without a second Secretary, and he will be very glad of your company as soon as you can make it convenient." My reply was, "I will go to him immediately, and settle with him to be at the Admiralty to-morrow morning at nine o'clock." I did so attend; and from this day, the 8th of April, 1807, to the 28th of January, 1845, I continued, without intermission, as Second Secretary of the Admiralty, when I retired, having completed altogether, from my first appointment in that capacity, forty years, under twelve or thirteen several Naval Administrations, Whig and Tory, including that of the Lord High Admiral, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence; having reason to believe that I have given satisfaction to all and every one of these Naval Administrations; and I am happy in the reflection, that I have experienced kindness and attention from all.

The Catholic Question having turned out the Whig Administration on the 8th of April, Parliament met pursuant to adjournment, when the new ministry was declared — the Duke of Portland Prime Minister, and Lord Mulgrave First Lord of the Admiralty (having held the office of Foreign Secretary of State in 1805); and, on his leaving the Admiralty in 1810, he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance. Lord Mulgrave possessed wit and humour in a considerable degree, and was always most agreeable at his own table; he was also an acute critic. A friend of Mr. Pitt once asked that Minister how he could be so incautious as to let into the cabinet one so very much disposed to criticise what others said or did? "For that very reason," Pitt replied, "that we may be told of, and enabled to correct, our many blunders."

The war with France was carried on with great activity, and our fleets and detached squadrons were everywhere successful. The only blot was that miserable affair of the Dardanelles, under Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who acted chiefly on the instructions or opinions of Mr. Arbuthnot, the ambassador, and *he* no doubt followed those of the Government. He prevailed, however, on the Admiral to lie off with his ships at a distance, and to delay, while he negotiated with the Porte; thus allowing the Turks full time—of which they had sense enough to avail themselves—to plant cannon on the walls of the Seraglio, the intended point of attack, and also to extend their fortifications on the shores of the Dardanelles, to annoy, and possibly prevent the return of our ships: whereas, had Duckworth followed his own views, or acted on the advice of Sir Sidney Smith, he would at once, as he had intended, have laid his ships close to the walls of the Seraglio, and battered them down. Sir Sidney Smith even strongly recommended that they should storm Constantinople, but representations were made against this measure, as being too severe; Sir John speaks highly in praise of the advice and services of Sir Sidney.

On his return, the immense mortars of the batteries threw stone balls of one and a half and two feet, or more, in diameter—one of which, of granite, the Admiral says, weighed eight hundred pounds, and they made tremendous havoc in the ships they struck. The Windsor Castle had two of her ports battered into one and her mainmast carried away by two of these gigantic granite shot. The Board of Admiralty, returning from a dockyard visitation, paid a flying visit to Sir John Duckworth, at his seat on the river Ex; and we were much amused at the sight of two of these large globes of

stone which crowned the gate-posts of his domain, as trophies of his late expedition, on which were inscribed the names of *Sestos* and *Abydos*.

The administration of "All the Talents," which sent out this ill-fated expedition, had considered the Dardanelles to be defenceless, and the Turks ignorant and helpless; but Duckworth's report of the disastrous result, and of the granite shot, must have confounded the projectors of it, had they not been driven from the helm before the account of the disasters had reached this country. One of the party, however, derives consolation "that nothing had been lost to the English character by the failure;" that "no intelligent man thought that those who had burst through the redoubtable Dardanelles were intimidated by the cannon on the mouldering walls of the Seraglio." Intimidated, indeed! No intelligent man would have applied such a word, or insinuated that the gallant Duckworth, or any other gallant admiral, could be frightened at the walls of the Seraglio, or any other walls.

Another feat, of a somewhat equivocal nature as to its propriety, but not as to the skill and management of its execution, fell to the lot of Lord Mulgrave to direct; for the performance of which, as to the naval part, he conferred the command on one of the Naval Lords of his Board—Admiral James Gambier; and Lord Cathcart was appointed to head the troops. This was the expedition to Copenhagen, to get possession, by negotiation or otherwise, of the Danish fleet, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of France, which, by incontrovertible testimony, it was proved to have been the full intention of Buonaparte to accomplish, and which, owing to the obsequious and timid conduct of the Prince Royal and his minister, he would have effected without

difficulty, or even a show of resistance. Every attempt to warn the authorities of Denmark of the treacherous conduct of France, and every proposal of assistance, was without effect, one of which was that of England's receiving and securing for her the safe custody of her fleet, and thus to defeat the great object of Buonaparte. Every attempt at negotiation having in vain been tried, the English cabinet decided on securing the Danish ships at any rate. Admiral Gambier put to sea, and, being compelled to bombard Copenhagen, after the refusal of the Danes to admit him to a conference, he landed. On the 16th of August the Admiral writes, "I have a sad scene before me at this moment—the town of Copenhagen in flames in several places, from our bombardment; and I am sorry to see the great church is destroyed. This is the third day; and if the governor holds out much longer, and we do not get possession by assault, the whole town must be destroyed; which the Dane will consider equivalent to his honour."

On the 8th of September the whole fleet was in our possession, all their naval stores and equipments shipped; and about the end of October the whole arrived in England.

But another expedition, of a far more extensive scale, and much less successful, was set on foot in the year 1809, which terminated the administration of Lord Mulgrave as First Lord of the Admiralty. Early in the spring of 1809, preparations were made for a secret expedition, which in the beginning of August had assembled in the Downs, to an extent unparalleled in the course of the war. The whole time of Mr. Wellesley Pole, for several months, had been occupied in superintending the preparations, and in seeing that

every equipment, naval and military, had been provided, and of the best kind. Before his appointment to the Admiralty, he had, by his attention and activity, brought the small arm department of the Ordnance to a degree of perfection it had never before attained, and the Ordnance department generally was greatly improved by his skill and vigilance. The troops, when assembled near the port of embarkation, amounted to more than 40,000 men; and the naval part of the expedition was composed of 39 sail of the line, 36 frigates, sloops, gun-boats, bombs, and other species of small craft without number; and not less in the whole than 100,000 men were embarked. This great naval armament was placed under the command of Sir Richard Strachan, and the military force (to the astonishment of all) under the Earl of Chatham.

Thousands of spectators were assembled at the several places in the neighbourhood of the Downs; but no one could guess at the destination of such a splendid armament; the general opinion seemed to be that it was intended to make an impression on the coast of France: but, to the surprise of all, after it had sailed, and not before, the discovery was made that its destination was the Scheldt. It was, in fact, intended to sack Antwerp, to get possession of the immense stores which the French had there accumulated, and to seize or destroy the French ships in that part of the river.

The contriver of this scheme was said to be—as indeed it turned out to be—Sir Home Popham; who, by his insinuating and plausible address, had prevailed on Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State for War and Colonies, to undertake it; and no doubt the more readily, being assured by the projector of the certainty of success: and to Popham, of course, were en-

trusted the arrangements for the landing and debarkation of the forces; while Sir Richard was to conduct the naval operations.

A day or two previous to the fleet getting under way, Sir Home Popham called at the Admiralty, and pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, without hesitation or the admission of a doubt, to Wellesley Pole and me, that, from his knowledge of the Scheldt, and every part thereof, he was perfectly prepared to conduct the forces up that river as far as Sandfleet, where the troops would be immediately landed, and would reach Antwerp after a short march; while the necessary number of ships should proceed by that branch of the river which turns off and leads to Antwerp.

The first despatch received at the Admiralty put an end to every favourable expectation, and extinguished every hope of a successful issue. Sir Home, however, congratulated himself on having secured the fleet from the danger of a gale of wind, which blew opposite to the mouth of the Scheldt, by carrying it safely into the Room-pot (Cream-pot); and that Lord William Stuart, with ten frigates, had been sent past Flushing up the Scheldt, to reconnoitre, in spite of the gale of wind blowing opposite the mouth; a more absurd and mischievous measure than this could not well have been conceived; for it was the obvious and sure means of spreading over the whole country the alarm of the expedition; and was in fact fatal to it, by rousing the energetic character of the French (always on the alert), who had time to throw such a force into Antwerp as bid defiance to any attempt of ours. In the mean time, Sir Home Popham, the gallant projector, with a great part of the fleet, lay safe and sound, bask-

ing at anchor in the Cream-pot; and Lord Chatham, equally cool and tranquil, at his head-quarters in the city of Middleburg. For want of something else to do, the army bombarded Flushing, assisted by some of the ships of the line and small vessels, and compelled it to capitulate. Towards the end of autumn, for the sake of a little mischief, they began to demolish the works and the basin of Flushing; and, at the end of December, the island of Walcheren was evacuated, but not before its infectious, destructive, and debilitating fever had thinned the ranks of our men; and the disease was brought home to England, where its effects are not entirely eradicated at this day.

All further idea of proceeding up the Scheldt being abandoned, Lord Chatham took the wise determination of returning to England, with the greater part of the troops, leaving the rest on that horrible island Walcheren to take the fever at leisure, of which one-half fell sick and died, and many who returned home suffered a regular annual attack of it for many years. An inquiry was announced to be instituted in the House of Commons into the conduct of the leaders of the expedition; and Sir Home Popham, being previously asked by the Secretary of the Admiralty what defence he meant to set up in the House of Commons? said, "Don't be alarmed; depend upon it, when I get up to speak I shall be so intensely listened to that you may hear a pin drop." He got up, carried the expedition triumphantly till it met with a gale of wind—and, "Sir, without the loss or damage of a single ship, I anchored the whole securely in the Room-pot." The security of a fleet of men-of-war afloat in the Cream-pot, raised such a general shout of laughter, that poor Sir Home's

speech shared very much the fate of the luckless expedition. In fact, serious as had been the mismanagement of an expedition which, under proper commanders, could hardly have failed, the memory of its blunders was suffered by the good-natured public to be buried in something like a joke.

Popham was only laughed at—Strachan upbraided—and Chatham condemned ere, indeed, he had set out: and the public, in the midst of misfortunes, the loss of men by that horrible Walcheren fever, the waste of the national resources, and the blot on our national character, permitted itself to be amused by a repetition of the following epigram:—

> "Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

SECTION V.

The Right Hon. CHARLES YORKE.

November, 1809 — March, 1812.

Sir RICHARD BICKERTON....First Naval Lord.
JOHN WILSON CROKER .....First Secretary.

ON the change of administration about the end of the year 1809, when the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval became Prime Minister, Mr. Charles Yorke was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty on the 29th of November of that year. He was a man who stood high in public estimation, as a member of the House of Commons, and as a private gentleman indued with the best qualities of head and heart. When Secretary at War he had proved himself not inferior in debate to Fox, Grey, Windham, Sheridan, and the rest of that formidable phalanx which was supposed to have no other individual rival but Mr. Pitt. Mr. Yorke, however, after a fierce opposition from that party, through a series of long debates, carried his plan for the establishment and consolidation of the volunteer system. He reprobated, with honest indignation, and boldly denounced, that un-English and anti-national doctrine, held forth by some of the Whig leaders and inculcated in the Radical papers of the day, that England was no match for France—that the French army, led by Buonaparte, was invincible—and that it would

be in vain for our inferior army any longer to contend against it. Some even went so far as to recommend that humiliating position of England as suing for peace to her most inveterate foe.

Mr. Yorke, however, stemmed this outrageous tide of humiliation and destruction, in a strain of indignant animation deprecating such unworthy feelings put forth by persons calling themselves Englishmen; and, roused by an ardent spirit of patriotism, boldly declared that such doctrines were utterly false; and that he hoped—nay, was sure—England would never so degrade herself as to succumb to France. Well might he exclaim,

> "This England never did, and never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror!"—

much less at that of a heartless usurper, the offspring of revolution, who had, by violence and tyranny, usurped the sovereignty of France.

Some paltry objections were made in the House to the question of ways and means for carrying on the war. Mr. Yorke scouted such mean and selfish considerations, declaring a willingness on his part "to pay the last shilling he was worth, and to shed the last drop of his blood, to defend the country against the designs of France." "And so he would," said a friend to me, who had long and intimately known him; "such is the sterling patriotism of Charles Yorke, that if any personal sacrifice were demanded for the salvation of the country, no matter what it might be, Charles Yorke would be the first man to volunteer it; nay, I verily believe that, like another Curtius, Yorke, to save his country, would not hesitate to repeat the Roman's example of plunging into the gulf."

In all respects, Mr. Yorke fully redeemed the pledge he had given in coming into Parliament as an unfettered man; and he took an early occasion of stating in his place, that he reprobated the doctrine of Members of Parliament being guided by the "instructions of their constituents," as being unworthy and unconstitutional. With such independent feelings, Mr. Yorke might be considered as one well qualified to fill the important and responsible situation of First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty. It is a situation that requires great energy and thought in the decision, and promptitude in the execution, of measures concerning naval operations, whether offensive or defensive; of vigilance, in being prepared for either; of knowledge in the selection of officers of approved talent and experience for the command of fleets, and even of single ships.

But there is yet another, and a no less important and responsible duty, which ought to attach to every First Lord of the Admiralty, and which indeed has, fortunately, had a commencement—and that is, to afford opportunities and to hold out encouragement for creating well-qualified officers, by the institution of means whereby naval cadets, midshipmen, mates, and junior officers may be instructed in the practical and scientific parts of their profession; and to give promotion, the greatest reward they can receive, to such as are reported to excel.

Every First Lord of the Admiralty, under whom I have served, has felt the day appointed for receiving officers to be the most painful and distressing part of his duty. He has on that day to listen to their numerous tales of distress and disappointment, and too frequently

to listen to them without the possibility of affording relief. Few, I believe, experienced this painful duty more strongly than Mr. Charles Yorke, who was ever ready to afford his compassionate attention to cases of distress, and to relieve them when practicable.

In the first year of Mr. Yorke's administration of the affairs of the navy, our successes by sea were frequent, and some of them important. Indeed, a week scarcely passed over that did not bring intelligence of the capture of frigates, corvettes, sloops, or gun-brigs, belonging to the French, the Danes, and other hostile powers; of the capture of islands, and the destruction of batteries and armed vessels stationed for their protection: the islands of St. Eustatia, St. Martin, and Saba; the island of Rodriguez, near that of Bourbon—respecting which Commodore Rowley says, "a valuable colony has been added to His Majesty's dominions, containing upwards of 100,000 souls." In 1811 the island of Lissa was taken by Commodore Hoste, defended by four frigates and gun-boats, two of which were taken, one burnt, and "one stole away and escaped." In this year, also, the acquisition of the magnificent island of Java crowned the British arms—and the spice islands of Amboyna and Banda, the islands of France and Bourbon, also fell into our possession.

It required a man of Mr. Yorke's capacious mind and firmness of character to overcome the long-rooted prejudices that prevailed among the master-shipwrights in all the dockyards, by which the new system of adding strength to the ships of the British Navy, invented by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Seppings, was thwarted and opposed; and the inventor himself so tormented, that nothing short of the energy and firmness of Mr.

Yorke could have succeeded in carrying through a system which he, and every unprejudiced person, clearly foresaw would be the means of giving strength and permanence to the sound condition of the British Navy. "At length, however," says Seppings, "a superior power bore down all opposition; the system was adopted, and found to succeed." And it has succeeded, and the only improvement it has undergone is that of changing his wooden diagonal braces into iron ones.

The next great point which Mr. Yorke succeeded in carrying into execution was that of the Breakwater, which had been planned and designed for erection across the mouth of Plymouth Sound, to render it a secure and excellent roadstead for a fleet of ships of war. This great national work had been recommended to Lord Grey, when at the head of the Admiralty, by the Earl St. Vincent, who had himself, when presiding at the Board, fixed his attention on Torbay for the same purpose, and had a survey made to ascertain its fitness. If, however, such a work should be constructed across that bay, the cost would be enormous.

In bringing this important measure as regarded Plymouth Sound before the House of Commons, Mr. Yorke, by the clear and powerful statement with which he introduced his proposal for commencing the operation, silenced the few who, for the sake of opposition, foreboded ruin to the Sound as an anchorage, after an endless expense had been incurred; and, fortified by his own sound judgment, and by arguments in which he was supported and backed by the opinion of Mr. John Rennie as to the propriety and the suc-

cessful issue of the undertaking, and also by all the naval men and others connected with the navy in the House, he carried through his measure most triumphantly.

Mr. Yorke, however, met with opposition from a quarter whence he least expected it. The vast preparations which were making in France, and the activity displayed by Buonaparte in the naval department, required additional energy and consequently increased expenditure in our own; and Mr. Yorke, after due consideration of the force that he deemed expedient to keep on foot, caused the navy estimates to be prepared accordingly. One day, on returning from a cabinet council, he sent for me into his room, and in a flurried manner said, "Barrow, it is time for me to quit the Admiralty, and I shall do so very soon. If Mr. Spencer Perceval conceives that he knows better what expenditure is required for preserving the efficiency of the navy than the Board of Admiralty, which is responsible for it—if he persists in acting upon his present notions, I shall at once tell him he must get some other person more ready than I shall be to follow his suggestions. He tells me I must considerably cut down my estimate; I told him it had been well considered, and that I should not attempt to make any reduction; and that when I move it in the House I shall willingly explain and assign my reasons for every increased item therein."

I observed to him, that Mr. Perceval, in his capacity of Prime Minister, could hardly venture to take upon himself the task of raising objections against the force which the Lords of the Admiralty had pronounced to be necessary; but that I supposed it was in his character

of Chancellor of the Exchequer that he demurred on the score of expense. "On this score," said Mr. Yorke, "I shall not yield, and the estimate shall remain and be produced in the state it is."

I left him very much agitated; and was quite sure, from his manner and the firmness of his character, that he would either carry his point or throw up his situation in disgust. Two days after this I understood from him that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had satisfied him the objection he had made was a mere question of money, for which he was responsible, and desired that the estimate might stand as originally framed. When brought before the House, nothing could be more convincing to all parties than the reasons given by Mr. Yorke for the increase under present circumstances. Admiral Sir Charles Pole said he had never heard so clear and satisfactory a statement as that of the First Lord of the Admiralty, and he thought there was as little to observe on the present estimates (1811) as on any that were ever produced in that House. Mr. Yorke took every occasion of noticing the gratification he received, from witnessing the affection and regard which the House always entertained for the naval service; and it was no less gratifying to know that the greater part of the world placed dependence on the British flag for protection.

In referring to my 'Life of Admiral Lord Howe,' from whose estimate for building and repairing the fleet the minister reduced 150,000*l.*,—"Such parsimony," I there observed, "for it is not economy when applied to such an object, is the worst policy that could be pursued. It was that, among other things, that drove Lord Howe from the helm of naval affairs; and

in later times it had very nearly produced the same effect on one of the ablest, most intelligent, and most honourable men that ever sat at the head of the Board of Admiralty—Mr. Charles Yorke—who threatened to resign his office because the minister would not consent to grant for naval purposes what he considered necessary to prepare and preserve the fleet in that state of efficiency, which the honour and the interests of the country demanded."

But I took occasion, some thirty-five years ago, when a discussion was going on as to the comparative advantage of having a naval officer or a civilian at the head of the Board of Admiralty, to give a sketch of the character of the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, who at that time presided. I then declared "my firm conviction" —and I never had occasion to alter a word of it—"that if an unceasing attention to the duties of his office, an intimate acquaintance with the naval history of his country, a vigorous understanding, a manly cast of character, with a disposition to conciliate, and an anxious desire to promote the interests, the comfort, and the honour of those brave men to whom the best defence of the nation is entrusted—if qualifications such as these can be said to hold out a fair promise, then we may with confidence affirm that the lustre of the British navy will not be tarnished under his management; but that its energies will be maintained, and its power exerted to the satisfaction of the country."

If indeed such men could always be selected to fill the important situation of First Lord of the Admiralty as Mr. Charles Yorke, no question need arise as to his being a naval officer or a civilian; the one is qualified by education (always supposing that education to have

been extensive, sound, and proper) to embrace all kinds of subjects; the other principally confined to one, and that a practical subject—an important qualification, no doubt, but a very limited one, and amply supplied by the constitution of the Board of Admiralty, which gives to the presiding Lord the assistance of two flag-officers (sometimes three), two captains, and one civilian, who has generally been in some public situation, and who, with most of his colleagues, holds a seat in the House of Commons. After all, we shall probably arrive at the proper conclusion, by considering personal character and mental accomplishments to constitute the best qualification to fill an office, on the able and honest management of which depend the fortunes and the happiness of so many thousand families, in every rank of life, engaged in the naval service of their country, from the flag-officer, through all ranks, to the common seaman.

Nothing so deeply affected the sensitive mind of Mr. Yorke as the many unfortunate disasters that occurred by the losses of ships and their crews from shipwreck in the latter part of the year 1811. The 'Saldanha' frigate, commanded by the Hon. Captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilley, on the north-west coast of Ireland. The 'Hero,' of 74 guns, Captain Newman, off the Texel, where she went to pieces, and every soul on board perished. But the most melancholy of all was that of the 'St. George,' of 98 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Reynolds, which had suffered much and was dismasted in the Belt, in the November gales. Partially refitted, she left the Baltic, accompanied by the 'Defence,' of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Atkins, on the morning of the 24th of December, and, a gale

coming on, both ships were stranded on the western coast of Jutland. Six seamen only escaped on a wreck from the 'Defence,' and eleven from the 'St. George;' and the last man that left this ship, on a piece of wreck, on the evening of the 25th, reported that Admiral Reynolds and Captain Guion were lying dead beside each other, on the lee side of the quarter-deck, and that above 500 of the crew had shared the same fate; about 150 were still alive when he left, but none of them were ever more heard of. The 'St. George' was supposed to be in a state which disabled her to beat off a lee-shore in a gale of wind; yet the 'Defence' was in a fit condition to have made good her course; but the brave and generous Atkins, it would seem, could not suffer the Admiral to drift alone, and determined resolutely to stand by him, which he did till both perished. It might be mistaken gallantry, as it carried with it the sacrifice of so many lives. Captain Atkins was Second Lieutenant of the 'Lion' on her voyage to China, already alluded to, I being then his coadjutor, in taking and working out lunar observations.

So sensibly was Mr. Yorke affected by this dreadful catastrophe that it occasioned a violent fit of the gout, which disqualified him from attending the office, from which indeed he was altogether soon relieved by a change of ministers, and by the appointment of the second Lord Viscount Melville, early in the spring of 1812, to fill the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Yorke's illness was not mitigated by an ill-natured and unfounded report, that the loss of these great ships was occasioned by the Admiralty having

kept them out in the Baltic much too late; those who spread it not knowing, or rather not choosing to know, that the Admiral had a discretionary power to leave the Baltic whenever he thought proper; and, if I recollect right, a caution was inserted in his instructions not to remain in the Baltic to a late period of the season.

On taking leave of the Admiralty, Mr. Yorke said to me, "I hope you will not forget Bruton Street, but that you will let me have the pleasure of seeing you frequently—the more frequently the more agreeable: I mean to remain at home quietly on Sunday afternoons, and as many of them as you can bestow on a gouty and grumbling man will be a great charity." I assured him that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see him frequently; and that as I was in the constant habit of passing an hour or so in the early part of Sunday afternoons at Spencer House, where Lady Spencer was always ready to see her visitors in her snug little boudoir, I should be too glad to make it in my way to Bruton Street. From this time I dedicated a great part of the afternoons of Sundays to Lady Spencer and Mr. Yorke: of the former I need not say her wit and lively conversation were courted by all; and with respect to the latter, I was his constant visitor from the period of his retirement from public life to his last illness, and can safely say that, in all my intercourse with him, a more intelligent and agreeable man I have never met with; one whose conversation was more lively and instructive, and more full of information regarding the news and topics of the day; always delighted to hear of the successful exertions of the navy, and that

all was going on smoothly and pleasantly at the Admiralty. "Melville," he used to say, "is a thoroughly good man, not wanting in sound sense and judgment, united with their concomitants, propriety and steadiness of conduct."

Mr. Yorke was, however, disposed to be exceedingly low spirited when attacked by a severe fit of the gout, or when any domestic calamity occurred. The awful and somewhat uncertain, or unascertained, cause of the death of his brother, Sir Joseph Yorke, who was a great favourite, shook him much. The boat in which he was sailing was last seen with her sails up, and was no doubt upset by a sudden squall, and all in her perished. She was not far from the shore, and Sir Joseph and his companion were both good swimmers. Mr. Yorke caused every possible inquiry to be made regarding the accident, and as it appeared the storm was accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, the only conclusion to be drawn was, that the boat and all in her had been struck by the lightning. He had a very strong affection for his brother, and was often amused by his eccentricities and droll expressions; but was greatly distressed on one occasion, when his ship was in a state of mutiny, and an investigation was held into the conduct of the crew and some of the officers, who were found to be a most irregular and mutinous set. Sir Joseph himself was driven almost to madness by a marine lieutenant threatening to bring him before a court-martial. He had then a seat at the Board of Admiralty. This officer came to the office to complain, which made Sir Joseph outrageous; and Mr. Croker and myself did all we could to pacify him, and to assure him that the lieutenant was not

worth his notice. These bursts, however, were but occasional.

Sir Joseph Yorke had nothing of gloominess, or despondency, or ill-humour, in his character; he was for the most part cheerful and full of pleasantry. We were in fact a merry Board-room group: Sir George Warrender and Sir Joseph Yorke were of themselves a host of fun, and Croker and I did our best to keep it up. Yorke abounded in odd expressions, borrowed or spoken at random. To Warrender he would say, "Because thy name is George I'll call thee Peter." When he gave up his seat at the Board he told the House of Commons he had turned his stern to the Admiralty: and he once gravely commenced a speech with, "Mr. Speaker, it has long been a disputed point among philosophers which is the greatest of two evils, 'a smoking chimney or a scolding wife.'" But one of the best off-hand things he said was at the expense of poor Sir Robert Seppings: this officer had been on the water one very cold day, and was seized with so violent a tooth-ache as to cause him to land on Tower Hill, and run into the first tooth-drawer's shop that he met with; but the clumsy operator not only eased him of his tooth, but carried with it a slice of the jaw. The poor fellow, having wrapped up his head, was walking in a deplorable state over Tower Hill, when he met Sir Joseph Yorke, who hailed him with "Well, Bob, what's the matter with you?" On hearing his pitiful story, Yorke said, "Why, Bob, knowing that your jaw was but a weak stick of timber, why didn't you take the precaution of clapping on one of your diagonal braces to strengthen it?" Seppings could not forbear laughing

in the midst of his torment at the oddity of the association.

Mr. Yorke was an excellent classic. I frequently on a Sunday visit found him with a copy of Homer on the table, and sometimes with a Greek Testament open, and an English Testament by it. The first time I noticed this, he said to me, "You must not suppose I am refreshing my Greek, or learning it. I have often suspected that certain passages in our English translation are improperly rendered, and when these occur I always compare them with the original, and generally find them, to say the least, loosely translated." He was fond of studying ancient and modern history, and read most of the publications of the day. He was well versed in the historical parts of the Old Testament; and told me he once made an attempt to study the Hebrew language, with a view of reading the Bible in the original, but found it was too late in life to master it, and therefore gave it up.

He asked me one day if I had looked at the extraordinary adventures of Sir Edward Seaward, by Miss Jane Porter, who professes to have possessed the original manuscript. I said I had not; but that as he praised it, and thought it a true and curious narrative, I would look into it; the next time I paid my usual visit I told him it was a mere romance, in imitation of 'Robinson Crusoe,' and neither more nor less than unmingled fiction, from first to last, sprinkled with many pious reflections, and assuming a solemn and sacred character. Mr. Yorke said, "If it is a fiction, I, and many others more sagacious than myself, have been taken in." I told him, that as a date has been given when the extraordinary events are said to have

happened (from 1733 to 1749), it was easy to prove that no such events ever had taken place; that no names mentioned, not even that of the titled narrator himself, ever had existence; that there neither was, nor is, any village named Awbrey within twenty miles of Bristol, of which Mr. Seaward and his wife (Goldsmith) are said to be natives; that no such bankers were in London as are mentioned; no such hotel as that where he and Lady Seaward lodged; nay more, that there is not and never was an island at or near the spot (fortunately the latitude and longitude are given) where he was shipwrecked, and where he lived *à la mode de Crusoe*; and there can be but little doubt that Miss Jane Porter, who says she received the manuscript from the representative of the respected writer, is the sole founder and representative of the family of the Seawards. Mr. Yorke said he wished I would go more into detail; my reply was, I will prove to you all and more than I have now advanced in the next number of the Quarterly Review.*

If Miss Jane Porter had not in so solemn a manner pledged herself to have received the manuscript from a friend of Sir Edward Seaward (no such knight having ever existed), she would have gained unqualified praise for her ingenuity of invention, for the moral and religious sentiments in which the narrative abounds, and for the beautiful and affecting language in which they are expressed.

Mr. Yorke, towards the end of his life, lived much in retirement, but was at all times pleased to receive the visits of a few old friends.

* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xlviii. p. 480—Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative, &c. Mr. Yorke was fully satisfied that I had proved it to be a mere fiction.

SECTION VI.

ROBERT, LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

March 25, 1812—April 30, 1827.

Admiral G. JOHNSTONE HOPE.....First Naval Lord.
JOHN WILSON CROKER.....First Secretary.

ON the retirement of Mr. Charles Yorke, the Viscount Melville, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the preceding year, was nominated to the high station of First Lord of the Admiralty on the 25th of March, 1812; the Earl of Liverpool being appointed Prime Minister, in the vacancy occasioned by the atrocious assassination of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, in May, 1812, in the lobby of the House of Commons. During the persecution of his Lordship's father, carried on as it was with all the rancour and bitterness of party hostility, the conduct of the son was viewed by all, political foes as well as by friends, with approbation and applause: and he continued, during the long period he remained in the office of Admiralty, to sustain the character of a steady, well-conducted, right-judging man, of whom it may truly be said, "He never made an enemy, or lost a friend."

In the year following that of his appointment, Lord Melville, perceiving that one great source of naval expenditure was in the dockyards, of which the Admiralty

had but an imperfect knowledge, derived from the general heads of the estimates, and from the Navy Board, by whom they were made up, determined to make annual visitations to the yards, in order to get information on the spot of the details of expense, and generally how it was incurred. He therefore, in the year 1813, made his first visit to each of the dock-yards; a proceeding which had been discontinued (with the single exception of one by Lord St. Vincent) since the administration of Lord Sandwich. All the reductions that were made during Lord Melville's and the Lord High Admiral's administrations were in fact made in consequence of these visitations; and not always in accordance with the opinion of the civil authorities of the Navy. Yet these reductions, though carried to a great extent, were made without infringing on the quantity or the quality of the works to be performed. On each of these visitations I accompanied his Lordship, and some of the Board, and made such a number of notes and remarks, that the visitation-book is among the most voluminous in the records of the Admiralty.

Lord Melville continued to execute the office of First Lord of the Admiralty for a period of more than twice the number of years of any other First Lord on record, except Lord Sandwich, whose two administrations amounted to twelve years; whereas the two of Lord Melville were equal to seventeen years. He first came in on the eve of one of the most eventful, busy, and brilliant periods of the Revolutionary War, as far as regarded the continental operations of the army, under the Duke of Wellington, who, after a series of splendid battles and as many victories, drove the French armies

out of Spain and Portugal, and completed the final overthrow of Buonaparte, and his transportation to St. Helena in the year 1815. In all these exploits it is true that the navy acted but as an auxiliary, though a very necessary, and, it may be said, an indispensable one. But powerful fleets were not called for: they had already completed their task, in the destruction of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown, the French fleet at the Nile, and the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar.

Still, however, a new, a concealed, though not perhaps altogether an unprovoked, enemy sprang up, in a quarter not much to be expected—and therefore, on our part, unprepared in the kind and quality of weapons to be engaged in the conflict. On the 18th of June, 1812, the North Americans declared war against Great Britain; not, indeed, before they had secretly despatched a squadron for the capture or destruction of the return Jamaica merchant fleet, or of any other English vessels it should fall in with. Thus taken by surprise, several of our small vessels of war were captured by the large American frigates, which were designedly underrated; that is to say, one of their mis-named 44-gun frigates was equal in size and power to one of our ships of 60 guns. Originally they were modelled and rated after ours, but, for a special purpose which they had in view, they increased their size and power, and diminished their rating; their object being—for it could be no other—to have the credit of taking an enemy of a nominal equal force, but in reality of a far inferior one; or, as they were not ashamed to say, "their ships would be superior to any single European frigate of the usual dimensions." In short, every

frigate and sloop that engaged the same classes, *by name*, of the English, were superior to ours in guns, in men, and in tonnage. Take, for example, the 'Endymion,' which captured the 'President:'—

		ENDYMION.	PRESIDENT.
Broadside metal in pounds		676	916
Complement	Men	319	472
	Boys	27	5
		346	477
Tonnage		1277	1533

And the 'Shannon,' which took the 'Chesapeake:'—

		SHANNON.	CHESAPEAKE.
Broadside metal		538	590
Complement	Men	306	384
	Boys	24	7
		330	391
Size in tons		1066	1135

Thus also the 'Guerrière,' when captured by the 'Constitution,' had—517 weight of metal against 768; a crew of 263 against 468; and her size 1034 tons against 1533.

So also in the sloops and smaller vessels engaged, nominally of the same size, the Americans were invariably of superior force. But that accurate and industrious historian Mr. James, from whose 'Naval Occurrences' the above is taken, has given a detailed list of all captured ships (from frigates downwards) made by each belligerent, consisting of the British national cruisers captured or destroyed, and those of America, with the forces of each.

	Numbers *captured.*	Guns.	Comple-ments.	Tons.
English had	20	530	2,751	10,273
Americans had . . .	64	660	2,994	14,848
Balance for England	E.+ 44	E.—130	E.—243	E.—4,575

I deemed it proper to extract this statement from unquestioned authority, knowing that there are minds so constituted, as to reject the strongest proof of facts when they militate against their preconceived opinions or wishes, or do not coincide with their party views. Thus, for instance, Lord Darnley, in the face of authentic and of official accounts to prove our success over the enemy, boldly declared, in his assumed superior knowledge of naval affairs, in the House of Lords, and in the presence of Lord Melville, that he found no cause for congratulation; that while our military reputation was raised to the highest pitch, our naval reputation had sunk, and that victory was on the enemy's side, in actions between vessels of the same class: in which bold and unfounded assertion it is charitable to suppose that Lord Darnley was merely mistaken, as the plain statement of facts by Lord Melville must have satisfied him.

His Lordship stated in reply, that, "without answering to such general and declamatory charges, he would ask to what distinct failure the allusion was made? The Americans had numerous seamen, and a multitude of privateers; against these means of annoyance, the protection given to our trade would supply the best answer. We had now 20,000 American seamen prisoners of war—we had captured more than 200 ships

of war and armed vessels, and taken 900 other vessels —we had captured 94 running ships and 38 stragglers: and the whole number of our coasting trade taken by them was *eleven*. And yet the noble Lord asserted that when our ships of war met with an equal force of the enemy, they were always beaten. Lord Darnley, however, was here again speaking at random, and therefore incorrectly."

It may be as well to record, what indeed may be considered now as generally known, a few facts to convince Lord Darnley and others that our navy was not so fallen as he represented it. In August, 1814, Rear-Admiral Cockburn, on opening out the reach above Pig Point with his gun-boats, discovered Commodore Barney's broad pendant in a large sloop, with a flotilla of a long line of boats astern of her. The Rear-Admiral's boats proceeded rapidly to the attack, but, on nearing the flotilla, the sloop with the broad pendant was observed to be on fire, and soon blew up; the seventeen boats that composed the flotilla were perceived to be also on fire, having trains laid to their magazines; sixteen of them blew up, the remaining one was taken: thus perished this vaunted flotilla, without an attempt to save it.

Immediately after this it was decided to attack Washington, the capital. In the first instance, General Ross, with his little army, marched to attack Bladensburg. The enemy was observed on a height above the town; and the first operation was to make a dash at him, when he fled in every direction, leaving behind him ten pieces of cannon, with a number of killed and wounded, among the latter Commodore Barney. From this place our little army proceeded towards Washing-

ton on the 24th, but it was dark before they reached that city. Some officers, without any troops, after entering the town, were fired upon from the Capitol and two other houses; these were almost immediately stormed by the troops, which had now entered, were taken possession of, and set on fire: after which the town submitted. On taking possession, the President's palace, the Treasury, and the War-office were set on fire; as were the navy-yard and all the stores, a frigate and a sloop, together with the protecting fort, by the natives in the night; what *they* had spared were destroyed by the invaders—ordnance stores, &c. "In short," says Admiral Cockburn, "I do not believe a vestige of public property escaped destruction." Articles captured—206 pieces of cannon, 500 barrels of gunpowder, 100,000 rounds of musket-ball cartridges, and a large quantity of ammunition made up.

The brilliant operations of Captain (afterwards Sir James) Gordon, in the Potowmac, with his little squadron, which had to run the gauntlet through a host of the *élite* of the United States—Commodore Rodgers, with the seamen of the 'Guerrière,' Captains Perry, Porter, and other "distinguished officers," the men belonging to the 'Constellation,' those who had belonged to Barney's flotilla, with troops, riflemen, artillerymen, and militia—all flocked to the shores of the Potowmac to punish the "base incendiaries." The exploits of these gallant commodores, with their forts on shore (one with a furnace for heating shot), their gunboats, ships, brigs, and other vessels, terminated in having killed 7 British seamen and wounded 35; while Gordon captured and carried away down the river 21 of their vessels. But on the return of this expedition

from Washington, it was decided to make a demonstration on the city of Baltimore. The troops under Major-General Ross were landed near North Point. Rear-Admiral Cockburn, always preferring the post of danger, accompanied the Major-General and the army. In the first skirmish the General was picked off by an American rifleman, and breathed his last on his way to the ships. The troops, with about 600 seamen and the marines of the squadron, pushed forwards, attacked the Americans, 6000 or 7000 strong, on their own ground, and supported by field-pieces, and drove them from the field, whence they fled in every direction, leaving behind them a considerable number of killed and wounded and two pieces of cannon. I have mentioned these particulars to show that the boasting of the enemy, and the false and criminating views propagated by their partisans, English as well as citizens, are unworthy of attention; and that whatever America may have suffered in the contest, it was avowedly commenced on her part, and not very willingly continued on the part of England.

Numerous detached skirmishes were, however, necessarily continued by sea and land until the 18th of February, 1815, when Mr. Madison ratified a treaty of peace at Washington. The treaty with France was concluded in November, 1814. This, together with the losses sustained by the Americans, had decided them also as speedily as possible, which was anticipated by the Board of Admiralty, who, in announcing the peace with France, "expressed a hope that the valour of his Majesty's fleets and armies will speedily bring the American contest to an honourable conclusion, safe for British interests and conducive to the lasting repose

of the civilized world." At the same time, it was not deemed expedient to pay off the fleet; for, although the combined armies had planted their standard on Montmartre, Paris had capitulated, Buonaparte had been compelled to abdicate his throne and was banished to the island of Elba, and Louis XVIII. restored to the throne of his ancestors, it was fortunately deemed not prudent to dismantle the fleet or to disband the army.

Notwithstanding these precautions, which implied doubts, at least, as to the establishment of tranquillity on the Continent, universal rejoicing in England occupied men's minds. In this same year the centenary of the accession of the House of Brunswick was celebrated in the most splendid manner, and kept as a day of jubilee in every part of the kingdom. The following year (1815) afforded a mixture of grief and joy—of grief for the escape of the great enemy of Europe from Elba; for the renewal of hostilities by the French; for the escape of Louis XVIII. and the royal family, and for the army got up by the Jacobins; of rejoicing at the overthrow of that army at Waterloo; and the exile of Buonaparte to St. Helena, who, on the summit of this miserable island in the Southern Atlantic, died in the course of four or five years, thus liberating Europe from a scourge as destructive as a pestilence; having given to the world a most striking example of that retribution for excessive tyranny and inordinate ambition, which is due to those who exercise them.

The European world was now nearly at peace. One power only, by its treachery and breach of engagements, called upon the British navy to avenge its dar-

ing perfidy—the Dey of Algiers. Lord Exmouth had carried his point respecting the abolition of Christian slavery, but had failed at Algiers. He and his officers, who had gone on shore, were insulted, and their lives endangered; the state of the weather and of his ships made it impossible to attack the town with any chance of success. He proceeded to England, vowing vengeance on the tyrant; he found that news had arrived of the atrocious massacre of the crews of the coral fishery at Bona; which outrageous proceeding, added to the insult on Lord Exmouth, determined the Government to fit out at once a force which should obtain from the Dey, by intimidation or actual violence, reparation for the late outrage, and for the future a general and unconditional abolition of Christian slavery for ever. Lord Exmouth arrived just in time to ask the command of it. Five sail of the line, five frigates, five gun-brigs, and four bombs composed it. The result is well known, and so is the glorious conduct of the Commander-in-Chief. The Queen Charlotte led on, anchored on the very spot pointed out, within fifty yards of the mole-head—the very horns of the bull—and with two feet water only to spare. The meaning was obvious—conquer or die. Salamé, the Arab interpreter, describes his Lordship on the poop after the action: "His voice quite hoarse, two wounds—one on the cheek, the other on the leg. It was indeed astonishing to see the coat of his Lordship, how it was all cut up by the musket-balls and by grape."

With the above exception, the blessings of peace and prosperity were abundantly shed on the British empire. From the year 1816 to 1818 almost the whole progeny of the royal family and its branches were marrying and

given in marriage, and among them his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was united to her Serene Highness Amelia Adelaide, daughter of the late Duke of Saxe Meiningen. The Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge each took to himself a German princess. Death, however, was not sparing of its victims. In 1820 George III. died, in the 82nd year of his age, having lost his Queen, Charlotte, two years before. His successor, George IV., in the second year of his reign visited Ireland, and in 1822 embarked at Greenwich for Scotland, and died in the year 1830, when King William IV. was proclaimed.

During all this period of tranquillity there was but little demand on the services of the royal navy. It had since the year 1817 afforded a fitting opportunity of employing a few small ships in voyages of discovery for the advancement of geography, navigation, and commerce. In this year I wrote, and caused to be published in a popular journal, a curious and interesting account of the disruption of large fields and masses of ice and huge icebergs from different parts of the Arctic regions, and their transport far down into the Atlantic. The authenticity of this event was unquestionable, being corroborated by numerous eye-witnesses; it was deemed a fair occasion to explore these northern seas, and renew the attempts to discover a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which had engaged the attention of the learned and ingenious, as well as the mercantile interests of this kingdom, at various periods; and I proposed a plan of two voyages for Lord Melville's consideration, which, after consultation with his colleagues, supported by the recommendation of the Royal Society, was adopted.

In these voyages, Parry, in no less than four explorations, greatly distinguished himself by his adventurous zeal and unwearied exertions, as also by the exercise of his scientific acquirements, and by his judicious arrangements and conduct for the preservation and comfort of the people entrusted to his charge. Sir John Franklin, Sir George Back, and Sir John Richardson, in their boat excursions along the shore of the Polar Seas and on the continent of North America, and by their severe sufferings on these land journeys, cannot be too highly spoken of; and all the other officers, whether employed by sea or on shore, exhibited the most able and splendid examples of perseverance under difficulties, of endurance under afflictions, and resignation under every kind of distress. I thought it due to them, as it was agreeable to me in my retirement, to publish a small and readable volume, containing the essence of the large and expensive official accounts, in order to make the merits of these brave fellows—officers and men—more generally and extensively known. While these voyages were pending, I received the following communication from Edinburgh:—

"College, Edinburgh, January 22nd, 1821.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you, by the command of the Senatus Academicus of this University, that, at their meeting on Saturday last, they conferred on you the honorary degree of *LL.D.*, and they request you to believe that they have conferred the degree as a proof of their respect for your literary talents, and for your effective zeal in promoting the progress of science. Allow me to add, that in this case the *graduation* was

moved by Professor Jameson, and carried by the unanimous warm approbation of the meeting.

"To myself, personally, I beg leave to assure you that the motion and the mode of its reception afforded great gratification.

"May you long live to enjoy those tokens of esteem, which every enlightened friend of science and of his country's honour is disposed to offer to you.

"I remain, Sir, &c.,

"John Barrow, Esq." "GEO. H. BAIRD.

SECTION VII.

His Royal Highness the DUKE OF CLARENCE *Appointed* LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

May 2, 1827—September 18, 1828.

Right Hon. Admiral Sir GEORGE COCKBURN..First of his Council.
Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER.....Secretary.

IN 1827, when Mr. Canning proposed to grant emancipation, or rather certain concessions of relief, to the Roman Catholics, which would probably have paved the way for emancipation, his old Tory associates began to desert him in such numbers, that he soon found himself unable to carry on the Government, without having recourse to some portion of the Whigs, and not to refuse even the assistance of those Radicals, who were favourable to his proposed measures; but it must be admitted that, in return, he never gave countenance to any of their levelling opinions; neither did he acquiesce in the reform of Parliament or the Test Act, or in the other liberal tenets which the Whig party professed; consequently he could not place much reliance on their giving him a cordial support. The plea of the deserters from his standard was, that if he persisted in mooting the question of Catholic emancipation, he would not be able to keep together such an efficient government, as the exigencies of the country required.

Harassed and annoyed by the dissensions and

discussions constantly occurring between the old and the new friends, and more particularly by the complaints, the grievances, and the ill-humour of the few old ones that remained, and the taunts of those that had separated from him—the sensitive mind of Mr. Canning gave way and produced an evil influence on his health, which was observed rapidly to decline; and he felt himself strongly to have been a sort of self-sacrifice to those, who had so long shared his friendship.

Among the separatists was Lord Viscount Melville, who had held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty for fifteen years, a much longer period than it has ever before or since been held by the same individual. When it came to his turn to explain to the House the reason of his resignation, he said, that in his opinion, the Government, as now composed, would not be an adequate substitute for the prudent, able, and useful superintendence, which that of Lord Liverpool had effectually maintained: that, in short, he disliked the choice which Mr. Canning had made of his new friends: and he deemed the most proper and prudent line for him to take was, to send in his resignation; it was not, however, immediately accepted, and therefore he continued to act until a successor should be named.

The Admiralty might thus be said virtually to have become vacant of a First Lord: but the want for a time was fully compensated by a competent Board, in which were three naval officers of high reputation—Sir George Cockburn, Sir W. J. Hope, and Sir Henry Hotham. Sir George Cockburn had been serving seven or eight years as a Lord of the Admiralty; he was known to be an officer in possession

of a vigorous understanding, of thorough professional knowledge in the military, civil, and judicial departments of the service, and of indefatigable perseverance in the execution of the laborious duties of his office. For clearness of intellect, for ability in making himself master of the most intricate and complicated cases, I have never met his equal. He had, moreover, acquired so complete a knowledge of naval and military law, that the Board were seldom unsatisfied with his opinion; and the office of Counsel to the Admiralty was all but a sinecure, a solicitor alone being required.

No inconvenience, therefore, arose during the few months that a chief might be said to be wanting; though no fresh patent was made out to supersede Lord Melville or any portion of the Board; but as soon as the Duke of Wellington was appointed to take the situation of Premier, become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Canning, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was declared Lord High Admiral of England; and the Lords of the Admiralty then existing continued, not in the capacity of a Board, but as the *Council* of his Royal Highness, to advise and carry on the usual and necessary duties; but deprived of the power of promoting, or even of signing their names to any official document; all of which were either to bear the sign manual of the Lord High Admiral, or, by his authority, that of one of the Secretaries. The Lord High Admiral, moreover, had no seat in the Cabinet. This, it may be apprehended, was deemed proper, from the circumstance of his Royal Highness standing in the position of heir-presumptive to the throne.

When the patent had been prepared, signed, sealed,

and sent to the Admiralty, information thereof was given to his Royal Highness. The same day the Board—now the Council—paid their respects; and Mr. George Fitz-Clarence (afterwards Lord Munster) called on me, with a message from his father, to say that he desired to see me at his temporary residence, in Charles-Street, the following morning. His Royal Highness received me most graciously; said he was well acquainted with the late Lord Macartney, who had frequently mentioned my name to him; and that his son George had spoken highly of the valuable assistance and advice I had given him, in the preparation of his volume regarding India; spoke strongly of his desire to serve me, and assured me that I should possess his whole confidence. He asked also several questions as to the constitution of the Board and its naval members, who were to continue as members of his Council: said that he knew Sir George Cockburn well, and that Hope and he were old friends and shipmates. I assured him he would find the whole of his Council intelligent officers and agreeable gentlemen; and, as profound peace prevailed, his Royal Highness would have few professional difficulties to encounter, except probably that of numerous pressing applications from old officers; many of whom had long and good service to plead, during the late protracted war, and now fewer opportunities occurred of meeting their wishes.

He was punctual to the time he had appointed to take his seat on the following day, a seat that had been properly prepared for the present occasion of receiving a royal personage; he delivered an extempore address to his Council, and a separate one to each of the Secretaries; stating, in general terms and in very courteous

language, how little professional knowledge could be expected from *him*, and how much he had to look to from *them*. When he had left the Board-room, he sent for me, and desired me to look over the dwelling-house with him; and on entering the dining-room, he asked how many could sit down at table. I said about thirty I thought, but had never seen more than eighteen or twenty. "Did all or any of the First Lords you have known," he asked, "give many dinners, and entertain frequently naval officers resident in and about town, or who occasionally might call upon him from the country?" "Not very often, I believed: Lord Mulgrave, I thought, had company most frequently." "Did not Lord Spencer entertain largely?" "I was not here under Lord Spencer's administration; but I have heard Lady Spencer say, that a week scarcely passed in which they had not two or three large dinner-parties; that, if an officer came up from one of the ports, or some distance from town, Lord Spencer always asked him to dine, and then there was some bustle to find proper persons to meet him, or to make up a party from the Board." "That's quite right," quoth he; "I delight in hospitality, and mean to practise it here." And so in fact he did; for his man of business informed me, that he came to the Admiralty entirely free from debt: and that in the fifteen months he held the office, he had incurred a debt of twenty-three thousand pounds.

His Royal Highness, indeed, carried with him to the throne the virtue of hospitality to an extravagant degree. His Master of the Household, Sir Frederick Watson, told me that he found himself compelled to remonstrate with his Majesty on this subject, and to announce to him frankly, that the finances for the supply of the

table were actually exhausted, and that he could not go on without considerable retrenchment. "Well, then," said his Majesty, "let us sell some of the stud; for you know, Watson, that my delight is in hospitality." I understood, however, that he saved enough, in a short time, to liquidate the debt created while at the Admiralty; a part of which had been incnrred by the necessity of purchasing furniture and plate. He complained that while an immense quantity of the latter was uselessly piled up at Windsor, he was obliged to borrow on the two visitations he made to the Dock-Yards; which was the case.

The first of these visitations commenced on the 7th July, 1827, when the Lord High Admiral embarked in the 'Royal Sovereign' yacht, commanded by Sir William Hoste, attended by the 'Procris' brig for the purpose of answering signals that might be made to or from the 'Royal Sovereign;' the 'Comet' steamer also accompanied, to tow the 'Procris,' which was not able to keep up with the yacht. His Royal Highness had ordered me to see that everything that was necessary should be put on board the yacht; plate, wines of different kinds, and various other articles. He had asked the King to lend him plate; which he refused. On this occasion none of his Council accompanied him; but he ordered me to attend him, and to take with us my son, who had but recently been entered on the establishment of the Admiralty.*

On the 9th of July the 'Royal Sovereign' arrived

* He had been placed on the establishment by Mr. Croker, the secretary having always had the patronage of the office appointments, which his Royal Highness now took to himself; and which has since continued with the First Lord of the Admiralty. The youth in question is now, after more than twenty years' service, on the

in Plymouth Sound. The hills were covered with crowds of people, and all the ships in the Sound and Hamoaze saluted the flag of the Lord High Admiral. On landing at Mount Wise, such an immense crowd had assembled that with difficulty the residence of Admiral Lord Northesk could be approached. On the following morning the royal visitor commenced his inspections; the first of which was the Breakwater; and he expressed himself highly pleased with the progress of this important work, which, he thought, was planned with great skill and executed with judgment and ability. He desired me to make minutes of this and of all the objects, which it was his intention to examine. I told him I had never omitted to do so on previous visitations, every one of which I had attended; and that his Royal Highness would find in the Admiralty records a book in which they were all noticed. Mr. Rennie, who was present, produced a plan of a lighthouse for the western extremity of the Breakwater, which could be erected at the expense of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; but the Lord High Admiral thought a floating light would answer quite as well, an opinion in which most of the naval officers present agreed, and which was at the time adopted; but Mr. Whitby was directed to carry up, simultaneously, a foundation shaft, as the work proceeded, to be made use of or not as might thereafter be decided on.

The next morning the Duke was early in the Dock-Yard, mustered the whole establishment, inspected the several offices, and examined the books; nor was this

first class, and keeper of the Records, which have *by him* been arranged and classified, for the first time, *from the period of the Revolution in* 1688.

all: he actually went over the whole of the storehouses, and over every part of them, from the cellars to the garrets; and though labouring under a complaint, which unfitted him for great exertion, he completely tired many that had to accompany him, and astonished all by his activity.

The following day was appropriated to the minute examination of the Marine barracks, the general management, the rules, and the organization of the corps; after which he ordered them out upon the Hoe, to the number of about four hundred, witnessed their manœuvres, and expressed his approval. The Lord High Admiral was considered to be no bad soldier, having studied military tactics in Germany.

His next visit was to the ships in commission, where he mustered the officers and men, and made a thorough inspection, which occupied the greater part of the day. Mr. Keith Douglas, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, arrived: and as neither he nor I could be of much use in going over the fleet, I proposed that we should inspect the mode of keeping the books and accounts in the several offices, taking with us the Commissioner. A new system had just been adopted by the Admiralty to relieve the Timber-Master from keeping accounts; but the Commissioner expressed himself in favour of the old mode, *because it worked well*; he was not prepared to offer any reasons why the new one should not *work better*—a small instance was here exhibited of the opposition, which Sir James Graham's sweeping plan of reform abolished, instead of one that might, and, two or three years afterwards, did work better.

On the evening of the 14th, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Clarence arrived; having proceeded over-

land, accompanied by Sir Byam Martin. A vast concourse of people assembled on the road between Plymouth and Devonport, and several attempts were made to take off the horses and draw the carriage to the Admiral's house; but the Duchess implored Sir Byam to prevent it. She mentioned how deeply affected she had been with the kind attention shown to her by the poor people of Ilfracombe. Having to walk down the long street to the pier, in order to cross over into Wales, each person, the very poorest, had brought out before the house, a piece of carpeting, or mat, or rug, for her Royal Highness to tread upon. In the evening, the Duke and Duchess took up their quarters at Mount Edgcumbe: but the Duke continued his inspections every day till the 20th, when the 'Royal Sovereign' and the 'Lightning' steamer proceeded to Milford Haven.

Before we left Devonport, however, and after the arrival of the Duchess, Lady Northesk asked me if I thought the Duke would kindly condescend to give a ball on board the 'Royal Sovereign;' several of the ladies of Plymouth and Devonport having a great wish, of such an opportunity, to pay their respects to the Duchess. I put the question to him. "Go to the Duchess," he said, "and if she has no objection, I have none; but it must be clearly understood, that Lady Northesk and Lady Emma Mount-Edgcumbe must give a list of, and stand sponsors for, those who are to be invited; and," he asked, "has it been usual with former Boards to give balls?" "No, Sir; nor has it been usual on these occasions to be honoured with the visit of a Prince and Princess of the Royal Family." "Well," he says, "take your ball, but I hold you responsible."

All parties being agreed, I desired the master of the yacht (the present Commander Franklin), a clever, intelligent officer, to fit her up in his best style, and bring the 'Lightning' alongside, to make a gangway of communication, and lay a flush-deck fore-and-aft on the 'Royal Sovereign.' All this was done in the course of the day, and both yacht and steamer were decorated in the most splendid manner, with the flags of all nations, intermixed with flowers and flowering shrubs; and the whole arrangement presented one of the prettiest sights I ever remember to have seen.

The company, to the number of six hundred, included, of course, the *élite* of the two towns and of the neighbourhood. The Duchess, with Lord Valletort or Lord Errol (probably the latter), led off the ball, and dancing was kept up till four in the morning. I was desired to take care that every kind of refreshment, and plenty of champagne, should be provided; in which I received cordial assistance from Mr. Sidney and Rev. A. Fitzclarence, who had come with us from town in the yacht. The 'Britannia,' flag-ship, exhibited in her port-holes splendid blue-lights for the entertainment of the party. The Duke and Duchess, and the Mount-Edgcumbe party, left soon after midnight.

Desirous of settling the account of the expense attending this fête—which, as far as my recollection serves, was something between 500*l.* and 600*l.*—I asked the Duke under what head I should place it, and he said, "To my private account, most certainly; and I desire that everything extra, and also whatever may have usually been charged to the First Lord's and Board's private account, on the several visitations which you have attended, may in like manner be charged to me.

I would not have it supposed I gave balls and dinners, on occasions like this, at the public expense; except only the dinner given to the naval and public officers on board the yacht."

On the morning after the ball, the Lord High Admiral reviewed the whole of the troops in the garrison which, with the marines, amounted to about 1500 men; and he astonished the officers with the extent of the knowledge he displayed of military tactics.

His Royal Highness being requested by the gentlemen of the Yacht Club, and others who kept pleasure-boats, to honour them with his presence at the regatta, within the Breakwater, on the 20th of July, he embarked in the yacht; and having witnessed the lively scene, retired to his cabin to write his despatches, slept on board, and the following morning put to sea and proceeded to Milford Haven, with the intention of visiting Pembroke Dockyard. On the previous day, the Duchess and her party had proceeded thither by land, and arrived at the same time as the yacht. Scarcely had we entered the dockyard when Lord Cawdor paid his respects to the Lord High Admiral, and invited him and his suite to Stackpole, to remain there during his visitation; and on the same day Lady Owen made her appearance in the dockyard, mounted on a fine prancing nag, to invite his Royal Highness, in the name of Sir John, to take up his residence at Orielton, which he politely declined. During his stay for a few days at Stackpole, the Lord High Admiral regularly went down to the dockyard, passed through the usual examinations, and viewed the improvements carrying on in this new establishment.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and attention of Lord and Lady Cawdor. Her ladyship's flower-garden,

under her own direction, was pronounced to be very tastily laid out; and the shrubs and flowering plants, in healthy and vigorous condition, were well arranged. Another most useful work, within doors, which I greatly admired, was a catalogue of the library, arranged on a plan of her ladyship's, which, for neatness and facility of reference, surpassed any I had before seen. The approach to the house is by an ascending road through a wood, with a river gurgling below in the valley, at the end of which is seen the house, placed on the summit of the hill; and from the house is a view of the river meandering over the plain down to the sea. Lieutenant (now Captain) de Roos made a very pretty drawing of the house and its accompaniments.

The 'Royal William,' a first-rate, was on the stocks; and the Goliah, of 80 guns, being prepared for launching, underwent that operation on the 25th of July, and, after being christened by her Royal Highness, floated into the haven under the name of the 'Clarence,' in honour of the Duchess, in presence of a vast assemblage of people from every part of the country. After this, on the 26th, the Duchess left Stackpole to proceed by land direct for Portsmouth, where she was to be joined by the Duke, who also embarked the following day in the 'Royal Sovereign,' towed by the 'Lightning' steamer. In proceeding down the coast it began to blow so strong that the steamer was cast off. The Wolf rock roared tremendously, between which and the coast of Cornwall the yacht went beautifully, and rounded the Land's End without our seeing anything more of the steamer. On the 30th of July, at six in the evening, we reached Portsmouth.

The whole of the 31st was occupied in visiting the ships of war lying at Spithead, and also those in harbour. The Duke next mustered the 'Warspite,' just returned from the East Indies. Next day he commenced his examination of all the departments, the offices, the storehouses, workshops, the docks, basins, and slips of the dockyard, which, with the large ordinary in the harbour, occupied five or six days; on one of which he gave a dinner, on the flush-deck of the yacht, to about eighty persons, consisting of naval officers and the gentry of the neighbourhood. The only holiday, if it may be so called, was on the 9th of August, when the whole of the garrison and the marines, including the fine corps of the Marine Artillery—(shortly afterwards, unwisely, as was generally thought, reduced, and curtailed in their allowances)—were drawn out on Southsea Common.

Every preparation was made for a grand display on this occasion. All the ships at Spithead were dressed —the yachts cruising about—and the Duchess, in the Admiral's barge, followed by a multitude of boats, some with bands of music, and many of them filled with ladies, ever ready to contribute to the splendour and the gaiety of a scene like the present. On shore, the extensive surface of the Southsea Common was crowded to excess, so that it required great exertion to preserve a sufficient space for the troops to go through their manœuvres. The day was beautifully fine, and nothing but universal joy prevailed in the purlieus of Portsmouth, both by sea and land;—but a sudden and sorrowful blight came over this gay scene, and destroyed at one blow every vestige of pleasure and joy, bringing in their place lamentation and woe.

A telegraph message from London was handed to Admiral Stopford, which, in the absence of his key, he was not prepared to make out; the Duke impatiently called out, "Where is Barrow?" I was at his elbow, and the Admiral handed me the message. "What is it? —quick, quick!" "Sir, it is brief, but painfully distressing—Mr. Canning is dead."

He held up his hands, expressed an ejaculation, and said, "Stopford, send off this moment to recall the Duchess, to stop the firing, to strike the flags, and to put every ship in mourning; and send to the General to desire that he will forthwith dismiss the troops to their quarters." Having given these hasty orders, he turned to me and said, "Poor Canning! he was very ill when we left town: he caught a severe cold at my brother's funeral, the effect of which, together with the hurry and harassing occasioned by the desertion of his friends, threw him into a fever. I always said his false friends would be the end of him; I knew that in the present state of his mind and body he could not bear the worrying of the House of Commons, and that if he did not seek a temporary retreat, he must sink under it."

The Duke's real character of being gifted with a kind and feeling heart, evinced as it was in numberless instances, which came to my knowledge during the short period he held the situation of Lord High Admiral, showed itself strongly on this melancholy occasion. I could have adored him for it.

Nothing more was done or thought of at Portsmouth, from whence the Duke immediately departed with all haste for London, very low spirited. He was not absent more than three days, and on the fourth the