent deed, and then I will bring them to England myself.

How do the dear girls go on? I would have them taught geometry, which is of all sciences in the world the most entertaining: it expands the mind more to the knowledge of all things in nature, and better teaches to distinguish between truths

and such things as have the appearance of being truths, yet are not, than any other. Their education, and the proper cultivation of the sense which God has given them, are the objects on which my happiness most depends. To inspire them with a love of everything that is honourable **and** virtuous, though in rags, and with contempt for vanity in embroidery, is the way to make them the darlings of my heart. They should not only read, but it requires a careful selection of books ; nor should they ever have access to two at the same time : but when a subject is begun, it should be finished before anything else is undertaken. How would it enlarge their minds, if they could acquire a sufficient knowledge of mathematics and astronomy to give them an idea of the beauty and wonders of the creation ! I am persuaded that the generality of people, and particularly fine ladies, only adore God because they are told it is proper and the fashion to go to church ; but I would have my girls gain such knowledge of the works of the creation, that they may have a fixed idea of the nature of that Being who could be the author of such a world. Whenever they have that, nothing on this side the moon will give them much uneasiness of mind. I do not mean that they should be Stoics, or want the common feelings for the sufferings that flesh is heir to ; but they would then have a source of consolation for the worst that could happen.

Tell me how do the trees which I planted thrive ? Is there shade under the three oaks for a comfortable summer seat ? Do the poplars grow at the walk, and does the wall of the terrace stand firm ? My bankers tell me that all my

money in their hands is exhausted by fees on the peerage, and that I am in their debt, which is a new epoch in my life, for it is the first time I was ever in debt since I was a Midshipman. Here I get nothing ; but then my expenses are nothing, and I do not want it, particularly now that I have got my knives, forks, teapot, and the things you were so kind as to send me.

To J. E. BLACKETT

A birtliday letter

Ocean, 1 *Jan.* 1807.

I CANNOT begin this new year so much to my satisfaction as by offering my congratulations to you on your birthday, and my best wishes that you may enjoy health to see many happy returns of it. I hope you are with my beloved family enjoying yourselves in great comfort; and long may you live uninvaded by the sounds of war. What a blessed day it will be to me when we shall all meet together to celebrate the new year, to talk of the privations we have suffered in times past, and have only to look forward to blessings for the future. I have lived now so long in a ship, always engaged in serious employments, that I shall be unfit for anything but the quiet society of my family : it is to them that I look for happiness, if ever I am relieved from this anxious and boisterous life, and in them I hope for everything. Tell the children that Bounce is very well and very fat, yet he seems not to be content, and sighs so piteously these long evenings, that I am

obliged to sing him to sleep, and have sent them the song.

Sigh no more, Bouncey, sigh no more,
Dogs were deceivers never;
Though ne'er you put one foot on shore,
True to your master ever.
Then sigh not so, but let us go,
Where dinner's daily ready,
Converting all the sounds of woe
To heigh phiddy diddy.

It is impossible that at this distance I can direct and manage the education of my daughters ; but it costs me many an anxious hour. The ornamental part of education, though necessary, is secondary, and I wish to see their minds enlarged by a true knowledge of good and evil, that they may be able to enjoy the one, if it be happily their lot, and submit contentedly to any fortune rather than descend to the other.

How do you feel since you were blockaded ? Nothing certainly can be more presumptuous than that decree of Buonaparte's, or more unjust than the seizure of property in neutral countries. —I shall have great pleasure in being sponsor to Sir William Blackett's child ; and if it be a son, and he will make him a sailor, I desire my little Sarah will begin to teach him his compass, that he may know how to steer his course in the world, which very few people do. . . .

To HIS WIFE

Between Turk and Russian

Ocean, off the Dardanelles, 20 *Aug.* 1807.

MY business here is of the most important nature, and I am exerting all my powers to derive good from it. My mind is upon the full stretch ; for my body, I do not know much about it, more than that it is very feeble. We precipitated ourselves into this war without due consideration. We had no quarrel with the Turks, and a temperate conduct would have carried all our points. This is now seen, when it is too late ; and I am afraid the measures we are taking to restore peace are not calculated to accomplish it. The Turks are kind, and take every opportunity of expressing their respect and friendship for the English nation ; but while we make common cause with the Russians, their inveterate enemies, I am afraid they will not listen either to them or us.

On the 9th I arrived at Tenedos, where I found the Russians employed in desolating the country. The island was inhabited by Greeks ; and in an attempt which the Turks made to retake it from the Russians, they had put all the Greeks to death, who, desiring to be neutral, had not gone into the castle. On the Turks being repulsed, and quitting the island, the remaining Greeks, who had been in the castle and the ships, abandoned their country, leaving their houses, their estates, vineyards laden with the fruits of their labour, and cornfields with the abundant harvest ready for

the sickle, to seek a habitation amongst strangers, as rich as they were on the day of their birth, and having nothing to take with them but their miseries. That the Turks may not at any future period profit by what they left, the Russians have burnt everything, making a complete ruin.

Having made my arrangement with the Russian Admiral, the two squadrons sailed; but our friends were not in sight when on the 13th we stood close in with the castles of the Dardanelles. It was not possible for us to get in, though the Turks thought we meant to attempt it. When we were very near, they put out flags of truce from all quarters, and a Capagi Bashi (a sort of Lord Chamberlain of the Seraglio) came off to me with letters to the Ambassador, of a pacific import; and had we only ourselves to treat for, I believe there would be few impediments, but as it is, I am not sanguine. I gave him coffee, sherbet, and smoked a pipe with him. The day after, the answer was sent to them by the Dragoman. The ship that carried it anchored in the port, and the Captain was invited to dine with the Capitan Pacha, who is the Lord High Admiral. There were only five at table : the Capitan Pacha, the Pacha of the Dardanelles, my friend the Capagi Bashi, with beards down to their girdles, Captain Henry, and the Dragoman. There were neither plates nor knives and forks, but each had a tortoise-shell spoon. In the middle of the table was a rich embroidered cushion, on which was a large gold salver, and every dish, to the number of about forty, was brought in singly, and placed upon the salver, when the company helped themselves with their fingers, or if it was fricassee, with

their spoon. One of the dishes was a roasted lamb, stuffed with a pudding of rice : the Capitan Pacha took it by the limbs, and tore it to pieces to help his guests ; so that you see the art of carving ias not arrived at any great perfection in Turkey. The coffee cups were of beautiful china, which, instead of saucers, were inserted in gold stands like egg-cups, set round with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. They drank only water, and were waited upon by the Vice and Rear Admirals, and some of the Captains of the fleet. They spoke lightly of the Russians when they mentioned them at all, and seemed to consider themselves as quite a match for them, if the English were out of the way. When our gentlemen left them, the Pacha of the Dardanelles presented them each with a shawl, which is considered as a token of friendship. I think a specimen of manners so unlike those of Europeans will amuse you. I live here poorly enough, getting nothing but bad sheep and a few chickens; but that does not offend me. I have written to Mrs.——, to charge her not to make our girls fine ladies, which are as troublesome animals as any in the creation, but to give them knowledge and industry, and teach them how to take care of themselves when there is none left in this world to take care of them ; for I think, my dear, you and I cannot last much longer. How glad I should be, could I receive a letter from you, to hear how all my friends are! for I think the more distant they are, the more dear they become to me. We never estimate the true value of anything until we feel the want of it, and I am sure. I have had time enough to estimate the

value of my friends. The more I see of the world, the less I like it. You may depend on it that old Scott is a much happier man than if he had been born a statesman, and has done more good in his day than most of them. Robes and furred gowns veil passions, vanities, and sordid interests, that Scott never knew.

I am much afraid we shall never do any good in concert with the Russians; they hate the Turks, and the Turks detest them, which neither party is at any trouble to conceal. The Turks like us, and I am afraid the Russians are a little jealous of us. Conceive, then, how difficult a part I have to act amongst them; and what mortifies me is, that I see little hope of good from all my cares. To give you an idea of the Turkish style of letters to the Russians, the Capitan Pacha begins one to the Admiral Siniavin, by telling him, 'After proper inquiries for your health, we must observe to you, in a friendly way, what yourself must know, that to lie is forbidden by all religions. Your friend should not receive a falsehood from you, nor can he be a friend who would offer one.' In a sort of battle they have had, the Turks accused the Russians of something contrary to the received law of nations, which the Russian denied to be the case; and the Turk tells him that his religion forbids him to lie. I am much disappointed in the appearance of these Greek islands; they are, for the most part, thinly inhabited, and but a small portion of the land is cultivated. It always blows strong, and there is sunshine in abundance. Cattle are not plentiful, but money is still more scarce; and we buy a bullock for less than £3, when they are to be got, and exchange

the hide for three sheep. A sheep, when fat, weighs about 20 lb. Of all climates and countries under the sun to live in comfort, there is none like England.

To HIS DAUGHTERS

Gentle manners

Ocean, on the Sea, 26 *Dec.* 1807.

A FEW days ago I received your joint letter, and it gave me much pleasure to hear that you were well, and I hope improving in your education. It is exactly at your age that much pains should be taken; for whatever knowledge you acquire now will last you all your lives. The impression which is made on young minds is so strong that it never wears out; whereas, everybody knows how difficult it is to make an old snuff-taking lady comprehend anything beyond Pam or Spadille. Such persons hang very heavy on society; but you, my darlings, I hope will qualify yourselves to adorn it, to be respected for your good sense, and admired for your gentle manners. Remember that gentle manners are the first grace which a lady can possess. Whether she differ in her opinion from others, or be of the same sentiment, her expressions should be equally mild. A positive contradiction is vulgar and ill-bred, but I shall never suspect you of being uncivil to any person. I received Mrs.——'s letter, and am much obliged to her for it. She takes a lively interest that you should be wise and good. Do not let her be disappointed. For me, my girls, my happiness

depends upon it; for should I return to England, and find you less amiable than my mind pictures you, or than I have reason to expect, my heart would sink with sorrow. Your application must be to useful knowledge. Sarah, I hope, applies to geometry, and Mary makes good progress in arithmetic. Independently of their use in every situation in life, they are sciences so curious in their nature, and so many things that cannot be comprehended without them are made easy, that were it only to gratify a curiosity which all women have, and to be let into secrets that cannot be learned without that knowledge, it would be a sufficient inducement to acquire them. Then do, my sweet girls, study to be wise.

I am now at sea, looking for some Frenchmen whom I have heard of; but I was lately at Syracuse, in Sicily. It was once a place of great note, where all the magnificence and arts known in the world flourished; but it was governed by tyrants, and a city which was twenty-two miles in circumference is now inconsiderable. Its inhabitants have great natural civility; I never was treated with so much in my life. The Nobility, who .live far from the Court, are not contaminated by its vices; they are more truly polite, with less ostentation and show. On my arrival there, the Nobility and Senate waited on me in my ship. Another day came all the military: the next, the Vicar-General, for the Bishop was absent, and all the Clergy. I had a levee of thirty priests—all fat, portly-looking gentlemen. In short, nothing was wanting to show their great respect and regard for the English. The Nobles gave me and the Officers of the fleet

a ball and supper, the most elegant thing I ever saw, and the best conducted. The ladies were as attentive to us as their lords, and there were two or three little Marquisinas who were most delightful creatures. I have heard men talk of the *dieux de la danse,* but no goddesses ever moved with the grace that distinguished the sisters of the Baron Bono.

God bless you ! my dear girls.

To HIS WIFE

A flattering portrait

Ocean, off Cadiz, 28 *July,* 1808.

I HAVE just received your letter of the 25th June, out of the sea ; for the *Pickle* Schooner, which brought it out with all the public dispatches, ran on a reef of rocks in the night, and is entirely lost. The dispatches, being on weighty subjects, I am afraid are all lost; your lighter letter was saved from the wreck with some others, and gave me the happiness of hearing that you were well. The Spaniards have been in gre#,t spirits since their victory; but they have rather marred the business by allowing the French to capitulate. I shall mend it for them as much as I can.

I am sorry to find my picture was not an agreeable surprise : I did not say anything to you about it, because I would always guard you as much as I could against disappointment; but you see, with all my care, I sometimes fail. The painter was reckoned the most eminent in Sicily; but you expected to find me a smooth-skinned,

clear-complexioned gentleman, such as I was when I left home, dressed in the newest taste, and like the fine people who live gay lives ashore. Alas ! it is far otherwise with me. The painter was thought to have flattered me much : that lump under my chin was but the loose skin from which the flesh has shrunk away ; the redness of my face was not, I assure you, the effect of wine, but of burning suns and boisterous winds ; and my eyes, which were once dark and bright, are now faded and dim. The painter represented me as I am; not as I once was. It is time and toil that have worked the change, and not his want of skill. That the countenance is stern will not be wondered at, when it is considered how many sad and anxious hours and how many heartaches I have. I shall be very glad when the war is over. If the other nations of Europe had resisted the French as the Spaniards have done, governments would not have been overturned nor countries despoiled. But Spain has had many favourable circumstances ; they got rid of a weak court and licentious nobility. The invisible power that directs the present government is the priesthood ; the people are their instruments, whom they raise to an enthusiasm that makes them irresistible. Buonaparte has not merely the Spanish army to combat (indeed the best of them are prisoners either in the north or at Lisbon), but it is the Spanish nation which is opposed to him. Every peasant is a soldier, every hill a fortress. As soon as I have settled affairs here, which will be as soon as the supplies come from England, I shall proceed up the Mediterranean again, where I have much to do in many points.

I hope I am working them pretty well at this moment, and that my ships are actively employed. ——writes to me that her son's want of spirits is owing to the loss of his time when he was in England, which is a subject that need give her no concern, for if he takes no more pains in his profession than he has done, he will not be qualified for a lieutenant in sixteen years, and I should be very sorry to put the safety of a ship and the lives of the men into such hands. He is of no more use here as an officer than Bounce is, and not near so entertaining. She writes as if she expected that he is to be a lieutenant as soon as he has served six years, but that is a mistaken fancy ; and the loss of his time is while he is at sea, not while he is on shore. He is living on the navy, and not serving in it.——too is applying to go home. If he goes, he may stay ; for I have no notion of people making the service a mere convenience for themselves, as if it were a public establishment for loungers.

TO THE SAME

A double sort of game

Ocean, off Toulon, 8 *Nov.* 1808.

You cannot conceive how I am worried by the French; their fleet is lying in the port here, with all the appearance of sailing in a few hours ; and God knows whether they will sail at all, for I get no intelligence of them. Their frigates have been out in a gale of wind, were chased by some of our ships, and got in again. We have had most frightful gales, which have injured some of my

ships very much; but now that the Alps have got a good coat of snow on them, I hope we shall have more moderate weather. I have a double sort of game to play here, watching the French with one eye, while with the other I am directing the assistance to be given to the Spaniards. The French have a considerable force at Barcelona and Figueras, by which they keep the avenues open for Buonaparte to send his army whenever he is ready. The Spaniards have much to do, more than the people in England are aware of. I have, however, from the beginning, given the Ministers a true view of the state of affairs in Spain. It is a great satisfaction to me to find that everything I have done has been approved by Government; and the letters I receive from the Secretary of State always communicate to me His Majesty's entire approbation. I have heard from the Governor of Cadiz and others, that some of my papers, addressed to the Junta of Seville, on the conduct which the Spaniards ought to pursue on certain occasions, have been very much commended. Perhaps you may think I am grown very conceited in my old age, and fancy myself a mighty politician; but indeed it is not so. However lofty a tone the subject may require and my language assume, I assure you it is in great humility of heart that I utter it, and often in fear and trembling, lest I should exceed my bounds. This must always be the case with one who, like me, has been occupied in studies so remote from such business. I do everything for myself, and never distract my mind with other people's opinions. To the credit of any good which happens I may lay claim, and I will never shift

upon another the discredit when the result is bad. And now, my dear wife, I think of you as being where alone true comfort can be found, enjoying in your own warm house a happiness which in the great world is not known. Heaven bless you! may your joys be many, and your cares few. My heart often yearns for home; but when that blessed day will come in which I shall see it, God knows. I am afraid it is not so near as I expected. I told you that I had written to the Admiralty that my health was not good, and requested their Lordships would be pleased to relieve me. This was not a feigned case. It is true I had not a fever or a dyspepsy. Do you know what a dyspepsy is? I'll tell you. It is the disease of officers who have grown tired, and then they get invalided for dyspepsy. I had not this complaint, but my mind was worn by continual fatigue. I felt a consciousness that my faculties were weakened by application, and saw no prospect of respite; and that the public service might not suffer from my holding a station, and performing its duties feebly, I applied for leave to return to you, to be cherished and restored. What their answer will be, I do not know yet; but I had before mentioned my declining health to Lord Mulgrave, and he tells me in reply, that he hopes I will stay, for he knows not how to supply my place. The impression which his letter made upon me was one of grief and sorrow: first, that with such a list as we have, there should be thought to be any difficulty in finding a successor of superior ability to me; and next, that there should be any obstacle in the way of the only comfort and happiness that I have to look forward

to in this world. The variety of subjects, all of great importance, with which I am engaged, would puzzle a longer head than mine. The conduct of the fleet alone would be easy ; but the political correspondence which I have to carry on with the Spaniards, the Turks, the Albanians, the Egyptians, and all the States of Barbary, gives me such constant occupation, that I really often feel my spirits quite exhausted, and of course my health is much impaired : but if I must go on, I will do the best I can. The French have a force here quite equal to us ; and a winter's cruise, which is only to be succeeded by a summer one, is not very delightful, for we have dreadful weather; and in my heart I long for that respite which my home would give me, and that comfort of which I have had so little experience.

I hope your father and sister are well, and far happier than I am ; but tell them that, happy or miserable, I shall ever love them.———, who was making a fortune, has behaved so ill, that he is to be tried by a court martial: but there are some people who cannot bear to be lifted out of the mud ; it is their native element, and they are nowhere so well as in it.

To HIS DAUGHTER SARAH

Mind and manners

Ocean, at Malta, 5 *Feb.* 1809.

I RECEIVED your letter, my dearest child, and it made me very happy to find that you and dear Mary were well, and taking pains with your education. The greatest pleasure I have amidst

my toils and troubles, is in the expectation which I entertain of finding you improved in knowledge, and that the understanding which it has pleased God to give you both has been cultivated with care and assiduity. Your future happiness and respectability in the world depend on the diligence with which you apply to the attainment of knowledge at this period of your life, and I hope that no negligence of your own will be a bar to your progress. When I write to you, my beloved child, so much interested am I that you should be amiable and worthy of the friendship and esteem of good and wise people, that I cannot forbear DO second and enforce the instruction which you receive, by admonition of my own, pointing out to you the great advantages that will result from a temperate conduct and sweetness of manner to all people, on all occasions. It does not follow that you are to coincide and agree in opinion with every ill-judging person ; but after showing them your reason for dissenting from their opinion, your argument and opposition to it should not be tinctured by anything offensive. Never forget for one moment that you are a gentlewoman; and all your words and all your actions should mark you gentle. I never knew your mother—your dear, your good mother—say a harsh or a hasty thing to any person in my life. Endeavour to imitate her. I am quick and hasty in my temper ; my sensibility is touched sometimes with a trifle, and my expression of it sudden as gunpowder : but, my darling, it is a misfortune, which, not having been sufficiently restrained in my youth, has caused me much pain. It has, indeed, given me more trouble to subdue this natural impetuosity,

than anything I ever undertook. I believe that you are both mild; but if ever you feel in your little breasts that you inherit a particle of your father's infirmity, restrain it, and quit the subject that has caused it, until your serenity be recovered. So much for mind and manners ; next for accomplishments. No sportsman ever hits a partridge without aiming at it; and skill is acquired by repeated attempts. It is the same thing in every art: unless you aim at perfection, you will never attain it; but frequent attempts will make it easy. Never, therefore, do anything with indifference. Whether it be to mend a rent in your garment, or finish the most delicate piece of art, endeavour to do it as perfectly as it is possible. When you write a letter, give it your greatest care, that it may be as perfect in all its parts as you can make it. Let the subject be sense, expressed in the most plain, intelligible, and elegant manner that you are capable of. If in a familiar epistle you should be playful and jocular, guard carefully that your wit be not sharp, so as to give pain to any person; and before you write a sentence, examine it, even the words of which it is composed, that there be nothing vulgar or inelegant in them. Kemember, my dear, that your letter is the picture of your brains; and those whose brains are a compound of folly, nonsense, and impertinence, are to blame to exhibit them to the contempt of the world, or the pity of their friends. To write a letter with negligence, without proper stops, with crooked hnes and great flourishing dashes, is inelegant: it argues either great ignorance of what is proper, or great indifference towards the person to whom it is addressed, and

is consequently disrespectful. It makes no amends to add an apology, for having scrawled a sheet of paper, of bad pens, for you should mend them; or wan , of time, for nothing is more important to you, or to which your time can more properly be devoted. I think I can know the character of a lady pretty nearly by her handwriting. The dashers are all impudent, however they may conceal it from themselves or others ; and the scribblers flatter themselves with the vain hope, that, as their letter cannot be read, it may be mistaken for sense. I am very anxious to come to England ; for I have lately been unwell. The greatest happiness which I expect there, is to find that my dear girls have been assiduous in their learning.

May God Almighty bless you, my beloved little Sarah, and sweet Mary too.

To HIS DAUGHTERS

A natural monitor

Ville de Paris, Minorca, 17 *April,* 1809.

I RECEIVED both your kind letters, and am much obliged for your congratulations on my being appointed Major-General of Marines. The King is ever good and gracious to me ; and I dare say you both feel that gratitude to His Majesty which is due from us all, for the many instances of his favour which he has bestowed on me, and, through me, on you. Endeavour, my beloved girls, to make yourselves worthy of them, by cultivating your natural understandings with care. Seek knowledge with assiduity, and regard the

instructions of Mrs. Moss, when she explains to you what those qualities are which constitute an amiable and honourable woman. God Almighty has impressed on every breast a certain knowledge of right and wrong, which we call conscience. No person ever did a kind, a benevolent, a humane, or charitable action, without feeling a consciousness that it was good : it creates a pleasure in the mind that nothing else can produce ; and this pleasure is the greater, from the act which causes it being veiled from the eye of the world. It is the delight such as angels feel when they wipe away the tear from affliction, or warm the heart with joy. On the other hand, no person ever did or said an ill-natured, an unkind, or mischievous thing, who did not, in the very instant, feel that he had done wrong. This kind of feeling is a natural monitor, and never will deceive if due regard be paid to it ; and one good rule, which you should ever bear in mind, and act up to as much as possible, is, never to say anything which you may afterwards wish unsaid, or do what you may afterwards wish undone.

The education of a lady, and, indeed, of a gentleman too, may be divided into three parts ; all of great importance to their happiness, but in different degrees. The first part is the cultivation of the mind, that they may have a knowledge of right and wrong, and acquire a habit of doing acts of virtue and honour. By reading history you will perceive the high estimation in which the memories of good and virtuous people are held; the contempt and disgust which are affixed to the base, whatever may have been their rank in life. The second part of education is to acquire a competent knowledge how to manage your affairs

whatever they may happen to be ; to know how to direct the economy of your house ; and to keep exact accounts of everything which concerns you. Whoever cannot do this must be dependent on somebody else, and those who are dependent on another cannot be perfectly at their ease. I hope you are both very skilful in arithmetic, which, independently of its great use to everybody in every condition of life, is one of the most curious and entertaining sciences that can be conceived. The characters which are used, the 1, 2, 3, are of Arabic origin; that by the help of these, by adding them, by subtracting or dividing them, we should come at last to results so far beyond the comprehension of the human mind without them, is so wonderful, that I am persuaded that if they were of no real use, they would be exercised for mere entertainment; and it would be a fashion for accomplished people, instead of cakes and cards at their routs, to take coffee and a difficult question in the rule of three, or extracting the square root.—The third part is, perhaps, not less in value than the others. It is how to practise those manners and that address which will recommend you to the respect of strangers. Boldness and forwardness are exceedingly disgusting, and such people are generally more disliked the more they are known ; but, at the same time, shyness and bashfulness, and the shrinking from conversation with those with whom you ought to associate, are repulsive and unbecoming.

There are many hours in every person's life which are not spent in anything important; but it is necessary that they should not be passed idly.

Those little accomplishments, as music and dancing, are intended to fill up the hours of leisure, which would otherwise be heavy on you. Nothing wearies me more than to see a young lady at home, sitting with her arms across, or twirling her thumbs, for want of something to, do. Poor thing ! I always pity her, for I am sure her head is empty, and that she has not the sense even to devise the means of pleasing herself. By a strict regard to Mrs. Moss's instruction you will be perfected in all I recommend to you, and then how dearly shall I love you ! May God bless you both, my dearest children.

To MRS. HALL [1]

Parental Responsibilities

Ville de Paris, 7 *Oct.* 1809.

I HAD great pleasure in the receipt of your very kind letter a few days since, and give you joy, my dear Maria, on the increase of your family. You have now three boys, and I hope they will live to make you very happy when you are an old woman. I am truly sensible of the kind regard which you have shown to me in giving my name to your infant: he will bring me to your remembrance often; and then you will think of a friend who loves you and all your family very much. With a kind and affectionate husband and three children, all boys, you are happy, and I hope will ever be so. But three boys—let me tell you, the chance is very much against you, unless you are for ever on your

[1] His cousin.

guard. The temper and disposition of most people are formed before they are seven years old ; and the common cause of bad ones is the too great indulgence and mistaken fondness which the affection of a parent finds it difficult to veil, though the happiness of the child depends upon it. Your measures must be systematic : whenever they do wrong never omit to reprove them firmly, but with gentleness. Always speak to them in a style and language rather superior to their years. Proper words are as easily learned as improper ones. And when they do well,—when they deserve commendation, bestow it lavishly. Let the feelings of your heart flow from your eyes and tongue ; and they will never forget the effect which their good behaviour has upon their mother, and this at an earlier time of life than is generally thought. I am very much interested in their prosperity, and that they may become good and virtuous men.

I am glad that you think my daughters are well-behaved girls. I took much pains with them the little time I was at home. I endeavoured to give them a contempt for the nonsense and frivolity of fashion, and to establish in its stead a conduct founded on reason. They could admire thunder and lightning as any other of God's stupendous works, and walk through a churchyard at midnight without apprehension of meeting anything worse than themselves. I brought them up not to make griefs of trifles, nor suffer any but what were inevitable.

I am an unhappy creature, old and worn out. I wish to come to England, but some objection is ever made to it.

LORD NELSON

To HIS BROTHER

Bad weather in the Downs

Albemarle, in the Downs, 28 *Jan.* [1782.]

I HAVE no doubt but you have scolded me most heartily for not having wrote before this, but I know *after a storm comes a calm*; so at this time I suppose you quite quiet and easy, not expecting a letter: therefore I am determined you shall have one. Now I'll begin excuses. In the first place, you did not wish me to write till I knew where I was to [be] stationed; that I can't tell you, for I do not know myself. The Admiralty, I believe, are asleep, but if I can prognosticate, we are to have the Downs Station for the present—a horrid bad one. I am glad you went on shore when you did, or you must have come to the Downs with us, for we could not send a boat on shore all the next day. At eleven on Monday morning, we sailed with sixty-five sail, and next day, at noon, was at the back of the Goodwin Sands. The ships in the Downs took us for a Dutch fleet going down Channel; and many of the men-of-war were under sail to come after us, when a cutter went in, and told them who we were. We all got safe in that night, and next, I delivered my charge up to the Admiral. Here I have been laying ever since without orders;

and in such a long *series* of bad weather as is seldom met with. We have nothing but a coast full of wrecks—twice we have parted from our anchors; the North Seas are dreadful at this season of the year. I'll wish you a good night, for I must have some conversation with the doctor, who, I believe, has saved my life since I saw you.

All on the other side, is what I told you in my last I had left on board. At last I was ordered round to Portsmouth to take in eight months' provisions, and I have no doubt was meant to go to the East Indies with Sir Richard Bickerton, which I should have liked exceedingly, but alas, how short-sighted are the best of us. On the 26th January, at eight in the morning, it blew a hard gale of wind at NNW., a large East India store ship drove from her anchors, and came on board us. We have lost our foremast, and bowsprit, mainyard, larboard cathead, and quarter gallery, the ship's head, and stove in two places on the larboard side—all done in five minutes. What a change ! but yet we ought to be thankful we did not founder. We have been employed since in getting jury-masts, yards, and bowsprit, and stopping the holes in our sides. What is to become of us now, I know not. She must go into dock, and I fear must be paid off, she has received so much damage. But, however, we must take the rough as well as the smooth : these are the blessings of a sea life. Remember me to Mrs. Bolton, Kate, and Mun, and Mr. Bolton if at home; not forgetting Mr. Robinson Boyles, and Charles Boyles if he is there. Farewell, dear brother.

To MRS. NISBET

His conception of duty

Boreas, Barbarous Island, 4 *May*, 1786.

NEVER, never, do I believe, shall I get away from this detestable spot. Had I not seized any Americans, I should now have been with you: but I should have neglected my duty, which I think your regard for me is too great, for you to have wished me to have done. Duty is the great business of a sea-officer. All private considerations must give way to it, however painful it is. But I trust that time will not have lessened me in the opinion of her, whom it^shall be the business of my. future(lifeHo vnake happy. Bless you, bless you.

TO THE SAME

Marrying a sailor

Off Antigua, 12 *Dec.* 1786.

OUR young Prince is a gallant man: he is indeed volatile, but always with great good nature. There were two balls during his stay, and some of the old ladies were mortified that H.R.H. would not dance with them; but he says, he is determined to enjoy the privilege of all other men, that of asking any lady he pleases.

Wednesday. We arrived here this morning at daylight. His Royal Highness dined with me, and of course the Governor. I can tell you a piece of news, which is, that the Prince is fully determined, and has made me promise him, that he shall be at our wedding; and he says he will

give you to me. His Royal Highness has not yet been in a private house to visit, and is determined never to do it, except in this instance. You know I will ever strive to bear such a character, as may render io no discredit to any man to take notice of me. There is no action in my whole life, but what is honourable ; and I am the more happy at this time on that account; for I would, if possible, or in my power, have no man near the prince, who can have the smallest impeachment as to character: for as an individual I love him, as a prince I honour and revere him. My telling you this history is as to myself : my thoughts on all subjects are open to you. We shall certainly go to Barbadoes from this island, and when I shall see you, is not possible for me to guess : so much for marrying a sailor. We are often separated, but I trust our affections are not by any means on that account diminished. Our country has the first demand for our services ; and private convenience, or happiness, must ever give way to the public good. Give my love to Josiah. Heaven bless, and return you safe to

Your most affectionate,

HORATIO NELSON.

To HIS WIFE

Plagued with a French frigate

Leghorn, 27 *Sept.* 1793.

I AM sorry to tell you the vessel I sent in here is cleared; so all my hopes, which I own were not very sanguine, are gone. Prizes are not to be met with, except so covered by neutral papers

that you may send in fifty, and not one turn out good. I was hurried from Naples by information of a French ship of war, and three vessels under her convoy being off. I had nothing left but to get to sea, which I did in two hours : expedition, however, has not crowned my endeavours with success ; for I have seen nothing of them. I am here plagued with a French 40-gun frigate, who was to have sailed the day I arrived, and will take the first dark moment to get out. I am determined in my own mind to pursue him. I hope to sail to-morrow if this gentleman does not; and shall lie in his route to intercept him if he sails.

I have just heard, that last night the crew of my neighbour deposed their captain, made the lieutenant of marines captain of the ship, the sergeant of marines lieutenant of marines, and their former captain sergeant of marines. What a state ! they are mad enough for any undertaking. They say, as they have five hundred men on board, they will go to sea this night in spite of me : I shall be surprised at nothing they may attempt. I dined with the King of Naples the day before I sailed, and was placed at his right hand, and every attention paid me. He would have visited my ship the day I sailed ; but I was hurried away unexpectedly.

September 28th. We have been looking out all night for our neighbour to cut his cables, as it has blown a gale of wind and rain : but he lay in such a position that he could not cast his ship without getting on board us, which he did not choose to risk. I shall sail to-morrow for Toulon. God bless you.

TO THE SAME

Opportunities scarce

Off Calvi, 6 *Jan.* 1794.

I LEFT Leghorn on the 3rd, and very soon got off here, since which time we have had nothing but hard gales of wind, and the heaviest rains I almost ever met with. I am waiting anxiously for troops from Lord Hood, to take St. Fiorenzo and the frigates, which will fall into our hands a few hours after their arrival. I was most unfortunately driven a few miles to leeward two days ago, in the height of the gale ; and a frigate took that opportunity of sailing from St. Fiorenzo to Calvi with provisions. One of my frigates exchanged a few shot with her, but at too great a distance to prevent her getting in. I had so closely blockaded Calvi, that they must have surrendered to me at discretion ; not a vessel had before got in for the six weeks I have been stationed here. This supply will keep them a week or two longer. We now know from a deserter, that it was the *Melpomene* who engaged us on October 22nd : she had twenty-four men killed, and fifty wounded, and was so much damaged as to be laid up dismantled in St. Fiorenzo. She would have struck long before we parted, but for the gunner, who opposed it; and when at length the colours were ordered to be struck by general consent, we ran into a calm, whilst the other ships came up with a fresh breeze, and joined their consort. Admiral TrogofI tells me she is allowed to be the finest frigate out of France, and

the fastest sailer : we were unlucky to select her—the others we could outsail. Had she struck, I don't think the others would have come down, and I should have had great credit in taking her from such superior force : now, of course, nothing can be known of that business, and I have to look out for another opportunity; which is very scarce here.

TO THE SAME

His Gazette

Off Leghorn, 2 *Aug.* 1796.

HAD all my actions, my dearest Fanny, been gazetted, not one fortnight would have passed during the whole war without a letter from me : one day or other I will have a long gazette to myself; I feel that such an opportunity will be given me. I cannot, if I am in the field for glory, be kept out of sight. Probably my services may be forgotten by the great, by the time I get home ; but my mind will not forget, nor cease to feel, a degree of consolation and of applause superior to undeserved rewards. Wherever there is anything to be done, there Providence is sure to direct my steps. Credit must be given me, in spite of envy. Even the French respect me: their minister at Genoa, in answering a note of mine, when returning some wearing apparel that had been taken, said, Your nation, Sir, and mine, are made to show examples of generosity, as well as of valour, to all the people of the earth.' ... I will also relate another anecdote, all vanity to myself, but you will partake of it. A person sent me

a letter, and directed as follows, ' Horatio Nelson, Genoa.' On being asked how he could direct in such a manner, his answer, in a large party, was, ' Sir, there is but one Horatio Nelson in the world. The letter certainly came immediately. At Genoa, where I have stopped all their trade, I am beloved and respected, both by the Senate and lower order. If any man is fearful of his vessel being stopped, he comes and asks me; if I give him a paper, or say, ' All is right,' he is contented. I am known throughout Italy ; not a kingdom, or state, where my name will be forgotten. This is my Gazette.

Lord Spencer has expressed his sincere desire to Sir John Jervis to give me my flag. You ask me when I shall come home ? I believe, when either an honourable peace is made, or a Spanish war, which may draw our fleet out of the Mediterranean. God knows I shall come to you not a sixpence richer than when I set out. I had a letter a few days since, from H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, assuring me of his unalterable friendship.

To HIS BROTHER

A gallant don

La Minerve, Port Ferrajo, 13 *Jan.* 1797.

ALTHOUGH I know I can tell you nothing more than my public letters will, of our actions, yet I feel you like to receive a private one, merely if it contains only, We are well,' which is literally all I can write, for what is past the papers tell you—what is to come, I must not. However, if self-approbation is a comfort, which I readily admit,

I am receiving inexpressible pleasure to be received in the way I ever have been in this country, and particularly since our last business. You love particulars : therefore for your *private* journal I shall relate some circumstances which are most flattering to me and make our action stand amongst the foremost of any this war.

When I hailed the Don, and told him, ' This is an English frigate,' and demanded his surrender or I would fire into him, his answer was noble, and such as became the illustrious family from which he is descended— This is a Spanish frigate, and you may begin as soon as you please.' I have no idea of a closer or sharper battle : the force to a gun the same, and nearly the same number of men; we having two hundred and fifty. I asked him several times to surrender during the action, but his answer was— No, sir ; not whilst I have the means of fighting left.' When only himself of all the officers were left alive, he hailed, and said he could fight no more, and begged I would stop firing. The next frigate was *La Ceres* of forty guns, who did not choose to fight much: not a mast, yard, sail, or rope but is knocked to pieces. Main and mizen masts with main yard are new, and every shroud and rope in the ship fore-mast and fore-yard are fished.

On my arrival here, it was a ball night, and being attended by the captains, was received in due form by the general, and one particular tune was played : the second was ' Rule Britannia '. From Italy I am loaded with compliments—it is true, these are given on the spot; what England may think I know not. *We* are at a distance. In about a week I shall be at sea, and it is very

probable you will soon hear of another action, for I am very much inclined to make the dons repent of this war. You will not fail to remember me kindly to Mrs. Nelson, your children, Aunt Mary, who I shall rejoice to see, all our friends at Swaflham, &e.

To CAPTAIN COLLINGWOOD

A friend in need

Irresistible, 15 *Feb.* 1797.

A friend in need is a friend indeed,' was never more truly verified than by your most noble and gallant conduct yesterday in sparing the *Captain* from further loss ; and I beg, both as a public officer and a friend, you will accept my most sincere thanks. I have not failed, by letter to the admiral, to represent the eminent services of the *Excellent.* Tell me how you are ; what are your disasters ? I cannot tell you much of the *Captain's,* except by note of Captain Miller's, at two this morning, about sixty killed and wounded, masts bad, &c. &c. We shall meet at Lagos ; but I could not come near you without assuring you how sensible I am of your assistance in nearly a critical situation.

To HIS BROTHER

Chains and medals

Captain, off Cape St. Vincent's, 6 *Apr.* 1797.

MANY thanks for your kind letter of March 13th, and I beg you will thank all our friends for their kind congratulations ; and I must be delighted, when, from the king to the peasant, all are willing

to do me honour. But I will partake of nothing but what shall include Colling wood and Troubridge. We are the only three ships who made great exertions on that glorious day: the others did their duty, and some not exactly to my satisfaction. We ought to have had the *Santissima Trinidad* and the *Soberano,* seventy-four. They belonged to us by conquest, and only wanted some good fellow to get alongside them, and they were ours. But it is well; and for that reason only we do not like to say much.

Sir John Jervis is not quite contented, but says nothing publicly. An anecdote in the action is honourable to the admiral, and to Troubridge and myself. Calder said, 'Sir, the *Captain* and *Culloden* are separated from the fleet, and unsupported : shall we recall them ? '—' I will not have them recalled. I put my faith in those ships: it is a disgrace that they are not supported and separated.'

Success hides a multitude of faults. We have just spoke a vessel from Cadiz : Cordova and three captains are condemned to be shot; but it is said Cordova's sentence will not be carried into execution, but I should think it will, to appease the people ; but he certainly does not deserve it, although many of his fleet do. The admiral joined me from Lisbon on the 2nd, and on the 3rd we looked into Cadiz. Their West India convoy was to have sailed that day : now I do not expect they will sail this summer; for I have no idea they will fight us again. However, they may, in a month or two, be forced out. I am come off here to look for the *Viceroy,* with *Culloden* and *Zealous,* and *La Minerve*; but I do not expect any success. You will not be surprised to hear

I have declined all hereditary honours; and as to entailing a title, unless you have a good estate to send with it, you send misery; and, till I became a flag-officer, I had not made both ends meet. Ohains and medals are what no fortune or connexion in England can obtain; and I shall feel prouder of those than all the titles in the king's power to bestow.

To HIS WIFE

A one-armed Hero

Theseus, at Sea, 3 to 16 *Aug.* 1797.

I AM so confident of your affection, that I feel the pleasure you will receive will be equal, whether my letter is wrote by my right hand or left. It was the chance of war, and I have great reason to be thankful; and I know that it will add much to your pleasure in rinding that Josiah, under God's providence, was principally instrumental in saving my life. As to my health, it never was better; and now I hope soon to return to you; and my country, I trust, will not allow me any longer to linger in want of that pecuniary assistance which I have been fighting the whole war to preserve to her. But I shall not be surprised to be neglected and forgot, as probably I shall no longer be considered as useful. However, I shall feel rich if I continue to enjoy your affection. The cottage is now more necessary than ever. You will see by the papers, Lieutenant Weatherhead is gone. Poor fellow! he lived four days after he was shot. I shall not close this letter till I join the fleet, which seems distant; for it's

been calm these three days past. I am fortunate in having a good surgeon on board; in short, I am much more recovered than [I] could have expected. I beg neither you or my father will think much of this mishap: my mind has long been made up to such an event. God bless you.

To THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

Napoleon's probable plans

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, 9 *Aug.* 1798.

ALTHOUGH I hope the consuls who are, or ought to be resident in Egypt, have sent you an express of the situation of affairs here, yet, as I know Mr. Baldwin has some months left Alexandria, it is possible you may not be regularly informed. I shall, therefore, relate to you, briefly, that a French army of 40,000 men in 300 transports, with 13 sail of the line, 11 frigates, bomb vessels, gun-boats, &c, arrived at Alexandria on the 1st of July: on the 7th, they left it for Cairo, where they arrived on the 22nd. During their march they had some actions with the Mamelukes, which the French call great victories. As I have Buonaparte's dispatches before me (which I took yesterday), I speak positively: he says, 'I am now going to send off to take Suez and Damietta;' he does not speak very favourably of either the country or people; but there is so much bombast in his letters, that it is difficult to get near the truth; but he does not mention India in these dispatches. He is what

is called organizing the country, but you may be assured is master only of what his army covers.

From all the inquiries which I have been able to make, I cannot learn that any French vessels are at Suez, to carry any part of this army to India. Bombay, if they can get there, I know is their first object; but, I trust, Almighty God will in Egypt overthrow these pests of the human race. It has been in my power to prevent 12,000 men from leaving Genoa, and also to take eleven sail of the line, and two frigates ; in short, only two sail of the line and two frigates have escaped me. This glorious battle was fought at the mouth of the Nile, at anchor : it began at sunset, August the 1st, and was not finished at three the next morning; it has been severe, but God blessed our endeavours with a great victory. I am now at anchor between Alexandria and Rosetta, to prevent their communication by water, and nothing under a regiment can pass by land. But I should have informed you, that the French have 4,000 men posted at Eosetta to keep open the mouth of the Nile. Alexandria, both town and shipping, are so distressed for provisions, which they can only get from the Nile by water, that I cannot guess the good success which may attend my holding our present position, for Buonaparte writes his distress for stores, artillery, things for their hospital, &c. All useful communication is at end between Alexandria and Cairo : you may be assured I shall remain here as long as possible. Buonaparte had never yet to contend with an English officer; and I shall endeavour to make him respect us. This is all I have to communicate. I am confident every

precaution will be taken to prevent, in future, any vessels going to Suez, which may be able to carry troops to India. If my letter is not so correct as might be expected, I trust for your excuse, when I tell you that my brain is so shook with the wounds in my head, that I am sensible I am not always so clear as could be wished; but whilst a ray of reason remains, my heart and my head shall ever be exerted for the benefit of our king and country.

I have the honour to be, &c,

HORATIO NELSON.

The officer, Lieutenant Duval, who carries this dispatch voluntarily to you, will, I trust, be immediately sent to England, with such recommendations as his conduct will deserve.

To HENRY ADDINGTON

Humanity the companion of valour

8 *May*, 1801.

As both my friends and enemies seem not to know why I sent on shore a flag of truce—the former, many of them, thought it was a *ruse de guerre*, and not quite justifiable; the latter, I believe, attributed it to a desire to have no more fighting, and few, very few, to the cause that I felt, and which, I trust in God, I shall retain to the last moment, *humanity*. I know it must to the world be proved, and therefore I will suppose you all the world to me. First, no ship was on shore near the Crown batteries, or anywhere else, within reach of any shore, when my flag of truce went on shore.

The Crown batteries, and the batteries on Armak and in the dockyard, were firing at us, one-half their shot necessarily striking the ships who had surrendered, and our fire did the same, and worse, for the surrendered ships had four of them got close together, and it was a massacre. This caused my note. It was a sight which no real man could have enjoyed. 1 felt when the Danes became my prisoners, I became their protector ; and if that had not been a sufficient reason, the moment of a complete victory was surely the proper time to make an opening with the nation we had been fighting with.

When the truce was settled, and full possession taken of our prizes, the ships were ordered, except two, to proceed and join Sir Hyde Parker, and in performing this service the *Elephant* and *Defiance* grounded on the Middle Ground. I give you, verbatim, an answer to a part of a letter from a person high in rank about the Prince Royal, which will bear testimony to the truth of my assertions : ' As to your Lordship's motives for sending a flag of truce to our Government, it never can be misconstrued; and your subsequent conduct has sufficiently shown that humanity is always the companion of true valour. You have done more. You have shown yourself a friend of the re-establishment of peace and good harmony between this country and Great Britain.'

To HIS BROTHER

Awaiting La Touche

Victory, 8 *Aug.* 1804.

MR. C. B. YONGE had joined the *Victory* long before your letter was wrote, and he is a very good, deserving young man, and when he has served his time, I shall take the earliest opportunity of putting him into a good vacancy; but that will not be until October, the very finish, I expect, of my remaining here, for my health has suffered much since I left England, and if the Admiralty do not allow me to get at asses' milk and rest, you will be a lord before I intend you should. I am glad the wine was good and acceptable. I have been expecting Monsieur La Touche to give me the meeting every day for this year past, and only hope he will come out before I go hence. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Nelson, and believe me ever, your most affectionate brother,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

You must excuse a short letter. You will have seen Monsieur La Touche's letter of how he chased me and how I *ran.* I keep it; and, by God, if I take him, he shall *Eat* it!

To WILLIAM MARSDEN

La Touche's little caper

Victory, at Sea, 12 *Aug.* 1804.

ALTHOUGH I most certainly never thought of writing a line upon Monsieur La Touche's having cut a caper a few miles outside of Toulon, on the 14th of June, where he well knew I could not get

at him without placing the ships under the batteries which surround that port, and that, had I attacked him in that position, he could retire into his secure nest whenever he pleased, yet as that gentleman has thoight proper to write a letter stating that the fleet under my command ran away, and that he pursued it, perhaps it may be thought necessary for me to say something. But I do assure you, Sir, that I know not what to say, except by a flat contradiction; for if my character is not established by this time for not being apt to run away, it is not worth my time to attempt to put the world right. It is not, therefore, I do assure their Lordships, with any such intention that I stain my paper with a vaunting man's[1] name, and, therefore, I shall only state, that the fleet I have the honour and happiness to command is in the highest state of discipline, good order, good humour, and good health, and that the united wishes of all are, I am sure, to meet Monsieur La Touche at sea: then I ought not to doubt that I should be able to write a letter equally satisfactory to my king, my country, and myself.

I send you a copy of the ship's log. I observe that even the return of Monsieur La Touche into Toulon is not noticed—so little must have been thought of the French returning into port that day more than any other,

[1] Lord Nelson originally wrote ' coxcomb's,' but altered the word to 'man's.'

To VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD

Napoleon's boast

Victory, 13 *Mar.* 1805.

MANY, many thanks for your kind remembrance of me, and for your friendly good wishes, which, from my heart, I can say are reciprocal. I am certainly near going to England; for my constitution is much shook, and nothing has kept me here so long but the expectation of getting at the French fleet. I am told the Rochfort squadron sailed the same day as that from Toulon. Buonaparte has often made his brags, that our fleet would be worn out by keeping the sea—that his was kept in order, and increasing by staying in port; but he now finds, I fancy, if emperors hear truth, that his fleet suffers more in one night than ours in one year. However, thank God, the Toulon fleet is got in order again, and, I hear, the troops embarked; and I hope they will come to sea in fine weather. The moment the battle is over, I shall cut; and I must do the same, if I think, after some weeks, that they do not intend to come out for the summer. We have had a very dull war; but I agree with you that it must change for a more active one. ... I beg, my dear Coll., that you will present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Collingwood; and believe [me] for ever, and as ever, your most sincere and truly attached friend.

To THE SAME

Prospects of battle

Victory, Gibraltar, 18 *July*, 1806.

I AM, as you may suppose, miserable at not having fallen in with the enemy's fleet; and I am almost increased in sorrow, in not finding them. The name of General Brereton will not soon be forgot. But for his false information, the battle would have been fought where Rodney fought his, on June 6th. I must now only hope that the enemy have not tricked me, and gone to Jamaica; but if the account, of which I send you a copy, is correct, it is more than probable they are either gone to the northward, or, if bound to the Mediterranean, not yet arrived. The Spaniards, or the greatest part of them, I take for granted, are gone to the Havannah, and I suppose, have taken fourteen sail of Antigua sugar-loaded ships with them. The moment the fleet is watered, and got some refreshments, of which we are in great want, I shall come out, and make you a visit; not, my dear friend, to take your command from you, (for I may probably add mine to you,) but to consult how we can best serve our country, by detaching a part of this large force. God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours.

To ALEXANDER DAVISON

An unhappy admiral

***Victory,* 24 *Jvly,* 1805.**

As all my letters havebeen sent to England, I know nothing of what is passing ; but I hope very, very soon to take you by the hand. I am as miserable as you can conceive. But for General Brereton's damned information, Nelson would have been, living or dead, the greatest man in his profession that England ever saw. Now, alas ! I am nothing —perhaps shall incur censure for misfortunes which may happen, and have happened. When I follow my own head, I am, in general, much more correct in my judgement, than following the opinion of others. I resisted the opinion of General Brereton's information till it would have been the height of presumption to have carried my disbelief further. I could not, in the face of generals and admirals, go N.W. when it was *apparently* clear that the enemy had gone South. But I am miserable. I now long to hear that they are arrived in some port in the Bay; for until they are arrived somewhere, I can do nothing but fret. Then I shall proceed to England. I can say nothing, or think of anything, but the loss my country has sustained by General Brereton's unfortunate, ill-timed, false information. God bless you.

To CAPTAIN FREMANTLE

A generous appreciation

Victory, 16 *Aug.* 1805.

I COULD not last night sit down to thank you for your truly kind letter, and for your large packet of newspapers, for I was in truth bewildered by the account of Sir Robert Calder's victory, and the joy of the event; together with the hearing that John Bull was not content, which I am sorry for. Who can, my dear Fremantle, command all the success which our country may wish? We have fought together, and therefore well know what it is. I have had the best-disposed fleet of friends, but who can say what will be the event of a battle? and it most sincerely grieves me, that in any of the papers it should be insinuated, that Lord Nelson could have done better. I should have fought the enemy, so did my friend Calder; but who can say that he will be more successful than another? I only wish to stand upon my own merits, and not by comparison, one way or the other, upon the conduct of a brother officer. You will forgive this dissertation, but I feel upon the occasion. Is George Martin with you? If so, remember me to him kindly. I have said all you wish to Admiral Murray, and to good Captain Hardy. Dr. Scott says you remember everybody but *him.* I beg my best respects to Mrs. Fremantle, and with the most sincere wishes that you may have the *Neptune* close alongside a French three-decker.

To WILLIAM PITT

Importance of Sardinia

Gordon's Hotel, 6 a.m., 29 *Aug.* 1805.

I CANNOT rest until the importance of Sardinia, in every point of view, is taken into consideration. If my letters to the different Secretaries of State cannot be found, I can bring them with me. My belief is, that if France possesses Sardinia, which she may do any moment she pleases, that our commerce must suffer most severely (if possible to be carried on when France possesses that island). Many and most important reasons could be given, why the French must not be suffered to possess Sardinia, but your time is too precious to read more words than is necessary; therefore I have only stated two strong points to call your attention to the subject, and I am [sure] our fleet would find a difficulty, if not impossibility, of keeping any station off Toulon, for want of that island to supply cattle, water, and refreshments, in the present state of the Mediterranean, and that we can have no certainty of commerce at any time, but what France chooses to allow us, to either Italy or the Levant.

To VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD

Preparations for Trafalgar

9 *Oct.* 1805.

I SEND you Captain Blackwood's letter; and, as I hope Weazle has joined, he will have five frigates and a brig: they surely cannot escape us. I wish we could get a fine day, and clear our

transports, at least of the bread, and by that time water will come. *Niger* is with the transports. *Sovereign*'s cables can go into the *Malabar*. I shall be glad to see you mounted in her. I send you my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgement for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you : and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend.

FROM EDMUND NELSON TO HIS SON

A grateful father

[Feb. 1797.]

I THANK my God with all the power of a grateful soul, for the mercies he has most graciously bestowed on me, in preserving you amidst the imminent perils which so lately threatened your life at every moment; and, amongst other innumerable blessings, I must not forget the bounty of Heaven in granting you a mind that rejoices in the practice of those eminent virtues which form great and good characters. Not only my few acquaintances here, but the people in general met me at every corner with such handsome words, that I was obliged to retire from the public eye. A wise Moralist has observed, that even bliss can

rise but to a certain pitch ; and this has been verified in me. The height of glory to which your professional judgement, united with a proper degree of bravery, guarded by Providence, has raised you, few sons, my dear child, attain to, and fewer fathers live to see. Tears of joy have involuntarily trickled down my furrowed cheek. Who could stand the force of such general congratulation ? The name and services of Nelson have sounded throughout the City of Bath, from the common ballad-singer to the public theatre. Joy sparkles in every eye, and desponding Britain draws back her sable veil, and smiles. It gives me inward satisfaction to know, that the laurels you have wreathed sprung from those principles and religious truths which alone constitute the Hero ; and though a Civic Crown is all you at present reap, it is to the mind of inestimable value, and I have no doubt will one day bear a golden apple : that field of glory, in which you have long been so conspicuous, is still open. May God continue to be your preserver from the arrow that flieth by day, and the pestilence that walketh by night.

FROM W. HOSTE TO HIS FATHER

A midshipman's recollection

TTieseus, 15 *Aug.* 1797.

AT two [o'clock in the morning] Admiral Nelson returned on board, being dreadfully wounded in the right arm with a grape-shot. I leave you to judge of my situation, when I beheld our boat approach with him, who I may say has been a

second father to me, his right arm dangling by his side, while with the other he helped himself to jump up the ship's side, and with a spirit that astonished every one, told the surgeon to get his instruments ready, for he knew he must lose his arm, and that the sooner it was off the better. He underwent the amputation with the same firmness and courage that have always marked his character, and I am happy to say is now in a fair way of recovery.

COUNTESS SPENCER TO NELSON

Glory and friendship

Admiralty, 2 *Oct.* 1798.
Captain Capel just arrived !

JOY, joy, joy to you, brave, gallant, immortalized Nelson ! May that great God, whose cause you so valiantly support, protect and bless you to the end of your brilliant career ! Such a race surely never was run. My heart is absolutely bursting with different sensations of joy, of gratitude, of pride, of every emotion that ever warmed the bosom of a British woman, on hearing of her country's glory—and all produced by you, my dear, my good friend. And what shall I say to you for your attention to me, in your behaviour to Captain Capel ? All, all I *can* say must fall short of my wishes, of my sentiments about you. This moment the guns are firing, illuminations are preparing, your gallant name is echoed from street to street, and every Briton feels his obligations to you weighing him down. But if these strangers

feel in this manner about you, who can express what *we* of this House feel about you ? What incalculable service have you been of to my dear Lord Spencer ! How gratefully, as First Lord of the Admiralty, does he place on *your* brow these laurels so gloriously won. In a public, in a private view, what does he not feel at this illustrious achievement of yours, my dear Sir Horatio, and your gallant squadron's ! What a fair and splendid page have you and your heroic companions added to the records of his administration of the Navy ! And, as wife of this excellent man, what do not feel for *you all,* as executors of *his* schemes and plans ! But I am come to the end of my paper, luckily for you, or I should gallop on for ever at this rate. I am half mad, and I fear I have written a strange letter, but you'll excuse it. Almighty God protect you ! Adieu ! How anxious we shall be to hear of your health ! Lady Nelson has had an Express sent to her.

LADY PARKER TO NELSON

An old friend's congratulations

Admiralty House, Portsmouth, 29 *Oct.* 1798.

MY DEAR AND IMMORTAL NELSON !

I am very sure that you know what I feel upon your unparalleled victory. Captain Cockburn will tell you that I am not yet come to my senses. Your conduct on the ever-memorable First of August was glorious and decisive. All Europe has cause to bless the day that you were born. I do most devoutly pray that you may return safe

to your aged and worthy father, and to your amiable wife, and long live to enjoy the caresses of them and of your grateful country, in defence of which you have so frequently and so successfully bled. I am very uneasy about the wound in your head, and would have you quit a situation that must retard your recovery. Quiet is the only remedy for a blow on the head, and it is impossible for you to enjoy a moment's rest while you remain in your present station. A few months' relaxation and a cold climate, will soon fit you for another enterprise, but should you continue in constant exertion of both body and mind, years, not months will be required for your recovery. Take this advice from one that always had your welfare at heart. Sir Peter and I ever regarded you as a son, and are, of course, truly happy at your well-earned honours.

THE QUEEN OF NAPLES TO THE MARQUIS DI CIRCELLO

Her testimony

[1798.]

I WRITE to you with the greatest joy. The brave and gallant Admiral Nelson has gained a most complete victory. I wish I could give wings to the bearer of this news, and, at the same time, of our most sincere gratitude. Italy is saved on the part of the sea, and that is only due to the gallant English. This action, or better-named, total defeat of the regicide fleet, is owing to the valour and courage of this brave admiral, seconded by a marine which is the terror of its enemies. The

victory is so complete, that I can scarcely believe it, and if it was not the English nation, which is accustomed to perform prodigies by sea, I could not persuade myself of it. This has produced a general enthusiasm. You would have been moved at seeing all my children, boys and girls, hanging on my neck, and crying for joy at the happy news, which has been doubled by the critical moment in which it arrived. Fear, avarice, and the malicious intrigues of the Republicans, have made all the cash disappear, and there is no one who has courage enough to propose a plan to put it in circulation ; and this want of cash produces much discontent. We are distressed by the Republicans, with all those troubles which afflict this charming country, Italy. Many who thought things coming to a crisis, began to take of! the mask ; but this joyful news, the defeat of Buonaparte's fleet, who, I hope, will perish with his army in Egypt, makes them more timid, and does us great good. If the Emperor will move with activity, it is to be hoped that Italy may be saved. We are ready and eager to render ourselves worthy of being the friends and allies of the brave defenders of the seas. Present my respects to the King and Queen of England. Make my compliments to Lord Grenville, to Pitt, and to Lord Spencer, who has the honour to be at the head of this heroic navy. Give them my thanks for sending the fleet, and tell them that I rejoice in this event—as much for our own advantage, which is very great, as for their honour and glory. Assure them of my eternal gratitude. I hope that by the orders you have received by the last courier, we shall be more secured, and that, by

a good understanding, we shall be able to save Italy, aid to afford to our defenders advantages that will bind them to us for ever. The brave Nelson is wounded. He has the modesty never to speak of it. Recommend the Hero to his Master : he has made every Italian an enthusiast for the English nation. Great hopes were entertained from his bravery, but no one could flatter themselves with so complete a destruction. All the world is mad with joy.

CAPTAIN HALLOWELL TO NELSON

An uncommon gift

Swiftsure, 23 *May,* 1799.

HEREWITH I send you a coffin made of part of *IS Orient's* main mast, that when you are tired of this life you may be buried in one of your trophies—but may that period be far distant, is the sincere wish of your obedient and much obliged servant.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

To THE EIGHT HON. H. WELLESLEY

The French in Spain

Celorico, 11 *Jwie,* 1810.

THIS *bicoque* has been in part invested for nearly two months ; and a fortnight has elapsed since the guns moved from Salamanca ; and the French are not yet in possession of the ground they must have for the siege. This is not the way in which they have conquered Europe ! Having obliged the French to collect an army for this enterprise, that is, to make the attack of the worst fortified place in the world, I fear that I can do no more for it. I think that I might have delayed still longer the complete investment of the place, and the chances of war and chapter of accidents, which in these days are not allowed to be counted for anything, might have enabled me to prevent the siege altogether, if the Government possessed any strength, or desired to have anything done but what is *safe and cheap.* But, with an army considerably inferior in numbers, consisting of a large proportion of troops of a doubtful description, which are scarcely formed, and the enemy being infinitely (three times) superior in cavalry, I think I ought not now to risk a general action in the plains to relieve the place.

However, I do not yet give the matter up. The defence of a Spanish place must not be reckoned

upon according to the ordinary rules. If they will defend themselves as others have, the French must feel the consequences of Massena having weakened every other point to collect this large army ; and if he should be induced to reduce it at all, I shall be at hand to assist and relieve them.

I have no doubt whatever but that the French feel, throughout the Peninsula the inadequacy even of the large force they have in it, to complete the conquest and to establish and support the Government; and the continued hostility of the people must distress them much. All the intercepted correspondence tends to show their misery and despondence. Although they may succeed in taking Ciudad Rodrigo, it does not follow that even the force which they have collected will be sufficient to oblige us to evacuate the Peninsula ; and as long as we shall not shrink, the cause will not be lost.

I think, however, there is something discordant in all the French arrangements for Spain. Joseph divides his Kingdom into *prefetures*, while Napoleon parcels it out into governments ; Joseph makes a great military expedition into the south of Spain, and undertakes the siege of Cadiz, while Napoleon places all the troops and half the kingdom under the command of Massena, and calls it the Army of Portugal.

It is impossible that these measures can be adopted in concert; and I should suspect that the impatience of Napoleon's temper will not bear the delay of the completion of the conquest of Spain ; and that he is desirous of making one great effort to remove us by the means of Massena.

To THE EARL OP LIVERPOOL

The French in Portugal

Pero Negro, 3 *Nov.* 1810.

I WISH it was in my power to give your Lordship an opinion of the probable course of the enemy's operations, founded upon the existing state of affairs here, considered in a military point of view; but from what I am about to state to your Lordship, you will observe that it is impossible to form such an opinion.

The expedition into Portugal was, in my opinion, founded originally upon political and financial, rather than military considerations. It is true, that with a view to the conquest of Spain, there were advantages purely military to be derived from the removal of the British army from Portugal; but I think I could show that it was not essentially necessary to effect that object, particularly after the door into Castille had been closed upon us, by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

The political object, therefore, in removing us from Portugal, which was the effect that our evacuation of the Peninsula would have had upon the inhabitants of Spain in general, and upon those of Cadiz in particular; and the financial object, which was the possession and plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, were the principal motives for the perseverance in the expedition into Portugal. I believe the latter to have been more pressing even than the former.

It is impossible to describe to your Lordship the pecuniary and other distresses of the French

armies in the Peninsula. All the troops are months in arrears of pay ; they are in general very badly clothed ; their armies want horses, carriages, and equipments of every description; their troops subsist solely upon plunder, whether acquired individually, or more regularly by the way of requisition and contribution; they receive no money, or scarcely any, from France; and they realize but little from their pecuniary contributions in Spain. Indeed, I have lately discovered that the expense of the pay and the hospitals alone of the French army in the Peninsula amounts to more than the sum stated in the financial *expose* as the whole expense of the entire French army. This state of things has very much weakened, and in some instances, destroyed, the discipline of the army ; and all the intercepted letters advert to acts of malversation and corruption, and misapplication of stores, &c, by all the persons attached to the army.

I have no doubt, therefore, that the desire to relieve this state of distress, and to remove the consequent evils occasioned by it, by the plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, was the first motive for the expedition into Portugal. The expedition, not having been founded upon any military necessity, has been carried on and persevered in against every military principle. We know that Massena could expect no immediate reinforcements ; and without adverting to the various errors which I believe he would acknowledge he had committed in the course of the service, he has persevered in it, after he found that he was unable to force the troops opposed to him when posted in a strong position, and when he knew that they had one still stronger in their

rear, to which they were about to retire ; and that they were likely to be reinforced, while his army would be still further weakened by sickness, and by the privations to which he knew they must be liable on their march. He knew that the whole country was against him; that a considerable corps was formed upon the Douro, which would immediately operate upon his rear ; that at the time of the battle of Busaco he had no longer any communication with Spain ; and that every step he took farther in advance was a step towards additional difficulty and inconvenience, from which the retreat would be almost impossible.

If the expedition into Portugal had been founded upon military principle only, it would have ended at Busaco ; and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I expected that Massena would retire from thence, or at all events would not advance beyond the Mondego. But he has continued to advance, contrary to every military principle ; and I therefore conclude that the pressure of financial distresses, which was the original motive for the expedition, was that for persevering in it, and may operate upon the measures of the present moment.

Do MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

Needless exposure

Villa Fermosa, 15 *May,* 1811.

I ENTERTAIN no doubt of the readiness of the officers and soldiers of the army to advance upon the enemy ; but it is my duty, and that of every general and other officer in command, to regulate this spirit, and not to expose the soldiers to con-

tend with unequal numbers in situations disadvantage aus to them ; and, above all, not to allow them to follow up trifling advantages to situations in which they cannot be supported, from which their retreat is not secure, and in which they incur the risk of being prisoners to the enemy they had before beaten. The desire to be forward in engaging the enemy is not uncommon in the British army ; but that quality which I wish to see the officers possess, who are at the head of the troops, is a cool, discriminating judgement in action, which will enable them to decide with promptitude how far they can and ought to go with propriety; and to convey their orders, and act with such vigour and decision, that the soldiers will look up to them with confidence in the moment of action, and obey them with alacrity. The officers of the army may depend upon it that the enemy to whom they are opposed are not less prudent than they are powerful. Notwithstanding what has been printed in gazettes and newspapers, we have never seen small bodies, unsupported, successfully opposed to large ; nor has the experience of any officer realized the stories, which all have read, of whole armies being driven by a handful of light infantry or dragoons.

I trust that this letter, copies of which I propose to circulate to the general officers commanding divisions, with directions to circulate it among the officers of the army, will have the effect of inducing them to reflect seriously upon the duties which they have to perform before the enemy, and to avoid the error which is the subject of it, which is really become one of serious detriment to the army and to the public interests.

To BARON CONSTANT

War a financial resort

Gallcgos, 31 *Jan.* 1812.

I RETURN Sir F. D'lvernois' books, which I have perused with the greatest satisfaction. I had never read any of his works, excepting a pamphlet upon Finance, in a book called *Offrandes a Buonaparte* ; but I have long come to the same conclusion as he has, respecting the state of the French finances, and respecting the plunder resulting from the war being the cause for its continuance. I enclose the drafts of my proclamations to the Portuguese nation on this last subject, which show my opinion upon it.

In the early days of the revolutionary war, the French, at the recommendation, I believe, of Brissot, adopted a measure which they called a *levee en masse* ; and put every man, animal, and article in their own country in requisition for the service of the armies. This system of plunder was carried into execution by the popular societies throughout the country. It is not astonishing that a nation, among whom such a system was established, should have been anxious to carry the war beyond their own frontiers. This system both created the desire and afforded the means of success ; and with the war they carried, wherever they went, the system of requisition ; not, however, before they had, by these and other revolutionary measures, entirely destroyed all the sources of national prosperity at home.

Wherever the French armies have since gone, their sabsistence at least, the most expensive article in all armies, and means of transport, have been received from the country for nothing. Sometimes, besides subsistence, they have received clothing and shoes ; in other instances, besides these articles, they have received pay ; and from Austria and Prussia, and other parts of Germany and Italy, they have drawn, besides all these articles of supply for their troops, heavy contributions in money for the supply of the treasury at Paris. To this enumeration ought to be added the plunder acquired by the generals, officers, and troops ; and it will be seen that the new French system of war is the greatest evil that ever fell on the civilized world.

The capital and the industry of France having been destroyed by the Revolution, it is obvious that the Government cannot raise a revenue from the people of France, adequate to support the large force which must be maintained in order to uphold the authority of the new Government, particularly in the newly conquered or ceded states ; and to defend the widely extended frontier of France from all those whose interest and inclination must lead them to attack it. The French Government, therefore, under whatever form administered, must seek for support for their armies in foreign countries. War must be a financial resource ; and that appears to me to be the greatest misfortune which the French Revolution has entailed upon the present generation.

I have great hopes, however, that this resource is beginning to fail; and I think there are symptoms of a sense in France either that war is not so

productive as it was, or that nations who have still something to lose may resist, as those of the Peninsula have; in which case, the expense of collecting this resource becomes larger than its produce.

One symptom of a sense of the failure of these resources is, that Napoleon has recently seized upon the territories of Rome, Holland, and the Hanse Towns, and has annexed these States to France. By these measures he has departed from a remarkable principle of his policy. In the early periods of his government he had not extended the dominions of France beyond what were called her natural limits of the Rhine, the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. It appeared that he was aware of the dangers to which all widely extended empires are liable; and he was satisfied with governing by his influence all these States, and those of the Confederation of the Rhine. He must at the same time have made up his mind to draw no resources from these States, excepting those of a military nature, stipulated by treaty; and, indeed, the hopes of avoiding future plunder could have been the only inducement to those several States to enter into the Confederation. The futile disputes with his brother, the Pope, or the Senates of the Hanse Towns, cannot have been the cause of this departure from a remarkable principle of his early policy. He might easily have settled these disputes in any manner he pleased. Neither was it the dictate of a wild and extravagant ambition. If it was, why did he not seize upon poor Switzerland ? The fact was, it was not safe or convenient to plunder Austria, Prussia, Russia, or Denmark ; **but** he wanted the resources of Holland, the Hanse

Towns, and Rome for his treasury, and therefore he seized them to himself.

As to Spain, it is completely plundered from one end to the other. The cultivation in some parts, as you must have seen, is entirely annihilated; and in all parts, by the accounts of the French officers, has much decreased. There is no commerce; and I have but little doubt that another year of diminished produce will have the effect of distressing the French armies exceedingly, and, possibly, may be attended with more important consequences. I know that the French officers were of opinion, last September, that they could not last much longer.

I do not believe that the French armies in Spain have ever drawn from the country much more than their subsistence and means of transport. In some parts of the country, more productive than others, they levy from the people more subsistence than the troops there stationed can consume, and they sell the overplus, by retail, at low prices; and this money defrays some of the necessary expenses for hospitals, intelligence, &c, or is carried to other parts, where, on account of the small number of troops and the difficulty of procuring provisions by requisition, they are obliged to pay for them. In other parts also they levy contributions in money; but generally in small sums, and not more than sufficient to defray the expenses which in all armies must necessarily be defrayed in money.

It appears by a letter from the Duque de Santa Fe of June 19,1810, that the French army in Spain had, up to that period, cost the Imperial treasury 200 millions of livres. I think it probable that the

whole pay of the army has, within the last year at least, been sent from Paris in specie ; and I believe that it has for some time before ; and I know that the extra allowances to general officers, and other expenses which are laid upon the *Contributions d'Espagne,* are as much in arrear as other expenses ; and I have in my possession warrants to the Intendant General of Marmont's army, signed by Marmont, directing him to take, by force if it was necessary, money for the necessary expenses of the army, from the *Payeur General,* in whose hands is the pay alone.

I have not read Sir F. D'lvernois' former works, and I have not had an opportunity of acquiring the accurate knowledge which we all ought to have, at least of that part of the French finance of which the French Government will allow us to have any at ail. I do not agree, however, with Sir F. D'lvernois, either in his estimate of the French force, or in his estimate of its expense. I think both higher than he has stated them.

To LADY NAPIER

Her valiant son George

Gallegos, 20 *Jan.* 1812.

I AM sorry to tell you that your son George was again wounded in the right arm so badly last night, in the storm of Ciudad Rodrigo, that it was necessary to amputate it above the elbow. He, however, bore the operation remarkably well; and I have seen him this morning, quite well, free from pain and fever, and enjoying highly his success before he had received his wound. When he did

receive it, he only desired that I might be informed that ht had led his men to the top of the breach before he had fallen.

Having *such* sons, I am aware that you expect to hear of those misfortunes which I have more than once had to communicate to you ; and notwithstanding your affection for them, you have so just a notion of the value of the distinction they are daily acquiring for themselves, by their gallantry and good conduct, that their misfortunes don't make so great an impression upon you.

Under such circumstances, I perform the task which I have taken upon myself with less reluctance, hoping at the same time that this will be the last occasion on which I shall have to address you upon such a subject, and that your brave sons will be spared to you.

Although the last was the most serious, it was not the only wound which George received during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo: he was hit by the splinter of a shell in the shoulder on the 16th.

To COLONEL TOERENS

Appointment of officers

Freneda, 6 *Dec.* 1812.

I HAVE frequently mentioned to you the great inconvenience which I felt from the constant change of officers in charge of every important department, or filling every situation of rank or responsibility with this army. No man can be aware of the extent of this inconvenience who has not got this

great machine to keep in order and to direct; and together with the British army, the Spanish and Portuguese concerns, the labour which these constant changes occasion is also of the most distressing description. No sooner is an arrangement made, the order given, and the whole in a train of execution than a gentleman comes out who has probably but little knowledge of the practical part of his duty in any country, and none whatever in this most difficult of all scenes of military operation. Nobody in the British army ever reads a regulation or an order as if it were to be a guide for his conduct, or in any other manner than as an amusing novel; and the consequence is, that when complicated arrangements are to be carried into execution (and in this country the poverty of its resources renders them all complicated), every gentleman proceeds according to his fancy ; and then, when it is found that the arrangement fails (as it must fail, if the order is not strictly obeyed), they come upon me to set matters to rights, and thus my labour is increased tenfold.

The officers on the staff of the British army are effectives in regiments ; and considering that it is most important to every army to have good and efficient staff officers, I do not know that the colonels of regiments have any right to interfere to prevent the appointment of officers to the staff from their regiments, or to occasion by their influence the relinquishment of their offices on the staff when they think proper. If they have this power of interference, it is one which may very materially affect the public interests, and it ought not to be exercised lightly or with caprice. At the same time I admit the necessity of keeping

regiments well officered, but I should wish to know who is more interested in keeping regiments well officered than the officer who commands the army ?

To EARL BATHURST

In the interests of Europe

Lesaca, 8 *Aug,* 1813.

IT is a very common error, among those unacquainted with military affairs, to believe that there are no limits to military success. After having driven the French from the frontiers of Portugal and Madrid to the frontiers of France, it is generally expected that we shall immediately invade France ; and some even here expect that we shall be at Paris in a month. None appear to have taken a correct view of our situation on the frontier, of which the enemy still possess all the strongholds within Spain itself; of which strongholds, or at least some of them, we must get possession before the season closes, or we shall have no communication whatever with the interior of Spain. Then in France, on the same great communications, there are other strongholds, of which we must likewise get possession.

An army which has made such marches, and has fought such battles, as that under my command has, is necessarily much deteriorated. Independently of the actual loss of numbers by death, wounds, and sickness, many men and officers are out of the ranks for various causes. The equipment of the army, their ammunition, the soldiers'

shoes, &c, require renewal; the magazines for the new operations require to be collected and formed, and many arrangements to be made, without which the army could not exist a day, but which are not generally understood by those who have not had the direction of such concerns in their hands. Then observe, that this new operation is only the invasion of France, in which country every body is a soldier, where the whole population is armed and organized, under persons, not, as in other countries, inexperienced in arms, but men who, in the course of the last twenty-five years, in which France has been engaged in war with all Europe, must, the majority of them, at least, have served somewhere.

I entertain no doubt that I could to-morrow enter France, and establish the army on the Adour, but I could go no farther certainly. If peace should be made by the Powers of the North, I must necessarily withdraw into Spain; and the retreat, however short, would be difficult, on account of the hostility and the warlike disposition of the inhabitants, particularly of this part of the country, and the military direction they would receive from the gentry their leaders. To this add, that the difficulty of all that must be done to set the army to rights, after its late severe battles and victories, will be much increased by its removal into France at an early period ; and that it must stop short in the autumn, if it now moves at too early a period.

So far for the immediate invasion of France, which, from what I have seen of the state of the negotiations in the north of Europe, I have determined to consider only in reference to the convenience of my own operations.

The next point for consideration is the proposal of the Due de Berri to join this army, taking the command of the 20,000 men who he says are ready, organized, and even armed, in order to act with us. My opinion is, that the interests of the House of Bourbon and of all Europe are the same, viz. in some manner or other, to get the better and rid of Buonaparte.

Although, therefore, the allies in the north of Europe, and even Great Britain and Spain, might not be prepared to go the length of declaring that they would not lay down their arms till Buonaparte should be dethroned, they would be justified in taking this assistance from the House of Bourbon and their French party who are dissatisfied with the government of Buonaparte. It might be a question with the House of Bourbon, whether they would involve their partisans in France upon any thing short of such a declaration, but none with the allies whether they would receive such assistance. Indeed, there would scarcely be a question for the Princes of the House of Bourbon if they are acquainted with the real nature and extent of Buonaparte's power. He rests internally upon the most extensive and expensive system of corruption that was ever established in any country, and externally upon his military power, which is supported almost exclusively by foreign contributions. If he can be confined to the limits of France by any means, his system must fall. He cannot bear the expense of his internal government and of his army; and the reduction of either would be fatal to him. Any measures, therefore, which should go only to confine him to France would forward, and ultimately attain, the

objects of the House of Bourbon and of their partisans.

If the House of Bourbon and the allies, however, do not concur in this reasoning, we must then, before the Due de Berri is allowed to join the army, get from the allies in the north of Europe a declaration how far they will persevere in the contest with a view to dethrone Buonaparte ; and the British Government must make up their minds on the question, and come to an understanding upon it with those of the Peninsula.

TO THE SAME

Ill-disciplined troops

Caseda, on the river Aragon, 29 *June,* 1813.

IT is desirable that any reinforcements of infantry which you may send to this army may come to Santander, notwithstanding that I am very apprehensive of the consequence of marching our vagabond soldiers through the province of Biscay, in that state of discipline in which they and their officers generally come out to us. It may be depended upon, that the people of this province will shoot them as they would the French, if they should misbehave.

We started with the army in the highest order, and up to the day of the battle, nothing could get on better; but that event has, as usual, totally annihilated all order and discipline. The soldiers of the army have got among them about a million sterling in money, with the exception of about

100,000 dollars, which were got for the military chest. The night of the battle, instead of being passed in getting rest and food to prepare them for the pursuit of the following day, was passed by the soldiers in looking for plunder. The consequence was, that they were incapable of marching in pursuit of the enemy, and were totally knocked up. The rain came on and increased their fatigue, and I am quite convinced that we have now out of the ranks double the amount of our loss in the battle ; and that we have lost more men in the pursuit than the enemy have ; and have never in any one day made more than an ordinary march.

This is the consequence of the state of discipline of the British army. We may gain the greatest victories ; but we shall do no good, until we shall so far alter our system, as to force all ranks to perform their duty.

To THE SAME

Peace—or preparation

St. Jean do Luz, 10 *Jan.* 1814.

... I CONCUR in opinion with your Lordship, that England cannot be at her ease if Buonaparte has a large naval establishment in the Scheldt, The question is, can he have that large naval establishment, if the Dutch frontier is established as it was previous to 1792 ? Can he even navigate the Scheldt at all, under such circumstances ? I believe not. I mention this, not in order to urge His Majesty's Ministers to bear light upon Napoleon

in a treaty of peace ; but in order to induce them not to separate themselves or their interests from those of the allies, in order to obtain an object, the benefit to be expected from which would be obtained by securing an ally. It may be desirable that Holland should have Antwerp on other grounds ; but, seeing what use can be made of the Scheldt to annoy England, I am not quite certain that it would not be best for us that one bank should be in the hands of one power ; the other, Antwerp, and the upper part of the river, in the hands of the other.

In regard to the operations on the Ehine, I confess that I feel no confidence in anything that is doing. The allies are not strong enough, nor sufficiently prepared, to invade France at all, or to do more than cross the Rhine in one great corps, and there blockade some one, two, or three fortresses, by taking their cantonments for the winter. By the hesitation and delays of their generals, I think they are sensible of the truth of this observation ; but they have not strength to resist the cry of all the foolish people who, without knowing what they are talking about, are perpetually writing and talking of invading France.

Then I think the operation which they should have performed is the reverse of that which they have commenced. They should have operated from Mayence down, instead of by Switzerland. The revolution in Holland, and the advantages acquired in that country, would have turned the left of the enemy for them ; and the natural course of events would by this time have placed them in possession of the course of the Rhine from Mayence into the Dutch frontier, and probably

of all the new departments of France on the left bank, ilcluding the Austrian Netherlands. We and the Austrians in Italy would have been equally forward.

I suspect that Prince Schwarzenberg did not think himself strong enough even for this plan ; and that he has come into Switzerland with a view to acquire his Italian objects ; and, at all events, if he cannot advance into France, to have a good position for his army in Switzerland. But if I am mistaken, and he should be able to advance, what are our hopes for the future ? Is it possible that any man can hope that the operations of Prince Schwarzenberg, even when joined with Bellegarde's Italian army, can connect with mine from hence ? Supposing Schwarzenberg and Bellegarde to be superior separately now to Ney and the Viceroy respectively, it cannot be believed they will be so when their armies will be in France.

The allies do not appear to me to have reflected that everything was lost in Europe by the loss of one or two great battles, and that everything has been restored to its present state by their military success.

It has always occurred to me, however, upon the battle of Leipsic, that if Buonaparte had not placed himself in a position that every other officer would have avoided, and had not remained in it longer than was consistent with any notions of prudence, he would have retired in such a state, that the allies could not have ventured to approach the Rhine. They must not expect battles of Leipsic every day; and that which experience shows them is, that they ought, above all things, to avoid any great military disaster. Their object

is peace, upon a certain basis, upon which they have agreed. Although I am quite certain that Buonaparte has no intention to make peace, notwithstanding his speeches and declarations, I am equally certain that the people of France will force him to peace, if the allies sutler no disaster. This is clear, not only from his public language, but from everything that he does, from the reports circulated, &c. &c. (one of which, by the by, was, that Lord Castlereagh had landed at Morlaix) ; and it is obvious that if the allies can only continue some operation during the winter, till the garrisons behind them shall fall, and their reinforcements shall reach them, and that they are so connected as that they cannot be beat, they must attain their object.

I agree very much with your Lordship about Louis XVIII, in the existing situation of affairs. But if you cannot make peace with Buonaparte in the winter, we must *run* at him in the spring ; and it would be advisable to put one of the Bourbons forward in that case.

To LORD BURGHERSH

Napoleon's rule insupportable

St. Jean de Luz, 14 *Jan.* 1814.

I HAVE received your several letters to the 19th December, and I am very much obliged to you for the interesting details which they contain.

You will have seen the official accounts of our proceedings ; and the ministers will most probably have made you and Lord Aberdeen acquainted

with the state of affairs here, as detailed to them in my reports.

I was obliged to put the Spanish army into cantonments as soon as I passed the Nivelle. It would have been useless to attempt to keep them in the state in which they were; and I should have lost them all. This circumstance, but more particularly the state of the roads from the constant bad weather, have cramped my operations since ; but I hope that I shall soon be able to renew them in style. In the meantime Soult has received another large reinforcement, being the third' since the battle of Vittoria.

We have found the French people exactly what we might expect (not from the lying accounts in the French newspapers, copied into all the others of the world, and believed by everybody, notwithstanding the internal sense of every man of their falsehood, but) from what we knew of the government of Napoleon, and the oppression of all descriptions under which his subjects have laboured. It is not easy to describe the detestation of this man. What do you think of the French people running into our posts for protection from the French troops, with their bundles on their heads, and their *beds,* as you recollect to have seen the people of Portugal and Spain ?

I entertain no doubt that, if the war should continue, and it should suit the policy of the allied powers to declare for the House of Bourbon, the whole of France will rise as one man in their favour, with the exception, possibly, of some of the prefets, and of the senate, and that they will be replaced on the throne with the utmost ease. I think it probable that the allies will at last be obliged to

take this line; as you will see the trick that Bony has endeavoured to play by his treaty with King Ferdinand.

If Priscilla is with you, give my best love to her. I received her letter from Berlin; and I have sat to Mr. Heaphey for a picture for her, which I suppose will be sent to her, unless one of her sisters or her mother should seize it.

To LORD BERESFORD

A founding match

Gonessc, 2 *July,* 1815.

You will have heard of our battle of the 18th. Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call ' gluttons '. Napoleon did not manoeuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery.

I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

To Miss JOANNA BAILLIE

Disjointed chat

Edinburgh, 23 *Nov.* 1810.

. . . You say nothing about the drama on Fear, for which you have chosen so admirable a subject, and which, I think, will be in your own most powerful manner. I hope you will have an eye to its being actually represented. Perhaps of all passions it is the most universally interesting ; for although most part of an audience may have been in love once in their lives, and many engaged in the pursuits of ambition, and some perhaps have fostered deadly hate ; yet there will always be many in each case who cannot judge of the operations of these motives from personal experience : Whereas, I will bet my life there is not a soul of them but has felt the impulse of fear, were it but, as the old tale goes, at snuffing a candle with his fingers. I believe I should have been able to communicate some personal anecdotes on the subject, had I been enabled to accomplish a plan I have had much at heart this summer, namely, to take a peep at Lord Wellington and his merry men in Portugal; but I found the idea gave Mrs. Scott more distress than I am entitled to do for the mere gratification of my own curiosity. Not that there would have been any great danger,

—for I could easily, as a non-combatant, have kept out of the way of the grinning honour' of my namesake, Sir Walter Blount, and I think I should have been overpaid for a little hardship and risk by the novelty of the scene. I could have got very good recommendations to Lord Wellington; and, I dare say, I should have picked up some curious materials for battle scenery. A friend of mine made the very expedition, and arriving at Oporto when our army was in retreat from the frontier, he was told of the difficulty and danger he might encounter in crossing the country to the southward, so as to join them on the march ; nevertheless, he travelled on through a country totally deserted, unless when he met bands of fugitive peasantry flying they scarce knew whither, or the yet wilder groups of the Ordinanza, or *levy en masse,* who, fired with revenge or desire of plunder, had armed themselves to harass the French detached parties. At length in a low glen he heard, with feelings that may be easily conceived, the distant sound of a Highland bagpipe playing The Garb of Old Gaul', and fell into the quarters of a Scotch regiment, where he was most courteously received by his countrymen, who assured ' his honour he was just come in time to see the pattle Accordingly, being a young man of spirit, and a volunteer sharp-shooter, he got a rifle, joined the light corps, and next day witnessed the Battle of Busaco, of which he describes the carnage as being terrible. The narrative was very simply told, and conveyed, better than any I have seen, the impressions which such scenes are likely to make when they have the effect **(I** had almost said **the charm) of**

novel[x]y. I don't know why it is I never found a soldier could give me an idea of a battle. I believe their mind is too much upon the *tactique* to regard the picturesque, just as the lawyers care very little for an eloquent speech at the Bar, if it does not show good doctrine. The technical phrases of the military art, too, are unfavourable to convey a description of the concomitant terror and desolation that attends an engagement; but enough of this bald disjointed chat.

To THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH

The Field of Waterloo

[1815.]

I PROMISED to let you hear of my wanderings, however unimportant; and have now the pleasure of informing your Grace, that I am at this present time an inhabitant of the Premier Hotel de Cambrai, after having been about a week upon the Continent. We landed at Helvoet, and proceeded to Brussels, by Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp, both of which are very strongly fortified. The ravages of war are little remarked in a country so rich by nature; but everything seems at present stationary, or rather retrograde, where capital is required. The chateaux are deserted, and going to decay; no new houses are built, and those of older date are passing rapidly into the possession of a class inferior to those for whom we must suppose them to have been built. Even the old gentlewoman of Babylon has lost much of her splendour, and her robes and pomp are of a description far subordinate to the costume

of her more magnificent days. The dresses of the priests were worn and shabby, both at Antwerp and Brussels, and reminded me of the decayed wardrobe of a banquet theatre : yet, though the gentry and priesthood have suffered, the eternal bounty of nature has protected the lower ranks against much distress. The unexampled fertility of the soil gives them all, and more than they want; and could they but sell the grain which they raise in the Netherlands, nothing else would be wanting to render them the richest people (common people, that is to say) in the world.

On Wednesday last, I rode over the field of Waterloo, now for ever consecrated to immortality. The ghastly tokens of the carnage are now removed, the bodies both of men and horses being either burned or buried ; but all the ground is still torn with the shot and shells, and covered with cartridges, old hats, and shoes, and various relics of the fray which the peasants have not thought worth removing. Besides, at Waterloo and all the hamlets in the vicinage, there is a mart established for cuirasses; for the eagles worn by the imperial guard on their caps ; for casques, swords, carabines, and similar articles. I have bought two handsome cuirasses, and intend them, one for Bowhill, and one for Abbotsford, if I can get them safe over, which Major Pryse Gordon has promised to manage for me. I have also, for your Grace, one of the little memorandum-books which I picked up on the field, in which every French soldier was obliged to enter his receipts and expenditure, his services, and even his punishments. The field was covered with fragments of these records. I also got a good MS.

collection of French songs, probably the work of some young officer, and a croix of the Legion of Honour. I enclose, under another cover, a sketch of the battle, made at Brussels. It is not, I understand, strictly accurate ; but sufficiently so to give a good notion of what took place. In fact, it would require twenty separate plans to give an idea of the battle at its various stages. The front, upon which the armies engaged, does not exceed a long mile. Our line, indeed, originally extended half-a-mile farther towards the village of Brain-la-Leude ; but as the French indicated no disposition to attack in that direction, the troops which occupied this space were gradually concentrated by Lord Wellington, and made to advance till they had reached Hougoumont—a sort of chateau, with a garden and wood attached to it, which was powerfully and effectually maintained by the Guards during the action. This place was particularly interesting. It was a quiet-looking gentleman's house, which had been burnt by the French shells. The defenders, burnt out of the house itself, betook themselves to the little garden, where, breaking loop-holes through the brick walls, they kept up a most destructive fire on the assailants, who had possessed themselves of a little wood which surrounds the villa on one side. In this spot vast numbers had fallen ; and, being hastily buried, the smell is most offensive at this moment. Indeed, I felt the same annoyance in many parts of the field; and, did I live near the spot, I should be anxious about the diseases which this steaming carnage might occasion. The rest of the ground, excepting this chateau, and a farm-house called La Haye Sainte,

early taken, and long held, by the French, because it was too close under the brow of the descent on which our artillery was placed to admit of the pieces being depressed so as to play into it,—the rest of the ground, I say, is quite open, and lies between two ridges, one of which (Mont St. Jean) was constantly occupied by the English; the other, upon which is the farm of La Belle Alliance, was the position of the French. The slopes between are gentle and varied ; the ground everywhere practicable for cavalry, as was well experienced on that memorable day. The cuirassiers, despite their arms of proof, were quite inferior to our heavy dragoons. The meeting of the two bodies occasioned a noise, not unaptly compared to the tinkering and hammering of a smith's shop. Generally the cuirassiers came on stooping their heads very low, and giving point; the British frequently struck away their casques while they were in this position, and then laid at the bare head. Officers and soldiers all fought, hand to hand, without distinction ; and many of the former owed their life to dexterity at their weapon, and personal strength of body. Shaw, the milling Life-Guardsman, whom your Grace may remember among the champions of The Fancy, maintained the honour of the fist, and killed or disabled upwards of twenty Frenchmen, with his single arm, until he was killed by the assault of numbers. At one place, where there is a precipitous sand or gravel pit, the heavy English cavalry drove many of the cuirassiers over pell-mell, and followed over themselves like fox-hunters. The conduct of the infantry and artillery was equally, or, if possible, more distinguished, and it was all fully necessary ;

for, besides that our army was much outnumbered, a great part of the sum-total were foreigners. Of these, the Brunswickers and Hanoverians behaved very well; the Belgians but sorrily enough. On one occasion, when a Belgic regiment fairly ran off, Lord Wellington rode up to them, and said, ' My lads, you must be a little blown ; come, do take your breath for a moment, and then we'll go back, and try if we can do a little better ;' and he actually carried them back to the charge. He was, indeed, upon that day, everywhere, and the soul of everything ; nor could less than his personal endeavours have supported the spirits of the men through a contest so long, so desperate, and so unequal. At his last attack, Buonaparte brought up 15,000 of his Guard, who had never drawn trigger during the day. It was upon their failure that his hopes abandoned him.

I spoke long with a shrewd Flemish peasant, called John De Costar, whom he had seized upon as his guide, and who remained beside him the whole day, and afterwards accompanied him in his flight as far as Charleroi. Your Grace may be sure that I interrogated Mynheer very closely about what he heard and saw. He guided me to the spot where Buonaparte remained during the latter part of the action. It was in the highway from Brussels to Charleroi, where it runs between two high banks, on each of which was a French battery. He was pretty well sheltered from the English fire ; and, though many bullets flew over his head, neither he nor any of his suite were touched. His other stations, during that day, were still more remote from all danger. The story of his having an observatory erected for him

is a mistake. There is such a thing, and he repaired to it during the action; but it was built or erected some months before, for the purpose of a trigonometrical survey of the country, by the King of the Netherlands. Bony's last position was nearly fronting a tree where the Duke of Wellington was stationed; there was not more than a quarter of a mile between them; but Bony was well sheltered, and the Duke so much exposed, that the tree is barked in several places by the cannon-balls levelled at him. As for Bony, De Costar says he was very cool during the whole day, and even gay. As the cannon-balls flew over them, De Costar ducked; at which the Emperor laughed, and told him they would hit him all the same. At length, about the time he made his grand and last effort, the fire of the Prussian artillery was heard upon his right, and the heads of their columns became visible pressing out of the woods. Aide-de-camp after aide-de-camp came with the tidings of their advance, to which Bony only replied, *Attendez, attendez un instant,* until he saw his troops, *fantassins et cavaliers,* return in disorder from the attack.—He then observed hastily to a general beside him, *Je crois quHls sont miles.* The person to whom he spoke, hastily raised the spy-glass to his eye; but Bony, whom the first glance had satisfied of their total discomfiture, bent his face to the ground, and shook his head twice, his complexion being then as pale as death. The general then said something, to which Buonaparte answered, *C'est trop tard—sauvons-nous.* Just at that moment, the allied troops, cavalry and infantry, appeared in full advance on all hands; and the

Prussians, operating upon the right flank of the French, were rapidly gaining their rear. Bony, therefore, was compelled to abandon the high-road, which, besides, was choked with dead, with baggage, and with cannon ; and, gaining the open country, kept at full gallop, until he gained, like Johnnie Cope, the van of the flying army. The marshals followed his example ; and it was the most complete *sauve qui peut* that can well be imagined. Nevertheless, the prisoners who were brought into Brussels maintained their national impudence, and boldly avowed their intention of sacking the city with every sort of severity. At the same time they had friends there. One man of rank and wealth went over to Bony during the action, and I saw his hotel converted into a hospital for wounded soldiers. It occupied one-half of one of the sides of the Place Royale, a noble square, which your Grace has probably seen. But, in general, the inhabitants of Brussels were very differently disposed ; and their benevolence to our poor wounded fellows was unbounded. The difficulty was to prevent them from killing their guests with kindness, by giving them butcher's meat and wine during their fever. As I cannot put my letter into post until we get to Paris, I shall continue it as we get along.

12th August, Roye, in Picardy.—I imagine your Grace about this time to be tolerably well fagged with a hard day on the moors. If the weather has been as propitious as with us, it must be delightful. The country through which we have travelled is most uncommonly fertile, and skirted with beautiful woods ; but its present political situation is so very uncommon, that I would give

the world your Grace had come over for a fortnight. France may be considered as neither at peace or war. Valenciennes, for example, is in a state of blockade ; we passed through the posts of the allies, all in the utmost state of vigilance, with patrols of cavalry, and videttes of infantry, up to the very gates, and two or three batteries were manned and mounted. The French troops were equally vigilant at the gates, yet made no objections to our passing through the town. Most of them had the white cockade, but looked very sulky, and were in obvious disorder and confusion. They had not yet made their terms with the King, nor accepted a commander appointed by him ; but as they obviously feel their party desperate, the soldiers are running from the officers, and the officers from the soldiers. In fact, the multiplied hosts which pour into this country, exhibiting all the various dresses and forms of war which can be imagined, must necessarily render resistance impracticable. Yet, like Satan, these fellows retain the unconquered propensity to defiance, even in the midst of defeat and despair. This morning we passed a great number of the disbanded garrison of Conde, and they were the most horrid-looking cut-throats I ever saw, extremely disposed to be very insolent, and only repressed by the consciousness that all the villages and towns around are occupied by the allies. They began by crying to us in an ironical tone, *Vive le Roi*; then followed, *sotto voce*, *Sacre B—*, *Mille diableSy* and other graces of French eloquence. I felt very well pleased that we were armed, and four in number ; and still more so that it was daylight, for they seemed most mischievous

ruffians. As for the appearance of the country, it is, notwithstanding a fine harvest, most melancholy. The windows of all the detached houses on the road are uniformly shut up; and you see few people, excepting the peasants who are employed in driving the contributions to maintain the armies. The towns are little better, having for the most part been partially injured by shells or by storm, as was the case both of Cambrai and Peronne. The men look very sulky; and if you speak three words to a woman, she is sure to fall a-crying. In short, the *politesse* and good humour of this people have fled with the annihilation of their self-conceit; and they look on you as if they thought you were laughing at them, or come to enjoy the triumph of our arms over theirs. Postmasters and landlords are all the same, and hardly to be propitiated even by English money, although they charge us about three times as much as they durst do to their countryfolks. As for the Prussians, a party of cavalry dined at our hotel at Mons, ate and drank of the best the poor devils had left to give, called for their horses, and laughed in the face of the landlord when he offered his bill, telling him they should pay as they came back. The English, they say, have always paid honourably, and upon these they indemnify themselves. It is impossible to *marchander,* for if you object, the poor landlady begins to cry, and tells you she will accept whatever *your lordship* pleases, but that she is almost ruined and bankrupt, &c. &c. &c.

This is a long stupid letter, but I will endeavour to send a better from Paris.

To JOANNA BAILLIE

Five weeks after the battle

Paris, 6 *Sept.* 1815.

I OWE you a long letter, but my late travels and the date of this epistle will be a tolerable plea for your indulgence. The truth is, I became very restless after the battle of Waterloo, and was only detained by the necessity of attending a friend's marriage from setting off instantly for the Continent. At length, however, I got away to Brussels, and was on the memorable field of battle about five weeks after it had been fought....

If our army had been all British, the day would have been soon decided; but the Duke, or, as they call him here, from his detestation of all manner of foppery, the *Beau*, had not above 35,000 British. All this was to be supplied by treble exertion on the part of our troops. The Duke was everywhere during the battle; and it was the mercy of Heaven that protected him, when all his staff had been killed or wounded round him. I asked him, among many other questions, if he had seen Buonaparte; he said 'No; but at one time, from the repeated shouts of *Vive VEmpereur*, I thought he must be near This was when John de Costar placed him in the hollow way. I think, so near as I can judge, there may at that time have been a quarter of a mile between these two great generals.

The fate of the French, after this day of decisive appeal, has been severe enough. There were never people more mortified, more subdued, and appar-

ently nore broken in spirit. They submit with sad civility to the extortions of the Prussians and the Russians, and avenge themselves at the expense of the English, whom they charge three prices for everything, because they are the only people who pay at all. They are in the right, however, to enforce discipline and good order, which not only maintains the national character in the meantime, but will prevent the army from suffering by habits of indulgence. I question if the Prussians will soon regain their discipline and habits of hardihood. At present their powers of eating and drinking, which are really something preternatural, are exerted to the very utmost. A thin Prussian boy, whom I sometimes see, eats in one day as much as three English ploughmen. At daybreak he roars for chocolate and eggs ; about nine he breakfasts more solemnly *a la fourchette,* when, besides all the usual apparatus of an English *dejeuner,* he eats a world of cutlets, oysters, fruit, &c, and drinks a glass of brandy and a bottle of champagne. His dinner might serve Gargantua, at which he gets himself about three parts drunk—a circumstance which does not prevent the charge upon cold meat, with tea and chocolate, about six o'clock ; and concluding the whole with an immense supper. Positively the appetite of this lad reminds one of the Eastern tale of a man taken out of the sea by a ship's crew, who, in return, ate up all the provisions of the vessel. He was, I think, flown away with by a roc; but from what quarter of the heavens the French are to look for deliverance from these devourers, I cannot presume to guess.

The needless wreck and ruin which they make

in the houses, adds much to the inconvenience of their presence. Most of the chateaux, where the Prussians are quartered, are what is technically called *rumped*, that is to say, plundered out and out. In the fine chateau of Montmorency, for instance, the most splendid apartments, highly ornamented with gilding and carving, were converted into barracks for the dirtiest and most savage-looking hussars I have yet seen. Imagine the work these fellows make with velvet hangings and embroidery. I saw one hag boiling her camp-kettle with part of a picture frame ; the picture itself has probably gone to Prussia. With all this greediness and love of mischief, the Prussians are not blood-thirsty; and their utmost violence seldom exceeds a blow or two with the flat of the sabre. They are also very civil to the women, and in both respects behave much better than the French did in their country; but they follow the bad example quite close enough for the sake of humanity and of discipline. As for our people, they live in a most orderly and regular manner. All the young men pique themselves on imitating the Duke of Wellington in *nonchalance* and coolness of manner ; so they wander about everywhere, with their hands in the pockets of their long waistcoats, or cantering upon Cossack ponies, staring and whistling, and trotting to and fro, as if all Paris was theirs. The French hate them sufficiently for the *hauteur* of their manner and pretensions, but the grounds of dislike against us are drowned in the actual detestation afforded by the other powers.

This morning I saw a grand military spectacle—about 20,000 Kussians pass in review before all the

Kings and Dominations who are now resident at Paris. The Emperor, King of Prussia, Duke of Wellington, with their numerous and brilliant attendance of generals, staff-officers, &c., were in the centre of what is called the Place Louis Quinze, almost on the very spot where Louis X V I was beheaded. A very long avenue, which faces the station where they were placed, was like a glowing furnace, so fiercely were the sunbeams reflected from the arms of the host by which it was filled. A body of Cossacks kept the ground with their pikes, and, by their wild appearance, added to the singularity of the scene. On one hand was the extended line of the Tuileries, seen through the gardens and the rows of orange-trees ; on the other, the long column of troops advancing to the music. Behind was a long colonnade, forming the front to the palace, where the Chamber of Representatives are to hold their sittings; and in front of the monarchs was a superb row of buildings, on which you distinguish the bronze pillar erected by Napoleon to commemorate his victories over Russia, Prussia, and Austria, whose princes were now reviewing their victorious armies in what was so lately his capital. Your fancy, my dear friend, will anticipate, better than I can express, the thousand sentiments which arose in my mind from witnessing such a splendid scene, in a spot connected with such various associations. It may give you some idea of the feelings of the French—once so fond of *spectacles*—to know that, I think, there were not a hundred of that nation looking on. Yet this country will soon recover the actual losses she has sustained, for never was there a soil so blessed by nature, or so rich in

corn, wine, and oil, and in the animated industry of its inhabitants. France is at present the fabled giant, struggling, or rather lying supine, under the load of mountains which have been precipitated on her; but she is not, and cannot be crushed. Kemove the incumbent weight of 600,000 or 700,000 foreigners, and she will soon stand upright—happy, if experience shall have taught her to be contented to exert her natural strength only for her own protection, and not for the annoyance of her neighbours. I am cut short in my lucubrations, by an opportunity to send this letter with Lord Castlereagh's dispatches; which is of less consequence, asil will endeavour to see you in passing through London. I leave this city for Dieppe OIL Saturday, but I intend to go round by Harfleur, f possible.

To J. B. S. MORRITT

An imperfect Adonis

Abbotsford, 2 *Oct* 1815.

THE contrast of this quiet bird's nest of a place, with the late scene of confusion and military splendour which I have witnessed, is something of a stunning nature, and, for the first five or six days, I have been content to fold my hands, and saunter up and down in a sort of indolent and stupefied tranquillity, my only attempt at occupation having gone no farther than pruning a young tree now and then. Yesterday, however, and to-day, I began, from necessity, to prune verses, and have been correcting proofs of my

little att empt at a poem on Waterloo. It will be out this week, and you shall have a copy by the Carlisle coach, which pray judge favourably, and remember it is not always the grandest actions which are best adapted for the arts of poetry and painting. I believe I shall give offence to my old friends the Whigs, by not condoling with Buonaparte. Since his sentence of transportation, he has begun to look wonderfully comely in their eyes. I would they had hanged him, that he might have died a perfect Adonis. Every reasonable creature must think the Ministers would have deserved the cord themselves, if they had left him in a condition again to cost us the loss of 10,000 of our best and bravest, besides thirty millions of good money. The very threats and frights which he has given the well-meaning people of this realm (myself included), deserved no less a punishment than banishment, since the ' putting in bodily fear ' makes so material a part of every criminal indictment. But, no doubt, we shall see Ministers attacked for their want of generosity to a fallen enemy, by the same party who last year, with better grounds, assailed them for having left him in a situation again to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. My young friend Gala has left me, after a short visit to Abbotsford. He is my nearest (conversable) neighbour, and I promise myself much comfort in him, as he has a turn both for the sciences and for the arts, rather uncommon among our young Scotch lairds. He was delighted with Rokeby and its lord, though he saw both at so melancholy a period, and endured not only with good humour but with sympathy, the stupidity of his fellow traveller,

who was not by any means *dans son hrillant* for some time after leaving you.

We visited Corby Castle on our return to Scotland, which remains, in point of situation, as beautiful as when its walks were celebrated by David Hume, in the only rhymes he was ever known to be guilty of. Here they are, from a pane of glass in an inn at Carlisle :

> Here chicks in eggs for breakfast sprawl,
> Here godless boys God's glories squall,
> Here Scotchmen's heads do guard the wall,
> But Corby's walks atone for all.

Would it not be a good quiz to advertise *The Poetical Works of David Hume*, with notes, critical, historical, and so forth—with a historical inquiry into the use of eggs for breakfast, a physical discussion on the causes of their being addled ; a history of the English church music, and of the choir of Carlisle in particular; a full account of the affair of 1745, with the trials, last speeches, and so forth of the poor *plaids* who were strapped up at Carlisle ; and lastly, a full and particular description of Corby, with the genealogy of every family who ever possessed it ? I think, even without more than the usual waste of margin, the Poems of David would make a decent twelve-shilling touch. I shall think about it, when I have exhausted mine own *century of inventions.*

JANE TAYLOR

To HER MOTHER

Fear of invasion

[Lavenham, *Oct.* 1803.]

. . . I WRITE this in hopes of your having it in time for the carrier, that you may know what things I most want. Of news I have none; and should not have written now, but for the reason above-mentioned. Thank you for the carpet: it is quite a luxury to us. Although we brought everything absolutely necessary, we have few conveniences; and though, if we were all huddled together in a barn, expecting the French to overtake us every instant, we might be very well contented with

> An open broken elbow chair;
> A candle cup without an ear; &c,

yet, living quietly, like our neighbours, we rather miss the conveniences we have been used to. I must confess we did not *fast* on the fast-day; we went, however, in the morning to the prayer-meeting; where we heard an excellent prayer from Mr.——, of three-quarters of an hour: its length spoiled it; for we were all ready to faint.

[Later.]

Could you see us just now, I cannot tell whether you would most laugh at, or pity us. I am

sitting in the middle of the room, surrounded with beds, chairs, tables, boxes, &c. &c. ; and every room is the same. But our brains are in still greater confusion—not knowing now what to do. Have you heard this new alarm ? It is said the French are actually embarking. Mr. Hickman strongly advises us not to move till we hear something more : so we are quite perplexed. We have at length resolved to wait, at all events, till Saturday; and if you write by return of post, we shall be able to act then according to your wishes ; but in the meantime, we shall be in a most delightful plight, for most of the things are packed up, ready to go to-morrow ; and then if, after all, we must stay, it will be vexatious enough. If you find there is no foundation for the alarm, you will, of course, order us home directly. But do not fail to write, for we are quite deplorable. . . .

LORD BYRON

To THOMAS MOORE

Napoleon dethroned

9 *Apr.* 1814.

. . . AH ! my poor little pagod, Napoleon, haa walked off his pedestal. He has abdicated, they say. This would draw molten brass from the eyes of Zatanai. What! kiss the ground before young Malcolm's feet, and then be baited by the rabble's curse !' I cannot bear such a crouching catastrophe. I must stick to Sylla, for my modern favourites don't do,—their resignations are of a different kind.

27 *Mar.* 1815.

. . . Now to your letter. Napoleon—but the papers will have told you all. I quite think with you upon the subject, and for my *real* thoughts this time last year, I would refer you to the last pages of the Journal I gave you. I can forgive the rogue for utterly falsifying every line of mine Ode—which I take to be the last and uttermost stretch of human magnanimity. Do you remember the story of a certain abbe, who wrote a Treatise on the Swedish Constitution, and proved it indissoluble and eternal ? Just as he had corrected the last sheet, news came that Gustavus I I I had destroyed this immortal government. ' Sir,' quoth the abbe, the King of Sweden may overthrow the *constitution,* but not *my book* ! ! ' I think *of* the abbe, but not *with* him.

Making every allowance for talent and most consummate daring, there is, after all, a good deal in luck or destiny. He might have been stopped by our frigates—or wrecked in the Gulf of Lyons, which is particularly tempestuous—or—a thousand things. But he is certainly Fortune's favourite, and

> Once fairly set out on his party of pleasure,
> Taking towns at his liking and crowns at his leisure,
> From Elba to Lyons and Paris he goes,
> Making *balls for* the ladies, and *bows to* his foes.

You must have seen the account of his driving into the middle of the royal army, and the immediate effect of his pretty speches. And now, if he don't drub the allies, there is no purchase in money'. If he can take France by himself, the devil's in 't if he don't repulse the invaders, when backed by those celebrated sworders—those boys of the blade, the Imperial Guard, and the old and new army. It is impossible not to be dazzled and overwhelmed by his character and career. Nothing ever so disappointed me as his abdication, and nothing could have reconciled me to him but some Buch revival as his recent exploit; though no one could anticipate such a complete and brilliant renovation.

To THE SAME

Luck or Destiny

7 *July*, 1815.

PARIS is taken for the second time. I presume it, for the future, will have an anniversary capture. In the late battles, like all the world, I have lost a connexion,—poor Frederick Howard, the best of

his race. I had little intercourse, of late years, with his family, but I never saw or heard but good of him. Hobhouse's brother is killed. In short, the havoc has not left a family out of its tender mercies.

Every hope of a republic is over, and we must go on under the old system. But I am sick at heart of politics and slaughters; and the luck which Providence is pleased to lavish on Lord Castlereagh is only a proof of the little value the gods set upon prosperity, when they permit such ... as he and that drunken corporal, old Blucher, to bully their betters. From this, however, Wellington should be excepted. He *is* a man,—and the Scipio of our Hannibal. However, he may thank the Russian frosts, which destroyed the *real elite* of the French army, for the successes of Waterloo.

To THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

An appeal for unity

Cephalonia, 30 *Nov.* 1823.

THE affair of the Loan, the expectations so long and vainly indulged of the arrival of the Greek fleet, and the danger to which Missolonghi is still exposed, have detained me here, and will still detain me till some of them are removed. But when the money shall be advanced for the fleet, I will start for the Morea; not knowing, however, of what use my presence can be in the present state of things. We have heard some rumours of new dissensions, nay, of the existence of a civil war. With all my heart, I pray that these reports may be false or exaggerated, for I can imagine

no calamity more serious than this ; and I must frankly confess, that unless union and order are established, all hopes of a Loan will be vain ; and all the assistance which the Greeks could expect from abroad—an assistance neither trifling nor worthless—will be suspended or destroyed ; and, what is worse, the great powers of Europe, of whom no one was an enemy to Greece, but seemed to favour her establishment of an independent power, will be persuaded that the Greeks are unable to govern themselves, and will, perhaps, themselves undertake to settle your disorders in such a way as to blast the brightest hopes of yourselves and of your friends.

Allow me to add, once for all,—I desire the well-being of Greece, and nothing else ; I will do all I can to secure it ; but I cannot consent, I never will consent, that the English public, or English individuals, should be deceived as to the real state of Greek affairs. The rest, gentlemen, depends on you. You have fought gloriously;—act honourably towards your fellow citizens and the world, and it will then no more be said, as has been repeated for two thousand years with the Roman historians, that Philopoemen was the last of the Grecians. Let not calumny itself (and it is difficult, I own, to guard against it in so arduous a struggle) compare the patriot Greek, when resting from his labours, to the Turkish pasha, whom his victories have exterminated.

To ^COLONEL STANHOPE

Byron uneasy

Scrofer (or some such name), on board a Cophaloniote Mislico, 31 *Dec.* 1823.

WE are just arrived here, that is, part of rny people and I, with some things, &c, and which it may be as well not to specify in a letter (which has a risk of being intercepted, perhaps) ;—but Gamba, and my horses, negro, steward, and the press, and all the Committee things, also some eight thousand dollars of mine (but never mind, we have more left, do you understand ?), are taken by the Turkish frigates, and my party and myself, in another boat, have had a narrow escape last night (being close under their stern and hailed, but we would not answer, and bore away), as well as this morning. Here we are, with sun and clearing weather, within a pretty little port enough ; but whether our Turkish friends may not send in their boats and take us out (for we have no arms except two carbines and some pistols, and, I suspect, not more than four fighting people on board) is another question, especially if we remain long here, since we are blocked out of Missolonghi by the direct entrance.

You had better send my friend George Drake (Draco), and a body of Suiiotes, to escort us *by* land or by the canals, with all convenient speed. Gamba and our Bombard are taken into Patras, I suppose ; and we must take a turn at the Turks to get them out: but where the devil is the fleet gone ?—the Greek, I mean; leaving us to get in

without the least intimation to take heed that the Moslems were out again.

Make my respects to Mavrocordato, and say that I am here at his disposal. I am uneasy at being here : not so much on my own account as on that of a Greek boy with me, for you know what his fate would be ; and I would sooner cut him in pieces, and myself too, than have him taken out by those barbarians. We are all very well.

The Bombard was twelve miles out when taken ; at least, so it appeared to us (if taken she actually be, for it is not certain) ; and we had to escape from another vessel that stood right between us and the port.

To YUSSUFF PASHA

Thanhs and a request

Missolonghi, 23 *Jan.* 1824.

A VESSEL, in which a friend and some domestics of mine were embarked, was detained a few days ago, and released by order of your Highness. I have now to thank you ; not for liberating the vessel, which, as carrying a neutral flag, and being under British protection, no one had a right to detain ; but for having treated my friends with so much kindness while they were in your hands.

In the hope, therefore, that it may not be altogether displeasing to your Highness, I have requested the governor of this place to release four Turkish prisoners, and he has humanely consented to do so. I lose no time, therefore, in sending them back, in order to make as early a return as I could for your courtesy on the late

occasion. These prisoners are liberated without any conditions : but, should the circumstance find a place in your recollection, I venture to beg, that your Highness will treat such Greeks as may henceforth fall into your hands with humanity; more especially since the horrors of war are sufficiently great in themselves, without being aggravated by wanton cruelties on either side.

To MR. MAYER

Dictates of humanity

[Feb. 1824.]

COMING to Greece, one of *my* principal objects was to alleviate as much as possible the miseries incident to a warfare so cruel as the present. When the dictates of humanity are in question, I know no difference between Turks and Greeks. It is enough that those who want assistance are men, in order to claim the pity and protection of the meanest pretender to humane feelings. I have found here twenty-four Turks, including women and children, who have long pined in distress, far from the means of support and the consolations of their home. The Government has consigned them to me : I transmit them to Prevesa, whither they desire to be sent. I hope you will not object to take care that they may be restored to a place of safety, and that the Governor of your town may accept of my present. The best recompense I can hope for would be to find that I had inspired the Ottoman commanders with the same sentiments towards those unhappy Greeks who may hereafter fall into their hands.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER

To HIS MOTHER

No shame for wounds

20 *Oct.* 1810.

CHILDREN and parents, dear mother, should be friends, and should speak openly to each other. Never had I a petty dispute with you, or heard others have one, without thanking God for giving me a mother, not a tyrant. Such as your children are, they are your work. We are a vain set of animals indeed, yet feel the gratitude you deserve, though we don't bow and ma'am you at every word, as some do. The Almighty has taken much from you, but has left much; would that our profession allowed us to be more with you: yet even that may happen, for none know what is to come, and peace, blessed peace! may be given to the world sooner than we think. It is war now, and you must have fortitude, in common with thirty thousand English mothers whose anxious hearts are fixed on Portugal; and who have not the pride of saying their three sons had been wounded and were all alive! How this would have repaid my father for all anxieties, and it must do so for you: why! a Roman matron would not have let people touch her garment in such a case. In honest truth though, my share of wounds satisfies me: not that I agree with those who exclaim, how unfortunate! there is no

shame or wounds, and no regret where no limb is lost, no faculty gone ; and if there were, many lose them in less honest ways. The scars on my face will be as good as medals, better, for they were not gained, oh ! meritorious actions ! by simply being a lieutenant-colonel, and hiding behind a wall.

TO THE SAME

George Prince and himself

[Lisbon] 19 *July,* 1811.

READ the following. ' Sir, I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to acquaint you, that previous to the receipt of yours of the 27th ultimo, His Royal Highness, bearing in mind your claims, had recommended you for a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 102nd Regiment, and the state of discipline in that corps requires that you should join it without loss of time. H. Torrens.'

Now which of the royal brothers has made me lieutenant-colonel ? Or did they both jump together like gudgeons at a worm ? That cannot be. Ergo one has done the deed, and the other takes credit: the higher power probably, for he took the credit of George's promotion as regimental major, though it was in the regular course, as they could not put any captain over his head with common decency. Now dear mother, I am not the least grateful to any one but yourself for my promotion ; to you I owe it entirely : gratitude to others there is no reason for. Having been ill-used, the prince, or the Duke of York, has given me with loss of time, what without loss would have been only justice; for that much obliged,

and thanks to both, but no gratitude to either: no more than to a jury for acquitting me of a crime never committed. I'll dofl my beaver but no gratitude : it is giving royalty too great a hold of one's nose, and if royalty pulls, you can't resent. And these folks always have two holds : gratitude as men, and loyalty as prince, or king. Hence, being less inclined to bear annoyances, exactly as the annoyer ranks among the mighty ; and having returned zealous service for my pay, and a certain quantity of blood for promotion, besides two uniforms spoiled by the effusion, the balance seems clear between George Prince, and Charles Napier.

The impudence of whoever hinted to you that my promotion was a job is unbounded, and for the prince's sake, as well as my own, any man who says, or hints this, shall have a fair downright English box on the ear. He may fight me or let it alone, though the latter would be preferable, at least I think so ; but a man is bloody-minded when feverish. Mark ! The 102nd was at Botany Bay, where there was a party business, and they came home. The colonel died. The king would not give the step in the regiment. The next major was cashiered. And now the Duke of York says the state of discipline requires the immediate presence of the new lieutenant-colonel. The job is therefore to teach scald scurvy knaves how to behave. Stop! These jokes won't do, they are probably very good fellows, and may be touchy. If not good fellows they will have hot berths. I have a knack of annoying tricksters, and going to a young corps after an old one, is to drive two horses instead of eight. My reins are tight in

hand, no fear of being run away with : and you know a good coachman uses reins, not the whip, unless with an old restive horse, which will indeed sometimes give coachee a confounded kick in leturn.

To get a regiment that is in bad order is agreeable ; my fear was a good one, where no character could be gained and some might be lost. Caution is however necessary with these heroes; for, not making the regiment I unmake myself. My conviction has ever been, that more can be done with good-humoured than with angry men : if they will be angry, power will be an overmatch for them; but with sulky people, regiments cannot be made as much of as with good-humoured fellows. Some people go to a regiment and commence drilling it at once, like Moore's brigade, forgetting that Moore put sugar into the lemon juice, and the mixture was good : he who puts lemon only causes wry faces. My way is clear enough, but my desire is not to see their faces for a year, staying quietly at home to recover my health. A little employment however, with eagerness and anxiety, does good to body and mind; and it is my nature to have both about everything, to a certain degree.

To THE SAME

Castles in the air

20 *April,* 1813.

Now for your Christmas letter. A year's pay to have seen aunt dance—the idea is delightful. God bless her. Oh! my wish is to be dancing with those I love, or beating them, or anything

so as to be living with you, and to pitch my sword where it ought to be—with the devil! Henry says, if it were so the wish would come to have it back; but my craving for rest is such that twenty years would hardly serve to satisfy me, and that is probably ten more than I am likely to live—a soldier nowadays is old at forty. I could get on with a duck, a chicken, a turkey, a horse, a pig, a cat, a cow, and a wife, in a very contented way; why 1 gardening has become so interesting to me here, as to force me to give it up lest neglect of business should follow: it is a kind of madness with me. Gardening from morning td night should be my occupation if there was any one to command the regiment, it won't let me think of anything else. So hang the garden, and the sweet red and blue birds that swarm around: and hang Dame Nature for making me love such things, and women's company, more than the sublime pleasure of cutting people's throats, and teaching young men to do so.

Henry is wrong. 1 would not be tired of home. My fondness for a quiet life would never let me desire to roam in search of adventures. A few centuries back I should have been a hermit, making free however with the rules of the order, by taking a wife instead of a staff: one cross-grained thing is as good as another. It is certain that a civil life would give me one thing which a military life would not—that is, I should never, my own blessed mother, get tired of the power of living with you : that would make up for all the affliction and regret of not murdering my neighbours; of living an exile, with the interesting anxiety of believing those 1 love suffer even to

death, while imagination amuses itself with castles for months before it can be known what is their fate. How shocking to give up such delights for the painfulness of peace and quiet, and a beloved society. Be assured it will not be easy to persuade me of that; and quit the army with joy will I, when the power to do so is mine : but my luck will not go so far.

To RICHARD NAPIER

No bloodthirsty soldier

18 *July,* 1843.

I HAVE had nearly all the Chiefs of Scinde in this room laying their swords at my feet, which would, if taken, make a rich armoury, all having gold scabbards and each worth full £100. Certainly I could have got thirty thousand pounds since coming to Scinde, but my hands do not want washing yet; our dear father's sword which I wore in both battles is unstained, even with blood, for I did not kill any one with my own hand. I rode pistol in hand and might have shot a Belooch, but thought some one else would, and as he did not rush at me let him alone : a 22nd soldier killed him. At Dubba I got them into a better spirit, but at Meeanee, as the soldier said, ' the shambles had it all to themselves.'

This country is a rich wild, and all the tribes on the eastern frontier, hitherto wild robbers, have offered to come in and turn agriculturists under me. They say, 'We are Scincfians driven into exile by the Ameers, and we could only live by robbery.' The Khosas, the Juts—dozens of

tribes are in this category, and in the desert, and all willing to give up arms and live as ryots. I could, with these tribes only, drive the Beloochees out of Scinde to their own country on the right of the Indus, but prefer conciliating even these robbers, for they are a fine people. I have found a sulphur-mine, and saltpetre in quantities: in a few years our revenue may be very great, and the people happy instead of miserable. The lowest tax of the Ameers exceeded half the produce, exacted rigidly: we took a farm, gathered the tax exactly by the Ameers' scale, and a little more than a quarter remained for the ryot: if he offended the Ameers some of that was also taken. We go at present by their registers, but are gradually abolishing these atrocities, and next harvest the ryots will be rich, for I am reducing our share to one-third. My life here is that of a prince in Alexander's time: I could write an entertaining account of it but have no leisure.

Aug. 7. . . . My firm belief is, that I could raise a corps of Beloochees and trust it in battle to-morrow; to try the experiment on any great scale is not my intent, but on a small one it shall be done. I collect the revenue merely by runners of the police, and if I remain will show a province conquered, and tranquil, and attached to our government. I will say more: in five years my life should be pledged on the people's defending the whole frontier without a soldier; for both Belooch and Scindian are fine characters. The Belooch is the gentleman, and I know them all personally, I may say, for they are so few. We have not had a single murder of our people—and don't I keep the latter tight?

To ———

Tailor or sergeant

India, no date [1849].

I HAVE received your complaint, and your very sensible remarks on Mrs. Sergeant Rowe's letter. There is, as you say, nothing disgraceful in being a sergeant, any more than in being a tailor, which, by' your letter, Sergeant Rowe appears to be. My opinion is that he who wears a uniform is of higher rank than he who makes it; and the sergeant is, in my mind, much the highest rank of the two ! All soldiers are gentlemen, whereas tailors are only tailors. But it seems Mrs. Rowe thinks otherwise, and prefer's being a tailor's wife to being an officer's wife. Now, in my view, a lady has a right to hold her own opinion on these matters, and I am unable to give you any redress, because my commission as commander in chief gives me no power to make ladies apologize for being saucy : it is an unfortunate habit they fall into at times, and more especially those who are good-looking, which I suppose Mrs. Sergeant Rowe happens to be.

As to the sergeant having written this letter, that is neither here nor there ! Some husbands cannot well help doing as they are ordered, and he may be innocent of malice. The only thing I can do is, to advise you to apply to your superior, the collector and magistrate of Furruckabad, who will represent the insult which has been put upon you, as you state, by Mrs. Sergeant Rowe : and if possible, Major Tucker will endeavour to persuade the lady to apologize for calling you an ass. More than giving you this advice **I cannot do.**

To PRIVATE JAMES NEAREY

A remarkably sober man

[1844.]

I HAVE your letter. You tell me you give satisfaction to your officers, which is just what you ought to do; and I am very glad to hear it, because of my regard for every one reared at Castletown; for I was reared there myself. However, as I and all belonging to me have left that part of the country for more than twenty years, I neither know who *Mr. Tom Kelly* is, nor who your father is; but I would go far any day in the year to serve a Celbridge man; or any man from the Barony of Salt, in which Celbridge stands: that is to say, if such a man behaves himself like a good soldier and not a drunken vagabond like James J——e, whom you knew very well, if you are a Castletown man. Now Mr. James Nearey, as I am sure you are and must be a remarkably sober man, as I am myself, or I should not have got on so well in the world as I have done: I say, as you are a remarkably sober man, I desire you to take this letter to your captain, and ask him to show it to your lieutenant-colonel, and ask the lieutenant-colonel, with my best compliments, to have you in his memory; and if you are a remarkably sober man, mind that, James Nearey, a remarkably sober man, like I am, and in all ways fit to be a lance corporal, I will be obliged to him for promoting you now and hereafter. But if you are like James J——e, then I sincerely hope he will give you a double allowance cf punishment, as you well deserve for taking

up my tine, which I am always ready to spare for a good soldier but not for a bad one. Now, if you behave well, this letter will give you a fair start in life ; and if you do behave well, I hope soon to hear of your being a corporal. Mind what you are about, and believe me your well-wisher. Charles Napier, major-general, and governor of Scinde because I have always been a remarkably sober man.

To LORD ELLENBOROUGH

Strong measures

[India] 26 *Feb.* 1850.

Now for a more serious affair. There is a smouldering conspiracy among the sepoys to force the government to give higher pay ; this had shown itself in mitigated forms in four regiments, but burst forth with some violence in the 66th, which garrisoned Govind Ghur, and tried to seize that fort! Luckily one vigorous officer saved the gates, and the 1st cavalry dismounted and entered by force. Lord Dalhousie is away, I am here up in the north, and Gilbert had to deal with the mutineers. He tried them and let them off with lenient sentences, and thus overturned the system I was acting upon, of inflicting just punishment for mutiny! The guard, which fixed bayonets and seized the gate to exclude the dismounted cavalry, was merely sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment! The whole proceedings came to me yesterday, but I can do nothing, as Gilbert has confirmed the sentences. So I have dismissed the regiment

bodily and made the Nusseeree battalion of Goorkas the 66th Regiment. The talk amongst the Brahmins was, that the government could not get men if the Brahmins chose to stop recruiting : so I thought it good to show the whole of India, as well as the Brahmins, that we can, —and good soldiers too, as daring as Europeans !

Whether I have done right or wrong is yet to be seen, but a prompt and strong blow was necessary, and I struck it, and being convinced I am right, await the result with perfect confidence. If once the army can dictate to the government, the Indian game is up ; we should have the Sikh punchayets in a month ! Had not the conduct of the government been perfectly just on this occasion, I should feel nervous and unhappy ; but it has been quite just; and while I am at the head of the army, with God's blessing, not one farthing of increased pay shall the sepoy get.

TO THE SAME

Proposes a volunteer army

Dec. 1852.

You proved a true prophet about the last Administration, and I fear you will prove so about the present. I hope Lord Aberdeen will be quick with his measures for defence! All I possess and care for is too near the scene of danger for me to be an indifferent spectator. As a soldier, every hill, every hedge, every ditch, every brawny labourer, tells me that we are able to defy all Europe. As a gentleman I see that we are, in the south, exposed to be ravaged by a French corporal's

guard. I the first inspires pride, the second inspires anger. For the rich, who have money wherewith to send away their families to the north, an invasion would be a small misfortune compared to that which would befall the poor people, who can neither send away their families nor fight in defence of them: they must remain to suffer the worst horrors of a vindictive war. The English peasantry would not tamely submit to be pillaged, and the first act of resistance would be the signal for terrible scenes. The Duke of Wellington's prayer that he might not live to see such horrors has been granted, and the danger thereby increased: it is to be hoped that the rest of his solemn warning may not be buried in his grave!

What has been done to prepare us I know not, but I do know that nothing has been done to give confidence to the country. The power of France is daily set forth with ostentation—perhaps with exaggeration: still it is incontestably great, and dangerous from the abilities of its ruler. I therefore must think that we should raise volunteer corps, increase the numbers of the Royal Marines, and form one or two large camps of instruction the moment summer comes, so as not only to raise corps but to render them efficient. In those camps I would assemble volunteers, militia, marines, regulars, and in three months their efficiency would be doubled. I believe something is doing to erect large barracks, and Lord Hardinge told me that he hoped to have 300 pieces of field artillery soon ready. So far this is good, but let the country know it; let the guns be brought together and seen, so as to inspire confidence to the youths of England.

I do not wish to see enthusiasm 'aroused falsely, like ' Dutch courage ', but by England seeing her men in arms, and numbers well disciplined. I do not pretend to say Napoleon will invade us ; but if he does, I think a calm, impartial consideration of his character tells us he will do it suddenly and powerfully : not without a declaration of war ; but as Frederick the Great said : Give me the money to make war, and I will buy a pretext for half a crown.'—Napoleon has the power, and it will be more easy for him to make war than to keep peace !

When I say we should encamp our levies together, I know the volunteers could not encamp permanently ; but those near the camp could join in the field exercises, and those more remote could come the night before, sleep in standing tents kept for them, have next day's exercise, sleep a second night and march home the third day. Doing this even once in the year would teach the men what a field life is ; would teach them to pitch and strike tents, mess in squads, &c. In short, a corps after a night in camp would be twice the value next day ; for by such details the moral feeling of soldiers is raised nearly as much as by more powerful means, which these small matters prepare them for. Together they produce a confident spirit that can do work, and is not produced by nonsensical boasting, and singing ' Britannia rules the Waves ', which would not be very strong after the first round shot. . . .

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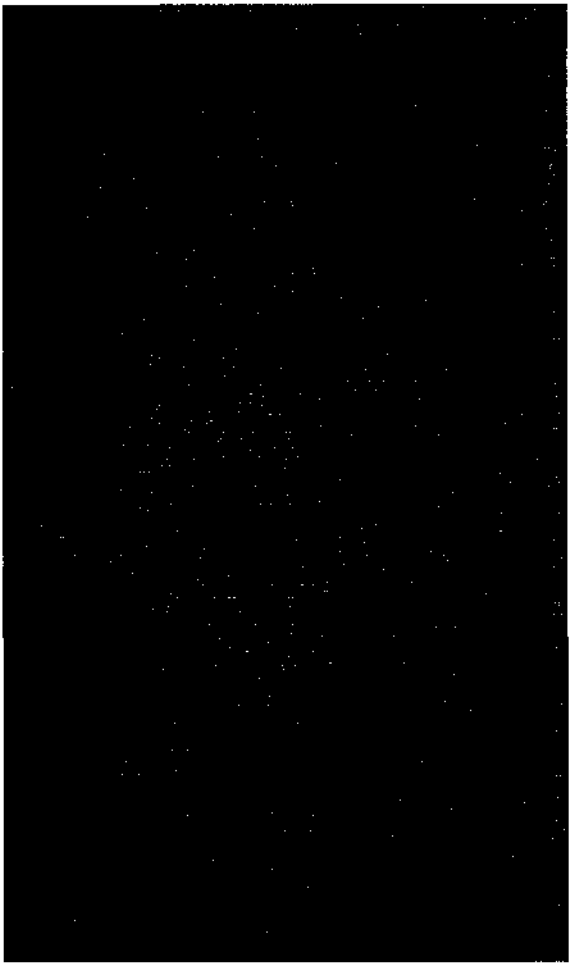
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