

THE ADMIRALTY.

It occurred to me, that the introduction of a few brief notices of the several administrations of the affairs of the Navy, under which, amounting to *thirteen*, Whig and Tory, I have served for forty years, and in all of which I must necessarily have borne a part, might not be considered as travelling out of the record of a Biographical Life. It is not, however, intended, by so doing, to give anything like a history of the naval transactions of that period, or of the many brilliant exploits that occurred in the course of a great portion of that time, each of such exploits and transactions furnishing, it may be said, a history of itself. I thought it might be interesting to bring together the names of the chief actors in the Principal Department of the Navy, the succession, duration, changes, and the cause thereof, where apparent; and to notice any alteration in the system of management that may have taken place; and, as next in weight and importance, I have added at the head of each article, after that of the First Lord, the name of the First Naval Lord, and of the First Secretary, who is required to have a seat in the House of Commons. I have acted as Second Secretary to all of them, with the exception of Lord Grey's short administration.

THE ADMIRALTY.

SECTION I.

Henry Viscount Melville.

May 15, 1804—June 12, 1805.

Captain JAMES GAMBIEE...First Naval Lord.

WILLIAM MARSDEN.....First Secretary.

ON our arrival in London, General Frank Dundas, in laying before Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War and Colonies, the public accounts and the proceedings on delivering up the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch authorities, represented to his Lordship the several extra duties I had voluntarily discharged, with great inconvenience and expense to myself, and his inability to make me suitable amends, though the services were public and important; he hoped, therefore, I should be considered, for my six or seven years' services, entitled to some retiring allowance. Lord Hobart could only express his regret that he found his hands tied on that subject, he thought unjustly, but the precedent of refusal had been established by his predecessors, and had become the general custom (methought, with Hamlet, it is a custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance): all he could say was, that he should be most happy to make Mr. Barrow an offer of the first vacancy abroad that might suit him. This might pass for something civil:

but I was more disposed to take my chance at home. I considered, therefore, that nothing further was to be expected from that quarter; but General Dundas did not relax his exertions in my behalf.

In point of fact, Lord Macartney had turned me over to the General, as being one on whom he might rely for assistance in any difficulty that should occur; for that I knew the country and the people better than any other of our countrymen; and I may truly say that the General did not spare me. He now spoke strongly to his uncle Henry Dundas, who, though equally out of office with his friend Mr. Pitt, was not without influence. As already mentioned, Mr. Dundas, on reading my account of Southern Africa, had, in my absence, urged its publication; he now expressed to the General a wish to see me—"If you will bring him to-morrow, Mr. Pitt dines with me." I went, and nothing could be more flattering than my reception; he spoke of the satisfaction which my book had afforded him, that it strongly corroborated the opinion he had given in Parliament, that the Cape of Good Hope ought never to be parted with; but he suggested that I had left rather short one portion of the subject, which he had always considered of vast importance to this country: and that was, its geographical position with reference to India, as a half-way house between our settlements there and England; as a place of refreshment for our shipping and troops; its capabilities for supplying all kinds of produce; its ports and harbours along a great extent of sea-coast favourable to commercial enterprise. "These," he said, "with its capacities in general, which you know better than I do, are the points to which I allude, and which will, I think and hope, amply supply materials for a

second volume." I took the hint, and said, "I will look up what information I possess, and endeavour to meet your views;" which I forthwith set about, and speedily produced a second volume, detailing the political, geographical, and commercial advantages of this Southern part of Africa, which had the effect of producing a second edition of the first volume.

Nothing could be more delightful than this little snug party. The names of Pitt and Dundas were "familiar as household words," and the two had been as inseparable as their friendship was durable. They were now at Wimbledon for a season, and being relieved from the cares and toils of office, were as playful as two school-boys. Lady Jane Dundas and another lady, with two gentlemen of the family, the General, and myself, made up the party. Mr. Dundas asked me if I knew that the new Government had offered to Lord Macartney the office of President of the Council, and that he had declined it, assigning to his friends as a reason that he was sure Mr. Addington's government could not stand. It soon appeared that Lord Macartney was right. It had continued about three years, and in the spring of 1804 Mr. Pitt resumed the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Dundas (now Viscount Melville) was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, his patent bearing date 15th May, 1804. A short time after this, when dining with Lord Macartney, he was called away by Lord Melville in the midst of the dinner, but returned speedily, without taking any notice of the visit he had received at that unusual hour; and as ladies are said to be curious when anything unusual occurs to their lords, so Lady Macartney expressed to Mrs. Barrow her wonder what

could have brought Lord Melville at that hour—something, no doubt, about the new ministry then forming or already formed. Nothing, however, transpired that evening; but about twelve o'clock that same night, just as I had gone to bed, came a note from Lord Macartney to say, "You must be at the Admiralty tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, and send your name up to Mr. Marsden."

I went accordingly, anxious, as may be supposed, to know what was going on. Mr. Marsden took me by the hand and cordially congratulated me. I asked for what? He seemed surprised, and said, "Don't you know that you are appointed my colleague, the Second Secretary of the Admiralty, in the room of Mr. Tucker, whose services Lord Melville has deemed it right to dispense with, on account of his well-known partisanship? But," he added, "Lord Melville desired to see you the moment you came, and he is now in his room." On being ushered in, "I am happy," he said, "to have had it in my power to give you the appointment of Second Secretary of the Admiralty. I am fully aware of the many important services you rendered to my nephew, after Lord Macartney had turned over to him the government of the Cape of Good Hope. I was very desirous of meeting the wishes of that nobleman on your account, and I have already told you that I have been much gratified with what you have written regarding that important settlement, which I have little doubt will speedily revert to us. Being all new here, I need not say how much pressed Marsden finds himself, with the only two lords that have yet joined—old Sir Philip Stephens and Captain James Gambier. Your appointment is made out, and the sooner you put yourself

into harness the better." I told him Mr. Marsden had already engaged me for the day. In taking leave with expressions of gratitude for his Lordship's great kindness, "By the way," he said, laughing, "I hope you are not a Scotchman." "No, my Lord, I am only a borderer—I am North Lancashire." He then said, "Mr. Pitt and myself, but chiefly the latter, have been so much taunted for giving away all the good things to Scotchmen, that I am very glad, on the present occasion, to have selected an Englishman." *

During the three years from 1801 to 1804, when Mr. Addington was at the head of the Government, and the Earl St. Vincent First Lord of the Admiralty, the boasted system of economy and retrenchment, particularly in the naval department, had been carried to such an extreme that the appalling statement delivered by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons, and which upset the Government, was found, on the examination of their successors, to be more than true, and that the deficiencies in every species of naval stores in the dock-yards were quite alarming. The few ships left to us were scattered at sea; those at home out of repair, and no timber in store to place them in a seaworthy state, much less to build others; there was neither rope, canvas, nor hemp to make them. It is almost incredible, though asserted on apparently good authority, that, on the conclusion of the truce, falsely

* It is curious enough that, of the ten Secretaries of the Admiralty that have passed through the office in the course of the forty years I remained there, one single Scotchman only held that situation, Captain George Elliot, and *he* was appointed by Lord Grey. Six were Irishmen—Marsden, Wellesley Pole, Croker, O'Ferrall, Dawson, Corry; and three Englishmen—Parker, Wood, Sidney Herbert.

named the peace, of Amiens, large quantities of hemp had actually been sold to French agents, to save the rent and other expenses of the warehouses in which a preceding government had carefully lodged it.

All this folly had been committed under the erroneous notion that a peace had been established with France under the dominion of the Revolutionary government, and at a time when Buonaparte was overrunning Italy and the north of Europe, and his naval preparations, in combination with those of Spain, were so glaring as to be visible to all except to the infatuated government of Mr. Addington, an honest and good man, but an indifferent minister. That which most astonished the public was that Lord St. Vincent, at the head of the Board of Admiralty, did not take a more decided part in wiping off the disgrace incurred in his own department; instead of which, he and the professional members of his Board were at perpetual variance with the Navy Board, which it seems not doubtful they wished to destroy, and which ultimately the same party did succeed in destroying: very greatly, as it has turned out, to the benefit of the naval service.

The Stone Expedition to block up the ports of Holland, by heaving in masses of rock, contributed, as it was generally said, not a little to Lord St. Vincent's unpopularity and to a good deal of ridicule; a measure, however, which his Lordship disclaimed, and even avowed himself ashamed of. But the whole of his administration was not popular with the public and still less with officers of the navy, who, it seems, were at first delighted at the unusual event of having a naval First Lord as their governor.

Such were the general topics of discourse when I

first entered the Admiralty, a great part of which has been confirmed by Mr. Marsden, in a memoir which his widow has printed since his death. He therein says, when speaking of Lord St. Vincent's Board of Admiralty, "We visited Woolwich and Deptford Yards, at the latter of which we experienced much abuse from the enraged families of the workmen discharged or reduced in their allowances, and with some difficulty escaped from worse treatment" (he told me they were pelted with mud by the women and boys). These reductions were probably unavoidable at the time; but the general character of this naval administration was that of harshness, particularly as it respected the officers of the subordinate departments, with whom some personal ill-will was mixed up; the object (as Marsden states) seeming to be that of finding grounds for delinquencies *presumed* in the first instance. "People ask," he adds, "have not the Admiralty and the courts of law together power enough to punish delinquencies in the dock-yards, or other naval departments? But the object is to get rid of the Navy-Board; they are not faultless. Like most other boards and public offices they have left many things undone; but the visitation did not bring home to them any act of corruption or malversation. It was then tried to drive them out by the most abusive letters that ever were written from one Board to another; but they were too prudent to gratify our gentlemen in this way."*

It was at this time that the detestable Commission of Naval Enquiry was concocted, of which Mr. Marsden thus speaks:—

"And now, this extraordinary Commission is re-

* Brief Memoir of William Marsden, written by Himself.

sorted to in the hope of its operating some way (they cannot very well say how) to the end desired. I know it was their first idea to arm *their friends*,* the new Commissioners, with the power of punishing; but now it is only intended they should inquire and report. The Minister gives way, *par complaisance*, to Lord St. Vincent, against his own opinion of the propriety of the measure."

He continues: "Our Board-room is a scene of anxious bustle and agitation, which sometimes puts me in a little passion, but more commonly makes me laugh; for it is impossible for any person to be more independent of the *inquisitions* and *reforms* that are going forward than I am. * * * * If I resign, I am afraid of its being said that I ran away from the new Commissioners. This is rather a curious dilemma; but, although it looks like a joke, it is serious enough. Well, I must make the best of it; at this season confinement is less irksome than it would be in spring, when, please God, I shall be my own master. In the mean time an open quarrel between them and the Navy-Board, which I daily look for, will bring it to a crisis, and oblige me to determine between double and quits."

Mr. Marsden, at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, remained as Secretary after Nepean had absolutely been driven out by the professional members of the Board. Mr. Addington, to soothe him, gave him the Secretaryship of Ireland and created him a baronet; but he said to his Lordship, "I was convinced, from experience of the tempers, ideas, and conduct of the

* These friends were Charles M. Pole, Ewan Law, John Ford, Henry Nichols, and Mackworth Praed.

professional members of the Board, that I could not possibly carry on the public business with them with the least chance of satisfaction to my own feelings. I explained the defects of the present constitution of our department; expressing, at the same time, my conviction that it was not in his Lordship's power to remedy it, as he could not change their natures nor do without them."*

With such a Board, and in such a deplorable state of the Navy, did the Lord Viscount Melville succeed to the administration of that important branch of the public service; and, perhaps, there was not another individual in the whole kingdom so capable, by his exertion and talent, his aptitude for business, and resolution to look at difficulties with a determination to overcome them, as was Lord Melville. But it was his fate, at the very commencement of his administration, to have the feelings of humanity strongly roused, in a way for which there was no relief. The precious Peace of Amiens was already broken, and the restless spirit of the French leader had driven us into open war, the first instance of which was of a most deplorable nature—the unfortunate collision which took place between two hostile squadrons: that of Captain Sir Graham Moore, consisting of four sail of the line—the 'Indefatigable,' of 80 guns, and three others of 74 guns—and that of Spain, of four ships exactly of the same force, in which three of the latter were captured and the fourth sunk.

To the fatality of this squadron was added a most melancholy and distressing event. The '*Mercedes*' blew up with a tremendous explosion, and sank. A wealthy

* Brief Memoir.

Spaniard, with his lady, five sons, and four daughters, each beautiful and amiable, and the sons grown up to manhood, all, with the exception of the husband and father, with one son, perished. With a large fortune, the savings of twenty-five years in a foreign country, did this unhappy gentleman embark to return to his native country. Shortly before the conflict the father and one of his sons went on board the admiral's ship, and there this unfortunate man became the spectator of a calamity involving the fate of his wife, his daughters, and four of his five sons, together with all his treasure—the whole he beheld enveloped in flames and sinking into the abyss of ocean. This wretched victim of misfortune arrived at Plymouth in Sir Graham Moore's cabin, who had been—as all who knew him will readily believe—unceasing in his attentions and condolence: using his best endeavours to administer consolation and whatever was in his power to the alleviation of his sufferings; which, however, it is hardly necessary to observe, were of a nature and extent not to admit of consolation; nor need I observe that Lord Melville was most painfully afflicted at this domestic calamity, occurring on his first entrance upon the administration of the navy.

Scarcely had his Lordship occupied his seat at the Board of Admiralty, when another unfortunate disaster was brought to his notice. The 'Apollo,' with about forty ships of her convoy, out of sixty-nine, were driven on the coast of Portugal and wrecked, with the loss of many lives. A considerable share of blame was attached to the commanding officer, for not having given a wider berth to that coast, and for not steering a course more westerly; and as those of the convoy-ships

that fortunately by doing so did escape, some grounds were afforded for censure.

These were accidents for which no blame could attach to the ruling powers on shore. But Lord Melville suffered no delay to prevent his taking immediate and decisive steps, to obliterate the obnoxious character received of the British Navy, by restoring that good feeling among its members which it had, till of late years, maintained.

The urbanity, the kind and friendly manner in which his Lordship received all officers of the Navy, his invariable good-humour, and probably above all, his admitted impartiality in the distribution of appointments, soon banished from the minds of officers a very general mistake as to his character, occasioned by a preconceived prejudice that all his favours and predilections would be conferred on his own countrymen. It was not unnatural that he himself, as well as others, should entertain some apprehensions of such a prejudice being imputed to him, from the immense patronage given to him in consequence of the several offices he held in Scotland, where a preference of his countrymen was unavoidable; but it may be mentioned to his credit that, during his administration of the affairs of the Navy, he was never charged with any such predilection. The observation he made to me, on my appointment, expressed his feeling and his intention on this subject.

In confirmation of what I have stated I am enabled to give a very striking instance. One day at dinner, when Admiral Lord Duncan and some other officers were present, Lord Melville, in the course of conversation, expressed some surprise bordering on disappoint-

ment that no application had been made for employment by that gallant officer Sir Thomas Troubridge, by Sir B. Hallowell, and others whom he could have expected, and wished to come forward and offer their services, and some regret to think that any of Lord St. Vincent's favourite officers should entertain a political dislike to him, as it could be no other, and said that if Sir Thomas would wish for service he should be most happy to employ him. Having mentioned this to a friend of Sir Thomas, the latter called on me at the Admiralty in a few days, said he was gratified to learn that he was not one of the excluded, and asked if I thought Lord Melville would see him. I replied, "I know he will." He was immediately admitted, and after his audience he mentioned to me his deep regret he had so misconceived the character of the noble Lord. "Sir," said he to me, "he not only received me in the most friendly manner, but told me that if I was ready to hoist my flag, he would appoint me to any vacant station I might choose—I might name my own ship—that it was intended to divide the Indian station into two separate commands, and that one of them should forthwith be at my service. I accepted this frank and friendly offer; he then said, 'Now name your ship, and she shall immediately be prepared for commission.' I named the 'Blenheim.' Now," said Sir Thomas, "was not this a most gratifying reception, and was it not noble on the part of Lord Melville?"

The unfortunate issue of this choice, both as regards the division of the command, which produced, if not a quarrel, at least a serious misunderstanding between the two commanders-in-chief, and the melancholy

catastrophe of the ship on her voyage home, by which every soul on board perished, were most distressing.

Lord Melville suffered no delay to occur in the measures taken for replenishing the dock-yards with every species of naval stores; perhaps, in some respects, as far as regards economy in the expenditure of public money, his anxiety may have caused him to err in going to the opposite extreme of his predecessors; but, on the other hand, the depressed state of the Navy and the want of means to recruit it found a justification for his eagerness to purchase stores, and vigorously to set about a general repair of those ships, that had been suffered to rot at their moorings, as well as to lay down a certain number of ships of the line and frigates; and in order to have in readiness a large and efficient fleet, which the progress making by Buonaparte, now become Emperor of the French, evidently made expedient, he caused at once contracts to be made, in private yards, for building forty ships of seventy guns, which a facetious naval lord of a subsequent Board of Admiralty called "the forty thieves." The blame was, if any, in building such a great number of so small a calibre; but they have done good service.

Nor should it be omitted to notice that a great part of the ordinary was found to be in so crazy a state, as to require new-building at an enormous expenditure of money and time. Lord Melville, therefore, did not hesitate to adopt a plan, suggested by Mr. Snodgrass, of diagonal braces, to be placed transversely from the extremities of the gun-deck beams down to the keelson, and of doubling the outside planking. With these expedients we had a fleet just in time to meet the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar, and it

was generally thought that the addition of these doubled and cross-braced ships contributed much to the successful issue of that great conflict.

It was soon found, however, that more than common efforts were necessary in the naval department; for notwithstanding the severe losses the enemy had sustained in the destructive battle of the Nile, and in other subsequent actions, such gigantic exertions were made, both by French and Spaniards, under the influence of Napoleon, that their united force at this time exhibited a numerical superiority of ships ready for service. Lord Melville was indefatigable, and in April, 1805, he had got together a respectable fleet; but men were wanting, and recourse was to be had to pressing. The anxiety of Mr. Pitt will be seen by the following note he sent to the Board of Admiralty:—

“Downing Street, April 30th, 1805,
half-past two A. M.

“On returning from the House I have just found these papers; they are of the most pressing importance. I will go to bed for a few hours, but will be ready to see you as soon as you please, as I think we must not lose a moment in taking measures to set afloat every ship that by any species of extraordinary exertion we can find means to man. At such an emergency I am inclined to think many measures may be taken to obtain a supply of men for the time, which would not be applicable to any case less immediately urgent.”

It was this note that hastened Lord Melville's expedient, already in progress, of doubling, cross-bracing, and otherwise strengthening a number of ships of the line, considered unworthy of a lengthened and thorough

repair, and which by this summary process were made fully adequate for temporary service. The event proved the value of the measure by the proud fleet with which Lord Nelson fought and conquered the combined fleets of France and Spain at the battle of Trafalgar.

But the political tactics of "all the Talents" were not likely to be assuaged by the increased energy of their Tory opponents, who had succeeded them in office. It was not believed, however, that, as a body, any personal feeling of hostility existed against Mr. Pitt or Lord Melville. Many of them were known to be living on friendly terms, especially with the latter, whose good-humoured and cheerful disposition was not only calculated to disarm hostility, but to secure friendship. He became, however, a mark for inveterate malice to aim its too successful shaft against; and when a victim is to be immolated, a hierophant is seldom wanting to undertake the part of executioner. The Corypheus of the band, on the present occasion, was Mr. Whitbread, a wealthy plebeian brewer, who had aspired to become a senator. This person undertook to be the chief manager of a trial of impeachment, in the House of Lords, against Lord Viscount Melville, to which I shall allude presently. A short notice of this gentleman may not be unamusing.

Mr. Whitbread, in his opening speech before the Lords, was charged to the brim with invectives, and exhibited a display of animosity unparalleled before such an audience; but in the midst of it, he could not avoid amusing their Lordships with a particular graphical account of his origin and family; whether as a specimen of "pride aping humility," or to display

the talent and ingenuity of the old original brewer, his progenitor, from whom the wealth of the family proceeded, he best could tell. This part of the speech was too good of its kind to escape the poetical acumen of Mr. Canning, who amused himself and many others by giving a clever and playful parody on the brewer's family history, almost in the same words as spoken by the eloquent senator.

Parody on part of Whitbread's Speech before the Lords, in Westminster Hall.

“ I 'm like Archimedes for science and skill ;
 I 'm like a young prince going straight up a hill ;
 I 'm like (with respect to the fair be it said)—
 I 'm like a young lady just bringing to bed.
 If you ask why the 11th of June I remember
 Much better than April, or May, or November,
 On that day, my Lords, with truth, I assure ye,
 My sainted progenitor set up his brewery ;
 On that day, in the morn, he began brewing beer,
 On that, too, commenced his connubial career ;
 On that day he received and issued his bills ;
 On that day he cleared out all the cash from his tills ;
 On that day he died, having finish'd his summing,
 And the angels all cried ‘ Here 's old Whitbread
 a-coming ! ’
 So that day I still hail with a smile and a sigh,
 For his beer with an E and his bier with an I ;
 And still on that day, in the hottest of weather,
 The whole Whitbread family dine all together.
 So long as the beams of this house shall support
 The roof which o'ershades this respectable Court,
 Where Hastings was tried for oppressing the Hindoos,—
 So long as the sun shall shine in at those windows,
 My name shall shine bright, as my ancestor's shines,—
Mine recorded in journals, *his* blazon'd on *signs*.”

An Act had passed for appointing “ Commissioners to enquire and examine into any irregularities, frauds,

or abuses which are or have been practised by persons employed in the several Naval departments therein mentioned." The new Commissioners were those applied for and appointed by Lord St. Vincent's Board of Admiralty, as before stated; and well and zealously did they perform their invidious task; going back in their tenth report a long series of years, to enquire into the annual expenditure of thousands and tens of thousands of money, and to search for irregularities, frauds, and abuses in the expenditure of those sums of money; and never were a set of men better adapted, by their persevering industry, for this kind of work.

Lord Melville was a great card to be played. He had served many years as Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Trotter as Paymaster; and the latter acted as private agent and banker to the former, received his salary and other monies, and supplied him with what cash he might require; but he advanced him also out of the public money such small sums as were constantly demanded of him for current public services, to avoid his drawing frequently for such trifles on the Bank of England. In short, a running account appears to have been kept for convenience sake, which, though it might have been an irregularity as a private account between the Treasurer of the Navy and the Paymaster, yet it facilitated, without injuring, the public service.

Lord Melville being summoned to appear before these Commissioners, and they having read over to him the several sums received, paid, and replaced for twenty years past, he was then asked, somewhat impertinently, it must be admitted, "Did you derive any profit or advantage from the use or employment of money issued for carrying on the public service of the Navy

(during such and such periods, twenty years before) when you held the office of Treasurer of the Navy?"

Lord Melville indignantly replied, "I decline answering this question." He might have told them that he did not condescend to answer so insulting, improper, and illegal a question, which, he believed, no other five gentlemen in England would have proposed, and which a culprit in a police-office would have been warned not to criminate himself by answering. Lord Melville had already told his inquisitors that it was utterly impossible for him, after such a lapse of years and in such a mass of accounts, to enter into any verbal explanation of them, and he desired to refer them to the Paymaster, who had kept a special and separate account of them.

Here was ample ground laid for the exercise of Mr. Whitbread's decided inveteracy, unexampled even in party violence, and he pledged himself to follow up his charges to the utmost, which were as follow:—

"1. For having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, in gross violation of his duty.

"2. His conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, and for which connivance he denounced him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour.

"3. His having himself been a participator in that system of peculation; but as this rested on suspicion only, at present he should not insist upon it."

And he ended by reading thirteen resolutions, all of which he had the assurance to call moderation on his part. Moderation, indeed! to charge a high officer of the crown with being a participator in a system of peculation, avowing at the same time that the charge rested on *suspicion only*.

A specimen of his moderation was soon given; on the next day he moved an address to the King, that this untried nobleman, charged on suspicion only, should be removed from his councils and presence for ever. The Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that Lord Melville had resigned the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. This did not abate the rancour of Whitbread; he renewed his motion to have him dismissed from all offices under the Crown, and from the King's councils and presence for ever; and in this he was supported by some, but not many, of the Whig party.

Mr. Canning did not think that a case of bare suspicion warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed, and said, in that pointed and powerful manner which he knew so well to employ, "When I look back to the proceedings in this House in 1795, upon the serious charges then brought forward against two most eminent commanders, and find that their most active defender and most indefatigable advocate was that very noble Lord who has now been the theme of the honourable gentleman's violence and invective, I little expected that, in his present defenceless state, attempts to hunt him down would have been made by the kindred of Mr. Charles Grey and the friends of Sir John Jervis." I believe that this biting remark had its effect, at least in one quarter.

Again, Whitbread still persisting in his motion for erasing the name of Lord Melville from the list of the Privy Council, Mr. Pitt told him his object was already accomplished. He felt it a duty to advise the erasure. "I am not ashamed," he said, "to confess that, however anxious I might be to accede to the wishes of the

House of Commons, I felt a deep and bitter pang in being compelled to be the instrument of rendering more severe the punishment of the noble Lord."

The malignity and the malevolence of Whitbread were not yet satiated. On the 7th of June he concluded an inveterate speech by moving "That Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours," which was lost by a majority of 77 peers against it. Another motion for a criminal prosecution was carried, but rescinded the next day; and a motion from a neutral party for proceeding by impeachment was carried, on the ground "that the rank and station of the defendant demanded all the respect due to the high order of which he was a member; and that a trial before his peers was more consistent with the spirit of the constitution." An order was then made that Mr. Whitbread "do go to the Lords and impeach," &c. &c.

The committee of management consisted of Whitbread, Fox, Grey, Sheridan, Henry Petty, Marsham, Giles, Folkstone, Orrery, *et id genus omne*—the elect of *all the Talents*. The three charges of Whitbread were multiplied into ten by the managers. The trial commenced on the 29th of April and terminated on the 12th of June, when the Lord Chancellor, beginning at the junior baron, put the question "Is Henry Viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" and all the Lords present having declared guilty or not guilty, the Lord Chancellor, after casting up the votes, found *Lord Viscount Melville not guilty*. The Chancellor then declared to his Lordship "That the Lords had fully considered of his case, and had found him *not guilty* of high crimes and misdemeanours

charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons." About seventy of the peers acquitted him of every one of the ten charges, and he had very large majorities on six of the ten, and the smallest he had was twenty-seven on the second charge, "for permitting Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, to draw from the Bank of England, for other purposes than Navy services, large sums of money, and to place the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co., his private bankers," an avowed fact that could not be negatived.

Though thus completely acquitted, the prosecution, or persecution, so far answered the purpose of Whitbread and his political accomplices (which is supposed to have been the main object) that it incapacitated Lord Melville for acting against them in future, and hastened, as generally believed, the death of Mr. Pitt, which happened on the 23rd of January, 1806, in his forty-seventh year, being of the same age as the immortal Nelson, whose career was cut short on the 5th of October, in the preceding year, and whose remains were deposited in St. Paul's Church the 9th of January, 1806, just fourteen days before Mr. Pitt's death. Another great character, Charles James Fox, expired on the 13th of September, 1806, in the 58th year of his age. He should have died some fifteen months sooner.

Lord Melville continued to enjoy the peace and quiet of domestic life free from the labours, toil, and anxiety which for some years past he had been made to endure. He had looked forward to his son, Robert Dundas, taking an active and important share in public

life, and supporting that character which his exemplary conduct, during the persecution himself had to struggle with, obtained, and which won high praise from all parties. In 1809 he became President of the Board of Control, from whence he was appointed in 1812 First Lord of the Admiralty. Had his father lived but a year longer he would have had the gratification of seeing his son in possession of that high office, which he himself had filled to the satisfaction of all until misfortunes came upon him. He lived mostly on his property at Dunira, occasionally visiting Edinburgh, where he had a number of friends. It was here that he died, after a short illness, on the 27th of May, 1811. "His loss," says Walter Scott, "will be long and severely felt here (Edinburgh), and Envy is already paying her cold tribute of applause to the worth which she maligned while it walked upon earth."

The proceedings in Westminster Hall were looked upon very generally as a party persecution, and Lord Melville met with the greatest kindness and sympathy from high quarters where he had no reason to expect it. But he also received it with increased satisfaction from persons of inferior rank. There is mentioned in 'The Lives of the Lindsays' an instance of the generous conduct of a young man, which affected Lord Melville very much. It is told by Lady Anne Barnard. "Amidst the many cruel emotions that arose to Dundas on an occasion when men are proved, I saw a pleasurable one flow from his eyes in a flood of tears, which seemed to do him good. A young man (the younger brother of my sister-in-law, Mrs. A. Lindsay) was sent, when quite a boy, to the East Indies by Lord

Melville, as a writer; his industry and abilities gave him a little early prosperity; he heard of this attack on Dundas; he venerated him; he knew he was not a man of fortune—he had made five thousand or more—and in words the most affectionate and respectful, manly and kind, he remitted to him an order for the money, should he have occasion for it, to assist in defraying the heavy expenses he must be put to.”

“He read it to me,” says Lady Anne, “with an exultation of satisfaction, and then observed, ‘I have never beheld a countenance but one that did not feel this letter as it ought when I read it, and that one was my daughter-in-law’s, before she knew that I had refused it.’ ‘I hope,’ said she, ‘that while my purse is full, you will never receive aid from a stranger.’ ‘I knew she spoke as she felt; to find two such people at such a moment, is it not worth a score of desertions?’”

This young man was Mr. Dick, afterwards Sir Robert Keith Dick.

Among the voluntary contributors towards proving the falsehood of Lord Melville “being himself a participator in the system of peculation,” was a gentleman I was particularly glad to discover—Mr. Gibson, of the 3 per cent. office of the Bank of England, the son of my old friend the mathematician and almanac-maker in North Lancashire.* He undertook a strict examination of Mr. Trotter’s accounts, of the sums of money he received from Lord Melville, the sums he supplied to him and the sums returned; he calculated

* It was a great pleasure to me to be able to appoint his grandson to a clerkship in the Admiralty, and also to take him as my private secretary—a clever, well-looking youth, but he did not turn out well—the only private secretary I ever had.

the interest on both sides, and the result was that, instead of the noble Lord having derived any profit by these accommodations, the balance of interest *against* him was several thousand pounds. I advised him to show these accounts to Mr. Plomer; but as the trial had ended with a verdict of acquittal, Mr. Plomer thought that, however important they might have been if produced on the trial, they could not now be made available.

Lord Melville, by his early retirement from the Admiralty, escaped many disappointments which his immediate successors had to encounter; but he had also the satisfaction of being well assured, that by his great exertions and prompt measures for meeting the impending storm about to burst from the united forces of powerful enemies, the most glorious naval victory that ever crowned the fleet of England was achieved at Trafalgar. Every administration of the Admiralty has had to grapple with a host of charlatans with their absurd and useless projects, which they call inventions. Lord Melville was not disposed to encourage such, and yet Mr. Pitt and he were accused of allowing an American, of the name of Fulton, to impose upon them with his catamarans to destroy ships of war and all within them, secretly and without any intimation; and this man had the hardihood to recommend the blowing up of ships of war, and destroying the whole crew, unconscious of what was about to happen to them, and to boast of it as a humane invention. This person, after offering his projects to the French and to the Dutch, did apply to the English minister with such credentials as prevailed on Mr. Pitt to ask Lord Melville to provide him some old worthless vessel to blow up in

Walmer Roads. An old Danish brig was procured, and a day fixed, when the two ministers were to be present; but they took care to be in London, and the ship, with the assistance of Sir Home Popham, was fired without the two seeing it or knowing anything of the matter. Who would have thought that forty years after this the same species of delusion, with the same kind of assistance, would have been played off at Brighton?

SECTION II.

LORD BARHAM (*Sir Charles Middleton*).

May 21, 1805—Feb. 5, 1806.

Captain JAMES GAMBIER. . . . First Naval Lord.
WILLIAM MARSDEN. First Secretary.

ON the resignation of the late First Lord, on the 20th of April, 1805, Sir Charles Middleton (created Lord Barham) was appointed to the vacant situation. He had held the office of Comptroller of the Navy for a period of thirty years (from 1775 to 1805), was now eighty years of age or upwards, and, of course, might be expected to bring to his new department a few prejudices from the Board, over which he had so long presided, and from which Lord St. Vincent, in one of his cutting sarcasms, had strongly recommended Mr. Thomas Grenville "to brush away the spiders;" a task, however, which his Lordship himself did not venture to set about, while he was First Lord of the Admiralty.

One of the first points of knowledge, to which the attention of a new First Lord is usually drawn, is the number of vacancies to be filled up; a statement of the available fleet, and of the number of seamen borne; what ships are required to be put into commission; what civil or military vacant appointments exist, or are

likely to occur ; and to find some fault in the arrangements made by his predecessor, if it be only to change them, in order to show his own superior discerning.

Lord Barham, however, at the advanced period of his life, was satisfied to let things go on in their usual course, to remain quiet in his own room, to make few enquiries, and to let the Board consider and settle the current affairs of the Navy among themselves. In fact, he never attended the Board ; but when any doubtful question arose, one of the Lords or the Secretaries took his decision on it in his own room. An instance occurred, however, which called for his speedy interference ; but instead of settling it at once, when I told him of it, as he might easily have done, he actually wrote off to Mr. Pitt, stating the case and requesting his interference on a personal question. The case was this. One morning, as Captain Gambier entered the board-room, the only persons there being Lord Garlies and myself, Captain Gambier had no sooner taken his seat than Lord Garlies, in a loud and angry tone, burst forth at once, saying, "I despise the man who can say one thing to your face and another thing out of doors behind your back." "Do you mean to apply that to me?" asked Gambier. "Yes, I do," said Lord Garlies. Not a word more was spoken, but the Captain took his hat and said to me, "You have heard how I have been insulted, and I never enter this room again without a suitable apology." I told the whole to Lord Barham, and he immediately wrote to Mr. Pitt, who speedily came to the Admiralty, and I was sent for. Mr. Pitt asked me to let him know precisely what had taken place ; and having told him, he said, "Have you any doubt which of the two is the aggrieved

party?" I said that, "Being in utter ignorance of what had previously taken place between them, I can only speak of what occurred in my presence, and I can have no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that Lord Garlies was the first and only aggressor." He then said, "I will soon settle this matter;" and I left the room.

The next morning I found Lord Garlies sitting at the Board. He took no notice to me of what had happened, and in a little time Captain Gambier made his appearance, upon which Lord Garlies rose, and, meeting him, held out his hand, and asked pardon for the hasty and outrageous manner in which he had incautiously and in anger spoken, and hoped his forgiveness. Mr. Pitt, it appeared, on leaving Lord Barham, had written to both. The dispute had arisen from some difference of opinion about warrant officers.

Lord Garlies was an excellent man, but of a warm and sanguine temperament. Gambier, in temperament quite the reverse; of a mild and serious turn, he was pleasing in his manners, and a perfect gentleman. The following incident, which is given in the 'Life of Howe,' is an illustration of his character:—In the midst of the battle of the 1st of June, when the little 'Defence,' of 74 guns, which he commanded, was threatened to be overwhelmed by a French 120-gun ship bearing down upon her, the lieutenant of the after-part of the main-deck, in a momentary panic, ran upon the quarter-deck, and addressing the captain with great eagerness, exclaimed, "D—n my eyes, sir, here is a whole mountain coming down upon us; what shall we do?" Captain Gambier, unmoved, said in a solemn tone, "How dare you, sir, at this awful moment, come to me with

an oath in your mouth? Go down, sir, and encourage your men to stand to their guns like brave British seamen." I asked Lord Gambier some years afterwards if the story was true; his reply was that he believed something of the kind had occurred.

Lord Barham's nine months' administration of the affairs of the British Navy was attended with the most glorious victory ever accomplished, and the most lamented loss ever sustained, by the death of the immortal Nelson.

This bravest of the brave having returned from his anxious chase after the French fleet, as he supposed, had gone to the West Indies; but having been misled, harassed, and vexed in the extreme, he writes an angry but characteristic letter to his friend, Alexander Davison, dated "'Victory,' 24th July, 1805," in which he says: "I am as miserable as you can conceive. But for General Brereton's d—d 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 judgment than following the opinions of others. I resisted the opinion of General Brereton's information—it would have been the height of presumption to have carried my belief further." He then repeats, "But I am miserable"—and adds "that until the enemy is arrived somewhere in some port in the Bay, I can do nothing but fret."

On the 25th of July he desires Admiral Collingwood to continue the service he has hitherto been employed upon off Cadiz, while he should proceed with

his West Indian squadron to the northward in search of the combined squadron. And in a private letter he tells his "dear Collingwood" he must forego the pleasure of taking him by the hand until October next, "when, if I am well enough, I shall (if the Admiralty please) resume the command."

In the autumn of 1805 Lord Nelson arrived in England, and, being much out of health, retired to a small place he had at Merton, where he remained in quiet in the midst of a pretty garden and in the society of his sister and Lady Hamilton. But the enjoyment he otherwise would have had is said to have been constantly interrupted by conjectures of what the enemy's fleet consisted, what he was projecting, and what was the force and the disposition of his own fleet to meet it. While he was thus tormenting himself in matters of this kind, and in calling to mind the hope he had expressed to Admiral Collingwood, of rejoining him in the month of October, Captain Blackwood arrived with dispatches, announcing that the combined fleets of France and Spain had got into Cadiz. This intelligence admitted of no hesitation or delay—Nelson was himself again. He set off immediately for the Admiralty; told Lord Barham he was on his way to rejoin his fleet the moment the 'Victory' was ready at Spithead, where a squadron was prepared as a reinforcement; and in three days he was again in town on his way to Portsmouth.

He had been with me at the Admiralty in the morning, anxiously inquiring and expressing his hopes about a code of signals just then improved and enlarged. I assured him they were all but ready; that he should not be disappointed, and that I would take care they

should be at Portsmouth the following morning. On his way, in the evening, he looked in upon me at the Admiralty, where I was stopping to see them off. I pledged myself not to leave the office till a messenger was dispatched with the signals, should the post have departed, and that he might rely on their being at Portsmouth the following morning. On this he shook hands with me; I wished him all happiness and success, which I was sure he would command as he had always done; and he departed apparently more than usually cheerful. He had no new commission to receive, nor instructions of any kind; he had come on shore on his own leave, and was returning to reassume the command which he had temporarily left with an inferior officer. This was on the 12th of September, and on the next night he took a last leave of his dear Merton, his friends and family; and the following entry appears in his diary:—

“At half-past ten drove from dear, dear Merton, where I left all which I hold dear in this world, to go to serve my king and country. May the great God whom I adore enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country; and if it is His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of His mercy. If it is His good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that he will protect those so dear to me that I may leave behind. His will be done. Amen. Amen.”

On his arrival at Portsmouth the following morning, he hoisted his flag on board the ‘Victory;’ and anxious to lose no time in rejoining the fleet, he sailed the moment she was ready, leaving the rest of the

squadron of reinforcement to follow him. On the 17th he writes from Plymouth to Sir George Rose, concluding his letter thus :—

“ I will try to have a motto—at least it shall be my watchword—‘ *Touch and take.*’ I will do my best; and if I fail in any point, I hope it will be proved that it will be owing to no fault of, my dear Mr. Rose, your very faithful friend,

“ NELSON AND BRONTE.”

On the evening of the 28th September he saw the enemy’s fleet in Cadiz, amounting to thirty-five or thirty-six sail of the line, joined the fleet under Lord Collingwood, and re-assumed the command of twenty-three sail of the line; and he mentions six being occasionally at Gibraltar. In a letter of the 1st of October he says,—“ I believe my arrival was most welcome, not only to the commander of the fleet, but also to every individual in it: and when I came to explain to them the *Nelson touch*, it was like an electric shock: some shed tears—all approved. ‘ It was new—it was singular—it was simple;’ and from admirals downwards it was repeated. “ It must succeed if ever they will allow us to get at them. You are, my Lord, surrounded by friends whom you inspire with confidence.” He writes strongly to the Admiralty, to send him frigates and sloops, which he calls the *eyes of the fleet*; and in writing to Sir G. Rose, he suggests that Mr. Pitt should “ hint to Lord Barham to send him plenty of frigates and sloops.” Every letter, indeed, repeats the necessity of having frigates and sloops.

On the 9th of October Lord Nelson issues a me-

morandum of the manner in which, under certain circumstances, the British fleet will go into action. On the 20th the enemy were out; and on the 21st he writes as follows in his private diary:—"At daylight saw the enemy's combined fleet from E. to E. S. E.; bore away; made the signal for 'Order of sailing,' and to 'Prepare for battle;' the enemy with their heads to the southward; at 7, the enemy wearing in succession. May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him who made me, and may his blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen."

The most decisive battle was fought and the most glorious victory obtained that had ever crowned the naval arms of Great Britain; and the fame of which has been blazoned forth through the four quarters of the world in unfading characters of praise and admiration; while the name of Nelson is hailed in songs of triumph throughout the wide extent of the British dominions.

The report of this most glorious and stupendous victory of Trafalgar was accompanied with the melancholy and lamentable intelligence of the death of Nelson, invincible while life remained. This mixed intelligence of joy and mourning arrived at the Admiralty, in the middle of the night of the 6th of November. Mr. Marsden had retired to rest, when he

was told that an officer had just arrived. On coming down, the officer meeting him with a packet of dispatches, said to him hastily, "Sir, we have gained a great victory, but we have lost Lord Nelson." The impression, which such an abrupt address was calculated to make on the Secretary to the Admiralty, may readily be conceived; and Marsden has left on record the way in which his report of this triumphant but mournful intelligence was received by Lord Barham. He went to him about one o'clock in the morning. "The First Lord," he says, "had retired to rest, as had his domestics, and it was not till after some research that I could discover the room in which he slept. Drawing aside his curtains, with a candle in my hand, I awoke the old peer from a sound slumber: and to the credit of his nerves be it mentioned, that he showed no symptom of alarm or surprise, but calmly asked, 'What news, Mr. Marsden?' We then discussed, in few words, what was immediately to be done; and I sat up the remainder of the night with such of the clerks as I could collect, in order to make the necessary communications, at an early hour, to the King, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Ministers, and other members of the Cabinet, and to the Lord Mayor."

The good old King, with that punctuality and propriety for which he was distinguished, acknowledged the receipt of the glorious intelligence through his Secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, the very same day, in which he says, "However his Majesty rejoices at the signal success of his gallant fleet, he has not heard without expressions of very deep regret the death of its valuable and distinguished commander; although (he added) a life so replete with glory, and marked

by a rapid succession of such meritorious services and exertions, could not have ended more gloriously." And Colonel Taylor adds, "I have not, upon any occasion, seen his Majesty more affected."

The King had expressed much anxiety to be in full possession of every detail and particular respecting this great event; and he testified his great satisfaction that the command, under circumstances so critical, should have devolved upon an officer of such consummate valour, judgment, and skill, as Admiral Collingwood has proved himself to be; every part of whose conduct he considers deserving of his entire approbation and admiration. "The feeling manner in which he has described the events of that great day, and those subsequent to it, and the modesty with which he speaks of himself whilst he does justice in terms so elegant and so ample to the meritorious exertions of the gallant officers and men under his command, have also proved extremely gratifying to the King."

Never can I forget the shock I received, on opening the Board-room door, the morning after the arrival of the dispatches, when Marsden called out—"Glorious news! The most glorious victory our brave navy ever achieved—but Nelson is dead!" The vivid recollection of my interview with this incomparable man, and the idea that I was probably the last person he had taken leave of in London, left an impression of gloom on my mind that required some time to remove; and the glorious result of the victory recurred; though the other could not be obliterated speedily. "The circumstances of the splendid victory of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar," says my colleague, "when nineteen of the enemy's ships of the line were

captured or destroyed, many of the rest disabled, and the commander-in-chief made prisoner, are too strongly imprinted on the public mind to require repetition here.* Suffice it to say, that so effectually was the naval force of our opponents crushed by this defeat, that no attempt was afterwards made to face an English squadron."

The above note must have been written on the receipt of Admiral Collingwood's first dispatch, dated the day following the battle, in which he says the enemy "left to his Majesty's squadron nineteen sail of the line." Seven days afterwards (28th of October) he gives the details of the enemy's losses in another dispatch, thus:—

4 sent to Gibraltar
 10 wrecked
 3 burnt in action
 3 sunk ditto
 9 got into Cadiz, dismantled or damaged
 4 escaped
 —
 33 ships of the line.
 —

or thus:—

4 sent to Gibraltar
 16 destroyed
 9 got into Cadiz; 6 wrecked, 3 serviceable
 4 hauled to the southward and escaped
 —
 33
 —

The four that escaped were fallen in with and captured by four of equal force exactly, under Sir Richard Strachan, in the 'Cæsar,' which, by the way, was one of the *cross-braced* and *doubled* ships.

* In his Memoir.

One result of this glorious victory was viewed in different lights, not contemplated at the time—the abandonment of the right of the flag; a right persisted in with extreme jealousy by us, and looked upon with great hatred and ill-will by foreigners. The right of the flag had invariably been demanded from all nations in the British seas, from a very early period of our naval history. Among the many, a remarkable one may be mentioned. Philip II. of Spain was shot at by the Lord Admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came over with his fleet to marry *Queen Mary*.

At a later period King Charles II., in his declaration of war against the Dutch, in 1671, observes,—“the right of the flag is so ancient that it was one of the first prerogatives of our royal predecessors, and ought to be the last from which this kingdom should ever depart;” and he goes on—“Ungrateful insolence! That *they* should contend with us about the dominion of those seas, who, even in the reign of our royal father, thought it an obligation to be permitted to fish in them.”

The right was maintained by order in Council of 1734, and printed in the Naval Instructions, and continued down to 1806, when the right of the flag was abandoned, in consequence, it may be inferred, of the glorious victory of Trafalgar having swept every hostile fleet from the ocean. The article in the printed instructions, issued after that victory, respecting the flag, was dropped altogether. In the new and the last printed instructions of 1844, a very negative article on this subject runs thus:—

“Her Majesty’s ships or vessels shall not, on any account, lower their top-gallant-sails nor their flags to

any foreign ships or vessels whatsoever, unless the foreign ships or vessels shall first, or at the same time, lower their top-gallant-sails or their flags to them.”

The prohibitory order to *our* ships and vessels appears to be wholly unnecessary, and the *simultaneous* striking of sails or flags next to impossible.

The full admiral's *red* flag, which had been abandoned for centuries—no one seems to know why—was re-assumed in the General List of 1806, on the same occasion that the right of the flag was abandoned.

Previous to the consummation of this grand battle, there was a small one with a small result that was neither victory nor defeat, but may be called a drawn battle with two captured ships of the line. I allude to the action fought by Sir Robert Calder, on the 23rd of July, 1805, with fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, against twenty sail of the line and five frigates, of which Sir Robert captured two sail of the line, and suffered the rest to escape, in order, as he said, to secure the two prizes, intending afterwards to pursue the main body; which, however, he did not—as Lord St. Vincent pronounced, that he would not. An order forthwith issued for trying him by court-martial, for not doing his utmost; and the court found that he had *not* done his utmost, and therefore sentenced him to be reprimanded.

Calder, I believe, was considered a good professional officer, but he lacked judgment. It was in his favour, and he pleaded it on his trial, that he had been flag-captain to Lord St. Vincent in the battle which bears the noble admiral's name, and here he showed a want of judgment morally speaking. When St. Vincent read to him his account of the battle, in which Nelson was mentioned with due praise: “Don't you

think," observed Calder, "he disobeyed his orders?" "Perhaps he did," replied the Earl, "and when you do so with the same effect I will praise you too." He once threw the whole Cabinet into a state of alarm by a telegraph message, when Commander-in-chief at Plymouth. Dispatches had been received from Spain, and Calder, anxious to convey the intelligence to town, sent up the following portion of a message; the rest was stopped by a fog:—"Wellington defeated;" and thus it remained the whole day, to the dismay of those who knew only thus much of it. The arrival of Lord March (I think it was), in the course of the night, brought the account of a great victory over Marmont. The Admiral's head, like the weather, was somewhat foggy. He meant to say, "The French defeated by Wellington," but unfortunately began at the wrong end.

These and some other successes were accomplished during the first six of the nine months that the veteran peer presided over the Admiralty, unquestionably without any effort on his part. On the day of his departure, he did, however, make an effort to benefit—not himself—but his successor. When Lord Barham succeeded to the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, the salary was 3000*l.* a-year; that is to say, 1000*l.*, like that of each of the other Lords, as voted on the Ordinary Estimate of the navy, but an additional 2000*l.* was paid to the First Lord, by the Treasurer of the Navy, out of the produce of old stores. Lord Barham very properly considered this a shabby and incorrect mode of paying a great officer of state; and, on the morning of his quitting office, he sent for me, and desired me to make a minute in his name, and

for his signature, expressing his opinion that, in future, this high officer ought to be put upon the same footing as the Secretaries of State, and to have 5000*l.* a-year on the Estimate of the Navy. It was said with regard to this minute, that Mr. Charles Grey, who succeeded Lord Barham, availed himself of it; and that Lord Barham had left the minute on his desk for that purpose; but of this I am unable to speak, as I quitted office the same day with Lord Barham. I may venture to observe, this neither was nor could be true; for until the year 1811 there appeared on the estimate only 7000*l.* for the seven Lords: 2000*l.*, in addition, being specially voted for the First Lord, whose salary, however, in 1812, was raised to 5000*l.* a-year, and was so printed in the Navy Estimate of that year; but whether in consequence of Lord Barham's suggestion, or of the propriety of the measure, I know not. This sum, however, was reduced by a Committee of 1831 to 4,500*l.*; when my own was permitted to remain at 1,500*l.*, it having been reduced by a former Committee to that amount from the original salary of 2000*l.*

SECTION III.

The Right Hon. CHARLES GREY.

February 10, 1806—September 29, 1806.

Admiral MARKHAM, Sir CHARLES POLE, Bart., and Sir H. B. NEALE, Bart., the three Naval Lords; but which was considered first I know not.

Mr. MARSDEN continued First Secretary.

ON the 10th of February, 1806, a change took place in the Government, by the Tories having been obliged to give way to the Whigs, when the Right Honourable Charles Grey was appointed to relieve Lord Barham as First Lord of the Admiralty. I was fully aware of what was to be my fate, and had it speedily announced to me by a message from the Right Hon. Charles Grey, through Mr. Marsden, expressive of his sincere regret at being under the painful necessity of dispensing with my services, which, he wished to assure me, under other circumstances, he should have been too happy to retain; and he hoped that I would not deem him capable of having dealt harshly, capriciously, or unjustly in replacing an old friend of his, and of his party, in a situation of which I had been the cause, though blameless, of depriving him: a gentleman with whom he was desirous that I should be acquainted, as one who had long been the faithful, confidential, and attached secretary of the Earl of St. Vincent; and who besides had given up the patent place of a Commissioner of the

Navy to follow his old master as Second Secretary of the Admiralty, when the noble Earl, in 1801, became the First Lord.

He was very anxious, Mr. Marsden said, that I should be made aware of the position in which he stood with regard to Mr. Tucker, and that I should acquit him of acting in any shape unhandsomely towards me; and he further desired Mr. Marsden to tell me that if I wished to say anything to him he would be glad to see me at any time.

Misfortunes are said rarely to come single. This heavy blow was but too likely to be soon followed by another. My best and kindest friend and benefactor, the Earl of Macartney, was dangerously ill, and the state of affairs on the Continent, and the death of Mr. Pitt, seemed to impress his mind with deep concern, and to cast an unusual damp upon his spirits; but he continued to read and write till three days before his death, which took place on the evening of the 31st of March, 1806, "while reclining his head on his hand as if dropping into a slumber, but he sank into the arms of death without a sigh and without a struggle," at his residence in Mayfair. Thus did I lose the last of my three powerful friends and benefactors, Lord Macartney, Sir George Staunton, and Lord Melville, the last of whom, though still living, might be accounted dead to the world.

Intelligence had just been brought of the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope, and shortly after I received a note from Mr. Windham, who had now been appointed Secretary of State for War and Colonies, desiring to see me in Downing Street the following morning as early as convenient. Being personally

acquainted with Mr. Windham, and having more than once conversed with him on the subject of Southern Africa, I concluded he wished for some information regarding this renewed acquisition; and so it proved. At nine in the morning, I found him pacing the room, with his shirt-neck thrown open, and looking in his appearance as if something of a most perplexing nature had taken possession of his mind; his first words were, "Mr. Barrow, I have wished very much to see you, for I am greatly perplexed by a minute from Lord Grenville, directing that immediate steps be taken for sending out forthwith a reinforcement of troops, together with a civil establishment, for the protection and management of that important colony, the Cape of Good Hope." "Here," he said, "is a list of the situations and the holders of them when you ceded the settlement to the Dutch; and I find that you were chief of the Commissioners to arrange the surrender. Will you cast your eye over that list and tell me what appointments are to be filled up, and who (if any) still remain to fill them? but first, as I am sorry to find you are become an idle man, let me say, if any one of these appointments should suit you, place your finger upon it, and, with one exception, I will most cheerfully name you for it." The exception was Mr. Andrew Barnard, the former Colonial secretary. I thanked him cordially, but hoped he would give me a day or two to consider of it, as I wished first to see Mr. Grey. "By all means, see Mr. Grey, and I trust he will be desirous of doing something better for you than what I have to offer." I said that I should be most happy to afford him any advice or assistance in my power whenever he thought it could be useful.

I lost no time in waiting on the Right Honourable Charles Grey, and was very warmly received. He repeated the assurance of his regret, and trusted that I was satisfied he could not have done otherwise than re-appoint Mr. Tucker. I assured him of my full conviction that the step he had taken was not only reasonable, but just, and almost imperative; that the loss of such a situation, I need not say, was a serious concern to one, who, with slender means, had a growing family to look up to him for support. He wished very much, he said, for he considered it due to me, that something should turn up worthy of my acceptance. "But," he added, "I must confess that I see little prospect at present of being relieved from that condition which my colleague, Mr. Fox, is said to have described to a friend who made application for some appointment—'My dear fellow, we are already two in a bed.' I can, therefore, at present only assure you of my good wishes and inclinations." I made my bow, and was retiring, when he called me back. "By the way," he said, "you have been some time in the public service, previous to your appointment to the Admiralty?" "Yes, sir; I was two years on Lord Macartney's embassy to China, and seven years at the Cape of Good Hope." "I recollect," he said, "your having been on both, and I have read your account of the Cape with pleasure and profit. I wish you would write down such a memorandum of your services as I can send to Lord Grenville; I think his Lordship should know them: more I cannot say at present."

I could not be otherwise than highly gratified by the kind and considerate manner in which Mr. Grey received and conversed with me, and I lost no time, it may be supposed, in supplying him with the note he

required; and on mentioning the interview to Mr. Marsden, he said, "I am glad of what you tell me; he has either something in view for you, or is desirous of interesting the Prime Minister in your behalf. I know, from the little he has said to me, that he feels the ungracious, but unavoidable step he was compelled to take with regard to you, and that he would not be displeased to find an opportunity of making amends." Knowing, however, the situation in which "All the Talents" found themselves placed on assuming office, I was not very sanguine, though still persuading myself there must have been a kind motive for the step now taken by the First Lord of the Admiralty. In the mean time I could only remain quiet, as I had entirely given up all idea of returning to the Cape of Good Hope, and so I told Mr. Windham.

It was not long, however, before I received a note from Mr. Grey, enclosing a short letter to him from Lord Grenville, of which the following is a copy:—

"Camelford House, 10th March, 1806.

"My dear Grey,

"I have the pleasure of acknowledging your letter on the subject of Mr. Barrow. The particular circumstances of his case appear to entitle him to a proper and favourable consideration; and I do not see any more eligible mode than that suggested of his presenting a memorial to the King in Council.

"Yours, &c.,

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

Fortified by such an opinion from such a quarter, I lost no time in drawing up and sending a memorial of

my services to the King in Council, which, in the usual course, was referred to the Board of Admiralty, to be reported upon by their Lordships; and the Board, on the suggestion of Mr. Grey (now Lord Howick), recommended that a pension should be granted of 1000*l.* a-year, to commence from the day of my retiring from the Admiralty, and to be abated from any place I might thereafter hold under the Government.

This information was conveyed to me by the following letter:—

“ Admiralty, June 26th, 1806.

“ Sir,

“ I delayed answering your letter of the 23rd till the Board should have had an opportunity of deciding on the reference from the Council. I have now the pleasure of informing you that a pension of 1000*l.* a-year is recommended as a proper reward for your long services.

“ I am, Sir, &c.,
(Signed) “HOWICK.”

In gratitude for the kind feeling shown to me throughout, I am bound to acknowledge that the treatment I received at the hands of Lord Howick, from first to last, was most indulgent, considerate, and attentive; and that few men I believe would have acted, under all the circumstances, with that promptitude and marked generosity, which he was pleased to bestow on my case.

Of what occurred at the Admiralty during the eight months' reign of Lord Howick I know nothing. It commenced auspiciously by the report of Sir John Duckworth's successful action with a French squadron in the West Indies, the account of which came to the

Admiralty just fourteen days after his entry on the business of the office, to which he had succeeded by removal from the Foreign Office, to which he had been appointed on the death of Mr. Fox. In April, 1807, he became Earl Grey; and having continued about eight months, he resigned the government of the Navy to Mr. Thomas Grenville, who remained about five months, when both went out with the rest of the party, Lord Grenville being succeeded by the Duke of Portland.

The dissolution of the Grenville Government was rather sudden, and would appear to have been occasioned very much by mismanagement. On the 6th of March, 1807, Lord Grenville in the Lords, and Lord Howick in the Commons, gave notice of their intentions to bring in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics. As this measure had always been very obnoxious to the King, prudence at least would seem to have required that His Majesty should have been apprised of such notice being intended. An adjournment took place to enable them to do so; they had an audience for this purpose; but it was too late; and the following day they received an intimation from His Majesty, that he must provide himself with other ministers.

SECTION IV.

The EARL of MULGRAVE.

April 6, 1807—November 24, 1809.

Admiral JAMES GAMBIER....First Naval Lord.
J. W. CROKER, Esq.First Secretary.

ON the morning of the 5th of April, 1807, while a cart was standing before my door, taking in baggage and some furniture, Admiral Gambier stepped in and said, "Where are you going, Barrow?—not out of town, I hope?" I answered, "No: I am just about to take my little sick child to Jenkins's nursery grounds." "Because," said he, "I come to you from Lord Mulgrave, who desires to see you to-morrow morning at twelve o'clock, in Wimpole Street; and pray don't fail. I see you are busy, and so am I—so good bye." He then left me abruptly. What can Lord Mulgrave want with me? thought I. Having been some weeks in the country, I knew little or nothing of what was going on in the political world, and had only heard some rumours of "All the Talents" being on the eve of retiring; but of Lord Mulgrave I was utterly ignorant even to what party he belonged.

I took care to be in Wimpole Street at the hour appointed; and, when knocking at the door, my friend Lord Arden, passing by, called out, "I am very glad

to see you, Barrow, at that door," and walked on. On being shown into his Lordship's room, he said, "You will probably have heard that the King has been pleased to appoint me First Lord of the Admiralty; and one of my first acts is to offer you, as I now do, the re-appointment to the situation from which, in my opinion, you were unjustly removed; and I hope you will not refuse me." In making my sincere acknowledgments for his generous offer to one who was an entire stranger to him, I assured him that nothing could be more gratifying than the prospect of returning to a public situation that I had so much at heart; and it would be my object and my pride to deserve his good opinion. "But," he said, "I think it right to apprise you, that Mr. Marsden wishes to be relieved, and that it will not be in my power to place you in his situation, for the Cabinet has come to a resolution that the First Secretary of the Admiralty shall henceforth hold a seat in the House of Commons; and that yesterday Marsden's successor was actually named."

I begged to assure him that a seat in the House was no point of ambition with me, and that no consideration would induce me to accept one, even if accompanied with the offer of the First Secretaryship of the Admiralty. "But, if it be not an improper question, might I inquire confidentially who is the gentleman named to be my colleague?" "I will tell you, but it must be in strict confidence, for Marsden yet knows nothing of it—it is Mr. Wellesley Pole." I said, "He is an agreeable acquaintance, of great talent for business, and of an active turn of mind, and I am rejoiced in the prospect of having such a coadjutor."

He then said, "Mr. Marsden is nearly left alone,