bute their clothes amongst the men of their companies, one carries a shirt another stockings &c.: thus they have an excellent kit and no baggage horse. By this arrangement, in an army of fifty regiments, there are 1000 horses or thereabouts less to provide for: by what trifles are great objects attained! What is there in military knowledge too minute, or too extended for a general's attention! A French general sends officers of trust, aware of the importance of accuracy as to time and facts, to bear orders for combined movements, and their staff are selected for talents and experience united; not for their youth, ignorance, and imbecility, as in our army—displayed in vanity, impertinence, and blunders on all occasions. A French quartermaster general is not distinguished by his dangling sabretache, High Wycombe drawing-book, and fine ass's skin, and ass's head, with which he makes rapid sketches equally deficient in clearness and accuracy. Nor do French soldiers stand for hours unsheltered in a town, while the quartermaster generals are—taking care of themselves. That a proper staff is the hinge, on which a general must turn his army, seems never to have been attended to by us. The ignorance of regimental details and of tactics is conspicuous in our staff, who are generally young men, heaven-born generals, fit to command armies but unable to quarter a regiment, because they seldom know how many companies it consists of.

"Bermuda, 1812. *Conquest.*—When a great nation has conquered another nation it should never despoil it of its ornamental riches—such as statues, paintings &c. In these matters there is a pride, which being hurt breeds innumerable enemies. To see those things in the capital of conquerors excites envy in all beholders, bitter grief with a rancorous spirit of vengeance in the despoiled: and in those who have not lost them, pity for the sufferers and fear for themselves. Great nations should rule by great deeds. Are we therefore to conquer with loss of men and money and have no re-

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compense? No! Look to the man not his pictures. Give him his house, his statues, his family; give the nation its edifices, flatter its pride, leave its laws unaltered, or give laws more congenial to its desires. Take control of the armies, navies, resources, and direct the purse to the people's advantage if you can, but direct it so as to make, if possible, the people's interest your own: the yoke should be not only easy but pleasant. Trust human nature for the rest, she never lets patriotism rule the multitude in opposition to personal comfort and interest. A great conquering nation should sacrifice all minor things to strength and magnanimity; which will not however always square with honesty, because no generosity afterwards can wash out the first guilt of unprovoked conquest. Nevertheless, give riches and be poor; give plenty though at your momentary cost: let your chain be golden, or at least gilt, and you may rule the world.

"Such has been our conduct in Portugal, yet from accidental circumstances, not from a digested system. We have flattered their vanity and deprived them of no public custom or ornament; we meddled not with their religion; we paid their soldiers when their own prince did not; and we might have done much more on a sound system, but we always act on the confined base of present expediency. We might have regulated their whole civil government and founded a free nation, entirely and truly regenerating them as a people, while we made their interests inseparable from our own. I adduce Portugal because I know it, and because it is a proof that conquest may be made easy: for disguise it as we may, we are really conquerors of the Portuguese in this war.

"How unwise the policy of France appears in pillaging the countries she subdued! Her bankruptcy at the revolution may be some excuse, but not for the length she has gone. I am not of those who abuse everything French; but her treatment of Italy, of Spain, of Switzerland, was unwise as it was wicked. I should feel very dis-

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trustful of my opinions on this subject, were it not confirmed by two things. First, the erroneous policy of France as to Spain has been proved. Not that I say with our English cabinet, that the Peninsula is saved because the battle of Salamanca has been won; but the continued struggles of the Spaniards, the admirable improvement of the Portuguese army, the talent of Lord Wellington, and the favour he gains with the Spanish people, who are hourly and boldly asserting their freedom against the hateful domination of priesthood—because of these things I say France must be in doubt of her success. She has therefore acted erroneously, seeing that her loss has been dreadful, and to no purpose. Again: I am confirmed in this opinion by its accordance with a maxim admitted by the wisest and greatest of men, viz. That no policy can be so advantageous to a nation as justice. This maxim would indeed never admit of conquest, or of war, save in self-defence; but in the struggle with France we cannot help handling somewhat roughly the rights of our smaller neighbours.

"Bermuda. *Alexander the Great.*—He warred against the Persians 334 years before Christ, and it is remarkable that the two most renowned warriors of history should have commenced their great enterprizes with such small armies. Alexander invaded Persia with only 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse: Hannibal entered Italy with but 20,000 foot and 6000 horse. How much more depends upon the chief than on the numbers of an army!"

This reflection made at so early a period, will be found, many years afterwards, brilliantly exemplified by his own astonishing victories on one scene of Alexander's exploits. But he thus continues.

"Alexander's mode of warfare indicates, that the vast plan he executed was pre-calculated and did not spring merely from success. At first he moved along the coast of the Propontis, because Mount Ida was naturally strong, and Memnon was there, well fortified, and having also pre-

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pared obstacles on the coast of the Ægean Sea. By this march eastward, which being much longer was quite unexpected, Alexander turned all those obstacles.

"At the Granicus, being opposed, contrary to Memnon's advice, he concentrated his force on the right and defeated the Persians; that is the Persian king's army, for the forces were chiefly Greek mercenaries, and Memnon was a Greek. After the victory he divided his forces, and with one half took Sardis and all the towns along the Ægean coast; but by that time the enemy had collected on the frontier of Syria under Darius; whereupon Alexander concentrated his scattered forces, marched upon Darius, and defeated him at Issus.

"Two things are noticeable here.

"First, Alexander had grown careless from conquest and from deficiency of intelligence; Darius displaying talent and activity, got in his rear, seized the Armanic gate, and nearly got the Syrian gate also. These were the only passes through the mountains by which Alexander could retreat. The danger was seen, and the fault remedied by a rapid night march, which placed Alexander's army at the Syrian gate before Darius could get it: Alexander could then have declined a battle if he chose, but that was not his game and he attacked.

"The second noticeable thing was the judgment with which he did attack. Darius drew up his forces with his right to the sea, his left resting on the mountains, his front covered by the Issus. Alexander fell on the Persians' left with the greatest part of his troops, leaving Parmenio on his own left with the cavalry, to make the best fight he could. If defeated, Alexander could have gotten into the mountains, and by his right have reached the previously-conquered countries; or Greece by a détour; for his left being weak would have been first beaten, and its retreat have been protected by his right. Had he taken a different course his right would have first retired, and his whole army been

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thrown back on the sea, or into the plains of Mesopotamia, where it would have been destroyed. Victorious, he equally gained by this disposition; for he, as actually happened, threw the Persian army on to the sea and destroyed the greater part. Having won the battle, he marched along the coast of Phœnicia, gaining many ports and ships; then he took Egypt, and thus getting the whole coast formed a large fleet, and cut Darius off from the Persian party in Greece, which under Demosthenes, and others, had been hitherto very dangerous: and it had been the able Memnon's plan to invade Macedonia.

"Few things more strongly mark Alexander's vast designs and genius than the way he treated the people of the conquered districts, always making them his warm friends. Pausanias says he never erected trophies, though usual then. The only difference to the conquered was that they changed an old king who made them pay heavy tribute and never saw them, for a young one who was among them, and exacted much less in tribute. He gave them great commands, and he was liberal, but withal very œconomical, and anxious to prevent all expence that was not useful and just: very generous but not extravagant.

"Having secured his rear and all the sea communications with Greece, he pressed forward into the heart of Darius' empire, and beat him at Arbela, by attacking, as usual, with his own force concentrated. Being much outnumbered, he displayed two equal lines so as to be able to form squares in case the Persians surrounded him, and with this formation first bore down on their centre; but so obliquely towards his own right as to compel them to make a flank movement to prevent his gaining their flank, and at that moment attacked them: the battle was well contested, but he won it. His motive for obliqueing when moving against them, was, seemingly, to avoid the ground they had cleared for their chariots. His subsequent movements were very rapid. After the battle he took Babylon and pursued his

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conquests to India; and it is a proof of his wisdom that the towns he built have most of them remained to this day, shewing that he foresaw the channels in which commerce would flow. The Egyptian and the Paropamisan Alexandrias were the most noted; but the works begun and proposed at Babylon, just before his death, evinced his design to make that the capital of the world.

"The battle of the Granicus was won by placing the greatest force on the right, so that his attack was made with troops more concentrated than that of the enemy. This seems to be the main point in all battles: for you thus overwhelm a certain portion of the enemy, and being always compact, can meet his subsequent efforts to recover the day with an advantage difficult to withstand, as the enemy must come up in detail to reinforce his defeated troops."

That Alexander's policy was the model Charles Napier had in mind when he conquered and governed Scinde, is very clear from the above essay, written at thirty years of age; and if it displays the sagacity of a youthful hero, the following marginal note written nearly forty years afterwards, when commander in chief of India, shews that age had not diminished the fire of his genius.

"It is curious that I should have written this in Bermuda 1812, and be here in 1850, at Simla, having just returned from passing over Alexander's march from the Indus to the Hyphasis! I am at the head of an army larger than his; but I am more than double his age, have only half his strength, and none of his power. If I had his power I would, without a hundredth part of his genius, go near his glory, and would win all he won—and more; for I have a better army, and our Europeans amalgamate better with the natives than did his Greeks.

"*Hannibal.*—This son of Amilcar Barcas marched from New Carthage in Spain to attack Italy. He passed the Pyrenees with 50,000 foot, 9000 horse and some elephants. He crossed the Rhone and the Alps, and after a march of

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9000 stadia in five months—fifteen days being employed in crossing the Alps—entered Italy with only 20,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry and some elephants. With this small army what did he attempt? The conquest of Italy from the Romans, who could with their allies bring into the field 800,000 men in arms! and he maintained the war there for fifteen years!!

"*Order of battle.*—Jomini's method of forming three lines, by dividing regiments into three grand divisions, one behind another, would sacrifice fire and be unhandy. For English troops the single line, two deep, has been found strong enough. If men have solid nerve, that formation is sufficient; if they have not, three lines will equally fail, and the rear line will be shooting the front lines. If you distrust your troops the column is best to break an adverse line, because disorder and flight from line is destruction; whereas the most frightened troops can keep in a body, and be able to make terms if not able to resist with effect, and in the attack they force each other forward: but no general rule can be given in these matters. General Jomini seems however to be right as to keeping men more collected than they are, at least in our army. Should I ever command an army it shall be kept, so far as the ground will admit, in a wedge-like form, which may, according to circumstances, be compressed to an oblong, or displayed as a line. When required to act it may be done by companies, regiments or brigades, according to the need. Six regiments are in line; twelve may follow in straight column behind each flank, or divergent in échelon; thus offering the oblong or the wedge form as the ground dictates. Behind the centre should march the reserve. This would give a pliability scarcely to be attained by any other formation, seeing that battle may be offered to the front, or obliquely, to the right or left, without inconvenience. The artillery and cavalry must be placed according to circumstances.

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"*Cavalry.*—In the British army we have not considered this arm much in a scientific point of view; that is to say, its use in the field and its equipment, as suited to its duties and dependent on them. Whatever I have seen on this subject has been confined to manœuvring of small bodies; outpost duties which cannot be taught by books; and stable duties, or discussing the shape of a carabine, or some such trifling. My object is to sketch a general view and leave such details to those who like to dwell on them: they are doubtless of consequence, but do not amuse me. As to manœuvres, the British cavalry does not seem to me deficient; and as to stable duties, a healthy horse wants little more than food. What is to be done when he is sick? I cannot say, being, thank God! neither a doctor nor a farrier; though on a pinch I could injure a horse as handily as most cavalry officers, with the help of White and other veterinaries. But to the point. It appears to me that in battle infantry must have the greatest effect, but cavalry in the campaign. In the British army we know little of the use of cavalry, and our cavalry officers are perhaps the least informed on the subject: we have not war enough to teach them.

"Infantry grow accustomed to cavalry, but the tendency of cavalry is to become fearful: this a good general should take great pains to obviate. The infantry soon learn that close formation and steadiness gives them safety; they take advantage of ground, and thus gain confidence; but the cavalry must lose it, because they find the foot soldier grow firmer in resistance, and delivering a closer fire. Thus attacks become more dangerous for man and horse, and both become faint-hearted, the dispute is finally decided by the complete superiority of the musquet and bayonet over the sabre. One simple fact will account for this. The foot soldier can kill his adversary at some hundred yards; the horseman cannot hurt his enemy until the latter

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is within reach of his sword, and then six foot soldiers are opposed to each file of horsemen! Is it fair to expect they should cope with such odds for any length of time?

"I do not mean that cavalry are not to charge infantry; they must charge anything they are ordered to charge, and they will frequently break and annihilate infantry: moreover, it may be requisite to charge with the certainty of defeat. These are not points becoming for cavalry to consider, they wholly belong to the general; my aim is to shew that infantry will have greater force in battle than cavalry. It may be said that artillery will break the infantry: but the latter have artillery also, and my decided opinion is that infantry, even in line, may oppose cavalry; particularly when accidents of ground cover their flanks, in want of which a company wheeled back will answer the purpose. I will go further, and will, after a deal of personal service in the infantry, say that a line charged over by cavalry will, if the men do not endeavour to escape by flight, lose very few, and will finally beat the cavalry. Artillery therefore makes little difference, and solid formations are not essential, though preferable. Cavalry may nevertheless act with prodigious effect accidentally—great conduct, and great misconduct will not submit to principles.

"The great advantages of cavalry are these.

"1°. When an enemy is beaten its use in pursuit is admitted.

"2°. If the enemy is victorious, cavalry covers the retreat. On this much may be said, more than these notes will admit of. Their obvious services would be in flank attacks on the most forward of the pursuers, ambuscades &c., and also to save the rear from flank attacks; but it would require more knowledge than I possess to say all that cavalry can do in a retreat.

"3°. What cavalry can defend in a retreat they can attack in a pursuit: superiority in cavalry will therefore be very decisive in a battle or a campaign. For if the beaten army

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has that superiority the general may palliate his losses, rendering them of small consequence. If the victorious general has the superior cavalry, he will probably gain more by the pursuit than the victory itself.

"4°. The greatest effect on a campaign by a skilful use of cavalry, will be to employ it on the flank of an enemy, and even in his rear. Two points are thus gained. Your cavalry, having great tracts of ground to act in, is more easily supplied than when concentrated, and requiring supplies to come up to it instead of going to those supplies, meanwhile acting offensively. Again: your opponent is in constant fear for his supplies, and must send forces to protect them. If successful, the danger of attack renders the march slow, and weakens his army more than your cavalry detachment weakens you; for his can only rejoin slowly with the convoys, while yours can rapidly rejoin the main body, and in combined movements a junction often requires but a very short march.

"Expeditions of this kind would form, and bring out men of enterprize in every class, offering glory for officers and non-commissioned officers, sufficient to create great emulation and intellectual exertion: exciting also in the privates, a daring spirit for personal achievements of strength and courage. To all ranks the booty would be an allurement, not perhaps acknowledged, but certainly felt by officers as well as men, because it would be considerable. If any one disputes this last point he shall be knocked down with facts. Are not the navy officers of the same men and families, and do they not eagerly seek prize money? Have the army ever been slack when they had claims? But never should booty be taken by individuals. To successful parties it should be made over in presence of the army; the Romans did so, and they clearly understood war better than we do. To say some people will plunder is fallacious: make it the interest of every one to prevent the knaves, and enforce a severe discipline; then they cannot plunder secretly, and

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dare not do so openly. Nothing is more hurtful to an army, than individual marauding, nothing more useful than general booty and contributions.

"Booty, when taken by the troops, should be divided amongst them; contributions should be used for the supply of the army. And all towns taken by storm should give prize money, if not sacked; an act which should be punished by abundant executions, as being inconsistent with discipline, with policy; and lastly with humanity, for in war that must come last. Plunder or booty, is absolutely needful in some shape or other, to urge the soldiers to enterprize, because interest is the great stimulant of human nature. A guinea is of all heroes, of all politicians, of all clever fellows, the most heroic, the most politic, the cleverest: he has no superior except two guineas! he can only be opposed in kind, and by his help your cavalry will be formed—for money makes horses as well as mares go.

"With regard to the equipment of cavalry, we could hardly alter for the worse. I will not enter into details, but the chief objects are to have two classes, viz. light dragoons and heavy dragoons; that is larger men, not heavier baggage. All should have straight cut and thrust swords, thirty-five inches in the blade, and light musquets for acting on foot as the French do. No trappings: the horse must not be killed by useless weight. A dragoon should have no kit but a cloak, a pair of shoes, two flannel shirts and a piece of soap. These wrapped up in an oilskin would go in the right holster pipe, and a pistol in the left. Thus the horse would have no load but the man and his forage, for which a forage bag and nose-bag should be always tied on the cantle. Instead of this, there are six or seven pelisses, caps, coloured boots, dressing-cases, undress jackets, half-dress jackets, and half-undress jackets, on the back of an English dragoon horse, making a weight of 21 stone! A dragoon's heavy portmantle is now as heavy as his whole kit ought to be. Of the dragoon's dress-maker general I dare

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not speak, but he is clearly not a horse, or he would never so load one.

"The English horse of fifteen to sixteen hands cannot be surpassed, and light dragoons should not be more than five feet ten inches high; even that is too tall to give a horse full power. Men of five feet eight, or five feet seven, are easily found with force of body equal to encounter taller men on foot; and on horseback they would have the advantage of being light, at least the horse would, who I consider half, if not the better half of the dragoon. But the thing is to put what Moore called the 'right spirit' into the man, and the light weight on the horse, who always has the right spirit when he gets fair play. The heavy dragoon may be a taller man: but why have a different horse? There is a certain description of horse which is the strongest and most active, and the nearer he is to an English hunter the better for light and heavy dragoons. Why mount one on dray-horses, the other on cats? Give the tallest men, not the tallest horse but the most powerful.

"To make cavalry effective in the long run they must move rapidly, and for that they must be light; therefore good cavalry consists in the strong horse and light weight. This gives one beast fair play: and to give t' other beast fair play also, teach him to trust to his sword, by teaching him how to use it: then, when a rigid course of discipline has taught him to follow his commander in a charge, he will repay all trouble and expence at the enemy's cost. The absolute force of cavalry is very little: for what becomes of the force of a horse when struck by a shot? What of a squadron when many horses are down? No! it is certainly not force, but rapid movement that gives cavalry value, the application of which requires *gumption* in the commander; the power of obeying him depends on the weight the horse carries: the courage of the rider depends on rigid discipline in a collective sense, and on a knowledge of his weapons individually.

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"The forming of officers is perhaps the most difficult part. A general wants neither farriers nor jockies for officers; both are natural consequences of being a good cavalry officer; but a good officer is not a consequence of being a farrier or jockey. To form English cavalry officers they should be encouraged to serve abroad when we are at peace. War alone can form them. No service requires experience so much, and our officers are suddenly thrown into very critical situations before they have an idea of war: this draws on them unmerited discredit. Our cavalry have thus been ruined, and some old German regiments, full of experienced officers, have gained more credit though in all qualities but experience inferior to our native regiments: with equal practice our cavalry would send all the French and German cavalry to the devil! We have no general of cavalry, nor shall we ever have while the present system lasts. I shall probably never command a cavalry regiment, but if I do will never lose sight of three things—rigid discipline for the body, fencing for the individual, a light load for the horse. As to exercise, they should never be dismounted when the horse could carry them without loss of health to the weakest animal. No regiment of cavalry should have less than two hours' drill each day, but no standing still for stupid inspections.

"I feel so ignorant as to the full usage of cavalry that many things have been left unmentioned. The wide space a cavalry officer has for action I see, but not clearly the way over it—not for want of roads, but from the redundance of them. I have written only what appears to my inexperienced eyes the chief uses of cavalry, and pointed out the causes of our constant defeats. That I am mistaken may easily be; but to consider the subject, and note one's reflections, is the only way to come at knowledge of a service a man does not belong to. Where is the difference between cavalry and light infantry? Well I despair—here I am shut up in Bermuda, I shall never command an army!

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I am 31 and only a lieutenant-colonel, at that age Alexander had conquered the world!"—In India, long afterwards, he organized and taught the Scinde horsemen on the principles here laid down, and their excellence thus taught became proverbial.

"*Commander of a regiment.*—He should be steady in system, that which demands change must be bad: change is in itself an evil of magnitude. He should issue as few orders as possible; there is scarcely a greater evil than long and frequent orders. He should enforce the orders he does issue, a habit of obedience is the great spring of military arrangements; but when subject to constant orders men's minds, especially young minds, become fatigued and heedless: disobedience, or at best, inattention follows, for no commanding officer can be a constant spy on his officers, —nor would it become him if he could. How then can this natural weakness of men's minds be met? By not overloading them, by short, simple, and few orders, by seeing to their execution and making severe examples of the disobedient in matters of consequence. Sharp reprimands for slight neglects are necessary, not because the matter signifies much in itself, but that a habit of disobedience grows, and steady checking makes men dread disobedience more than the trouble of duty: they reason thus—the orders are few, but necessary, I am bound in honour to obey them, and neglect subjects me to unpleasant treatment. When this feeling arises, a lieutenant-colonel has little to do beyond admonishing the careless; and on service he will find that while others are overwhelmed with exertion and yet disobeyed, he and those under him scarcely feel the difference.

"This is real subordination, real responsibility. It is not saying to a lieutenant-colonel, I hold you responsible, that succeeds; the same speech goes through each gradation down to the drummer: and when the thing is not done, the lieutenant-colonel, being responsible to the general, cannot

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say, the major disobeyed me, for that would bring the general and the drumboy face to face to settle the matter, which would be the reverse of responsibility. The colonel should be able to say to the general: I cannot see this order executed with my own eyes, but having taught my officers the necessity of obedience I will be responsible for its execution. Here is the true 'chain of responsibility,' which is not to be found by throwing your own duty on the shoulders of your juniors. Let the commander do his own duty, that is the great secret, neither rewards nor punishments have so much effect as example. In battle, a leader who cries Forward may see his men fly disgracefully; but he who sword in hand rushes on the enemy will generally be followed.

"The fewer reprimands the fewer punishments, and more effect; nothing more disagreeable to oneself, nothing more useless than scolding—it is weak and contemptible. The voice of a commander should seldom be heard in anger, and then it will be feared and heeded; if frequent it will excite ridicule, often indignation: its course is first teazing, then impertinent, ungentlemanlike, finally unjust and insulting; then an apology is due to the misused person, and you are no longer respected. No man can behave unlike a gentleman to a gentleman without rendering satisfaction; but a commander is not expected to fight a duel for executing his duty, however harsh it may be, in a gentlemanlike manner. I have told a man he was a blackguard because I had proof of his being so, and it was my duty not to mince the matter: had he challenged me, as he did not, I would not have fought. But if in a passion I had called him a blackguard when he was not, then, having lost my dignity of office, the consequences must have been fighting or begging pardon, both disagreeable things: thank God I never had to do one or the other. Such are the results of habitual *rowing*, but an occasional touch up is invigorating: only let it come out at once like the devil, hail, rain, thunder and lightning! When this is justified by the matter, it never creates enemies or discon-

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tent. British officers won't bear insult, but they know that duty must be done, and idle fellows are thus worked up. The soldiers are the same, and this makes them fight so well. They all go into action as comrades, not as despots and slaves.

"1809. *Soldiers' Marriages.*—This subject requires much arrangement and attention, and receives none. It affects the health, morality, and strength of our army in various ways; such as desertion, population, and other points. My general ideas shall be set down, but I have not considered the subject much, nor am I able perhaps to discuss it properly: an able man could however serve his country materially by taking it in hand. Marriage should be encouraged, but no woman should be allowed to embark with a service expedition. Going to the colonies or foreign garrisons would be different. Regiments should generally be stationary in England, keeping to their own counties, in each of which a woman's barrack should be built, and a manufactory should be established, or at least some means for industry with schools for the children. The boys educated for the army, and the girls, if they married soldiers, should have a government portion. These barracks should have a superintendent, to be also the barrack-master, with rank of captain, and always an old or disabled officer. Under him the schoolmaster and mistress, the former a retired officer or non-commissioned officer; the latter a widow, or wife of a deserving retired officer or non-commissioned officer, who would have obtained a commission if he had remained in service. Thus would many children be well reared for the army in military villages. Desertion would nearly cease, the women would be too comfortable to behave ill, and the men, mostly married, would not have money for drinking, and would be more healthy: their wives, rescued from debauchery, would have more and stronger children, and their joint labour would enable them to live well.

"This arrangement for children is founded on a calcula-

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tion made by my father, and given by me to Mr. Windham, at Mr. Fox's desire: it would shew a great public saving, when the expence of the boys is balanced against the bounty now given to an equal number of recruits, with the expences of sending them to regiments. The population would be increased instead of being reduced by the size of our army, which would itself be augmented in numbers and efficiency by increase of health:—we have now often twenty thousand men ill at once from debauchery! Increased also by the increased number of boys, for most soldiers' children now die for want of care. Then, having the regiments formed of two fighting and one recruiting battalion, always near your women's barracks, with very few officers and a reduced staff, the army could be kept complete; for the boys would supply common casualties, and to meet those of a severe campaign many men would enlist under such a system. Abolish flogging and they would almost pay a bounty instead of receiving one.

"These thoughts, poured out confusedly, require to be digested with care, but the object is certainly attainable. I will return to it again after discussion with some capable man who has extended military ideas. Mr. Windham tried to shew that he had such ideas, but failed from lack of military knowledge, and his scheme is generally trifling and feeble, with an entire ignorance of soldier's character and of military finance: indeed this entire ignorance on these two points, is the clearest part of his plan! I should like to converse with him on the subject; for among our generals there are few who would think of this question, fewer who could give one information: and as to extended military ideas for improving our army I won't say how many there are who know anything of military matters, beyond reprimanding and powdering their officers:—except laboriously clubbing a brigade, which their brigade-major, by another great effort, gets right again with help of the adjutant, unless his horse throws him!

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"*Dress.*—Soldiers carry more than is needful. On service a soldier should have a short cloak of good oilskin, lined with strong linen, very light and reaching to the knee. A cloth waistcoat with sleeves, double-breasted. This in winter would be warm: in summer, the breast or facings being buttoned back, it would be cool and it should have flap pockets."—Here follow details useless to transcribe, as they will never be adopted, however valuable.—"As to razors, combs, black ball &c. I hold them in contempt. One pair of scissors could clip the beards and hair of a whole corps d'armée. If any soldier chose to carry a pair of worsted socks he might do so, but few old soldiers march with them. Marshal Saxe has more sense in what he says on that subject than he has credit for: more than when he insists on the beauty of a Welsh wig!

"*Baggage.*—This being one of the troublesome parts of an army, strictness is necessary in preventing more than the allowance being carried; and the allowance should be reduced with an unsparing hand, more especially with regard to general officers. All troops should embark with as little as possible, and how to reduce the soldier's kit has been shewn. The present allowance of baggage to company's officers is enough, and to all ranks above a major too much. A lieutenant-colonel wants no more than a major, a general very little more, and there is no reason why a general of division should have more than a general of brigade. Whatever the allowance, it should not be exceeded, and should be carried on a prescribed plan. The baggage-master-general should have a deputy in each division, responsible that the regular quantity, form, and mode of carriage, is according to order; and with power therefore to destroy all overplus. Baggage should not however be destroyed without an appeal to a general officer, when any denial of its excess was offered; but this appeal should not extend to general officers, or their staff; for as they invariably break through all regulations greater strictness is

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required: the baggage-master should towards them be subject only to the decision of a court-martial, in case of any glaring act of injustice.

"Rigid inspections of the animals should be made by competent judges of their strength; and commanding officers should be made responsible for their officers being well supplied, according to the government allowance for purchases. It might be better to furnish the officers with animals, obliging them to keep those delivered, or others equal in value; this would however be more expensive, and perhaps the giving a choice to officers would be best. Such arrangements, with severe punishments for disobedience, such as dismissing a general officer from the staff, as a hint pour encourager les autres—would render the baggage of an army movable and rapid, instead of the cumbersome confused mass it is. But to facilitate its movements, the men who guide and command it, and who should not be changed except for misconduct, ought to be better organized. The baggage-master-general should be a field officer, and a fellow who would quarrel with the commander in chief and every general under him; one who would never allow himself to be convicted of civility to an aide-de-camp, and very rarely to anybody else; one who would keep all fellows in order, except the commissary, to whom he must of course be civil. If a man could be got who would quarrel with a commissary he would be worth his weight in gold; a light weight that, for he would be half starved, and being therefore always cross would be invaluable. Many other points might be discussed with advantage about baggage, but the principal object should be—the reduction of baggage in the higher ranks; the regular size and shape of trunks or panniers, with pattern saddles and cordage, to prevent overloading and enable the baggage-master to detect irregularities by sight. Order and rapidity of movement would thus result, and as the poor animals would never be weighted to their full strength, wounded men might be saved by them on an emergency."

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This sketch for reforming the British baggage system, was realized more than thirty years later in Scinde. His baggage corps there was an advance in military organization, scarcely less important than that of the introduction of regiments in lieu of the undisciplined masses led by feudal chiefs to war. It was a creation of genius which would have doubled an army's force and rapidity of movement, saved thousands of soldiers' lives, and been, consequently, œconomical as it was efficient—both in the highest degree. But though found excellent in practice as it was in theory, it was, because it was his creation, and avowedly to mortify him, destroyed by the Bombay government, when he quitted Scinde! This great military organization remains therefore in abeyance, to gratify the miserable personal spite of the directors, and their governor-general Lord Dalhousie—men unable to understand the worth of what they trampled on: the Parthenon destroyed by barbarians!

"*Freedom.*

> "Jove fixed it certain that whatever day
> Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.

"What must he be, who, with half his worth gone, recovers his freedom?

"*Gibbon.*—He says—'The principle of a free government is irrecoverably lost when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.' What freedom can we boast of then, when our members of parliament hold places under government? When our peers are placemen? When the power of voting at elections is restricted to a certain number of persons, instead of being the right of the people? When a seat in parliament is so valuable as to make it worth while to expend £100,000 to carry one election? When the riches of the Treasury can be applied to the venal inclinations of a parliament? When the higher officers of the executive are identified with those in whom the legislative authority is vested? And when the

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innumerable executive officers in the lower classes are held by voters who elect the legislative body: at least that part supposed to be the chief bulwark against tyranny? Our legislative is not only nominated by the executive but is in fact itself; the two powers exist in the same men, and the attempts made to assert freedom and the real spirit of the constitution is called treason! everything that is bad. Very natural however is this—we cannot expect thieves to condemn their own robberies. Ministers and opposition are alike interested to preserve this dreadful system, menacing destruction to the British constitution; this system of aristocracy devised to make the crown a cypher and the people slaves. The remedy is to reform abuses by short parliaments, and an equal distribution of the right to elect members, having no placemen in the house. Able men have said that these things would be effectual, and I have heard no convincing argument against them.

"*Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini*, written in 1824. When at Rome and Naples I thought those towns might be reformed, but was assured it was quite impossible by Sir William Gell, with whom I had an argument and whose talents do not appear to me above the blue-stocking description: however, knowing so little of him I may be wrong. The recollection of what had been accomplished by Rienzi was not then fresh in my memory, but reading his story again convinces me I am right and Gell wrong. All that Rome requires is a free press, which would have indeed less vigour, less enterprize than the tribune, but would be less corrupt, more persevering, and would not die: he cured by the actual cautery, the press would be only an alterative, both would be best. But the press would soon produce a Rienzi in a town full of men with high natural talent, and well-cultivated minds; full of noble feelings also, though great blackguards, because it is a moral impossibility they should be otherwise. If you were to keep the most delicate

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lady in London for a week in a stable, she would smell as strong as a postilion.

"Rienzi forced the nobles to retire to their estates. If this was done now, and none allowed to live more than three months in the capital, except those whose estates were in the most dangerous parts as to health, where would the robbers be? Would the rich people, now shut up in their palaces at Rome and Naples, then suffer gangs of robbers? Would the peasantry prefer robbers to nobles who spent fortunes amongst them? In a year, necessity and interest combined would find means to destroy robbers; and in a few years cultivation would begin to conquer malaria: even the Pontine Marshes would be rescued from agues and frogs. What has been done there proves what may be done.

"Naples has no excuse for the non-residence of the nobility on their estates. It is said the immense population of that magnificent town would starve! This curious doctrine will hardly be maintained by any one but Sir W. Gell—starve from increase of cultivation! Reading Rienzi's story, I find what Gell pronounced impossible, was actually done by the tribune, and with a rapidity and effect more sudden than I had myself imagined possible. It is nonsense to say that a despotic government can be awed by the nobles. Unless the despot be a fool or a coward he may always have a devoted army, and a devoted populace; your nobles may thus be cracked like lice, and their estates confiscated, to be a source of riches to the despot if he be an honest man and wise; but certain ruin to one who would use them to bribe his soldiers, for he would thus make them robbers first, and finally traitors. But the despot who seeks real fame by the honest, and perhaps only certain mode, that of engaging the affections of the people, would divide the confiscated estates amongst the relations of the nobles he has destroyed, and thus gain new friends to his power, as being dependent on it. These friends of the despot would

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be the dead traitor's nearest and dearest connections, men who under any other distribution would form new conspiracies: but self-interest is a plaister to heal even wounds inflicted by injustice, and it more readily cures those given by a salutary state measure.

"All revolutions, to be effectual, must involve some changes of property to avoid the horrors of a counter revolution. What has saved France from the returned Bourbons and their flights of runaway nobles and priests, ready to pounce on the land like carrion crows on a dead horse? What but the large band of resolute landholders who would rise were the least of them deprived of his share, stolen or bought! From this we may learn that a despot is safe who divides the property of the nobles he destroys amongst others; and what is to hinder the king of Naples doing this if his nobles are too powerful? Add a rigid œconomy and fair imposts on exports and imports, avoiding as much as possible internal taxation; have a well-disciplined but small army of foreigners for a few years, because subjects are too closely connected with private and public robbery to act with vigour as a police:—recruit it however with young natives after a time, and in twenty years it would be a national force, and have the ideas necessarily produced by long and vigorous execution of good laws, namely, that laws are not a dead letter. They are now generally considered so in all parts of Italy, save where General Church commands. In all other parts the law is only an excuse for men to wreak personal vengeance, and as most of them think a stiletto less expensive, and safer, they use it.

"But if all the nobles were sent to their country houses for eight months in the year, and many were executed for breach of laws, their estates being given to their 'blood relations,' with an order not to appear in Naples for five years, country seats would soon rise all over the kingdom. Farms would require hands, and the 50,000 lazzaroni of Naples would with good management diminish. By good management I

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mean corrections through a thousand channels—no one measure could purify that stagnant mass. Amongst the most obvious would be colonizing other parts of the kingdom, and recruiting the marine force and the army from them; vigorous execution of the laws, establishing schools of industry, and enforcing laws against vagrants and idlers:—finally a free press which would soon let you know a thousand secrets for clearing away the pests.

"The more I see of the countries of the world the more certain it appears to me that morality, private and public, is the sine quâ non for good government; and the sine quâ non of morality is a free press. The fear of exposure deters man and woman from crime: both will risk death, any punishment, to gratify the ruling passion: we risk death for trifling gratifications, but fear of exposure acts constantly, and no punishment is more just, being generally exactly suited to the crime. Sometimes it may be hard, being like all things liable to exceptions; but it would be difficult to shew an unjust outcry raised by the press against an innocent person, which the same press has not sooner or later exerted itself to redress. It also holds the tribunals of justice to such correct principles that the injured find a redress there, even against the press, which thus corrects itself. What makes the higher classes of English society more moral than those of other countries, but being the butt of the press? The English peasantry are not superior to that of other countries in proportion. The peasantry are in all countries the best classes. But English gentlemen and noblemen certainly far exceed in honourable feeling the same classes in other countries, whereas the Spanish and French peasants are as good fellows as those in England: not so independent however, because no newspaper will expose the oppressor and report the poor man's sufferings.

"Whatever evils spring from a free press will in the long run be remedied by a free press. No other institution can

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say this, nor has any other so few evils to correct. In all things human there exists a perfect arrangement, a truth, because God creates not imperfections. I speak as a believer, not a sceptic. The universal search after this truth is best aided by a free press, which sifts and sifts till it reaches the desired point; and it unites talent and dulness, bad passions and good passions, prejudice and sound judgment in the pursuit. Whoever first hits the truth gains at once an ascendancy over his opponents, however feeble he may be, because a thousand pens of power start up to aid him. In a word, a free press is an emphatic term for unceasing enquiry, unceasing pursuit of truth and right, unceasing exposure of wrong. My opinion is that if the earth is to be regenerate and good-will towards men to be universal, which I do not altogether believe, it is by a free press the Almighty means to work. War indeed it may put an end to, if it gains ground all over the earth, but that will require time sufficient to tranquillize the fears of all half-pay officers of the present day!

"*Languages.*—The mode of learning languages might be facilitated, had those who teach any desire to do so; but the fear of losing employment will not let them smooth the road. For French, take any book, a play would perhaps be best, write a grammar with as few rules as possible, no compound tenses, in short omit all that can be omitted, and take all examples from the book chosen: then, and this is the main point, let a dictionary be written containing all the verbs in the chosen book, with their various moods and tenses. A dictionary would be required with all words used in sentences from the chosen book: it could be easily made from a common one. I would also have a vocabulary, not with dialogues but simply single words, or perhaps with the auxiliary verbs added. With these books, a person, having learned to pronounce, could teach himself, for the great difficulty to beginners would be done away: not a word would appear in their book that they could not find in their dic-

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tionaries. Idioms would be explained, and they would be ready for their exercises. Their grammar would be short and clear, like Cobbett's, aiding them generally, and containing examples with which they would be well acquainted.

"Plays are best for teaching on this system because more colloquial; and when power is acquired to read a volume in which the learner knows every word, the greatest labour is got over, and he will be able to read all the works of the same author with little trouble. Thus advancing step by step, he will not be appalled by difficulties, which deter many not over-persevering minds, and many patient minds also who have not leisure. To children it would have the advantage of encouraging them; and they would be pleased that with little trouble they could find all out by themselves, and with words or sentences all taken from the same book.

"*Lawyers.*—Why are lawyers generally supposed to be rogues? I believe because they have to deal with contending parties: one side must lose, consequently disappointment and other motives, often bad, make them blame the lawyers. But often, both sides are inclined to be abusive. Are lawyers then really the rogues they are supposed? Of course there are many honourable exceptions; but why are they worse than their neighbours? Because the nature of their profession places them in a state of constant temptation, particularly before they are known, and when, to use the words of a clever man, they cannot afford to keep a conscience. Fame, interest, often want, urge them to things they would not otherwise do. Have I a worse opinion of lawyers as men in consequence? Certainly not. All men are equally weak, and do alike in like situations. Wherefore I respect lawyers as other men, but never trust them in their profession more than my own ignorance renders necessary. My belief however is, that a lawyer who is really an honourable man, must either have been so fortunate as never to have been tempted; or a man of most perfect class of character, having gone through an ordeal few men can sustain.

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"*Nations.*—A nation should be like a wasp, keeping everybody on the fidget, harmless if let alone, stinging on the slightest insult. But for this the treasury should be full.

EPIGRAMS BY MY FATHER.

ON THE MAN, WHO BEING MADE A PEER FOR LOSING CORSICA TOOK THE ARMS OF THAT ISLAND, THREE ETHIOPIAN HEADS.

"We laugh with scorn when, beaten from the field,
A coward emblazons trophies on his shield.
When the paid cuckold, callous to the jest,
Displays the golden antlers for his crest.
And when, unheedful of his tattered ears,
A thief the pillory in his scutcheon rears.
But when the craven peer, opprobrious boast!
Assumes those arms the recreant viceroy lost,
Indignant honour spurns the titled knave,
And in the negro's head detects the slave."

TO A CORPULENT LADY PAST HER PRIME.

"You ask me, your servant, to give you in rhyme,
Some apt definitions of space and of time.
If your ladyship looks at your rear and your face
You 'll gain excellent notions of time and of space."

ON THE DUKE OF ORLEANS BANISHED.

"Français! expliquez ce propos,
Par quelle bizarre fatalité
En vous declarant tous egaux
Bannissez vous Egalité!"

"*Strange dreams.*—At the siege of Charleston, my father, leading his grenadiers to the trenches, observed that his lieutenant, Alston, a very brave man, was dejected. What is the matter Alston? I am going to death! Why say that? I have been often wounded, and always the night before being so I have dreamed of hunting deer of a peculiar form. Last night they turned on me. I shall be killed. Nonsense man! Alston shook his head. It was dark, and the town was quiet the whole night, not a shot was fired;

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the relief came in the morning, the grenadiers retired, and when at some distance my father said, Alston false is your dream! No! true! I feel it so. At that instant some loose straggling shots came from the town, and Alston, struck by four fell dead: no other man was touched, and four were the number of the deer he had dreamed of.

"Another. General Fox went to Flanders with the Duke of York; his wife was confined soon after his departure, he was away more than two years and never saw his child; yet he suddenly dreamed, not only that it was dead but that it was visible to him, and he knew its features: he mentioned the day and hour of its death, taking its appearance to him as the test, and he was exact. Some months afterwards he returned to England. Mrs. Fox had changed her home, he entered a room in which he had never been before, yet instantly recognized it, and all the furniture, as being what he had seen in his dream: it was the room in which the child had died, and he fixed on its picture there, saying That is the child I saw in my dream!

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NINTH EPOCH.

In 1815, Napoleon's outburst from Elba, the most astounding exploit that ever established one man's mastery over the rest of his species, shook the world: Europe arose in arms. This commotion of war drew Charles Napier to Ghent, where he awaited the great impending battle, not called by duty but seeking it as a volunteer. Napoleon's rapidity baffled all calculations, and Waterloo was fought almost before the French passage of the Sambre was known at Ghent: thus the eager volunteer could only join in the storming of Cambray. But when the British army reached Paris, the French were still resistant, and Charles Napier assisted in a combat, where the superiority of the British infantry, officer and soldier, over allies and enemies, was signalized in the following remarkable manner.

A large body of Prussians attempted to drive the French from a suburb, where they occupied one side of a street. For hours a fire from the windows went on, each side suffering severely, without any marked advantage to either. The Prussians were then relieved by a much smaller number of British troops, under Sir Neil Campbell, with whom Charles Napier went as a volunteer. The continuous fire, before heard for hours, now ceased, but the blows of pickaxe and hatchet succeeded, mixed at times with a stifled sound of musquetry and occasional shouts, and in an hour the French were driven away. Campbell had forced entrance to a house on the French side, broke through the partition walls and stormed each building in succession, thus gaining his object with a furious but calculated rapidity, and with far less loss than the Prussians had sustained without success.

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In Paris Napier stayed but a few days, to see the remarkable objects of that interesting period, and then with a stoic's contempt for pleasure, returned to the military college. His usual fortune as to accidents did not fail. When sailing from Ostend the ship sunk at the mouth of the harbour. He swum to some great piles, grasped one and struggled for life, yet with little hope, for the beam was too large and slippery to climb and each swelling wave overwhelmed him: while thus slowly drowning, he was saved by a shore boat. His letters describing this accident, the storming of Cambray and Campbell's combat, have been lost, and with them his keen observations on the events passing at that great epoch of the world's fate; but the writer of this biography can add to the story of the time some facts, shewing how entirely unsound was the stately-looking edifice of Tory policy, then exhibited with such insolence of boasting. Great and imposing the structure appeared, but it was only a whited sepulchre. Even their own soldiers secretly rejected the despotism so violently imposed on the world as a restoration of freedom! imposed but not so accepted, as reform in England and revolutions in France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy, have since demonstrated.

As field officer in command of the British picquets stationed at several barriers of Paris while the negotiations for the king's entrance went on, the writer, for two days and a night, saw how the public mind within the city was swayed to and fro. Multitudes were continually assembling and dispersing with all indications of violent emotion; single men would harangue crowds, and be replied to by opponents; shouts and scufflings were frequent; and political agents were constantly passing to and fro by the barriers, carrying information for the expectant royalists behind the allies' camp. More than once those persons seemed to be assailed by crowds, and on one occasion a tall man of remarkable appearance, evidently not a hired agent, he was

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too daring and vehement for that, was suddenly surrounded by a mob and apparently slain!

The feelings of the British soldiers were unequivocally shewn. Proud of their long victorious course against the French, they yet respected the latter as brave enemies, and had a profonnd admiration, even love, for Napoleon. They thought of him, not as a foe but as a hero standing alone; a soldier to be hailed by all soldiers; as a man who had enabled them to gain the greatest possible glory by fighting him: a master in war, and the fast friend of warriors. Their instinct as fighting men was for him, and as freemen against the Bourbons. When Louis the Eighteenth entered Paris, the writer, his post being at the head of the picquets guarding the Barrier of St. Denis, was asked by the captain on duty there, if he was to salute? I have no orders on that head and give none was the reply. The king came up, crowds thronged forward, and the words vive and Roi were heard on all sides; but the last was generally preceded by the words L'Empereur et, pronounced in a low tone.

The British soldiers, being left to themselves, brought down their musquets from the shoulder, and placing their hands on the muzzles, fiercely regarded the approaching king. He seemed surprized, but soon his countenance assumed a look of such malignant ferocity, so fixed, so peculiar, as never to be forgotten. A number of mousquetaires in burnished cuirasses, their faces convulsed with anger, then rode up, shouting, gesticulating, and brandishing their swords: but close behind the picquet was a wall, and the swarthy veterans, hard as the steel of their bayonets, and with wits as sharp, knew the advantage. Keeping their bronzed faces bent over their hands, their eyes glared sternly, yet no movement indicated that they were even sensible of the mousquetaires' presence, until the latter closed within a few paces and seemed dangerous: then suddenly, all their heads were lifted and streams of tobacco juice flew towards the shining cuirasses, whereupon the courtier soldiers fol-

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lowed the chariot of the king. A shout of delight arose from the crowd, and many well-dressed women embraced the British veterans.

In England Charles Napier's life became very cheerless. War was over, he was on half-pay, and his future was unpromising; yet he still laboured to form himself for high exploits, as if conscious that nature had designed him for greatness, however late the hour: his note-book shews that general literature, commerce, agriculture, civil engineering, and building, especially structures for the poor, political economy and international law were subjects of study, as well as war and government.

"Farnham, November.—Dearest mother. Life is a game of chess, and we clear the board fast. I fear I am destined to be king, and see all fall around me; yet my turn must come, and the longer it is delayed the more welcome at last. Wilhermen is dead, and his death gives food for thought rather than matter for letter writing. If there is not another world his troubles are finished; if there is his enjoyments have begun. A strange intelligence preceded the news of his death, for which it is hard to account, except by the law of chances. Without any cause to bring him to my recollection, I had been thinking of him, and speaking of him, incessantly, for two days, and had just made up my mind to write to him when his death was announced. It gives me pleasure to hear that Colin Campbell"—the duke's follower—"and Robe are the commissioners for prize money. The first has, they say, made a fortune already; my belief is, not a very large one. He is a good hard-working soldier, and has had almost the whole army patronage in his gift. Out of twenty officers, his cousin Neil Campbell saw the list, Colin Campbell recommended seventeen.

"June 1816.—Dear mother. As to public affairs it is hard to judge. There are about two millions of people, in Great Britain and Ireland, in a famishing state, to enable Lord Camden to receive thirty-eight thousand a year, and

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expend it on game and other amusements insulting to those who provide the money. It is hard therefore to say how long poor rascals, who think their children's lives of as much consequence as partridges' eggs, may choose to be quiet; or how soon, actuated by an 'ignorant impatience of taxation,' they may proceed to borrow from Lord Camden. Your account of the regent's being so occupied with dress made me laugh: yet he is nearly sixty years old, his people are starving, his government feeble, and at these things I cannot laugh. I wish he would make Lord Wellesley his minister.

"July.—I am in a wretched way, despite of having taken as much steel as would make a broadsword. We must have our country-house, and I will collect for you pretty books, telling how the Inquisition torture children for not saying Ave Maria before they can speak. The expedition against Algiers will be a joke, all jeers are. The Dey has 1000 cannon, which he will manage very ill, and won't get 200 to bear: it won't be a war, but if we send an insufficient force we shall be roughly handled.

"August.—You talk of hoping I may be forgotten in the retrenchments, as if my pension were stolen! I shall be sorry to lose it, having been earned, and the loss would leave me little to live on. My government was resigned as being more than had been earned; but if I have a right to my pension, they won't take it away, it is to be supposed: if I have not a right, no wish have I to keep it, the income must be slender that will not enable me to live in content. Nevertheless this shews what our ministers are, who begin by retrenching the incomes of those who have nothing else to live on, and who have previously fought and worked hard for years, on almost nothing, to gain that provision. Retrenching there, but refusing to curtail the thousands they enjoy in the shape of sinecures, besides their large salaries and large private fortunes: and for those profits doing nothing, unless it be telling men with starving children that

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they are ignorantly impatient of taxation when demanding that their wives and children may not famish.

"Lord Cochrane has by honest courage done more good at the great meeting, than ever he did before; Wilberforce's canting speech was hateful; but how well the Duke of Cambridge turned off his mistake in reading the first resolution. It makes me glad to hear that the Duke of Wellington has expressed the opinion you mention about Sir J. Moore; and it is a sorrow to me that he is going to France. We want clever fellows, for we are getting on the rocks, and my belief is, that he and his brother are most likely to get us clear: we know Castlereagh cannot. It was pleasant to observe that at the meeting there was nothing insulting to royalty; but the ministers put all attack on themselves in that category: they are going down the rapids, may they come upon a fall like Niagara! Bless you, mother! pray for peace and quietness in the land, and food for the poor wretches starving all over the country.

"August 10th.—Beloved mother. I cannot pass over my birthday without reflecting, that for thirty-four years no benefit has accrued to me, of body or mind, which cannot in some way be traced to you. It is not my way to talk over these things often, but I don't forget them, and like to dwell on them with gratitude. At our age we know not who is nearest the door; and for those we have lost there should be no regrets: the best lot is their lot, we may be assured. We should not weep over the graves of the good: to grieve and pine for that which is taken away, is to be thankless for that which remains; and for which, omitting meanwhile to enjoy, we shall not fail also to mourn. This we are too apt to forget. And on no point is there greater cause for satisfaction than the perfect union which exists among your family: there has never been a schism, nor even a day's coolness amongst us.

"September 16th.—Rochefoucault says a man has no comfort so great as finding others suffer more than himself; he

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is right: it is the greatest satisfaction to me that the regent is fifty, and that I am only thirty-four! But you are the most provoking woman alive: you tell me you have been ill in a copper-plate hand, and of your being better in a scrawl like mud, where a hundred chickens had been walking. As to Lady Bellamont, you have chopped her and the Bible together so that I fear for her character; she cannot well be separated from Solomon's concubines by the best decypherer of telegraphic dispatches; you see the impropriety of your carelessness. Solomon puts me in mind, through Methuselah, of old people. Colonel Ferguson has an aunt alive at Richmond. She knows Wellington, and she did know Eugene and Marlborough! She is niece of the celebrated Lord Stair, and widow of a General Bland, who wrote on military discipline, and was adjutant-general to the British army at Dettingen in 1743.

"November.—Tell aunt Conolly I won't attack her friend Lord Castlereagh to her; but reformation advances at the pas de charge, and no earthly power can arrest the progress of freedom; the people are in motion, and those who oppose them will be crushed like pebbles under a rolling stone. That the said stone may not swerve from the gravel walks of petition and reform, ought to be the prayer of every one, and especially of those who wish the cause well; for thus all will be gain, and no reaction: that is to say, there will be no going beyond justice. If this does happen the glory of England will become brighter than the battles of the last twenty years have made it. The freedom of this country being rendered complete, Louis the Eighteenth and his brood will be lost; for our example will be followed all over Europe: that excessive suffering to individuals will result is certain, but everybody who takes physic has the cholic. As to your seeking for an asylum against coming troubles, you shall have my reasons for being in no fear for you. No revolutionary spirit exists in England: the starving people only seek bread. Those who have their confidence,

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and generally they place it justly, tell them parliamentary reform and food will come together: it is this they seek. The reformers, Cobbett at the head, tell them not to riot, not to be personal, not to commit excesses; but to petition daily, hourly, one and all, for in that is their safety, their remedy. They see this is true, and the great security against bloodshed and revolution is to tell the multitude truth. Shew the real evils and the real remedy, and they will not be half so dangerous, or so unjust, as when suffering in ignorance of the cause; for it is then they go furiously ahead and nothing can stop them.

"No power ever yet could stem popular vigour in action, and as it is always just at bottom, it should be directed by timely information. Let a mob know that a minister is a villain and give them to know him by sight, and they will not tear an innocent man to pieces by mistake: but if you do not give them this knowledge they will tear any man to pieces that anybody points at; and they will as suddenly fall on his family, aye! even on the street where he lives. All such excesses arise from the infatuation of treating the lower orders as if they were fools, when they have really a greater number of great men amongst them than the higher orders, in proportion to their greater numbers. England is instructed, the people see their remedy, thanks to Cobbett, Burdett, and others; and though these men have their errors, it will be to them we shall owe personal safety, and constitutional instead of revolutionary reform. It is easy to laugh at Cobbett, and to call him all sorts of names, but it is not easy to disprove his great abilities. A reform will be effected, though to resist it Lord Castlereagh would risk civil war I believe: but I do not believe he has power. Should it be so, with three sons soldiers, one a sailor, and another a lawyer, it will be hard if you don't swim, for these are the three finest trades in such cases: so don't trouble yourself with anticipating evils.

"November.—God be praised dear mother that you are

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not quarter-master-general. If you were, how the dragoons would fly with expresses! What is in that bundle before you dragoon? Orders your honour. What have you behind dragoon? Counter orders sir. Well, as a dutiful son I must answer you, but am more inclined to quiz you. I won't go to Brighton, I will go to London. I was born on the bank of the Thames and partake of the quality of the water, never good until fermented and stirred up; then, when all other water becomes bad, it freshens from contrariness. So far from thinking with you that my reforming efforts are useless, I hold them to be of consequence. In all struggles the meanest, if he does his utmost, is of use: the drumboy, eight years old, ought to imagine the battle rests on himself and his drum. By becoming familiar with dangers which we cannot avoid, we learn to meet and sometimes to resist them effectually. If a rebellion was a play to which we might go or stay at home, the last should be my choice; but if forced to go, we ought to think and be ready to choose between pit, boxes, and gallery. You say you are of no use. Do you imagine any one would ever have given that great legislator the young Earl of —— such a proper lecture as you did about those villainous game laws? Not one in his society believe me. You thereby planted the seed of improvement in him: if the soil be bad it is not your fault, but there is no reason to think it is bad, and your lecture may change his ideas.

"December 2nd.—Old Dalby the mathematical professor, has told me a curious thing. Hops will twine round poles! I know that quoth you. Yes! but they will only twine one way; and tie them, or do what you will, they cannot be made to twine any other way! Is it the same with French beans and other plants of that nature; and is it from the attraction of the sun? that is my conjecture. We are all on tiptoe about Hunt's speech, That shocking man, who dared to say he would Hunt the prince regent, as if his sovereign was a rat!

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"December 24th.—I see no trifling in Montholon's letter; and Santini's account has every appearance of truth, though the man's feelings may have produced exaggeration; both call for examination and it is refused: which side then exaggerates? The sum of the matter in my mind, and probably in most other people's, is, that the gaoler was sent to insult Napoleon to death and is very joyfully fulfilling his mission, which, taking climate and other things into account, is of no great difficulty. You, or I, or others, who, though in our native climate and at our ease, fret at the common accidents of life, would have sunk under the irritating insults offered to Napoleon. If he has a friend in St. Helena, that friend should, as a friendly act, shoot him; death would be preferable to what he endures in mind, to him more oppressive than to another man. It is hateful to think of this matter: and it forces the reflection, that all of us are in the hands of his oppressors, and at present without remedy."

At the end of 1817 he passed his examination, taking the first certificate, and in March, 1818, took a residence at St. Omer, remaining there until November, but his letters were of no special interest. His spirit was now in abeyance; yet he kept all his faculties in vigorous training for any opening to renown, and to use a hacknied but strictly applicable phrase, his hand was ready for the plough or the sword. The latter was soon placed in his hands.

On his return from Paris he had solicited active employment from the Duke of York, but was, with a full admission of his merits and services, coldly denied. But now, in 1819, he again addressed the duke in a memorial which may be thus epitomized. "He had been twenty-five years in the service, thirteen a field officer; had commanded the 50th Regiment in Sir J. Moore's campaign, and sustained the brunt of the fight at Coruña. The commissions of Sir Hugh Gough, Sir Colin Campbell, and others, had been antedated; and as they were, for the most part, junior majors and younger soldiers than himself, he prayed that his com-

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mission might also be antedated to the period of the Coruña battle. This favour he claimed with more confidence, because he had since, as second in command of Sir Sydney Beckwith's American expedition, conducted the most active part of that service, and yet had only received the companionship of the Bath, although two majors of marines, serving under him, were made knights commanders; although he had seen more service on other occasions as well as on that, and received many severe wounds."

A rough refusal was given, on the ground that such a proceeding was "unheard of!" Yet the memorial had instanced two precedents! but when did truth or reason ever obstruct power without being swept away? To display actual enmity, was, however, judged inexpedient, and as successful examinations at the military college were then held to give a claim for staff employment, he was finally appointed an inspecting field officer in the Ionian Islands. He was in full vigour of body and mind, for long training had tempered both; but this opening was narrow, and with a genius potent to place him at one bound on the pinnacle of fame, his destiny was to toil slowly upwards against factious oppression.

Passing through France, Switzerland and Italy, the reflections excited by the state of those countries were thus noted.

"France.—I cannot get rid of the consciousness that the conduct of England, or rather the English government, has been disgraceful. We are starved at home and lose our character abroad; we injure, we insult, and gain nothing! We broke faith with the little republic of Genoa; we let the great republic of America hang two innocent British subjects. At home our people hunger, and our best men fly to America for food and safety, and from the boroughmongers! Shall we never cease to be insulted and oppressed? Shall we never have a fair representation of the people, and a parliament that will chastise the present government, despite

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of indemnity bills passed by themselves? Surely the king and people of England will not long submit to be thus fettered by men who have disgraced them abroad and ruined them at home. A union of monarch and people first struck down aristocratic tyranny; again that aristocracy has passed just bounds, and again king and commons will reduce it to proper limits.

"The price of labour here is on an average above a franc per diem; the price of meat by the pound is eight sous, and the pound is heavier than ours; moreover the labourer is fed as well as paid, so that a franc a day gives him lodging, clothes and saving; the first is a mere nothing, and the second not much more in the south of France: the consequence of this plenty is little crime. There is, perhaps, much immorality. English travellers say so. I have not perceived as much as in England; and though my passage is too rapid to form a fair judgment, my belief is that the people are not less moral here than in England: in the north of France I am sure they are not. How many thousands of rich English travellers traverse all parts of France, all supposed by the French peasants to be richer than they really are, yet we have not a single instance of a robbery or a murder. To-morrow, at Geneva, I shall see what difference is perceptible between the two countries with regard to the poorer people.

"Geneva, 23rd May.—This town and people please me better than anything I have ever met abroad: the approach was magnificent, the sky clear, with a view of Mont Blanc to the summit. The people were full dressed for a jour de fête, and that perhaps gave a help to their looks which may have prejudiced me in their favour. The country is so beautiful that imagination whispers, 'Live here, leave England and starvation for ever;' but this idea does not keep its ground many minutes in the head of any man who is out of England.

"The people call themselves free, but are by no means

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so: they have no freedom of the press and I inquired no further. It was however gratifying to see that their only troops were militia, which happened to be called out for exercise. They were neatly clothed and appointed, and as awkward as a regiment of shopkeepers could wish to be: a volunteer corps in England would I think beat them, but would not look so like soldiers. On this point of having only militia soldiers they shame England, with her hundred thousand regular troops in time of peace; yet they have no sea to cover their frontier! We however scorn to take that mean advantage of our neighbours, and have destroyed our fleet! Want of time hindered me from inquiry as to the Swiss government, and indeed the knowledge would be of little value; it would be studying a bad picture for a knowledge of painting. If a man wants to study forms of government and principles of a constitution, he will have enough to do if he examines the English and American Constitution, and their working, without filling his head with continental rubbish. Why then are these Swiss people so much better off than the English? They have not a debt of a thousand millions!

"May 25th.—Leaving Geneva, my way was along the beautiful lake, and over the Simplon; the road in the steepest parts has a slope of only two and a half inches in a toise, and carriages require no drag: it is a perfect road but will not long be so, there are not hands enough employed for repairs. The vast precipices above and below, the overhanging rocks of stupendous magnitude, the wild savage appearance of nature, mingling with all that is beautiful, so far as wood, water, rocks, clouds, snow, ice, sunshine, rainbows, storms, in all their varieties make beauty; in fine all that imagination can paint as landscape is to be found between Geneva and Milan, until the eye and the mind alike grow weary with admiring.

"Milan, 30th May.—This town is fine. Of its sights all

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travellers' books give full accounts, but one, to me was curious, which no book mentions—six field-pieces with Austrian gunners having lighted matches, ready to sweep the streets with grape-shot, should the Milanese express themselves in a way displeasing to the *Tedeschi* as they call them. What a father of his people this Emperor Francis is! What a happy family!. Hate the most inveterate exists, and the Austrians are detested for three reasons, all good. 1°. They are conquerors and rough ones. 2°. Their manners, their very natures are the reverse of Italian: if they took the pains to try they could not unite with them in any feeling or pursuit: but they do not seek this, they insult them. 3°. All their wants are supplied from Vienna; not a shilling is spent by officer or private in Milan. Neither tradesman nor coffee-house keeper gains by them; even their tobacco comes from Vienna, and they smoke it in coffee-houses, where they sit all day, to the annoyance of all other customers.

"The people are not so well off as in France, but provisions are cheap compared with the price of labour. Commerce with France by the Simplon is now interrupted, and thousands are thrown out of employment. That great road was in Napoleon's time covered with waggons of merchandize; now only some solitary carriages with English travellers are to be seen. In this part I observe fewer small gentry's houses; but castles spring up, with large dependent territories, beggars increase, and robbers infest the country. Passing along only one line I cannot call myself a fair judge, but if these bad appearances present themselves on the great road, we may suppose the same system prevails on each side.

"Every peasant pulls off his hat to you on the high road, but there is more servility than respect.—Every man finds out your political opinions before he gives his own. Yet from Paris to Milan, one only feeling pervades the middling

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class and poorer folks, and that is enthusiastic affection for Napoleon. They will accept your politics for their own on most subjects, giving cold assent to all you say; speak of Napoleon and they fathom you, at first with wariness in France, especially near Paris, but persist, and they give way with all their natural vivacity to unbounded praise and affection for him. At Lyons no caution is used, they tell you at once that he is their idol. In Switzerland they reason for and against him, yet place him above all other men with all his faults, because under him they enjoyed most prosperity. In Italy they have the same adoration for him as in France, and express it openly, fearlessly, and without disguise, saying he was the only man capable of raising their country from its debasement.

"They are justly grateful, because under him all had bread, commerce flourished, and it was apparent that Italy was in course of regeneration: he fell and their hopes and prosperity fell with him. Now enslaved, divided and decaying, they seem to despair, as if the yoke of the Holy Alliance was eternal, and the onward course of mankind spell-bound for ever. They have no rallying point, all is disjointed, and unless some great event stimulates them, the Italians will probably remain as they are, stagnant! The great towns collect all the rich, no rich man lives in the country, there are no country gentlemen, the poor want, and therefore rob, for no one directs or aids them in agricultural pursuits.

"Italy can be improved by forcing the gentry to live in the country; but to effect that, it must be made their interest. A prince who would assist the agriculturist, and have the goodness of heart and nerve to grant a free press, would soon find himself the most powerful of Italian princes. The king of Naples, thus acting, would blow the pope off and be king of Italy, despite of the Holy Alliance. A free press would tell him how to protect agriculture,

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would tell him also that he would thus have rich farmers, that rich farmers would employ peasants, and so destroy the brigands more than by all the executions. With rich farmers he could boldly attack the privileged nobles and equalize taxation. Then one step more! Let the people be represented in a parliament, and the hearts of all Italians, if not their persons, would be devoted to him; sooner or later all would be his, for popular opinion cannot be resisted, and a free press would be a match for all the Holy Alliances Europe could furnish. It would convince every Italian that his king's cause was his own, and with the sea on each flank, woe to those who came in enmity south of a line drawn from Genoa to Venice.

"Florence, June 12th.—From Milan to Florence the road is very interesting from natural beauty, and the things to be seen in the towns passed through. Bologna, after Milan and Florence, appears the town I should most like to live in: it is a very fine place with an excellent museum. The women looked very pretty and wicked; and the streets have arcades which defend one from sun and rain. Dry cool walks, learned men, good books, good philosophical instruments, and sinful women! but holy withal, being under the pope! what can one wish for more? The beauty of the dames is however in some measure conjectural, for they wear long veils or cloaks, and your long cloak is the finest fellow alive for a woman. If she has a fine eye all but that eye is hid: if a good nose, out pops snout, and not a bit to be seen but that. I saw lots of morsels of beauty in this way, but also fine women: not naked but uncloaked, from head to foot, and a good many too: in short it is a very gay place. The prettiest woman I saw was in a queer place enough, even the anatomy room, where every part of the human frame is displayed in beautiful wax preparations. To me they were disgusting, she seemed to think differently.

"At Florence wages are high in proportion to the labour-

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er's wants: he can earn from fifteen to thirty sols, and pays only three for bread, and four or five for meat per pound. He is in most places fed besides, and can therefore keep his children. Very little feeds an Italian; the end of a tallow candle in a quart of hot water, with a tablespoonful of oil and some slices of bread delights their insides. On twenty sous they can feast; and a halfpenny will purchase fruit enough to give a bowel complaint for a week; hence the peasantry are not in want, and if they had but a very small share of freedom would be happy, become clean, and industrious. Now they are idle, very! Perhaps climate has a share in this, but I doubt. No! it is the cursed government which lays a leaden hand on industry, and with privileges and monopolies crushes emulation: the spirit of enterprize is lowered, but the people have it in them, and strongly, though now down.

"Here we have a minister. What his exact title is I know not; but hard as that is to discover, it would be harder to discover his work. Here also, as everywhere else, all improvements, all hopes of doing well, all national pride seems to have fallen with Napoleon, who is adored. They may incarcerate him, they may torment him through such an executioner as Lowe; they may do all they have done, and more, if more is possible, but he is still, and will be, the idol of whole nations: millions of men sigh at his captivity and curse his gaolers. The soldier, the merchant, the labourer, the lawyer, the man of science, all but the priest, who lives by the abasement of human nature, regret the fall of the foremost man of this earth. They regret him as one who, while he ruled despotically, animated them, aided them, gave them national resources, energy, and more freedom than they before had. That freedom is now taken from them by men without talent, honesty or courage; who have combined to deprive the human race of the little liberty and happiness left untouched by former tyrants, ancestors of these insulting robbers, whom God will yet confound. We

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are told the world is to be destroyed by fire, but we have no prophecy saying it is to be destroyed by these hellish pests. England will yet shew the people of Europe a good example of freedom, a limited monarchy and a really represented people: if they do not follow they deserve their fate.

"Rome, June.—Lo! The Eternal City! where for so many hundred years the greatest rascals on the face of God's earth swarmed in grandeur; and where, in a small way, their descendants seem quite worthy of their progenitors. The first went forth in arms to rob the world; the last only rob those who come to be robbed, and so far are the best of the two.

"The temple of Rome and Venus conjoined, was built by Adrian to show Apollodorus the architect, with whom he had quarrelled, that he could do without him. It was very beautiful, but Apollodorus said the niches for statues were too low by the head. Adrian replied that they were still high enough for Apollodorus, and ordered his head to be cut off. This was right, and a good 'moral lesson' for people who criticise Emperors. However, with all the fine remains at Rome there seems to me never to have been a general plan formed to throw the city into shape; that is, to unite all temples, built and to be built, so as to produce a general effect. Each great man built his temple, I trace nothing more: but what a city they would have made, if with such talent, taste and means, they had pursued one general plan! This notion of a general plan seems to be more the idea of the moderns, particularly in Dublin and Paris: London has grown too great for it, the expence of buying houses to pull down would be too much.

"June 24th.—Saw Pope Pius Seventh, seated on his chair with his crown on, looking as if he thought he and his parsons were to cajole the world eighteen hundred years longer. Seeing him environed by his own troops, and his fat, red-faced, drunken, fornicating, gluttonous, gambling priests, I thought it would be fine to read to him an account

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of the life, the power, the splendour of the meek the humble Jesus! who was no priest or He would not have been crucified.

"Looking at St. Peter's one is lost in admiration of Michael Angelo's genius: not however, fairly tried in the dome, for it was executed after his death by others. It is of the same magnitude as the Pantheon, but the latter has stood eighteen hundred years, despite of enemies and earthquakes; and there it stands still, like a rock, as if it would never fall. Meanwhile St. Peter's is going to wreck: already its dome has taken a bend, and is propped up by vast cramps and hoops of iron to save it; the first earthquake is its death-warrant, if it even waits for that. Mighty will be the fall, and if it hold a Pope and all the cardinals at the time, the devil will also have his miraculous draught.

"The position of the oars in an old basso-relievo of a galley gave me an idea that the ancients rowed more perpendicularly than we do; it is possible that each man faced the side of the vessel opposite his oar, which passed through a hole near his feet, and that he struck with the broadside and returned with the edge, without lifting it out of the water: perhaps this might be the origin of feathering oars, which is a mere custom in men-of-war's boats. To sweep off an enemy's oars was constantly an object, and on my supposition the oars would be safer, being under the side of the vessel. If the oars were out on the slant, when struck away they would kill or wound numbers of men with the handles; on my supposition they would jerk only to the side, leaving the men in comparative safety: moreover the men could nearly secure their oars by pushing up the handles and bringing the blades close to the vessel's side.

"1st July.—The illumination of St. Peter's is fine, because the building is so large; but it might be done much better. The lamps are all of one colour, are too few, and not placed to shew the architecture, which is a great fault; not one of the fine columns is lighted, all are dark except a

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few lamps along the frieze. The change from lamps to flambeaux is really very well done. The girandole of fireworks thrown from St. Angelo failed the second night; an accident which secures for the unfortunate director a long imprisonment! This can hardly be believed, but I who think priests capable of any enormity do believe, and indeed there are on this point no infidels here. The employment of eunuchs to sing is another fine instance of holy morality! How is it that the patience of men has not long since been exhausted?

"Naples.—The road here is through a fine country, and as to robbers it is as safe as any English road; when they have appeared they proved very honest plain-dealing, facetious, pleasant fellows; rather tenacious on certain points, but on all others all one could wish them—except being hanged. A man's watch or his purse, or a woman's trinkets, or her virtue, are not indeed quite safe, they make as free with property almost as the Bank of England does; and as for love-making parlez moi de ça: they are the most affectionate robbers. With their own countrymen they do take freedoms, carrying them wholesale up the mountains, and sending them down in detail; a near relation receives a nose, an ear, an arm, with a hint that the ransom was not enough for the remainder. Talk of robbers in Italy! why they are all robbers! but as to regular trained bands, there are fewer than in England. Still they are a fine people, and a free government would make them teach the Austrians a lesson.

"Otranto.—There is no castle. General Church has, by shooting one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the stabbing tribe, excited a sense of danger as to assassination, if not of its immorality; men now travel in safety through his province, which was the worst, and unless he gets a stiletto stroke he will put them to rights. The men here are stout-looking fellows, and in truth finer-looking soldiers than the Neapolitans are not to be seen; well set up, well disci-

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plined, well appointed, yet reckoned bad! It may be so, but if they are bad, it is only another effect of Bourbon government, which has debased the finest nations of the continent.

"July 18.—Landed at Corfu."

He was now under Sir Thomas Maitland, a man of rough despotism and coarse manners, but meaning well to the community he governed. After six years' experience, Charles Napier spoke of him as below, but in his published work on the Ionian Islands bore testimony to the sagacity of Maitland's peculiar policy, and the commendation was the latest.

"Sir T. Maitland was only fitted to govern under peculiar conditions: he had talent, but not of the first order. Narrow-minded, he saw many things under false lights, was constantly drunk, and surrounded by sycophants, who imagined him a god, because he had more intelligence than themselves. Amongst them were however some good men, and one, Lord Sydney Osborne, had no fault save that denounced by a witty Irishman, namely, that he thought the sun rose and set in Sir Thomas Maitland's hinder disk!"

As inspecting field officer, "I have nothing to do," was Charles Napier's observation at this time: a phrase which he found afterwards to his cost was not agreeable to government; and as idleness was with him a cause of ill-health, he soon caught the island fever, and thus described his recovery to his mother. "Too weak still to go out say the doctors, and as they only get trouble and no guineas by patients they may be right. My head was shaved, my beard is enormous, as big as Ali Pacha's, and very black, which with my dark eyebrows gives me a patriarchal look.

"March.—Lord Guilford is here, a queer fish, but very pleasant. He dined with Sir Thomas, and entered the room at the head of twelve little men, professors in black, with powdered heads, bandy legs, cocked hats under their short arms, and snuff-boxes in hand. They 'louted low,' flinging and scraping their little crooked legs about with great for-

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mality; then waddling, each to a chair, snuffed, coughed, hawked, blowed noses, all fiery red, gave loud umphs! stuffed their dirty coloured handkerchiefs into their pockets, and sat silent, though brimfull of snuff and Greek, and hoping to be full of dinner and claret. Ogling the door they remained until grub was announced, and then such scraping, such bowing, such Greek, Italian, French and German compliments! All the Greeks would speak Italian, the Italians English, the English French and Italian mixed, the French all the five languages together. At last a fat Scotchman, yearning for dinner, said to himself with a strong voice Ut 's vera silly aw this at sax o' the clock. And then two Frenchmen went out backwards, hitting their discs against the sides of half-a-dozen doors, and against each other, and so reached the dining-room, where Sir Thomas and the ladies had been a good half-hour.

"Here Babel began again with the confusion of tongues: for the twelve waiters were of different nations, and each endeavoured to speak every tongue but his own. Hence, when the little black men had tucked their napkins under their red chins, four-and-twenty languages opened with a row, and continued until the little blacks' mouths were filled with hot bad pease soup. Redder then grew their faces as they scalded their throats and rolled their eyes on the wine, wishing to cool their muzzles but fearful to drink until invited; when it did come, all the island ducks seemed turned into a pool of water: that over, the roar of Babel for meat went on until, finding words useless, signs were spontaneously adopted. Lord Guilford was very pleasant, addressing every person in a different language, and always in that which the person addressed did not understand. An earthquake at Santa Maura for thirty days!"

During 1819 he had visited Joannina privately, and as his talent was not unappreciated by the shrewd old despot Maitland, he is in 1820 found suddenly engaged on a secret government mission to that other celebrated despot, Ali

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Pacha, whose future fate and that of the Greeks he thus traced out.

"July 1st, 1820.—Landed at Corfu, after a mission to Joannina, by order of government. This was my report.

"Ali Pacha having rebelled against the Sultan has demanded assistance from England, but in such a way as neither to commit her with the Porte, nor to cost her a shilling: he only wants leave to enlist men, and the question is, how far the policy of England agrees with his proposal? England must help Ali, or Russia will do so; or Austria will do so; or he will fail, and his possessions be divided into smaller pachalics. England may make him an independent sovereign, not only of Albania but all Greece, from the Morea to Macedon. She can determine his frontier at her will, and by compelling him to accept from her a constitution favourable for the Greeks, she would form of those people a vigorous nation—strong from the nature of the country, strong in a fine race of men, and strong in self-opinion, because full of enthusiasm on getting free from foreign slavery. Such a nation could resist Russia or Austria with effect, which the Turkish government now cannot do.

"It is confidently asserted that there are both gold and silver mines in Ali's dominions, but he cannot work them, because the Grand Signor would seize them: he has certainly had them examined, but keeps all relating to them secret. But the advantage this would offer to England cannot be counted as a motive to induce her to aid Ali, the truth of the story being doubtful.

"If Ali be left to his fate by England, he will seek aid from Austria or Russia. Either power can with a small force secure Albania to him, and take the rest of Greece to itself; or erect the whole into a kingdom, leaving him his present power, as a vicegerent, and taking only his harbours into their hands. If England does not seize this opportu-

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nity, Austria or Russia, should Ali fall unaided, will at a future period get Greece. The Greeks look to England for their emancipation. But if ever England engages in war with Russia to support the Turks, the Greeks will consider her as trying to rivet their chains and will join the Russians. Indeed the Grand Signor may be called now the lieutenant of the Emperor Alexander in Greece, while Ali is de facto an independent sovereign and a Greek, and is looked up to by the Greeks as the greatest man of their country. We may use Greece against Alexander as we did Portugal against Buonaparte, but with far more power and without expence.

"It seems unquestionable that Ali is in a perilous state. He is hated for his avarice more than for his cruelty. He is said to watch the progress of every man's fortune for final appropriation; he proclaims the dollar worth five piastres when receiving payment, and seven when paying. From such oppressions none are free. His cruelty does not excite unusual horror, because all the pachas are cruel, and Ali only has suppressed robbery, murder, and plague. The Greeks would not hate Ali if he was fair in his money dealings. The Turks hate him because he is a Greek; and if not a Christian he certainly is not a Mahometan on any point interfering with his desires, mental or bodily. They have now also the additional ground of hate that he is a rebel: the Turkish part of his forces is therefore composed of traitors to him. The Greek part, particularly the Albanians, think him in danger, and though they are not displeased to fight against Turks, they do not like to fight for a Turkish pacha, although he is a Greek. It is thought they intend to kill Ali, if he meets with a reverse in his first battle; then to pillage Joannina, divide his treasures and return to their homes in the mountains.

"The Greeks and Turks in his army detest each other, and have nothing in common but dislike of the pacha. I am told the Franks, whom he has given as commanders to

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some of his Turks, will be killed by them in the first action. With generosity and discipline he might indeed do much with his Greeks and maintain his ground; but he will give money only when forced, and then he tries to cheat. His family salute none but Albanians, yet salute them before receiving any mark of respect: they are much afraid of that race and with good reason, for they are the most warlike, and not attached to Ali. The Turkish troops are, it is said, more undisciplined than Ali's. If so, it will be hard to say on which side accident will give the victory, but the chances are in favour of the Turks; they are the most numerous, all are faithful, and acting against a rebel: moreover the Patriarch threatens Ali's troops if they fight for him.

"Ali has desired me to ask government's leave for raising troops in England, and my proposal was to assemble eight thousand British troops at Parga before February next, if he can maintain the contest for this summer. With these he might incorporate twenty thousand Greeks; in a month I could make them all fit to take the field, and attack the Turks in their winter quarters. The Greeks would then be hearty in the cause, in hopes England would free them: if the first battle was gained, and the people of the Morea rose in arms, not a Turk could remain in Greece; and if Ali was even defeated, no Turkish army could force the defiles of Mount Pindus. For every road into Ali's dominions may be defended inch by inch; every mile almost, contains a tremendous pass which could be held for weeks, and cannot be turned but by roads equally strong for defence. Of these passes the Greeks well know the strength; they require no manœuvres, no discipline, they need only marksmen, and every Greek is that. What the Greeks want is a hope of freeing themselves from suffering under the Turkish yoke. They do not want more than common security for their persons and property, both of which are now at the disposal of every Turk, and they use that power freely in taking Greek women from their families.

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"Whether this statement will influence government to aid Ali, or not, I cannot say, but if not, England will probably lose the best opportunity of preventing Russia extending to the Mediterranean that has yet offered. The Turks believe they are to lose their European territory by the Russians; all Greece is ready to rise, and in a position to favour Russia effectually: the Mahomedan faith is hostile to all improvement, and will not admit of Turks acting usefully with Christian armies. With all these internal weaknesses what can the Porte do against Russia? What aid can England give? Much. England may now create a new kingdom, enthusiastic, vigorous, united in opinion, with every requisite for strength, and in form suited for the aid of our maritime power. Perhaps the only way of saving the Ottoman empire, if that is possible, is by forming such a kingdom; for if the Greeks were freed there would no longer be hatred between them and the Turks, and a common interest would unite them against Russia: the Greeks would naturally prefer having the weak Turks on their frontier to the vast power of Russia bearing on them.

"In the present state of the world, Austria would hardly join Russia to dismember Turkey and Greece: were the latter independent it would indeed be no easy matter to do that, though it is so now. Austria would more probably resist Russia, and would with Greece, England and Turkey, offer a strong barrier against Alexander's progress south. The Emperor would hardly risk an army away from the Black Sea before he had taken Constantinople—no easy conquest with Greece and Austria on his rear, an English fleet in the Sea of Marmora, and a garrison in the city. The fall of Ali would however touch England seriously on one point. It is generally supposed, that his government defends the Ionian Islands from the plague; and though care will prevent extension of that evil, it will not preclude its introduction if the Turks possess the opposite coast."

From this time he kept his attention fixed on Ali Pacha's

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proceedings, as shewn in the following private notes, written after a third visit, and when Ali was in rebellion.

"Private Notes, December.—At Joannina the vizier's power and policy was to me a subject of deep consideration. England could give the Turkish empire to Ali, but to do so must join in the contest. If she lets him fall he will throw himself into the arms of Russia, and all the rest of Greece is, from religious feeling, favourable to that power. Russia must indeed go to war for this acquisition, but what legs has any system to stand on which depends upon peace between Russia and Turkey? It was difficult to get information in Ali's capital. Every man there, before he speaks considers what is truth, and tells everything but that. Knowing that a man requires leading in the dark, and every Greek likes to be a leader, they all strive to keep a stranger in the dark, and tell him that all other Greeks who he may seem to favour are the very rogues of God's earth. This is a natural result of their superior talent and abject slavery. Nevertheless something may be gathered even from such a lying community. Ali is in a perilous position: his avarice is most offensive, it reaches every man who thrives, while his cruelty touches only a few about him; it is great, but short of the cruelty of other pachas: moreover in most cases it is produced by the struggle to repress robbery and murder, or the spread of plague. I will not stand up for his morality or humanity, but he seems the only pacha in whose territory you are safe from plague and robbers: he is the only robber, and the Greeks hate him for monopolizing their darling trade.

"When I was at Joannina, eight months ago, his carriage passed me, filled with women, and running before it were men with staves striking all persons who did not turn their backs! Now times are changed, the carriage comes, and the soldiers, Albanians, Turks, and others, look at the women with impudent curiosity! I asked how that came to be, and the answer was; he is afraid to offend the troops! Every

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one knows that a Turk stabs any man who looks at his women even by accident; wherefore this is a great deference to his soldiers: yet his avarice is superior even to his fear. Such being his state he appears a lost man; but as his enemy's troops are said to be worse disciplined than his, which seems impossible, the event of the first campaign must depend on accident. Ali has however no time to lose. He offered me command of any troops I could raise at his expence, if the English government would wink at his recruiting. Should this happen, my plan will be to assemble eight thousand British men at Parga before January, add twenty thousand Greeks, and fall on the Turks by surprise: they are never on their guard, do not make war in winter, and will be dispersed in cantonments. One month will suffice me for making the Greeks fit for war, they are quick. The notion of England's guarantee against Ali's injustice, would, with strict discipline and regular pay, produce a force far beyond what the vizier could form alone: Mount Pindus should never be lost.

"If a Greek nation be now established, young and accessible to our maritime power, it may be possible to sustain the Ottoman empire, not otherwise; but England might form a great coalition, and Austria would never consent to let Russia attack Greece thus established. England, Austria, Turkey and Greece, would be strong; but England, Turkey, and Austria, with Greece ready to rise in favour of Russia, would be weak."

To the Pacha, Charles Napier gave plans for the fortification of his capital, tracing out works which would have resisted the utmost efforts of the Turks, who could not bring heavy guns over Mount Pindus. Nor was the British government averse to aid secretly, for he carried with him large supplies of ammunition and other stores for Ali, and his own plan for disciplining the troops to be raised was very original. Selecting a squad, he designed to teach them personally some elementary points; then to make each man

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form a squad and impart to it the knowledge just acquired: that done, he would have advanced the instructing squad in knowledge, and again set each man to drill his own, thus teaching officers and men together.

His actual journey to Joannina was thus slightly noted.

"May 19th.—Landed from Corfu, proceeded towards Joannina. The whole road is beautiful and full of strong mountain positions; the part called the ladder is really one, and disagreeable to ride over: I was the only one of the party who did ride; and that only because the wearing of spectacles compels me to look down when on foot, which would have made me lose the view.

"21st, Joannina.—Saw the vizier, rode round his works and made a report of them: they would not resist half an hour.

"23rd.—Proposed new works, traced the ground, and again reported.

"25th.—Began a sketch of the works; find the chief engineer, Mr. Carretto, a man of much intelligence, but no great engineer: he however appears to be a good artillery officer, and is the only person with a conception of engineering.

"26th.—Set off for Corfu at night, with Colovo, a foreign officer of the vizier.

"28th.—Embarked for Corfu. Remained in quarantine until the 2nd of June, and then returned to Sayades with stores, and was by no means amused by the Albanians, weighing five hundred barrels of powder, which they rolled over flint stones, and tossed into iron scales as if they were barrels of pork, smoking all the time! Luck saved us!

"5th.—Inspected the works, and found a ridiculous fort erected on a spot marked by me. Drew on the plan the work before proposed, and shewed it to the vizier; he would wait he said for Colovo's return to interpret.

"7th.—Dreamed that these people have no idea of war or fortifications.

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"9th.—The vizier ordered me to attend him round the works. Found it in vain to give him my notions without an interpreter: Carretto could do this, but he is engaged. The vizier has good military ideas, but is not acquainted with fortification; and has the Turkish notion that a stone wall loop-holed is sufficient against attacks. He knows what a Turkish army is better than me, and may be right, but if this wall resists the Turks they must combine uncommon cowardice with want of discipline.

"10th.—Colovo come back. The vizier says he has ordered the execution of my plans, and had asked to have me remain here for two months. This will not be granted; nor do I wish it, for to teach these people fortification is impossible: they will not even let me shew them how a work should be constructed. The pacha might have a capital artillery if he would allow Carretto to teach his men: he will not. I brought a bombardier, at Ali's own request, yet they would not let him work, though he could have formed a hundred good artillerymen for them. The pacha's natural genius is strong, but he has no idea of the details of war, or how to form troops. He has placed his troops well, and he knows they want discipline and artillery; but with the means of having both in perfection he does not know how to go about the business."

The projected organization of a new army was soon stifled by the vizier. Possessing millions, and engaged in a struggle for life or death, he would not be at the cost of safety while danger was not close at hand; but when the Turks crossed the Pindus range in September, when his lieutenants deserted him, and his capital was menaced, he sent to Charles Napier, offering unlimited command and money. Have you fortified the positions pointed out to you when I was at Joannina? No!—Then you have neglected to do that in time which would have saved you, and must now abide your fate. You want to give my head to save your own, but you shall not. So writing, he restored to Ali six thousand

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pounds given for recruiting: a proceeding which the pacha only comprehended as a folly. But long previous to this affair the Englishman had proposed offensive operations, telling the vizier that he would place him on the sultan's throne in a few months, if he would advance a million of money, admit of a new military organization, and declare the Christians free. Carefully Ali went through the details, and declared the project sound, yet with a miser's madness refused the money: he afterwards offered two millions but was answered Too late! the Turks are in the Etolian Mountains. You are lost! The terrible vizier's intrigues and courage sustained him however until 1822, when he lost his life, his treasure and dignity, precisely in the way that the two last had been gained, namely, treachery and murder: cajoled into a false negotiation, he was assassinated in his palace.

Three times before his death Ali had been visited by Charles Napier, and each time the latter returned with the conviction that nothing really great was to be expected from the pacha, whose capacity was not of the kind to work up the materials of greatness lying around him. But while regarding him as an accident, he saw signs of power, independent of the vizier's policy, tending towards an explosion which might open a noble course for a better man, and resolved to prepare for opportunity by gaining exact knowledge of the Greeks as a people. In this view he asked leave to travel in Greece, but the authorities at Corfu were so averse, and his own disgust at Ali's avarice so great, that he even entered into negotiations for exchanging into his old regiment the staff corps: and again came the strong yearning to be with his mother. Writing from Corfu the 16th of January he says, "I mean to ask Sir Thomas for leave to go home. Twice has Sir F. Adam refused me leave to go to Athens, because he is under the thumb of Sir Thomas. It is very vexatious, for there is certainly a general commotion in Greece, produced by a desire for free-

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dom, and by the working of Russian agents. God knows how all will turn out, but dearest mother I hope not to pass another year from you: if I do I might as well have been finished at Coruña this day twelve years." However he pressed for leave to travel in Greece so strongly that it was at last granted.

"Journal, February 5th.—Left Corfu yesterday, and at night bivouacked on the rocks of Morto. Nothing more agreeable or exhilarating than a bivouac; it is a state of nature, with the comforts of civilization as to food and the means of eating it; it combines novelty with exercise, and generally with fine scenery: fatigue makes up for want of a bed, and as every one is employed cooking, or lighting fires all are usefully employed.

"Corinth, 29th.—The isthmus is easy to defend. A steep ridge runs from the Acro-corinthus towards Cenchreæ: this ridge, the Acro itself, and some works between the latter and the sea, would present a position hardly to be forced. The ridge is very high, it appears a perfect precipice, and could by scarping be easily made so. The isthmus is capable of the most powerful defence, without cutting through it from sea to sea, yet that this cutting can be done there is no doubt. However the difficulties can only be estimated by a careful examination, which is not to be done by a traveller watched by the Turks.

"March 1st.—Rode along the ruins of the ancient walls and traced the cut made by Cæsar, which is one-fourth of the way, and may be carried the whole length without difficulty. How far it could be made to answer as a commercial communication I will not decide, but have little doubt of the utility in that way: in a military view it would present an immense ditch, which would be impassable. The rock in the hardest part seems of a rotten kind, generally a soft sandstone, and in some places shelly. Following the bend of a natural ravine would diminish the labour, and in one part the canal would be commanded by Mount Geranion;

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yet that part of the mount admits of being strongly fortified as an advanced work, and would therefore strengthen the line. I am disposed to think that part of Geranion might be lowered, but it certainly might be made a gigantic tête de pont to a great artificial river, which river should be made very wide, and revetted on both sides with the large cut stones that formed the ancient wall.

"The great force in attack is the ricochet fire invented by Vauban, and it could be rarely, if at all, used in besieging this isthmus, because the prolongations of the faces would end in the sea, or close under the fire of other bastions. It would be a siege of years; and a second line of great strength might be made by works either detached or connected from the north of Cenchrea, towards Hexamila, and north of it turning down to the sea: these heights are strong and in one or two places fortifications were begun by the Venetians. A third line would be the great ridge of precipitous rocks extending from the tower towards the Acro-corinthus, and nearly perpendicular the whole way: the deep gully which separates it from the Acro-corinthus is a pass which, if a few works were added, no army would like to enter. The Acro-corinthus is somewhat higher than this ridge, and from thence to the sea is a fine plain which might be strongly fortified, and would be flanked by the Acro-corinthus and the sea. These three lines, of such massive works, would be no doubt a vast undertaking, but the extent would be only six miles for one, and three and a half miles for the other. And I am not looking for the execution to men hired by a government, but to 200,000 Greeks in arms for liberty, labouring day and night to form a refuge for the whole nation, in which to defy the force of Turkey. A man who knows how to animate an army would make them work with enthusiasm, and they would cut the isthmus like magic!

"March 2nd.—Argos. The road here furnishes a succession of strong positions; and in the plain of Cleone rises a

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hill on which the town stood; this plain is very fine, and the hill commands it in every direction so far as guns can reach. Commanding the main road into the Morea, by Tripolitza, it is a position of importance and strength, where an army forced from the isthmus could rally: it is supported on each flank by rocky mountains, apparently impassable if defended by light troops. There are others in rear to which the army could retire as they touch the hill of Cleone, which appears to have been formerly scarped for defence. This facility of reaching the rocks would secure the army from a superior cavalry, and render the whole position good for an army to receive battle, as its retreat could be made amongst mountains from right centre or left. If victorious, the enemy would be thrown back on the Gulph of Corinth or the Ægean Sea, and cut off from the isthmus if the pursuit was hot: at all events a beaten army crowding into the isthmus would be cruelly handled, especially if he had left the Acro-corinthus untaken.

"From Cleone to the plain of Argos the road is full of passes, every one disputable; and if the enemy had an inferior cavalry he would find the plain of Argos dangerous. A Greek army should try one general action at Cleone after losing the isthmus, because able, if beaten, to escape; and if victorious, sure of destroying the enemy. Should he attempt to pass the position there the Greeks could instantly take the initiative. But he dare not pass towards Napoli, or Patras, while a Greek army lay at Cleone; or I should say in front of the Nemean plains, for the maps are so incorrect that I doubt if the remains of a town or hill in a great plain, which is the place I mean, is Cleone: the village of Klegna is at some distance, though the maps place them on the same spot. The road from Corinth to Argos by Cleone and Nemea is practicable for artillery; the torrents would cut it in wet weather, but it could be easily shouted by making bridges, the materials for which are on the spot. The mountain road to Napoli from Corinth is

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not passable for any but small guns or mules: nor could infantry easily march along it in many places, except by single files. I am doubtful also whether the road to Argos by Nemea would long bear the march of troops in wet weather, as it is a natural not a made road: yet a little trouble would make it sound, and therefore I call it a good road for an army.

"March 3rd.—Returned by the direct road to Corinth, through the Arachne Mountains. Saw only a few ruins at Corinth: the greatest seemed a fine aqueduct, that no one seems to know anything about; nor have I met with any traveller who has seen it. Formed of enormous hewn stones it passes underground, and I had no time to trace its course, but it opens on the side of Corinth which is next the sea; that is, on a line drawn from the top of the Acro-corinthus to the landing-place of the Gulph of Corinth. My belief is that it runs under the whole town, round the Acro-corinthus.

"March 5th.—My *murmuri*, or leave to ride to Athens comes.

"6th.—All the country of Greece that I have yet seen furnishes the strongest positions in abundance; the great difficulty would be to move guns, but industry and resolution would carry a six-pounder wherever a goat could go: it is hard to say where guns cannot go. Mountain guns, four-pounders, are very useful, notwithstanding the contempt with which some inexperienced officers of artillery treat them: this arises from forgetting that each arm must be an aid to the others, and all four united.

"March 7th to 11th.—Athens. The Piræus harbour is a very fine one, and may be rendered very strong against a land attack: the promontory is not commanded. Should Greece be freed, the isthmus cut, the old port of Corinth restored on the Corinthian Gulph, the Cenchrea port on the Ægean side, Corinth would be one of the first cities of Greece. She would be the half-way house between the

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Adriatic ports and Constantinople in peace; and in war, being the key to the Morea, its importance would be augmented.

"The next thing of importance to note is the Maid of Athens! She has good eyes, good teeth, and a tolerably brown skin: very like a Jewess. Had I heard nothing about her, she would have passed with me as a pretty girl, no more. She and her sisters have gentle pleasing manners, with that natural civility which is to me more admirable, and really genteel in a woman, than the highest artificial breeding: when both are united it is perfection. These girls are not affected, nor do they scream, as many of the Greek and Italian ladies do, which is to me insufferable. To say the maid of Athens is not affected is to say much for a girl whose beauty has been spread abroad amongst many nations by Lord Byron's verses; but these poor girls have too many admirers amongst our travellers ever to get married to their own countrymen. I think our people behave ill in paying so much attention; they should either marry them or be off. But though I think we do as much, or more than other men, when we see a woman in distress, or ill-used, we are very justly complained of by women of all nations. We seldom marry those whose rank and conduct admit of no other thoughts; and those, who being married use the liberty their customs admit of, we betray, by boasting of their favours; it is a general complaint, and is true as it is dishonourable: we seem to forget the proverb of Never kiss and tell. Now, without saying it is right to kiss, I am quite sure it is infamous to tell. The maid of Athens and her sisters have escaped even scandal.

"March 14.—The ancient Platea. There never was such a country for defence as Greece, so far as I have seen. The walls of Platea can be just traced, and the plain is fine; but from thence again get into a country of defiles, less strong however than before. The road runs

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close to the great marsh Copais; and at one point the mountain comes so near as to furnish a position of great strength against an invader: I speak only of one road, I believe there are three which pass into Attica, but they are divided by mountains impassable for an army: these mountains flank every position that I have passed, and the report of the country people is that the others are the same.

"March 15.—Livadia is not in itself particularly defensible, but would form part of a position if the tremendous heights around it were occupied. My time is too limited to be sure, but my notion is, that if a general action were to be fought to save Livadia and Attica, it should be where the battle of Cheronea was gained by Philip. Pindus and Parnassus secure the left flank; a branch river and the Lake Copais the right; all the plain is clayey, intersected by a branch of the Melona, and innumerable rivulets, and therefore very difficult for guns to pass in wet.

"March 16.—Reached the Khan near Thermopylæ an hour before sunset: the road is a chain of defiles ending at Thermopylæ, where I also end my journey northwards. It is not the pass it was, but is still a great point; the sea has receded, but the marsh would defy the passage of an army: the pass is only wider, and could still be defended by three thousand instead of three hundred!

"March 17.—Rode to Salona by a road of tremendous defiles: except in the Alps I never saw such defiles. There are small plains in these beautiful valleys, which are very rich; that near Salona is a vineyard, and the richest one I ever saw.

"March 18.—Went to Delphi to visit Apollo, who, as I am not a doctor, or fiddler, or poet, would not receive me, and I left my ticket. The priests might well say The god would defend himself: they could defend or hide their treasures with ease.

"19.—Rode twelve hours, lost my way in the moun-

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tains, halted on the bank of the river Phidari, and the 20th reached Lepanto. These two days spent in the mountains were delightful, the country is impenetrable for an enemy, and the beauty beyond description. What a country to be destroyed by tyranny! But this state of things cannot last much longer, in the midst of civilized nations. The Turkish rule is coming to an end, every Greek peasant sees, and feels too, that the cause of his country is his own particular cause: they are indeed in a wretched state of barbarism and baseness, but have points of advantage which will do the Turk's job. 1°. They see what other countries around them are, and know that their own is equally fine, and with great advantages for commerce. 2°. They know what they were, and are therefore more galled by their chains now. 3°. They see what the Turks are. Against them the only bad thing is that the Turks begin to perceive what they are themselves; and if they reform, the Greeks will never gain independence: however only a few Turks perceive their wants, whereas all the Greeks know them and will give themselves up to the first power that will send a regiment to Constantinople.

"Corfu.—To my regret, I left Patras just a few days before the Greek insurrection broke out. The Greeks may be bad; what can they be under the treatment they get? But my opinion is that they will succeed, yet never having been sure of my own courage I cannot be sure of other people's. If they don't fight hard the Turks will chop them into *kabobs*. I have got leave to go home, expect to carry dispatches, and hope to find the road blocked by new constitutions or avalanches: both troublesome to travelling gentlemen."

Proceeding now to England, and still meditating on the career opening for himself through the Greek troubles, he published anonymously a pamphlet styled the "War in

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Greece," which had a large circulation and was indeed a very eloquent and passionate picture of the state of that country and the horrors perpetrated by both sides, commingled with an appeal in favour of the Greeks and a condemnation of their revengeful passions.

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TENTH EPOCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

In January 1822 Charles Napier returned to Corfu, and thus resumed the correspondence with his mother. "Sir F. Adam lately asked me, if the command of an island were offered, would I take it and say nothing? My answer was, ready to go where ordered, but I will not take a government as a favour from Sir Thomas Maitland. After many silly compliments about Sir Thomas's high opinion of me &c. came out, that the impetuosity and violence of my character and politics made him fear mischief, and that it would cause disturbance. Guy Fawkes! This is the first time I ever heard of my violence in politics except from Tories, who call everybody violent that don't agree with them: however, having the name, it must be merited. Sir Frederick Adam has acted like a gentleman in telling me frankly what he thought and what he heard. He was urgent for me to say I would take an island without discussion, but was told that must depend on the way it was offered. So ended our conversation. You see what Maitland's character must be, to imagine a man's politics can influence the execution of his duty: it may be inferred that this is his habit."

Notwithstanding this rough discussion he was, without any concession, appointed on the 12th of March 1822 to be military Resident of Cephalonia: that is to say the despotic lieutenant of the lord high commissioner: they were a conception of Maitland's and thus defended by Napier, in a published work called "The Colonies."

"The islands were full of political and private factions, which had been recently in arms, and had shed blood; the

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natives therefore could not be safely entrusted with power: it would have been to support faction in perverting law. Maitland, residing at Corfu, required representatives in the other islands, and as he could not give all places to Englishmen, made his Residents very powerful to control. But he also imposed great responsibility. They were placed to protect the people against feudal oppression, before which, from remotest times, the law had bent; and the feudal chiefs were still intent to make both the law and Maitland bend to their passions: wherefore he created himself dictator, and his Residents despots, but to sustain not overrule law."

Being now absolute in command, Charles Napier, whose intellect had been long armed for the encounter, at once commenced reforms, social and political, and the construction of public works on a scale equally gigantic and useful. Everything indeed, sensate and insensate, required a vigorous interposition of corrective power; for social relations were at the lowest point compatible with any civilization, and the topography opposed the greatest obstacles to amelioration. The Black Mountain, and that of Kanilangada, the first more than five thousand feet high, domineered, and with their tongues and connecting ridges formed valleys too isolated for traffic. The inhabitants viewed each other as strangers, and even made war at the instigation of their seignors, who were tyrannical and bloody: one had not long before put twenty prisoners to death in cold blood, and the law was silent! indeed it was common for a seignor to sit in court and direct the judges. Lawless judicature was however very prevalent, and the state of the prisons was horrible. The fear of plague from the continent was strong, and the quarantine laws sanguinary; yet bands, and even single men, frequently descended on the coast, to murder, ravish, and carry away children as slaves. Agriculture was almost lost as an art, inland traffic there was none, commerce languished, fisheries were neglected, and all the resources of

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the island were disregarded, though the people were intelligent and apt. With these abuses, and disorders, and natural difficulties, the new Resident immediately grappled.

To remedy the feudal mischief he proceeded to strengthen the courts of law and restore the dignity of the judges.

To dissipate the enmities of the valleys and effect a general association, he resolved to pierce the mountains with roads.

For improvement of agriculture he aided the labourer with loans, instructed him by a model farm, furnished easy access to markets, which he created, and in various ways excited the landholder's sense of self-interest.

To facilitate commerce he constructed quays and light-houses, improved the harbour, and established fisheries.

With sanatory objects he drained marshes, swept away old filthy quarters, and constructed wide streets.

For repression of crime he organized a vigilant police on a military plan; and with a benevolent design constructed a prison on the best models, after the principles of eminent philanthropists modified by his own practical sagacity.

All these things he undertook and pushed them forward with such a creative faculty, with so much subtle application of stimulants, and strength of controlment, that an astonishing success attended all his measures.

"Argostoli, March 12th.—Dear mother, my kingdom is of sixty thousand people, and martial law exists. That is the courts of justice are closed, and I can send any one to death without trial or appeal. This is a fearful power in the hands of one man; but feeling no inclination to be unjust or cruel, it does not annoy me: I even like it. If compelled to hang any one, it shall be done on the perfect conviction that it is right to do so: the Creator cannot then be displeased with the created, for a want of a judgment which He has not bestowed. The desire to act with honour is all that is in the power of man. My hope is not to be very cruel; but they have here a horrible trick of

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maiming animals out of spite to the owners, and whoever thus tortures animals shall pay for it with his own skin. Added to this power there is no small responsibility and exertion; for your Greek is litigious, and all the financial, as well as the criminal and military business is on my hands: do not therefore expect long letters from one who has scarcely time to eat, or take exercise. My predecessor is going home half dead from the labour; but to me it is health, spirit, everything! I live for some use now.

"March 18th.—I am well, Cephalonia is healthy, and my staff surgeon Mr. Muir is a very clever fellow, and most successful practitioner, having killed fewer people than any other. Government house, a magnificent one on the water edge, has a bathing room. I have a horrible deal of state to endure; to hear how I am loved by the Cephaloniotes, and to say how I dote upon them is absolutely necessary. I don't much mind the receiving of deputations, except that it wears out my embroidered coat; but it is a bore to have every mortal one meets in a populous town bowing and scraping. My prayer is for martial law to end, for their litigation puts my patience to a severe test: six hours daily are given to their causes. They will however be sorry when it ends, as I settle four or five suits daily, and they have no advocates to pay; whereas in the civil courts these causes would have taken months, even years, and rogues to be paid all the time! The prisons or rather dungeons are truly disgusting, and I have taken measures to relieve the miserable wretches shut up in them: the Black Hole of Calcutta was probably worse, but could not have been much worse than one dungeon, where thirteen men were almost suffocated. Seven I took out, and if no other good comes jail fever will be thus prevented, and the poor wretches will be more at ease: better hang than have them as they were this morning.

"April 17th.—To describe all done and to do is impossible, but it amuses me much: power is never disagreeable.

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I am building a lazzaretto and a quay; neither on my own plan, but they interest me almost as much as if they were. Would that Lord William Bentinck were coming as commissioner, for then our infamous prisons and roads would have a chance of amendment. I have not command of a shilling for these things; and though Sir Thomas is so far right, he ought to do the needful himself: the island is lost for want of roads, and the prisons are disgraceful to civilization. My work is too hard to leave me otherwise than well, and things have already got into a little better state than they were before my coming.

"I was compelled to go to church a few days ago in great form, and to sit half an hour hearing myself prayed for. Besides being king I am bishop here, and all the convents and churches are under my orders: the priests cannot kill a fowl without my written order. On my church procession I passed the prison and liberated five prisoners whose crimes were not great; half-civilized people like these things, and this has put me high in public favour. Now tell me your goings on dearest mother: every moment left me for thinking of you is so applied, and with regret that my otherwise pleasant life is passed far from you. Meanwhile I am working hard to get a new barrack built, and mean to execute it myself, and hope to save many soldiers' lives, now yearly lost by bad lodging and the vicinity of a marsh. The lazzaretto is nearly finished, and my quays are begun; and I am going round the island in a boat with a tent for land in rough weather.

"June 2nd.—Martial law is over, and no longer chained to a desk I have two hours' riding for one of writing: this is well, and I am well, when there is time to ascertain, but that is so seldom that I may have been ill without knowing it. No one is sick when they have enough to do, and I am going to begin a great work which you may thus judge of. Cephalonia is divided by a range, called the Black Mountain, said to be 5000 feet high (5380), and it cannot

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be far short, for snow remains through half the summer. The roads are dreadful, and my intent is to make a good one. The peasantry are summoned to work without pay, a corvée one day in the week for each man. One road has been already carried by me over a precipice to unite two fruitful districts; it was a short but laborious job, and the people were very angry at the work, but now it is done are delighted. Idle rascals who said they should be starved by losing a day's work for themselves, now stand smoking and jeering their neighbours on all the other days!

"You must know that the Greeks have, from bad government, come to that strange state, that the instant they are treated justly they conclude it is a humbug and try to be beforehand: to deal with them demands caution and care in finding out what ought to be done, and then bullying all who resist. Such tricks are played as would kill you with laughter, but my despotism grows stronger; they like it, and it must be owned that I indulge their liking: however by mixing with them all is good-humour. Three villages lately came to remonstrate against my road, five to approve: had I listened, the argument would have gone on for ever. They were told that the road must be finished first, and every man absent from the corvée should be imprisoned, and his village fined: but, as there could be no doubt, from what they said, that it would be very useless when finished, we could then have a hundred hours of argument. Why were the three against the road? they were at war with a fourth which will be benefited by it. Why should they work for their enemies, who on a former occasion would not work for them! Having to deal with this spirit there is nothing so simple and useful, and satisfactory as knocking both sides down!

"June 10th.—Health besets me. Up early and writing till eight; then feed and work in office till twelve, sometimes till three o'clock, swim, dine, and then horseback visiting the road-making. Sometimes on horseback at twelve

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o'clock; for having many public works in hand, other business must at times lie by for a day, but getting up at four o'clock brings up lost time. I take no rest myself, and give nobody else any: all were getting too fat, and my workmen must be watched or they would do nothing. I do watch and work. I have begun to dry up a portion of a large marsh near the town: this gives great satisfaction, as the summer sickness comes from the marsh. Expect no letters from me save about roads. My head is so full of them that I think more of McAdam than of anything else, save a pyramidal pedestal for Maitland's statue; that is very interesting because it pleases the people, who consider the statue itself a great effort of genius: their pride is great on this subject, and my dislike of old Tom will not lead me to make war on his statue. This life is pleasant for me, very much so; but my constant desire is to see you again: however we are not in this world to moan and groan, but for work, and whoever works for good does what he ought to do. There is nothing so good for everybody as having something to do; it diverts the mind and preserves health: therefore read, and amuse yourself dearest mother, amusement is even better than business for old people. Read novels, laugh, cry, scold, eat, drink, and even get Crib to give you a few lessons in the fancy way.

"I am called despotis or tyrant. It is curious that the word should still be used here with this simple meaning, while it has by the learned of Europe had an odium attached to it, which was not the case of old: but it is only in the country, not the town, that the word is applied to me. Well, there are sixty thousand people here, and not a cat or a dog have a quarrel but they come to the tyrant to settle the matter. The people are very much to my liking, but the greatest liars in the world."

At this time his affections were deeply wounded by the loss of his old and dearly-loved nurse, Susan Frost, who had broken her thigh-bone in the socket by a fall, and died

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with great suffering: a long, a brave, and virtuous life was thus terminated.

"June.—Dearest mother, you shall not be afflicted with my lamentation, that which we must bear we do bear. My dear Susan's death was a great shock, and I would not write, hoping for leave to spend the winter with you: but so many works are now on hand, that no one with less exertion could carry them on, and a change in the head now would cause loss to the public and to individuals. Two months more however will probably complete the buildings, and the most difficult parts of the roads; that is the passes over the two mountain ranges: my other plans demand time which no exertion can shorten. It may be long before we meet, but the time will be passed in doing what is useful for sixty thousand people.

"June 27th.—The judges torment me: fools are made judges, and clever advocates bully them; hence unjust and stupid sentences are daily passed. My demand on the general government is to make the clever advocates judges; but they are great radicals, and so it won't be done: what folly! Everything goes on well for the Greek insurgents, so far as we hear, but our information is defective. My friend Captain Balaska, has been killed by Ulisses, another famous captain: they are jealous of any one who gets a little fame, and kill him. My hope is still to go home at Christmas, but my roads must be first finished. I am unpopular at present. The gentlemen were mad for roads when they thought the poor people were to make them by corvées; but when told they also must work or pay, they were in arms: it shall however be crammed down their throats. The poor people are willing, the gents unwilling, but I am despotis, and the payment is trifling, my own is greater than that of the richest native. Every priest is made to work or pay, which delights the poor people!"

Such great works and reforms could not be achieved without overcoming serious obstacles, and the Resident was

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not only the designer, but the actual pioneer of his roads: he and Captain Kennedy of the Royal Engineers, took the lead at all dangerous places, and more than once owed their safety to accidental shrubs which they caught when slipping from rocky ledges. At first Kennedy was only known to his commander as an officer under his orders; but soon a friendship arose which was never for a moment clouded during the life of one, and is not now forgotten by the other. Captain Kennedy's aid was invaluable. Engineer and architect, his energy was immense, and his capacity evinced by beautiful lighthouses and other constructions in Cephalonia. Since then his efforts to establish agricultural schools in Ireland, and his remarkable public reports as secretary to the Devon and the famishing commissions, have displayed his capacity as an administrator: so have his large views on the rail system proper for India, given when appointed consulting engineer in that country; and subsequently his Bombay and Barroda line of railway, of which he is the surveying, organizing, and directing engineer.

During these first Cephalonian operations, Maitland had gone to Italy for health, Adam became his viceroy at Corfu, and soon displayed his incapacity for governing. Regarding pomp as vigour, and meddling as activity, the practical talent and simple habits of the Cephalonian Resident necessarily displeased him; and the success of the Cephalonian works still more so. For he also had undertaken road-making in Corfu; but with enormous expence and petty results, contrasting strongly with the works in Cephalonia, where the utility was great and the œconomy marvellous: indeed most of the works there repaid their cost. Thus nettled, Sir Frederick commenced that species of underhand, official warfare, which men of small minds and great power, always cunningly conduct against superior spirits with success. Maitland's rugged genius had however truly estimated that of his Resident, and though at a distance, kept

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Adam's littleness in subjection: he was at this time therefore more irritating than mischievous.

"August 10th.—Another birthday dear mother! they come like a poor debtor's visitors, often and unwished. The sculptor has come with the bronze statue of Maitland, nine feet high, and is delighted with my pyramidal base. He calls it large, rude, well-proportioned and unlike all common pedestals, and will not have anything changed: it is not quite finished, for it is not a minute's job to cut a pyramid out of the solid rock twenty-five feet high, forty-five feet on each side, and containing two thousand cubic feet. My other works go on capitally, but Sir F. Adam, for want of larger faults has fallen to work on my mustachios! An official formal order has come from the adjutant-general to shave: the answer was, obeyed to a hair. One can only laugh at the gambols of an ass. He is said to be jealous of our works here, executed at half the cost of his in Corfu, and this assault on my whiskers looks as if it was so.

"September 12th.—A sudden order come to prepare a large fortress, called Asso, for the Suliot nation, which has emigrated. Asso is capable of containing three hundred thousand people: yet our government knew nothing of its existence until told by me! It is as strong as Gibraltar, and was built by the Venetians as a refuge for Christians against the Turks. There the Suliots are to be, and only twenty-four hours' notice given to me for preparation and shelter. It is curious and interesting to find a whole people thus emigrating; and how strange to find myself chief of the Suliots, and have their treasure, for all their arms and money are to be placed in my hands: probably it will be necessary to kill some of them to produce order. Cephalonia wants people, and the Suliots are the best of the Greeks; but this emigration will leave the Turks a large disposable force to act against the Morea. The general was here last week with two frigates, and some smaller vessels,

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and for three days my home was in beaucoup de confusion, like the French debates!

"Miss Napier, September 27th.—The death of Lord Londonderry shocks me, as an event by which you, my dear Louisa, and his poor wife will suffer much. We do not regret death for the person who dies, but for those who survive to suffer. Whatever my feelings towards him alive were, with him they die, and nothing but feeling for his wife remains. May God give her that strength He seldom denies to those who lose their loved ones! Her mind is too vigorous and elastic for very lasting suffering, but she has no children which makes the wound deeper: her whole life shifts. Well, she has tasted of the common cup, of which dear sister you have had a large draught. Your desire for a heaven of cats and children is amusing: but let me give you an account of the Suliots.

"There are more than fourteen hundred, and above half are Palikars, old warriors. They wear the beautiful Albanian dress, and their faces are the colour of a tea-urn; they are well made, not large, and are ignorant of every trade but robbing, and making war as robbers make war, and have a chief for each tribe. They came starving and dying of sea-sickness, of want, of fatigue, having been crowded in little boats under a broiling sun: my first step was to get the women and children ashore, and at last all landed and were fed. They are to be placed in a fortress, which is so large that they will have fields and vineyards within, and be four hundred feet above the sea on a steep rock. No Palikar deigned to carry baggage, their poor wives had to do that, and said such was the custom, and for their husbands to break that custom would be foolish. Many of the women carried the arms of dead husbands and brothers; but there had been more women killed than men, the latter having by sallies escaped shells which fell into Suli. Their arms are magnificent, and great presents they have offered to conciliate my good-will, which they have however got on

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cheaper terms. They have begged me also to receive a history of their recent war, written so that the world might know they had acted bravely and honestly. It is easy to deal with them, so obedient and well-conducted are they.

"The Turks behaved infamously about their treaty, and would have broken it and destroyed the Suliots but for our men-of-war, who secured the hostages on board. What is to become of these people? My wish is to form the men into a regiment. The labour of getting food and building wooden huts for them has been very oppressive to me, and eight or ten have died of fatigue before they could be sheltered. Their appearance at my conference with the chiefs, who stood in front with their hardy-looking warriors in rear, was very picturesque. They have given me three thousand dollars to pay for their expences, and as it has been done for one thousand they will be agreeably surprised."

These Suliots were not docile on all points. Just emerged from terrible trials, they did not like to give up their arms, and claimed the right of following their own customs amongst themselves, without heeding the island laws. This led to a difficulty. A Suliot killed a woman and being claimed by the police the whole body refused, as a point of honour, to give him up. It was untoward, for they were a terrible people when aroused; and their fortress crowned a rocky promontory which had a sheer descent to the sea on all sides but one, where a narrow neck, equally precipitous, joined it to the mainland. How were they to be dealt with? Intent to have the criminal without spilling the blood of men acting on their view of honour, Charles Napier blockaded the place, giving the Suliots to understand, that if the man could escape within three days he might, and so the matter should end: adding that means were prepared to intercept him, and the trial should be one of vigilance, not force. This being accepted, a chain of active Irish soldiers was immediately drawn across the neck

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of land, forbad to slay, but exhorted not to let a Greek overreach them.

The first night passed quietly, the second was dark and stormy, but at one o'clock a wild Irish shriek of triumph rose above the tempest, and then the Slot! the Slot! I have the Slot! followed in ringing tones. Up run the supporting guard, and the shouter was found stooping over the precipice, swaying to and fro under the driving blast and rain, but holding his musquet downwards with the bayonet pointed against a naked man, who was hanging on to a ledge with both hands. This was the Suliot, who had thus painfully and dangerously drawn himself along, until the keen eye and rapid action of the soldier vindicated Charles Napier's always avowed notion, that in the British army are to be found men, who will overmatch those of any other country, in force, courage, intelligence and dexterity. One day and night remained of the convention, and the Suliot was suffered to return to his people as he came; but next evening the neck of land suddenly blazed from side to side and for some way down the precipice, with large paper lanterns, placed in three rows, so that nothing could pass unseen. Then the Suliots, admitting defeat, gave up the criminal, who was tried and hanged, to the great disgust of his countrymen: not objecting to his death, but to the manner of it and the cause, saying, It was shameful to take the life of a brave man for the killing of a woman! Long afterwards, in Scinde, a similar crime and punishment drew forth precisely the same sentiment from the Beloochees, shewing how much alike warlike barbarians feel and act towards women, whatever may be their race or country: the treatment of women is the sure measure of civilization.

Notwithstanding this feeling, the dexterity displayed, and the good faith as to the convention on the second night, excited the Suliots' respect and admiration; and the care and goodness displayed in securing their subsistence and tending their sick were acknowledged with gratitude. When he re-

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turned them two-thirds of their money, they would have given him the overplus, and were amazed at his refusing it. And when on their final departure he restored their fine arms in good order, those precious heir-looms of their race, with which they had performed so many daring actions, they hailed him as a father, and to this day his memory is cherished in their rugged mountains.

But it was not towards the Suliots only that he displayed his subtle policy, in reconciling vigorous rule with cautious and humane forbearance. There was in Cephalonia a powerful signor, noted for turbulent and unscrupulous violence, to whom the curb of law was so offensive that he went off to his almost inaccessible valley, and prepared for resistance. His wife remained at Argostoli, and at first sought to conciliate the Resident by gifts, which were returned with a respectfully sarcastic letter. Her husband thus baffled, resolved on force, and as he was very strong in vassals, and a rugged country, serious military operations would have been required. The Resident had been exhorted by Maitland to a rigorous repression of such recusants, and was not averse to striking down feudal tyranny by a blow at this most formidable of the signors: nevertheless he proceeded with his usual benevolent dexterity, to avoid bloodshed. Knowing that the countess was the real chieftain by blood, the count only so by marriage, and consequently without solid hold on the clan, he waited on her with an appearance of mystery and interest, telling her that malicious enemies had accused her husband of evil designs. These he described minutely, to shew her how sure his knowledge was; adding, that he paid no attention to such scandal; he had only come to put her on her guard, and suggested that it would be wise of the count to live in Argostoli as an answer to his maligners. To this he added assurances that his disbelief in the rumours was founded not only on her high character and peculiar power over her vassals, but also on the count's good sense, which would have taught him that troops too numerous to

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be resisted would at once crush any resistance, and his own death on a scaffold would inevitably ensue. As foreseen, she instantly forbad her vassals to disobey the count, and he was compelled to reside in Argostoli. This crushing of so powerful a man broke down the whole feudal framework.

"His mother, October 9th.—The sickly season has passed, and by dispersing the soldiers during the bad months not a man has been lost from the summer fevers; correct therefore is my notion, that the packing of our soldiers in small rooms is the cause of ill-health: but many poor fellows will die before his rulers will act with common sense. I happened to have a range of new buildings just finished for a lazzaretto, which enabled me to do what has been done, but next year it will not be available, and some twenty or thirty soldiers will lose their lives. The regiment now here, lost last year forty from fevers, besides women and children: this year the whole number in hospital was but forty from every complaint, and at the worst period. Meanwhile all my public works go on like lightning: it gives me hard labour indeed, and the difficulties are not a few, but patience and assiduity conquer all things. I am building a bridge which excites the people's curiosity, they never saw one before, having but one river, which is fordable except in floods. My bridge however spans a chasm, and Kennedy, who is an excellent architect, is the constructor. The dungeon here is dreadful, and there are six people sick out of the forty confined, whereas my garrison of five hundred men has only twelve sick! This is terrible, but soon our new prison will be built, and an end put to this indecent neglect of justice and humanity. Meanwhile Cephalonia is turned upside down with the quantity of my works begun, and gradually being completed. No going home for me now: it would be wrong to leave a place where so much good is being done, until all is so advanced that it must go on.

"My market-place is roofed:—one step. My lazzaretto

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almost finished:—two steps. My pedestal is a tremendous job, but two months more will finish that also. My roads will not be finished by me: four years are required with me, and six years without me won't do the job. The two months demanded by the pedestal will also suffice for laying the foundation of the prison and raising it so high that it must be continued. It will not cost less than eighty thousand dollars, but will be beautiful as well as useful. The courts of justice, of police, and the treasury, will all be included in the building; and the front will have a portico of eighty-seven columns, each of a single stone eighteen feet high. When you, who are an architect in your heart, recollect my Lennox blood, and how it loves building, you will call me a good fellow for wishing to give up all this for going home to you. The only things that bore me are the church and convent affairs: excepting however a beautiful nun of sixteen, who dislikes being one very much, and I have blowed up her old devil of an aunt, the abbess, for making her one. Nay, more! I told the girl's friends that if she would run away with a handsome young Greek, I would as head of the church, stand between her and all harm: my hope is she will do so, though my power, now martial law has ceased, is not so despotic as it was.

"October 16th.—My great object is still the prison. In these countries a prison constructed on any principle of humanity is unknown, and I am desirous to make the first step, which is in all improvements the most difficult: men will not adopt them till they see them; and the want of power, knowledge, will and energy, united, prevent the first step being taken. I do unite these qualifications. My power indeed is not quite decided, because it depends on the government at Corfu; but every hour I expect to receive authority. Hence if this opening is allowed to pass, blame will attach to me for the mass of misery endured in dungeons; and this not only in Cephalonia, but in all the surrounding countries: for when they see a good prison its fame will spread, and

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new ones will be made on the plan. One instant in our prisons would make you faint, yet human beings are doomed to live twenty-one years in a place you could not endure for a moment: one man is doomed for thirty years in irons!! But about three months will now enable me to gain a firm point as to my works: the lazzaretto, the pedestal, the market-place, the quays, the roads are all far advanced, and a piazzetta has been finished. You see that you must expect me awhile longer; and incessant activity and bustle here is heart's ease to me, giving no time to be sick or sorry. The eternal judgment-seat to punish delinquents is the worst part; yet even that is interesting when one acts with feelings for justice: it is painful to punish, but pleasing to protect."

Notwithstanding this incessant occupation he was not content. He disliked the Corfu intrigues; and though Maitland's general system had risen in his estimation, many parts were offensive. He received also from Adam many petty thwartings and disgusts, which, joined to his desire for seeing his mother whose age disquieted him, augmented his dislike to remain: he asked for leave, and even thought of retiring on half-pay to obtain greater freedom of action in joining the Greeks, whose revolution he never lost sight of.

"Argostoli, November 29th.—Sir Thomas Maitland is in my house. On asking him for leave of absence, he said, Lord Bathurst has ordered me not to give any Inspectors leave, therefore it is not in my power to give you leave. Then Sir Thomas my mind is made up to go on half-pay, and I wish to go to England for that purpose. No Napier! I will not accept your resignation, it is not in my power: but if you will write me an official letter it shall go home, and you will have your leave in six weeks. It was written, and the enclosed copy you must send to Sir H. Torrens, asking him whether the leave is to be given or not. If not, whether it is possible to exchange. If not, beg of him to accelerate my going on half-pay. You know that no obliga-

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tion binds me to Sir Thomas Maitland. I took this island because ordered to do so; and though liking it, took care it should be clearly understood as an order, not a favour. Why I am such a favourite now I neither know nor care, but think it an odd sort of affection to hinder me from doing what I so earnestly wish to do: at forty, one is not a child to be taken care of. Maitland says Hume would kick up a dust about it; but will not Hume do so equally six weeks hence? Certainly Sir Thomas Maitland has some secret object which cannot be fathomed.

"His brother. January 1823.—The Turks were repulsed in an assault on Missalonghi, and a chief called Odisseus, one of their ablest, is in march with 5000 men to aid the besieged. Mavrocordato commands in the town, and is the only gentleman amongst their chiefs, except Yipsilanti, who is a goose. The Greeks have taken Napoli di Romania, but after giving up Corinth without a shot they may do the same with Napoli, which they acquired by treachery. At the battle of Petra, near Arta, they abandoned the foreign corps, who alone fought, and were cut to pieces by the Albanian Turks: not more than twenty escaped, amongst them their general, Norman. Colocotroni is a ruffian, acquiring riches, but decidedly the chief in the Morea: he is without talent, yet bold and bloody, ridiculing all discipline. The chiefs know well that discipline would ruin them; and their followers listen only to the chiefs, who all fight with musquets: the great merit of the famous Marco Bozzaris is the being a good shot. Prince Mavrocordato is very different, but dares not offend a chief, for the followers would then quit him, perhaps deliver him to the Turks. However the cause gets on, step by step, and it is a wholesome throat-cutting war of opinion, in which the Greeks will tire out the Turks. The latter might finish the affair in a month, but their brutality prevents submission; and their ignorance and cowardice, gives licence for the Greeks to make as many

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faults as they please. Poor Moses suffers! the Turks take all his monishes; and the Greeks occasionally roast small quantities of his flesh alive. One said to me—By Got Mr. Reshident they bornishes me alive for the man of Stamboul! This alluded to a Greek report that the Jews had dragged the patriarch's body through the streets of Constantinople: a lie to excite massacre!!

"Our politics here are all changed as to the Greeks, why is not explained, but we are quite conciliatory. My people go on well, and are surprized to find that an Englishman can be a gentleman; an idea which from circumstances unnecessary to mention, had been rendered nearly traditional. A hatred of the Jews has extended from the continental Greeks to Cephalonia, and being fanned by designing fellows was becoming mischievous, but I stopped it roughly; and stopped also the piratical descents on the coast by making an example. Such courses are very common. They take off women and children, sometimes merely to violate and leave them on some lone coast; sometimes their victims are never heard of again, and few persons will live in isolated houses near the sea.

"March 3rd.—If my leave is refused, and my resignation, which is possible, my stay shall be short. My coming here was with views which have been partly fulfilled, and go I will, with or without leave. Ponsonby refused to become a Resident unless he got eight dollars a day; indeed all but me complain that they cannot live on the four dollars. Sir Thomas refuses this, properly it appears to me, for a man can live on the lesser sum comfortably.

"March 22nd.—The Greeks are so full of triumph and constitutions, that Mavrocordato is ungeneralled, and his army has gone home for two months, just when the Missalonghi success gave the means for destroying the Turks' power: had he marched at once on Lepanto and Prevesa both would have fallen. A person, to whom he wrote for advice, told him that was his game; but his soldiers having

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gathered plunder went home. Meanwhile his year of power closes, and for two months Greece is without a chief: the Turks will thus be prepared for another campaign, yet their game is up."

The person was himself, and his advice was accompanied with the subjoined memoir displaying his mastery in war.

Plan of Operations.

"The first principle of war is unity, the concentration of moral and physical forces—that is, to unite in one man, much power, and as many men in one body as can be, to secure a favourable ending: the greater divergence from this principle the more doubtful will success be. All history teaches the necessity of confiding command to a single man, that he may direct the warlike energy of the nation with full effect. It would not be difficult to shew the reason of this, but it would be superfluous, as this memoir has to deal with facts only. Wherefore, as long as a Turkish soldier exists in Europe the Greek government should not occupy itself with constitutions. It should create a dictator, and Prince Mavrocordato is worthy of that charge: his successes give him a right to it, and his plan of campaign should be as follows.

"1°. Bring every Greek soldier to Corinth and construct a work across the isthmus, following nearly the line of the old Greek wall. Seven thousand men should suffice to conduct this work far enough to resist a Turkish army.

"2°. The castles of the Morea and Romelia, held by the Turks, ought to be besieged; if the last had been attacked vigorously, after the success of Missalonghi, it would have been easily recovered.

"3°. Patras ought to be attacked as an important place of commerce, and from its proximity to the Ionian Islands. Coron and Modon might, in my opinion, be abandoned without danger to the warlike neighbours of the south—and Corinth, once free, might be defended by the guard of the

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isthmean wall. These operations completed, there would be established a secure retreat for the Greek army in case of defeat; it could then operate in advance with activity, directing its movements so as to possess itself of the strong passes which exist on the line from Zeitoun to the Gulph of Arta.

"Thermopylæ, Argirocastro, and Heraclea, are the only passes through which a Turkish army could penetrate this line, which extends almost sixty geographical miles. Three little detachments, with a few mountain cannon, could easily defend these passes, which have, at every mile, straits which are very strong, though not so famous as Thermopylæ. No lateral movements could be made in that country without discovery; and to pass the chain of the Pindus an army would meet with so many obstacles that its movements would be known sooner than they could be completed. The principal strength of the Turks would thus be discovered when moving on any of those passes, which would give the Greeks time to concentrate in opposition. In case of defeat they could easily retreat to the isthmus or the castle of Romelia, or both; but if the Turks moved in force, and with rapidity on Corinth, the Greeks at Arta would have to throw themselves into the castle of Romelia.

"Hitherto the defensive advantages only have been noticed, to shew the security with which an army might occupy such a line, but not to advise defensive operations. On the contrary! My opinion is the Grecians should unite towards Pharsalia, where the roads of Tricala and Larissa join, and march against the last place; pushing however small detachments on Tricala to distract the enemy, to prevent the union of his forces, and to secure a retreat for the army, in case of defeat, near the straits of Pindus and Arta. But if this attack on Larissa succeeded, the Greeks ought either to besiege Prevesa and Joannina, or pursue the enemy and march on Grevno; and as much may be attempted after victory, perhaps both might be done. The capture of

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those two places should be less for booty than the ordnance there. But since the plan to be adopted would depend on the extent of the victory, I will suppose the army assembled at Grevno towards the end of the campaign. There it would occupy a fertile country, would cover the plains of Thessaly, be copiously provisioned, and in a condition to organize its departments, and establish a more rigid discipline. Detachments should also be pushed towards the passes near Gortza, Monastiri, Astrova, Vodeno and Vadar, fortifying the straits and passes of the rivers on the same line, and trying to get possession of Salonica, which ought then to be well garrisoned and well fortified. Telegraphs and beacons would insure communications with all the posts, and thus situated the Greek commander, making exact calculation of the time required to concentrate on one point, could give battle. He could moreover safely await the movements of the enemy, and also the time when his own dispositions would enable him to move towards Constantinople. But whether he ought to let the enemy advance until embarrassed between the rivers and the mountain passes, and even to the plains of Grevno, or dispute the passage of the Vadar, is not so material as to require a detailed discussion in this general memoir.

" Such are the operations which appear available against the Turks in their present state. The advantages would be the liberating a large and fertile part of Greece; securing by field fortifications all the passages thereto, and rendering a second invasion difficult: finally gaining time for the better organization of the army, which must suffer much from want of money and from fatigue, to be followed by sickness.

" Supposing the Greeks entirely defeated in Thessaly, they could retire to Corinth, and the castle of Romelia, disputing all the passes of Livadia. In many places there, fifty or a hundred men could stop an army for several days, the country being one of the strongest in

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the world. The Turks, if they reached Lepanto and Corinth must besiege those towns, operations difficult for troops that could not take the open city of Missalonghi! Neither Romelia nor the isthmus could be blocked up like Joannina, and they would save the Morea from a Turkish invasion by land: this is assuming that the Greek army could be entirely discomfited when acting offensively. In the actual state of the Turkish fleet I am very sure it could not reduce a fortress, so long as the garrison was provisioned; and therefore it cannot be too often repeated, that the safest operation for defence the Greeks can take, and the best preliminary for an offensive campaign, is to fortify the isthmus of Corinth and attack the castles of the Morea and Romelia. Until the first is accomplished their operations will be uncertain and without solidity. If Egripo is in the Turks' hands it ought to be attacked, and fortified to prevent the invasion of that part.

"In concluding these observations it must be repeated, that the giving power to one man is absolutely necessary: that is shewn by the recent loss of time, of success, and the great hurt to the Greek cause, since Prince Mavrocordato so gloriously terminated the siege of Missalonghi. When his courage and talent thus saved the Greek cause, and all his activity was required to follow up his victory, he found himself a simple citizen, and compelled to abandon military affairs to attend to those of the senate; it will now be impossible for the courage of the army and the prince's talent to repair the increasing losses from the stupid policy of that senate. This however is only a general sketch, the details belong to those who command, and to go more into the subject here would be affecting a knowledge of the military art that would only prove ignorance. The Greek government should procure professors of military drawing, to extend topographical knowledge.

"His mother. May 6.—Just come back from a visit to

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my friend Stovin at Zante: he is going home with half a dozen others; everybody but me, which shews how correct your informant was when he told you, the refusing me leave was in conformity with a general rule. However, rule or no rule, here I am, having finished my fourth year in the Ionian Islands, all but seven months: sharp work for a man's constitution thus to lay in liver for the close of life. Zante is a beautiful little spot. We have valleys more beautiful, but Zante has its scenery close around the capital. Heraclea here, is finer than any part of Zante, but nothing save goats can get there: wherefore Zante has more fame. The pitch wells of Zante are curious, and in the same state as when Herodotus wrote: he describes them exactly as they are now. I have stopped a massacre of the Jews here, all prepared for the love of Jesus! The Greeks have in consequence called me King of the Jews, and say the latter gave me twelve thousand dollars for protection. Would it were true!

"June 18.—I want to hear how you are dearest mother. You are old and I am far from you. In war this would be necessary, in peace it is stupidity and weakness: but man's nature is ever to do what he afterwards regrets, and so shall it be with me every hour passed in Cephalonia this summer. However, having said I would stay, so shall it be, lest men should say I fled from malaria. The Turks at Constantinople insult our flag, and seize our merchant vessels because they are built by the Greeks! And Lord Strangford, the ambassador, advises our merchants not to go to Constantinople in such vessels! England is thus insulted on the sea by Turks, who have not a hundred sailors in the world! A few days ago a Turkish ship took five Greeks out of one of our boats, our flag flying, and hanged them! Sir Frederick Adam has sent a brig to demand satisfaction, and we ought to have blood for blood: a nation should have terrible vengeance for such insults. If this business falls into our ambassador's hands,

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every one knows how it will end; but as diplomacy is now the fashion it probably will.

"June 26th.—As I am always thinking of you dear mother my pen goes whenever a boat leaves the island. My liver hurts me; an effect of torment, like the geese of Paris who are worried to make their livers swell. The general rule quoted to you, was a rule to torment me in particular. Two Residents have gone home. My leave has been stopped because of Hume repeating in the house what I told him, namely, that I had nothing to do at Corfu. Yet he did not mention my name! My resentment is too great for talk, so mum!

"August 10th.—The Greeks get on from Turkish folly, not their own wisdom. My works go on well, but corvées are unpopular and demand severe punishments, which is very disagreeable for me. Take care of my beautiful sword; a Suliot chief drove it through a Turk, his blood is on the blade, and good Christians should respect the weapon: it is also a good sword though it had not smitten the Osmanli. Lord Byron is here, and I like him very much.

"August 20th.—Lord Byron still here. He is going to Greece, but it is hard to get there, harder to get back; and if the Turks catch him off goes his poetical nob! He lives in his ship, but comes ashore to my house. Las Casas' book amuses me: he is not very clever, but like Boswell paints his man in private life. It is not the life of Las Casas at St. Helena but of Napoleon; and it is the only knowledge of Napoleon in private life yet open to us. Johnson was known only as a private man; but Napoleon was an emperor and a warrior, and also a gentleman, and in this latter character we have him from this book. His glory, his public history was one of horrors, of blood-spilling caused by others, by English ministers with their coalitions and continental coadjutors. Now Las Casas has shewn the man as he was, good, kindly, generous, unaffected. Napo-

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leon will go down the stream of time as an amiable as well as great man.

"October 5th.—Cephalonia has been shaken almost out of its skin by a succession of earthquakes: no one hurt but all frightened. The English don't much care, but the Greeks won't sleep in their houses. We hope the French and Spaniards will war like Kilkenny cats. We hope also that Cadiz will be so famished that the people will eat the king and royal family. To behead a king is vulgar, but to eat one will render the annals of the age entertaining, and instructive in two arts, freedom and cookery: and then also it may be said the Spaniards have had their bellies full of tyranny. No answer yet about my leave, and my constitution is shaken and home is necessary. Lord Byron tells me he has touched up the Duke of Wellington in Don Juan: he means to write one hundred and fifty cantos and he gets two thousand pounds a canto! Good trade, a poet's!

"October 14th.—Lord Byron still here: he lives at a village called Metaxata, very retired. A story has been trumped up at Corfu, that he and I had quarrelled; it is totally false, and we both know it was invented to make it appear that even I, who am reckoned a very civil person, could not agree with him! Rascals!

"November 13th.—Liecester Stanhope is staying with me. He is deputed by the Greek Committee in London, who appear to me to be a set of ninicoms, and certainly know little of Greece or Greeks. I like Colonel Stanhope much, and strange to say he is not a dandy. Lord Byron is still here, a very good fellow, very pleasant, always laughing and joking. An American gave a very good account of him in the newspapers, but said his head was too large in proportion, which is not true. He dined with me the day before the paper arrived, and four or five of us tried to put on his hat, but none could: he had the smallest head of all,

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and one of the smallest I ever saw. He is very compassionate, and kind to every one in distress.

"November 29th.—My leave come at last. This saves me much worry, which to a man whose liver, nerves, and temper have been enduring irritation for a year is of some importance. I want rest sadly."

In the foregoing letters his works have been touched upon, but their vastness and difficulty have not been shewn. The road over the Black Mountain was above a hundred miles long, in elevation little below Napoleon's road over Mont Cenis, and constructed with better gradients. Yet its author was no monarch with unlimited power, unbounded financial means, and the choice of a thousand engineers to back up his genius. He was a subordinate, controlled and thwarted by an envious superior, who niggardly supplied him with money: yet his success was that of an unfettered genius. Abating all difficulties, he with extreme œconomy overcame extreme parsimony; and many of the works, such as his market-place, were very remunerative. The difference of cost between his enterprises and those of the same nature undertaken in England and Corfu would be incredible, if vouchers did not exist in proof: what in England would cost a hundred thousand pounds he executed in Cephalonia for ten thousand, allowance made for difference of living, which was but slight. But the objects of his government were so various, that the greatest versatility of mind was requisite to push on towards all. One day he had to draw up the most minute instructions for the labourers and overseers of the road; on another to make plans and estimates for the military defences of Argostoli; on a third to lay down rules for the courts of justice, and to correct the sophistry and erroneous conclusions of judges, of which the following translated letter to those of Cephalonia is an example.

"Judges.—It might perhaps be thought to become a

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military man, when addressing you respecting the duties of your profession, to offer some justification; but when I discover frequent irregularities to arise in your proceedings from pernicious customs, and at the same time remember that the well governing of this island is confided to my care, I release myself at once from every sentiment of diffidence as to arguments pointed out by a common intelligence, and which any man of reflection may judge of without the need of legal knowledge. Every irregularity, or violation of law by a judge, is of much greater importance than if it was committed by another person. A judge should never consider himself a legislator. It is not within his competence to say a law is good or bad; he has not authority to modify it or to change it; his duty is to declare that which the law prescribes, and to apply it. How can it be ever sustained that a judge should act according to his conscience, if by accident there does not appear any immediate harmful result from his violation of legal forms, or from the principles on which they are based? The mere fact that a judge has deviated from the letter of the law is a great evil; it draws with it an assumption of power, discretionary power, which it is the object of law to take away from a judge: laws are made to prevent him from acting according to his conscience, and to force him to act according to law.

"The conscience of a judge would be an unfortunate rule of law, and very uncertain: woe to the people governed by the conscience of judges instead of fixed law. I do not say, or mean it to be understood that the gentlemen I have the honour to address are not men of conscience; but as Resident of this island I have not to guide myself by their consciences, but by their administration of the laws; for which they receive from the public chest seventy-five tallaris per month. You know, only too well, gentlemen, that the post of a judge would not be occupied by any one of you, nor that of Resident by me, except by reason of a certain number of colonatti (pillar dollars) participated in by us

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each month; and whereas those same tallaris come out of the pockets of the industrious part of the community, it is necessary that we should merit that reward, by fulfilling the law, and the duties confided to us by that community. When we fulfil our duties we are well esteemed by the public: when we fail to do so we become the worst of mercenaries, and instead of being the most respected, become the most despised members of society.

"From these motives, sirs, I frankly give you notice of my resolution to watch your conduct with all possible attention; and to be, so far as my capacity will carry me, a constant and close observer of your judicial proceedings. And I promise, that henceforth, if any amongst you be discovered in neglect of duty, all that depends on me shall be done to deprive him of seventy-five tallaris per month; without, however, touching his conscience or his reputation, they being, as already said, beyond my official competence: those especial felicities shall still be enjoyed by him, but without seventy tallaris each month. It is perhaps superfluous to say, that these observations have arisen from the irregularities of individuals for whom I personally bear particular respect, but who, from a long habit of considering the convenience of gentlemen as more important than the execution of the laws, have forgotten that the law should be superior to any other consideration; and that its power and dignity being confided to them it is imperative to be examples of exact and respectful obedience to its behests.

"The justification offered by the signor, Doctor Dellaporta, in a recent case, appears to me unsatisfactory. It was his duty to proceed to the place where the corpse was found, and there, seeing the prescribed forms were being violated by the curiosity of the bystanders, and the tenderness of relations, he ought to have interpreted to the spectators the sense of the laws. He should have instructed the country people, and others present, in their duties on

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such occasions, should have fully explained the legislative reasons for the ordinances which have been passed, and sought to convince them, that inquests of this nature had been established for the advantage and protection of the citizens. It must be admitted that this was the right way to proceed; certainly no one can deny the advantageous result that must follow such a discourse, directed towards the multitude by a man of the talent and the character of Doctor Dellaporta. Feeling for that gentleman high esteem and respect, these observations must be considered, as they truly are, directed not against individuals but against customs of this island which it is my duty to uproot: my resolution is not to tolerate them on any occasions."

This vigorous control excited all possible opposition from the courts; yet it was soon felt that impertinent outbreaks of contempt for a military Resident's qualification to censure legal proceedings were unavailing: he defended his acts of power with reasons of equal power, several honest advocates supported him, and the courts of injustice were reformed. But while thus pushing the island forwards, as it were with both hands towards prosperity, his mind was deeply, though secretly intent on taking a leading part in the Greek revolution then raging, and gradually he had prepared a way and means to do so on a well-considered plan. For he was in communication with many sound, well-conditioned and influential Greeks; had obtained the confidence and good-will of Prince Mavrocordato, and had established a favourable reputation amongst the continental Greeks by his government of Cephalonia and treatment of the Suliots. He had moreover assured himself of the aid of many British officers, who were ready to serve under him, and devote to the cause their valour, knowledge, and pecuniary resources: he invited no adventurers. All his coadjutors were men desirous to give freedom to a country whose records and literature had first awakened, and then nourished their own aspirations for fame.

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His plan of operations was, if he could obtain acknowledgment and support as a commander from the Greek committee in London, first to fix himself at Napoli de Malvasia, or some other stronghold in the south of the Morea, where he could defy attack from the Turks. There he designed to gather men willing to be controlled and disciplined, having beforehand combined the means for collecting them, in number according to the pecuniary resources available: for being resolved to command as well as lead, he would have no more soldiers than he could pay. With a regular force thus formed, he designed to force his way as a conqueror to Corinth, and there establish a great base according to the plan laid down in his notes on that isthmus. The arrival of Lord Byron augmented his ardour in the cause, without abating his prudence, or obscuring his judgment by undue excitement: he always knew how to abide his time in war. But, animated by the same object, there arose between him and Byron, a mutual liking and an intimate intercourse. The poet soon perceived, and appreciated the qualities of a man capable of the deeds which he had sung of; and the soldier was not slower to detect, beneath the dreamy brilliance of Byron's imagination, the vigour and constancy of a great and generous man of action.

In their social intercourse Lord Byron's whimsical seekings for humorous excitement were a source of great delight to Charles Napier, though some of them he checked as exceeding just bounds; but many diverting passages of fun he used to relate, especially the constant teazing of the captain of his ship, Scott of the Hercules. To put this strong, rough, honest seaman, whom he designed for the hero of a Don Juan canto, in a passion was his supreme pleasure. And the captain, who understood no joking, always attributed his tormentor's vagaries to the influence of "they damned Zodiacs" meaning Suliots: telling his employer also, that he would have none of his heathenish tricks, such as landing horses on a Sunday! Lord Byron

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expected much from Colonel Napier's ability in war, and some proof of their mutual regard and general views will be a fitting close to this first period of the Cephalonian government.

"From Lord Byron.—Metaxata, September 9th. My dear colonel. I return you your somewhat desponding correspondent's epistle, with many thanks for that, as for other and many kindnesses. I have had two from * * *, dated Ancona and addrest to me at Genoa, in the old style, but more sanguine than Signor Pavone's. All this comes of what Mr. Braham pronounces *Entusy musy;* expecting too much and starting at speed: it is lucky for me so far, that fail or not fail I can hardly be disappointed, for I believed myself on a fool's errand from the outset, and must therefore, like Dogberry, 'Spare no wisdom.' I will at least linger on here, or there, till I see whether I can be of any service in any way: and if I doubt it—it is because I do not feel confidence in my individual capacity for this kind of bear-taming, and not from a disbelief in the powers of a more active or less indifferent character to be of use to them, though I feel persuaded that that person must be a military man—that I like the cause at least and will stick by it while it is not degraded nor dishonoured.

"You have been so kind to me (as indeed all our compatriots here have been) that every additional trouble I should give you would be, in the gospel phrase, another 'coal of fire' on my head. The first time I descend into the valley I will call, and I hope whenever you come up this way you will look in and see how comfortable we are under your auspices.

"Ever yours,

"Noel Byron."

"To Lord Byron, September 21st.—When I consider that your lordship is one of those men who mark the age in which they live, I own to feeling guilty of presumption in offering you my opinion after reading the letters you sent me this morning. I see no great assistance given by these

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letters, and continue to hold the opinion I first formed, that a foreign force is the only thing which can give a speedy and decisive turn to the war—all is chaos. Tricoupi's letter is the best I think, it takes a general view of the war; but Colocotroni's shews the necessity of physical force to keep the Greeks in order. The Turks would easily be disposed of. But from four years' acquaintance with the Greek character, and more particularly since I have had the government of this island, I am quite satisfied that their object is to get more of your lordship's money, which they think more of than they ought—for they seem to consider you a mine of gold. Having done so they will pay no attention to a word you say: the damnedst idiot amongst them is satisfied that his abilities are far superior to your lordship's, though he will conceal this vanity while he thinks to get money.

"To give the government money will be to throw it away; it will go into Colocotroni's pocket, or that of some other chief. Were I in your place I would unite my own funds with those of the committee, and, with all that was collected, pay the two hundred Germans, said to be at Napoli di Romania, and also a body of men from England, as numerous as the funds will admit of—reserving some money to pay those Greeks who are fugitives from the northern provinces and will flock to your standard. With this force seize Napoli and open the gates to all the people of Greece, but exclude the warlike chiefs. Invite all the civil chiefs, whatever faction they belong to, but hold the sword and the purse yourself. Let no money be paid to chiefs: as they have hitherto lived, so let them live; but pay the soldiers with your own hands, and form a body-guard of the most trustworthy. A few enlightened men, like Tricoupi and Mavrocordato, will see that you are doing what alone can do good, and they will stick to you and support you; particularly while you hold sword and purse, which secures your power, and the faith of the mass of men. Once established in that impregnable fortress of Napoli, and allied with Hydra &c. use every means in your power to conciliate,

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short of giving up the purse, which in your case I would not trust to my own brother. You might then send forth troops under the constitutional banners, with orders to plunder all chiefs, but not to injure a single poor person. Allow the leader also to conduct the war against the Turks as he might, giving him, if you could not accompany him, as much money as would serve to pay his troops for a certain time, but telling them how much he had, and when he was to pay them: they would force him to be honest when pay-day came.

"In this way I think you would collect around you all enlightened Greeks, whom your money would conciliate and your body-guard maintain in obedience. And as you would only demand this obedience in what was right, and would have relieved them from anarchy, what right would they have to complain? Thus you might disarm or destroy the warlike chiefs and their families, the government would gradually consolidate and take a liberal form, and you might then give over the purse and the sword with safety, if your general was successful. Indeed you would be obliged to do so, because you could only retain it as a sovereign, and I question whether the army would consent to that unless you were your own general. Then indeed you might clearly possess yourself of all you conquered: but yourself, or your general, would perhaps find your fame and safety both encreased by remaining simply members of a republican government. This scheme may appear at first a wild one, but if your lordship thinks it worth while to give it full consideration you will, I think, see that it is both a humane and a practicable one; and far the best that Greece could in her present confusion desire. One danger however will exist—that of being assassinated by the warlike chiefs the moment they perceived what you were at: but enterprizes of this nature have always some point of danger, on which one can only say with Hotspur 'There is danger in everything.'

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"As to myself, I would willingly go to Greece, but will only go there if I can live on my own income, which ceases if I am struck out of the army list by the king: therefore I can do nothing until it is ascertained whether this would or would not happen. At one time my idea was, that if the committee would secure the value of my commission in the event of my losing it I would take all the chances, but on reflection I would not do this. If by going on half-pay I can serve the Greeks without further loss, whatever small stock of military knowledge I could offer your lordship in such an enterprize should then be at your disposal.

"P.S. By your letters it is evident that Prince Mavrocordato dares not trust himself in the power of Colocotroni, and not at all that he has become really unpopular."

Lord Byron's opinion of Charles Napier was displayed in the following letter addressed to the secretary of the Greek committee in London—"1824. Colonel Napier will present to you this letter. Of his military character it were superfluous of me to speak; of his personal, I can say, from my own knowledge, as well as from all rumour and private report, that is excellent as his military. In short a better or a braver man is not easily to be found. He is our man to lead a regular force, or to organize a national one for the Greeks. Ask the army! Ask anybody! He is besides, the personal friend of Mavrocordato, Colonel Stanhope and myself; and in such concord with all three that we should pull together, an indispensable as well as a rare point, especially in Greece at present. To enable a regular force to be properly organized, it will be requisite for the loanholders to set apart at least fifty thousand pounds as a reserve for that particular purpose, perhaps more.

"Noel Byron."

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TENTH EPOCH.

SECOND PERIOD.

In the beginning of 1824 Charles Napier returned to England, writing thus to his mother on the journey.

"Ancona, January 14th.—My voyage here, eleven days, was most boisterous; we were driven into almost every port of Dalmatia, and rolled about like Jonas in the whale's belly. Devil of fella for fish dat Jonas! said a black preacher. I arrived at night, sea-sick, cold and miserable, to be thrust into a large chilly quarantine room, with stone floor and stone walls, containing for furniture, only my wretched portmanteau, not quite so black but nearly as miserable-looking as myself. Next morning such pains assailed me, chiefly in the chest, that almost I gave up the ghost. It seemed a violent inflammation of the lungs, yet I could not help laughing at a picture formed in my mind, of a long, thin, starved Italian child of physic, coming to feel my pulse through a tobacco leaf, and ordering me a tissane, and two pillules, &c. This is exactly what would happen, but after the laugh my cry came; for thinks I, a joke is a joke, but such a fellow smites mortally. So my plan was suddenly to seize Galen by the neck, and having thus put him in quarantine make him bleed me until I cried stop! Waiting however two hours to be sure of my course, the attack proved to be only rheumatism, and is now nearly gone. Henceforth my comforts shall go with me. Forty-one years have I played hardy; but for the next forty-one, feather beds, turtle-soup, green fat, diseased liver of tormented goose, and porter shall be welcomed."

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Lord Byron's letter placed him in direct communication with the committee for the Greek loan, that combination for freedom and stock which Moore has marked for immortality in the Ghost of Miltiades. He soon found that they neither desired his services, nor knew how to conduct Greek affairs themselves, save for London intrigues and popular noise. Their ignorance was signal, their pretensions great, their absurdity almost incredible. One of their feats was the freighting a ship with Newman's water colours, to encourage the artistic talent of men who were striving for life, and wading in blood from one horror to another towards independence! From such pretenders he quickly turned, and sought to enlighten the public by publishing a sequel to a former pamphlet, entitling the new one, 'Greece in 1824—by the author of War in Greece.'

His intercourse with the committee may be judged from the following correspondence, which also throws a light on the character of the English government which, judging by Lord Panmure's treatment of General Beatson, does not seem to have improved.

"Mr. Bowring, February 29th.—I see clearly the vast responsibility which would attach to my going to Greece as one of the commissioners. I also see clearly in what a commanding post it would probably place me. A deep consideration of the subject has given me sufficient confidence in myself to make me think I could fulfil the duties confided to me; but, as I before told you, I cannot afford to lose my commission. My military means are a thousand pounds yearly; by going to Greece I lose the whole. If Russia declares war against Turkey, England and Greece become enemies and I fall to the ground, without a profession, or the means of existence after thirty years' hard service in the British army. Now, as I have no ambition to sing date obolum without the glory of Belisarius, it will not do for me to go to Greece. You see I am more calculating than enthusiastic, indeed I possess but a small quantity of the latter quality. Pray

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let me hear what Mr. Canning says. On Friday I shall be in London, unless what you hear from Mr. Canning hastens me up. I shall take the liberty of paying the postage of this letter; for if I cannot aid the Greeks, I will not diminish their funds even a sixpence!"

Mr. Bowring thus replied.

"London, March 1st.—I have your favour of yesterday. I had a very pleasant interview with Mr. Canning on Saturday. I said all I could about you, but he repeated, Napier has got his answer. I could make no further impression: so Lord Bathurst's answer was no doubt one on which there was a previous understanding with the other ministers. I therefore dare not advise you. I think the independence of Greece is now so far settled that you would not be hauled over the coals, in consequence of any representation from the Porte. However we will talk of this when we meet.

"Mr. Hume to Colonel Napier, 10th July.—I am anxious to have your opinion as to what would be considered a proper battering train to send out to Greece for the reduction of Patrass, and other forts which hold out, as I am anxious to give immediate orders for the preparation of the requisite number of guns and mortars for that purpose to be in readiness for the first ship. If it were convenient for you to give me a call on Monday morning about eleven o'clock we could have some conversation on the subject. You are aware of the importance of the subject and therefore will not delay."

This communication was thus endorsed by the recipient. "Square the list of guns and stores needed for a siege, with my opinion of spending money so foolishly. The guns were not sent. How prone men are to buy fiddles before they know music. C. J. N."

The government had only been asked to let his taking a command in Greece pass unnoticed: this was refused, yet some months afterwards Mr. Canning, adopting the secret

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despicable reports of spies, worthy of their employer, assumed that Charles Napier had betrayed his trust as an officer, and Lord Bathurst called privately for an explanation.

"London, November 26th.—My lord I should think myself unworthy to wear the uniform of his majesty, which has been my clothing for thirty years, if I was capable of compromising the government by any proceeding of mine as Resident, or as full-pay lieutenant-colonel in the Ionian Islands. I endeavoured rigidly to execute the commands of government in the letter and spirit of my instructions, with all the energy of mind and body I possessed: to do less would have been a dereliction of duty and subversive of military discipline.

"Disagreeing with your lordship in political opinions, there is still one point on which I believe we are agreed: we are both his majesty's subjects, and though far removed from your lordship in rank, we are equally bound to fulfil our duties to the sovereign. What your lordship has heard I know not; nor is it material, because I will tell you all I have done or thought; and I have both expressed and written my opinions as a military man with respect to the defence of Greece.

"When no longer Resident of Cephalonia, and being in London, I was asked to go to Greece as a commissioner for the Greek loan; I refused as being on full pay; and to say the truth, what I saw of the Greek committee so disgusted me that from that time I have never had more to say to them. Since then I have been offered a high command in the Greek army by the Greek deputies. My answer was—that I could not accept their offer unless they made it worth my while to quit the British army. The Greeks, as I expected, refused: but that I could ever think of becoming a sort of concealed agent for the Greeks as Resident of Cephalonia, your lordship has done me but justice in believing to be false.

"When I left Greece and had given up the Residency of

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Cephalonia, I promised Lord Byron and Mavrocordato to be of what service I could, in explaining the real state of Greece to the committee in London. I saw and heard this famous committee—from any further connection with which the Lord deliver me, though I feel for many individuals composing it the highest respect and regard. As to the Greek deputies, I have for Orlando a personal friendship, and I mean to continue it. And in all my proceedings, thus fully stated to your lordship, I feel confident you will find nothing to disapprove: perhaps it will also remove from the minds of your lordship's colleagues the impression that I could be a traitor to the confidence reposed in me by his majesty, through his lord high commissioner.

"I shall conclude by requesting of your lordship not to consider this letter as written for the purpose of preserving the Residency of Cephalonia; or as the recantation of any sentiments ever expressed by me. No. With respect to the Greeks as a nation, I admire the people, their courage and their cause; but I consider no soldier can indulge his opinions at the expence of his duties; fortunately, for me both go together here, satisfied as I am that a strict neutrality is the best policy for England and for Greece. If, however, your lordship's colleagues either doubt my conduct, or wish for my employment to give to a better man, in God's name let them use their acknowledged power to employ men they think best calculated for the king's service. For my part I scorn to deprecate the wrath of any man who suspects my integrity; and I entreat of your lordship to give way to any feelings your colleagues may evince on that point. My character is well known in the British army, and calumnies either in London or the Ionian Islands will pass away. With a strong sense of obligation for the kind manner in which your lordship has so frankly communicated with me, I have the honour &c.

"C. J. NAPIER."

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This satisfied Lord Bathurst. Mr. Canning's mode of acting was different.

Captain Kennedy, being on his way to Cephalonia by sea, entered into conversation with a German named Rippenthal, who told him, that Cephalonia was under *a* Colonel Napier who was very much mixed up with the Greek revolution. Is he? Yes, and I have made a particular report of him to Mr. Canning. For what? Why some time ago he went to Missalonghi incog., arranged affairs with Mavrocordato, and then went off, breaking quarantine and neutrality; but it is all known to Mr. Canning. Are you sure? Oh yes! quite sure. When did it happen? Such a day, such a month. Well! Colonel Napier sent me that very day to Missalonghi on public service, and it is odd he should have been there himself also without my knowing it: don't you think you have mistaken me for Colonel Napier? Oh! that must have been the case: indeed I was not there, and in fact never saw Colonel Napier myself; but my correspondent wrote to me that it was him, and so I gave information to Mr. Canning.

This story was afterwards frankly told to Charles Napier by Rippenthal himself; and a short time before, a person of knowledge, in England, had warned him to be on his guard, as one of the ministers was prejudiced against him! "I was," said he, "indignant at Mr. Canning, who with good reason I believed to be the one minister, before Rippenthal's tale confirmed the fact. Then I wrote a letter to Lord Bathurst, which was not intended to soften Canning's feelings towards me; for his enmity was as indifferent to me as his approbation. The German's tale cleared the matter, and Mr. Canning's cause of prejudice became known. Captain Kennedy had gone to Missalonghi on public service in a government boat, had reported to the supreme government, had with him the proper health officer to guard quarantine, and was in full uniform! Yet on this false report of Rippenthal, false in every particular, and given

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on hearsay, Mr. Canning was ready to injure an old officer and take for granted that he had betrayed his trust! What security is there that he did not injure me with the sovereign also? The king's justice only! he would not condemn an officer unheard!"

He now published a short but elaborate memoir on the roads of Cephalonia, containing descriptions of those magnificent works, with perspective sketches and maps, remarks on the best sites for barracks, and on the health of the troops, and the nature of malaria, with statistic tables. Upon the soldiers' barracks and the means of preserving their health, this work contained very valuable rules, which long afterwards in Scinde, and as commander in chief of the Indian armies, he endeavoured to realize; and partially he did so, but was baffled generally by superior authority wielded in utter disregard of humanity:—for truly has Spencer written in his Fairy Queen, Nothing is so fell as wrong armed with might.

Sir Thomas Maitland died this year, and Adam succeeded as lord high commissioner. Having only known the latter in a secondary state of power, where his true qualities were held in abeyance, Charles Napier, always prone to give credit for goodness where absolute badness was not apparent, had accepted outward profession from Adam for inward worth. Now he was to know him in supreme authority, and to find him false and foolish; inert in all but ostentation, contemptible in all but treachery, which was however deep enough to render him dangerous. Sir F. Adam is dead, but so is Sir Charles Napier; and while both were living he in a public work called 'Colonization,' told Adam what he was and what his actions were. The only answer was an attempt to suppress the work! Wherefore a just indignation shall not be suppressed now.

While in England, preparing his work on the Cephalonian roads, he had resided in the country and made himself practically acquainted with the working of the old poor law: he

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also communicated with philanthropic reformers of prisons, and obtained plans and theories from them; rejecting however what experience had taught him were but fallacies. Thus mentally reinforced for governing he returned to Cephalonia, and he had not been idle with his pen; but of his private correspondence in England one specimen only remains, and the reader will recognize in it an old friend.

"Cookham, September 29th.—Blanco is able to travel and shall go to you for his portrait: he will not try to get loose in a stall stable if with another horse, or a cow, and will look better; for when alone he puts more wrinkles in his nose than Solomon had in any place. Give him a carrot and it will excite gratitude and good-humour: his best looks are put on when any one plays with him and makes him gallop in a field." His return journey to the islands was thus described to his mother.

"Manheim, December 30th.—Not far from Coblentz. Cæsar is supposed to have passed the Rhine, and it would please me to stop a few days to trace his movements.

"Ala, January 8th 1825.—The cold on the Brenner Mountain was bitter: in the high regions of the Tyrol one finds out that there is no pleasure in getting nearer heaven on this side of the grave. The scenery exceeds in beauty any I ever saw, except in Greece; there it is finer because the mountains are higher, or at least the valleys are lower, so that the banks of rivers are covered with oaks and elms, while in the upper regions the pines begin. The Tyrol is all pine; and as to the people of every part of Germany, honour to Cæsar for killing so many of them. Stupid, slow, hard animals, they have not even so much tact as to cheat well. We always detected their awkward attempts, except at night, when cold obliged us to submit; for phlegm prevents their feeling cold when a man of another nation would be frozen: you might bury him, before the German would collect ideas enough to say he was cold. Out of these regions we soon

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descended to Italy, where we found civilized beings, warm weather, and the human face instead of the German visage. But the Germans use their horses well, which is a great merit, and so it ought to be, for it is their only one.

"Well! I am in Italy again; and to spend two months on the Adige between Sterzing and Verona would be very pleasant, it is so very beautiful. The Adige rolls dashing along among rocks in a vast chasm, for the banks are full a thousand feet high, and in most parts perpendicular, yet with great masses of rock and wood. The width of this chasm may be a hundred yards in some places, at others two or three hundred; but everywhere it is an immense ditch, whose sides are exquisitely picturesque and sublime. Mountains are always beautiful objects, but when covered with such enormous rocks hanging over your head, with a foaming river at your feet, they excite a pleasure far beyond what a more open though perhaps a more beautiful country can do.

"The Tyrol has another kind of beauty. There the road winds north and south, and the sun at noon-day throws such strong lights and shadows as I never saw equalled: one mountain is black as jet, and just beyond it out starts a vast jutting mass of granite many thousand feet high, covered with mosses, brushwood, pines, coloured earths and slabs, all as brilliant as diamonds, under a strong sun. The cold and the rapidity of our journey prevented my drawing; indeed fingers could do little when, as we spit on the leather of the carriage it froze at the moment of touching. But to talk of drawing such scenes is nonsense! Jones himself could hardly do any justice to them. The only bad thing of that road is, that it leads from Italy into Germany. Inspruck is very fine also, but not enough so to make up for its inhabitants. I am now among people who suit my nature better, roguish enough, but merry, saucy, pleasant laughing fellows, who if they do cheat you serve you at least, and don't sulk: a German is all sulk, and does nothing

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for you."—George Jones, spoken of above, is the royal academician, for whom Sir Charles Napier had the greatest esteem; and a well-founded admiration for his cultivated mind and great talent.

"12th.—Just arrived at Venice, which is a wonderful place.

"Zara, Dalmatia, 31st.—After sad weather and some danger put in here. The *Borea*, the most infernal wind of these parts, has however ceased, and we shall have steady weather, not your English changes, twenty-four in a day: I am a changed man.

"Corfu, February 15th.—Arrived yesterday after a sad passage of twenty days, unheard of in Adriatic annals: people thought we were lost. Sir Frederick tells me my stay here will be lengthened. This is disagreeable, as my wish is to get to my own kingdom: however when a man has occupation, and is kindly received by every one, he need not much care where he is.

"Corfu, March 10th.—Lord Guilford is here again and very pleasant: we go to Cephalonia together. He goes about dressed up like Plato, with a gold band round his mad pate, and flowing drapery of a purple hue! his student's dress is very pretty, and said to be taken from ancient statues.

"March 24th.—Sir Hudson Lowe's colonel, Gorrequer, is here. He called on me, but got not his visit returned. It is not my intent to consort with gaolers, though I have brought out the model of a gaol. Tell Lady Castlereagh I have sent her an Athenian ring, with a hope she will accept it for 'auld lang syne.'

"Cephalonia, May 3rd.—Once more amongst my own people, who pretend to be very glad to see me. My building at Luxuri is very beautiful, and my prison will begin when Kennedy comes: no building can go on without him. All my road money has been dribbled away, and nothing to shew for the loss; it is surprizing that the plain way of going

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to work is so little attended to. My plan was to have as few things as possible in hand, but to keep them going by vigilant, laborious superintendence. In my absence the quantity of work has been doubled and dispersed, while the superintendence has been reduced: the result is confusion, expence, inertness: hardly has a thing been done. Five strong parties were at work under me with five overseers, and either Kennedy or myself overlooked them constantly; they were employed to render places which were impassable before, passable: now twelve weak parties with twelve expensive overseers are working where a good road existed, to make it better! The prisons have one hundred and twenty culprits:—with me they never exceeded seventy. Forty men are on guard:—with me eighteen sufficed. In short, though little is changed in name, everything is reversed in principle.

"How entirely all things depend on the mode of executing them, and how ridiculous mere theories are. My successor thought, as half the world always think, that a man in command has only to order, and obedience will follow. Nothing is more easy than to order, consequently nothing so easy as to command. In this light nine-tenths of the world view the matter, never dreaming of the constant reflection, constant watchfulness, writing, reading, consultations and other details required to insure obedience and give vigour of execution to the most common commands. Hence they are baffled, not from want of talent, but from inactivity, negligence; vainly thinking that while they spare themselves every one under them will work like horses. My report to Adam is nevertheless all right, for my determination is not to make difficulties but to remove them: indeed my greatest are of Adam's own creation, for he has himself the knack of using the wrong end of the wedge.

"May 25th.—My subjects of Argostoli gave me a grand dinner; and my subjects of Luxuri have asked me to a fête. These dinners don't agree with old Cornaro. Luxuri wanted

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to give me a piece of plate, with my new market-place embossed thereon: I refused. A gift from a town to one who holds power, when no extraordinary occasion calls for it, is not very gratifying. That I have done much for Luxuri is true; but only by correcting an erroneous opinion formed by the general government, namely, that it was politic to ruin Luxuri in favour of Argostoli, and this does not call for public acknowledgment. There is great rivalry between Luxuri and Argostoli: had I accepted the plate, the other would have decreed some greater mark of honour, and thus faction would have furnished my sideboard.

"We have found a stone quarry, quite white and easily cut, far surpassing the famous Malta stone; it will supply the columns for my market-place, each of a single piece. This will be very handsome. My long smart quay is nearly finished, and looks well. The judges give me most trouble: we are badly off for honest men, to the detriment of the poor peasant, who gets more law than justice. However we have now got a new president of the tribunals who seems an honest man: it was this place I wanted Richard to occupy. I am glad that he and his wife have come out of Ireland, that land of horror and oppression. Poor Jews in Egypt and, alas! no Moses! The Greeks are going on badly. Eighteen thousand drilled Egyptians and Turks have taken Navarino. It is on a hill, sloping to the water, and an island commands the whole town on the sea side; the Greeks left that island unfortified, the Turks seized it, and Navarino was no longer tenable. Mavrocordato was in the place and escaped through the midst of the Turkish fleet at mid-day! However two frigates, three corvettes, a brig and four transports were burned by the Greek fire-ships.

"June 1st.—We have found a quarry of the finest alabaster, and know not yet how to turn it to account; but the quarry of building stone will give revenue, for already the other islands send for it, and a good road is being made

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to the sea for passing down the large blocks. Amongst the people here there is much distress. The gentlemen starve the peasantry by usury; from fifty to three hundred per cent. a poor peasant pays for borrowing a few dollars: if a gentleman lends a guinea the borrower is a slave for ever. All do not do this, but enough do to cause great distress. Usury laws may be bad in civilized states, but in the state of this island they would be good. Things must be made to suit: a good law, paralysed by the state of society becomes in some cases a bad law, in others a nonentity. There is a villain, now in my room and looking at me writing, who has a whole village in his debt, paying three hundred per cent. and unable to free themselves; they would but for him be rich and happy: now they starve! Things will mend I hope, but unless a press is allowed, little good is to be expected until Greece is free, and she is now in a bad way. Blanco embarked fat and fresh as if but six years old. My bill for him, and baggage is only one hundred pounds! How honest John Bull in the city touches one's pocket. Thirty of this is for Blanco; twenty for king; seven for insurance; the rest is cheat and devilment. However anything is better than cutting Blanco's throat after sixteen years' comradeship: I may go to perdition, but not for Blanco *anyways*. My poor good old beast!

"June.—My subjects of Luxuri have given me a magnificent dinner in my own market-house, the room being above a hundred feet long. There was also a boat-race. One boat was moored far at sea, while close under the window of the market-house a flag floated with my name on it; and from the flag a lane of several hundred yards towards the distant boat was formed by two rows of ships and small craft, chiefly filled with ladies. Four twelve-oared boats started and came dashing in towards the goal in a beautiful and exciting manner, for there was a dead calm, and they strove to break each other's oars.

"On the other side of the room the windows looked on

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the market square, where from a large booth six men threw provisions, and handed wine to the mob, for four hours: you see how handsomely the affair was conducted. About eight thousand people received me with cheers on landing, and I could not help saying to a foreigner near me,—how lucky it is not for my execution; these things are all accidental and equally entertaining to the spectators. We drunk horrid Greek radical toasts, such as Prince Mavrocordato, Orlando, the cause of Greece. But to neutralize that, we screeched for the king and Sir Frederick; and as to the Resident, his health was drunk every half-hour while we were sober; every half minute when drunk, and my fear was they would take to kissing him. The Greek way of feeding the peasants while the gentlemen feast has a kind appearance, and belongs to old times: there were some six or eight pipes of wine given to the people. My retreat was sober and dignified, but my eating was more than kingly, certainly more than was Cornaro."

At this time he became a full colonel by brevet: so did his brother.

"July 6th.—Not sorry to be a full colonel, but less pleased at my own than at George's promotion, as he wished it so much. As to my works here, they go on. Twenty columns have been cut, in single stones, from my quarry; they shall be boiled in oil to hinder the sea air injuring them, and when cooked, they will be sausages for the giant who bobbed for whales. I have built eight bridges since my return, and made a road from the quay to the town of Luxuri: three miles. My long quay, a mile long, is completed and looks magnificent. Meanwhile to bless us we have got a bishop appointed; an excellent pious man, who formerly lived by sheep-stealing, which he now calls his pastoral life. His depth of learning and length of beard are both admirable: he piques himself on a thorough knowledge of the canon law of Justinian, which chiefly rules the Greek Church, and he assured me the said Justinian wrote the Code Napoleon

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out of friendship for Buonaparte, as they had been at the school of Brienne together. Disputing this fact, I asserted that Justinian was king of England in the reign of Solomon, and that an ancestor of mine had been sent to Jerusalem to teach logarithms to the architect who built the temple. This greatly disturbed my bishop's theory as to Brienne; but he is comforted by Adam giving him about twice my pay, an extravagance not to be accounted for. I am only fourth in salary here, though governors are generally the best paid. We Residents are however paid enough, it is the others who are overpaid.

"An Englishman, named Thistlewaite, arrived here just as Adam had ordered our money to have English names. The punts did very well; the tchillinks not amiss; but the farthing, and Thistlewaite, gave the Greeks rheumatic jaws: indeed only those in the deep hawking stage of consumption could lap their tongues round the last name. We have however sent for a cargo of oysters to help out Thistlewaite: when he comes in sight all the Greek mouths are convulsed. I told the regent his name was pronounced Puzzle-Pate, and he addressed him in a grave speech as Signor Piozzle Pate, he being a schoolmaster!

"August 5th.—This is the middle of the sickly season and we have not yet lost a man, except by suicide, which, strangely enough, is caused by the climate: no less than five cut their throats, and all merry good fellows who never barked, or bit, or shewed any signs of madness. I have arrested two judges, feudal chiefs, who were made judges against my wish. Having detected them leaguing together to put a poor man in gaol for debt, out of which he could never have got, and my proofs being complete, I trust with confidence to have the lord high commissioner's support. If they are dismissed and punished it will have a better effect on the courts of justice than any law against bad judges. The high rank and power of these men has caused a great sensation at their arrest. Some think I shall be baf-

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fled, others not; but the astonishment of the people that the Metaxa should be laid hands on for a poor man without known protection, is very great: they expect the Black Mountain to dance! Should Sir Frederick Adam fail in firmness the feudal chiefs will exult, and the old Venetian system of government rise higher than ever. The old Venetians here, assert that their friends will intrigue at court and humbug Sir Frederick, who will approve of what I have done, and then let the matter drop. Works go on. The market-place will be quite finished in three months; and so will a lighthouse, in shape a Doric column, sixty feet high, besides pedestal, of our new stone. The roads also are again in progress, but to get matters in trim has cost some sharp punishments, not pleasant to me or my friends.

"I don't think much of Mr. Brougham's pamphlet on education. What loss of time writing now to encourage education, when it rolls on like a flood, defying check! Mr. Livingstone's penal code delights me, seldom have I read a work with more satisfaction. Jeremy Bentham is a clever fellow, I don't argue that; but what I have seen of his writings apply to a more advanced state of society than we have. Nothing but a free press can do good radically. A few days ago a criminal cause was tried, sixty-eight witnesses were examined, and gross perjury proved against every one! Yet it was not a question in which political feeling entered. The press, and the press only can correct public morals. We governors, not being legislators, have only to exert ourselves to check oppression, act honestly, and not fancy all is to be done by acts of legislation. There is not a single evil in Cephalonia, which cannot be traced to legislation. The great secret of government is to be honest and just.

"October 4th.—This day the first column of the market-place has been removed from the quarry, four miles, where before never a road existed. Now there is a fine one with five bridges of my own work. Very heavy and large the

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columns are, requiring many horses for each. The summer has passed and hardly a man lost from malaria; and this from the arrangements made by me, according to the theory in my Memoir on the Roads." Here breaks out the Rabelais vein, terminating thus "What a great relief nonsense is to a man who has been working hard: I have a quantum in me beyond the ordinary run of men, and if it had no vent my death would ensue from undelivered jokes. I am delighted to hear you are so well dearest mother, and that you bore the comet like an angel; by the way, no doubt exists in my mind that comets are souls of good post-horses, who still ply their trade, carrying angels charged with dispatches.

"November.—Sixty thousand people are under my care, but my dealings are generally with the bad, and it is necessary always to remember this to avoid being entirely disgusted with human nature. A military chief is always in contact with good soldiers as well as bad; but a civil governor has little to say to the honest part of the community; and here also the English seem as bad as the Greeks. There was a great feast on the patron saint's day Gerasimo. I had made a fine avenue to his church and convent, nearly a mile long, and sixty feet wide"—since destroyed by wilful neglect.—"The Greeks are in raptures with it, and have got a story that St. Gerasimo appeared to me, saying, 'Be my friend and I will be yours.' They believe this, and as I drove to the convent, six miles, thousands prayed for me, and blest me in passing. Not only the poor but the rich implicitly believe me to be favoured of Heaven and St. Gerasimo. Being asked if the saint's visit was true, I said, Yes! but would not declare what he said, but assured them my life would shew it, for he had foretold strange things. I gave money at his shrine, and therefore hope he will treat me like a gentleman."

Here his correspondence for the year ends. In it Charles Napier has spoken to others, but that he may be thoroughly

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known, his private record of facts and feelings, shall shew how he spoke to himself; exhibiting the mastery with which he conceived gigantic enterprizes, and which his after life proved, he could with sweeping power have executed. In this view it must excite admiration to observe with what simplicity of plan, he proposed to overthrow the great Ottoman empire, when its armies covered the land, and its fleets the seas on which he designed to act. These notes go back in date to his last landing in Corfu.

"Private Notes. Corfu, March 1825.—This is my third advent here. My regret is great at having neglected to record exactly what has passed since my first arrival in 1819. A dozen times has England been quitted for foreign countries by me, and Greece has been visited four times; three being to Joannina during the life of Ali Pacha. Of these journeys slight journals have been kept, but not notes of what was seen, and thought, and done by me, which might have proved useful to others, or served for the amusement of old age when memory fails:—'that fiend, to whom belong, the vulture's ravening beak, the raven's funeral song.' Yet life without memory, despite of the terrible power of these lines, would be a dreary waste. Looking back is agreeable to me; looking forward more so, because in that there is hope, a charm which past life has not. I am now forty-three, and have done little that will outlast my existence: should I reach a hundred years, people will only ask:—What old beast is that? The answer will be God knows! who ever heard of him? Voilà un avenir bien triste. Still, as old Cornaro says, if one don't eat too much, there is enjoyment in this world; and there is always hope! happen what may a man of fortitude never abandons that! I like life: it has not perhaps offered much to me as yet; but all men have their trials, and it is sure to end soon enough. My desire is to live to a hundred, if without twaddling, that is to say, not more than I have done all my life: no man gets much out of that line.

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"I left England last December, and on Christmas day reached the Rhine, and passed through the Tyrol and Venice. The Venetians are filthy, proud, insolent and jealous, almost as bad as the Spaniards: but I speak of men only, women of all countries are good; or, if bad, are such pleasant fellows that it don't signify on which side of the ledger their conscience stands. There is no need to wish Venice any other ill than continuing between the Germans and the Adriatic—the one destroying her people, the other swallowing her houses. Yet she is a fine old lady and 'tis pity she should be devoured by Germans. Now I am once more amongst the merry Greeks, who are worth all other nations put together. I like to see, to hear them; I like their fun, their good-humour, their Paddy ways, for they are very like Irishmen. As to cleanliness they cannot brag; soap and water, or small-tooth combs are not more used in Greece than in other countries. Yet they are cleaner than Italians, and don't love dirt like the Venetians; they only suffered it out of politeness when the last were their masters, and are now leaving it off in compliment to us: all their bad habits are Venetian; their wit, their eloquence, their good-nature are their own.

"A four years' war against the Turkish empire carried on without resources, civilization, or arms, and hitherto successfully, speaks for the Greeks. They have plenty of faults and are very wild; but that is just what they ought to be. Having had no kindness from the world, and much ill-usage, they are not steady under freedom, they bound and leap like a newly-launched ship: soon they will take in ballast, and guns too I hope. Allow them twenty years to right, and then if left to themselves they will do: meanwhile I fear they will not be let alone. Fra tanto ecco mi qua, enjoying their good company, their fine climate, their magnificent mountains, their pretty scenery, liking them, and all belonging to them, and wishing all belonging to me here. No. Not here in Corfu, but in Cephalonia, which is so dear

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to me, that every hour not employed to do her good appears wasted.

"Strong is my desire, again to see my two great roads of Kanilangada and St. Liberales, and the Samos road. If ever anything has been done by me worth my hire, which is doubtful, it is these roads; and considering the means at my command, and the great height of the mountains, they were bold undertakings: my expectation of success almost failed, yet they are there, and will remain for a thousand years. Young George may go some day and look at his uncle's work, when the worms are making inroads on the old fellow's pericranium at the top; for my wish is to be buried on the summit of Liberales in the old chapel: not caring for church or chapel, but to lie on the top of the road. Many a poor mule's soul will say a good word for me at the last day when they remember the old road. Well! now for other things. In this note-book I shall now run on in my own way, sometimes merry, sometimes sad, one thing and another as the fit takes. Few will ever see it, and it shall be the picture of my mind thrown on paper, with just so much reserve as is necessary on certain subjects which need not be made known to strangers, should accident throw it in their way: no prudent man will put all that passes in his mind down on paper, and perhaps events may arise interesting to me which it may not be safe to speak of.

"Cephalonia, April.—Came here with Sam Pechel, in the Sybille: he is just the same as when, twelve years ago, I passed five months on board his ship, warring on the American coast, a war of folly and piracy, uniting all that is bad without a redeeming point, not even that of success! The people here seem glad to see me, and if the seeming be false what signifies? it is just as pleasant, because my conscience tells me they ought to be glad, seeing how hard I have worked for them. My landing was amidst firing of cannon, and all the humbug of rank in its own circle. My arrangements have been upset and extravagance has prevailed, to

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say nothing of roguery, which is always hard to discover, even when one's hand is in. Strange that men will risk all for the sake of cheating the public! Why does an innate love of fraud exist? Why is the best man he who conquers it, all having the tendency? It is lucky to have much to do, for I seem alone: would to God I could travel like an Arab with all my folk around, pitching my tent anywhere, and everywhere at home.

"May.—I have reduced the expences about £100 a month, yet no public work has been neglected or lessened, nor anything retrenched but folly: all indeed going on faster, and all owing to my limbs and eyes—that is to say I ride, I see, and don't take things for granted because they are said to exist. If my eyes were as good as my horse Turk my work would be still more useful. Yesterday I rode over all the Black Mountain to find, and did find a cave for filling with snow, to give the people ice during the summer; for this 14th day of May vast quantities of snow are on the mountain. A year's work is now required, for my roads, when half that would have more than sufficed but for neglect. A mine laid with 150 lbs. of powder will however soon open one of the turns well, and save the poor peasants some heavy labour under the accursed corvée which pains my heart. This angeria, or as the soldiers call it the hungry, is very bad. Plaze your honour thim hungry men don't work at all, at all. Yet without this angeria, the roads could not be made, and the peasants themselves would suffer more than any other class: they alone live in the country, and each is a small landowner, drawing every necessary of life from Argostoli. Strange as it may appear, the Cephalonians get even their vegetables from the capital, where two or three gardens supply the whole country. Daily comes the poor man from the most distant parts to buy, when he has the finest garden ground lying waste around his cabin.

"What pleasure it gives me to do good to this delightful

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island: with those dear to me I could spend my whole life here without a wish to leave. Its climate, its beauty, its good people, for with faults like others they are kind and good; the improvements which, as a Resident and a private person I could daily make, render it interesting to me. What I do now is as a king, carrying on great works which have perhaps a proportionate interest; but then they require much time, much patience and energy, to force them through, against the idleness, roguery, and natural feelings of men. There are many drawbacks however, and I go through a great deal to effect my objects, and may not live; at all events not be here to see even their completion, much less their useful effects: whereas as a private person to instruct villagers in gardening to help them forward, and enter into all their wants are quiet pleasures nearly as useful, and give daily satisfaction. Nevertheless, as a whole I would rather make roads and build prisons, lighthouses, and tribunals, than be the good man of the village, though the last is perhaps the most Christian life!

"September.—The Greeks have offered to place me at the head of their army, wherefore I will set down all that has passed, that if it takes place the causes may be traced to their consequences.

"In 1820 the government sent me to Ali Pacha, who, by the way, gave me a Turkish sabre. I took large military stores, and had orders to advise him, at his own request, as to the defence of his capital and territory. He was a strange fellow. Cunning, cruel, resolute, enterprising, and faithless, he was fitted for the day and for the wild race he ruled, if we can call fit what is not directed to improvement. He was obeyed, he could obtain obedience: but he sought not to improve either his people, or his country, being selfish in the vilest sense, and having only for object, the gratification of lust, of eating, drinking, and above all avarice. Love of money made and unmade him: first it made him hoard

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until his riches gave him power, which enabled him to increase those riches: but when the hour of danger came he would not expend his money and so fell. Thinking his troops could be kept faithful from fear without cost, he collected the wives and children of the leaders in his seraglio as hostages. I told him, that being a stranger my judgment might be wrong, but such means would only secure their vengeance, perhaps not even that, and he ought to spend money also. He said he did. This was false, his people were starving: I saw him buy up bad flour to feed the men working on his fortifications! Two able Franks were well known to me, Gobernati, a Piedmontese; and Carretto, a relation of the famous Vendean chief La Charette: they were excellent officers in their way, but both ill-treated by Ali, and kept actually in want, he even descended to cheat them in trifles.

"His treasure was averaged at fifty millions sterling in cash and precious stones, probably ten times the truth: but he had vast riches, more than enough to make him king of Greece, and his natural talent was great. Not however of the highest order or he would have succeeded in his rebellion, for the game was in his hands; but his genius was shackled by cruelty and avarice, which deprived him of the Greeks' confidence. They would still have followed his standard if he had acted with wisdom, but it was not in him; he was not civilized, and could only comprehend war as a barbarian: as he had made it all his life. Things that would have secured victory appeared to him doubtful experiments of great danger, for he feared giving opportunities for vengeance in return for his cruelties. He would have been too powerful for that, but the habits of a long life were not to be overcome even by so resolute a man and so pressing a danger.

"I brought him stores in abundance, his magazines were full, he had quantities of cannon; and though Joannina is in a plain, mountains and the sea surround Ali's territory.

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I proposed to form for him a complete artillery corps of fifty pieces, which were, with all appurtenances, in his magazine; and also to drill and organize his troop, which he called thirty thousand but never shewed me more than five thousand: however, all he had could have been organized before the Turks came. To this was joined a plan for the immediate establishment of telegraphs at each pass, but he would not let me examine his country. With this power of communication my advice was to push small corps to each defile, and as far beyond as possible, with orders to harass the Turks in flank, and when the latter reached the pass which they designed to force, to close on their rear and cut off their communication. Every pass was to have men strongly entrenched for defence, while his main body assembled in the plain of Joannina. All this I offered to do for him. No! Ali would not. He would not have a regular army, though it was his only safe course and might place him on the throne at Constantinople; he would not have his mountains entrenched nor telegraphs; he would do nothing, it was too expensive, he was too poor! The Turkish army therefore passed the mountains unopposed, and Ali was besieged and taken, hoarding to the last! His avarice was incredible. He made me calculate the cost of measures which he approved of, but always rejected them, thinking my design was to get money: he had no conception of a man acting without a view to money. His ministers, Mantho and Colovo, entered into my views, and did all they could to forward them, but in vain! He was not really a great man.

"One of my proposals was to go to Brindisi, where the Neapolitans were about to discharge a regiment of German cavalry, and two of Albanian infantry, because the revolutionary government wanted money, not men in arms! For a mere song those disciplined soldiers would have been made over with arms, clothing and accoutrements; and they would have been delighted to come, for starvation stared them in

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the face. The Turkish fleet had not then entered the Adriatic, and Ali had a number of small vessels. His son Moucktar, a good fellow for a Turk, was then shut up in Berat by the Montenegrins, and I proposed to take with me agents for settling the money affair, and Ali's vessels to land me and the three regiments at Durazzo. From thence I would have marched with them, and any wild palikars Ali chose to add, against the Montenegrins: they could hardly have resisted two thousand regular troops.

"His son would have thus been freed and we should have returned to Joannina, where a respectable force of about ten thousand disciplined men might have been speedily formed, with a well-appointed cavalry and artillery, able to beat any Turkish force that could pass the defiles of Pindus or Albania. Now Ali might have no confidence in me as a general, but there was no need to give me command, that was a secondary question. Had he undertaken the enterprise, and proclaimed himself a Christian—he was certainly no Mahometan—and king of Greece, he would have succeeded, for every Greek chieftain looked upon Ali, virtually, as his sovereign. Fifty thousand pounds would have done it all, and he had the materials. There was nothing to buy except the disciplined soldiers of Naples, and he told me he could easily spare three hundred thousand pounds: yet he would not give the money. He afterwards repented and wrote to me, but too late; General Church's regiments, the Neapolitan ones, had then been disbanded at Barletta, the Turkish fleet had reached the Adriatic, and the daring, able Ali, fell a victim to his own avarice. Even at the last, when besieged in his seraglio, before he retired to his island, some Suliots who had been with him, told me he tried his dirty tricks to cheat them in weighing out their provisions. He thus lost the greatest opportunity that, perhaps, ever fell to a barbarian: had he possessed a better heart and been civilized he would have changed the Turkish dynasty. But other events were

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coming, with shadows long and distinct: Providence seemed averse to make such a savage the instrument to free the Greeks from their curse, and restore peace with its blessings to their lovely country.

"One day during my private visit to Greece, walking near Ali's seraglio at Prevesa, two Albanians followed me, wild savage chaps with shaggy sheepskin capots; their looks were disagreeable, and being near a dead wall, and alone, I quickened my pace: my pistols had been left at home, for the first time since my arrival in Greece! They did the same, nearly treading on my heels, which alarmed me, and my regret was bitter for the absence of my little pistol companions. However, not thinking a knife in my back a desirable attention, I turned so quickly that they came bounce against me, and in pushing them off, my eyes watched their hands in expectation of a stab. One snatched my pocket-handkerchief, put it under his cloak, and then drew a knife. Now with a barbarian you must take the ascendant at once, if you can; so I seized him by the collar, struck him sharply over the head with a little switch, and in a loud voice told him to give back the handkerchief or I would shoot him with a pistol: he obeyed instantly, his companion at once joining me in the order! Then retiring a few steps backwards to avoid a sudden stroke from their knives when my back was turned, and shaking my switch menacingly as if I had no fear—I was in a hell of a funk—I gained a few paces. They stood consulting, which added to my apprehensions, wherefore turning a corner with a 'catch who can,' off I set at such speed, that what with my fears and natural activity they had no chance of overtaking me.

"In the evening, while walking with the British vice-consul, we came on my two gentlemen, eating their supper in the street: one jumped up and run, the other, he who had drawn his knife, fixed his most determined and villainous looks on me with a steady impudence and ferocity never

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surpassed. He would not answer the vice-consul, who wanted me to have him arrested but I refused, because the pacha was then courting our government, and the poor wretch would have been beheaded or bastinadoed. He indeed looked so boldly in my face, and shewed such pluck, in his fashion, that it went against my feelings to have him killed or maimed for a dirty pocket-handkerchief: it was dirty, for I had a cold. His brains should have gone indeed in defence of the *muckenjer* when he snatched it, if my pistols had been ready, but coolly to have his throat cut by the pacha's governor was not to be done; especially as both pacha and governor were worse thieves than he, because they had more power: that is to say, practically worse, for none of the three would hesitate to rip up a woman with child, for the price such a bagatelle stood at in the Albanian market. It was weakness in me, for he has doubtless since committed horrid deeds in the troubles that have occurred; but to let him discover the great secret, with help of a sharp scimitar, at that period was not to my taste. This was the second time I was nearly stabbed in my life: the first was at Bembibre in Spain 1809.

"Returning now to the Greeks. I clearly saw the signs of a general rising in Greece, and gave information of it on my return to Corfu. And my visit to Ali had taught me much. It shewed me what the Turkish government was, and what a Turkish chief and his troops are. The secrets of the East were opened to me in the splendid little court of Joannina, where its riches, its force, its costume, its barbarism and cruelty, were all displayed in full proportions; for who was stronger, who richer, who more cruel than Ali Pacha? The sultan only! The rule of this satrap was therefore a model for study. I saw he would not figure in the approaching revolution; and though a stranger, unknown to the Greeks, I felt certain they would eventually require the assistance of a military man in the storm about to burst forth. Hence with a presenti-

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ment that my aid would be useful I resolved to study the Greek character and wants. I saw the universal ignorance, and saw Ali the slave of his very groom, whose existence depended on his breath; he could not give me a horse unless the groom was feed: Ali gave an order and thought it was obeyed, and had he been told it was not, the groom was dead! but it was the custom to fee, and therefore could not be avoided notwithstanding the Pacha's orders.

"Seeing how fit and unfit such people were for war I longed to lead them, and resolved to do so. The idea constantly arose that my destiny was to command a Greek army against the vile Turkish horde. Not able to say why, it yet seemed certain, and I abandoned myself to the idea. Veli Pacha, an abler man than his father, ordered a play of jereeds for me: it was beautiful and warlike. Some Greek peasants picked up the jereeds; a dangerous service, for several were ridden over by the Turks; but though bruised, they seemed to think nothing of it, still less did the Turkish ruffians care. I thought to myself, why do ye submit to this? Why do ye not tear them open, even with your nails! I will join you and teach you to extirpate these beastly Turks. From that moment the idea of Greece achieving freedom took possession of my mind. This was before my official visit to Ali: when that took place and I saw Greece about to arise in strength and glory my resolve was to join her, if it could be done with advantage to her just cause and honour to myself. The talent of the people and their warlike qualities excited my admiration, for a Greek seems born a soldier, and has no thought but war. Their vanity and love of glory equal those feelings with the French: but the Greeks are more like the Irish than any other people; so like, even to the oppression they suffer, that as I could not do good to Ireland the next pleasure was to serve men groaning under similar tyranny.

"On leaving Joannina my mind was full of Greece, and

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how to serve her, and my feeling was, that time, patience, and prudent conduct, might so raise my character amongst the Greeks, that they would call me to head their armies. Full of such thoughts, on approaching Arta I said to myself, Shall I succeed or not? Let chance decide! Quo fata vocant. I always confided in it, and seeing a large thistle, all gorgeous, prickly, and shooting up high, said, if I can reach and cut off that thistle's head with my whip, I shall command the Greek army some day; if not my fate is to jog on my own sad wormlike life: striking at it then, and staggering my horse in the attempt, for it was far off, I cut it clean down, and from that hour have remained confident of going to Greece and succeeding. How weak is human nature! Why should this feeling influence my mind? Yet it has irresistibly done so.

"From that period my efforts were directed to acquire gradually the confidence of the Greeks, foreseeing it would be a work of years, but might with patience and hope succeed. Feeling then as belonging to them, I defended their cause on all occasions, and published the pamphlet called 'The War in Greece.' Previous to this however, I had visited Greece to note the country most fitted for war, and likely to be the scene of action. Having before seen great part of Albania, Joannina, all the course of the Thyamis River, Suli, Arta and Prevesa; I went also to Patras, Corinth, Megara, Athens, Argos, Napoli di Romania, Platea, Thebes, Livadia, Cheronea, and Thermopylæ. From thence up Mount Œta and down to Salonica, or Amphissa; thence to Delphos, and so through the Agrapha Mountains to Lepanto. My plans were then formed, and judging that the revolution would soon break out generally I reached Patras and returned to Corfu, where intelligence had already arrived of the bursting forth of that event at Patras, three days after my departure! This was however nothing to me: my task was to wait long and patiently, ere mixing with a people too vain to admit foreigners until misfortune should shew them

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their ignorance. Every Greek robber thought himself a perfect general; and yet to me it was clear that good or bad events would be accidental on either side. Wherefore I gave no heed to the war as it went on, knowing it must go on, and details would not influence general principles: defeat would lurk behind victory, and in the despair following an overthrow I could see the groundwork of success. My conviction was that Greece must finally be victorious, but that her hour of glory could not be tolled unless foreigners taught her how to war, and defeats made her hearken to the stranger. In this mood I went back the first time to England and returned.

"To be a Resident then became an object. Feeling able to govern an island better than those in power, I yet would not ask for one, being too proud and too angry with Sir Thomas Maitland: my rank forced them to employ me. Then being in contact with the Greeks the thistle flourished! I felt that with high, resolute, and honest conduct, popularity would accrue or proof be given of my unfitness to govern. My 'prentice hand succeeded, because I followed public opinion, that irresistible force which narrow-minded men attempt to stem, and fall doing so. I went with the stream but hit hard blows while swimming down the current: they were hard, but always just, or intended to be so, and for the good of the people, never for private objects, never for myself, and the Greeks were too clever not to estimate such conduct rightly. Thus when Missalonghi was in great straits I seized a Greek gun-boat, which might have hurt their cause, and earnestly a good-hearted English captain of a man-of-war begged me to let it go. I would not, though very unhappy at the necessity, until it was freed by orders from Corfu: fortunately no harm was done, and my pleasure was great to think my duty as Resident was also done without hurting my friends. Again: when the Suliot nation arrived, they were most rigidly treated, according to my orders, which were unavoidably severe. Kind and just however I

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was, though a little despotic, for they were a wild set of fine fellows: they appreciated this, and with them also I was popular, and with all the Greeks.

"My proposal to Ali Pacha was the second great plan of war, addressed by me to governing powers, both rejected with folly, though undoubtedly calculated for success. The other was made on my American expedition, where our landings on the coasts of Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, made it soon manifest to me that we did no good to English fame, no real injury to America. I was then but thirty years old, but having seen much of war was confident of being able to execute whatever entered my imagination as feasible. My plan was as follows: may it yet be executed! Seeing a black population of slaves ruled by a thin population of whites, the blacks thinking the English demi-gods and their Yankee masters devils, I said to the authorities 'Give me two hundred thousand stand of arms, and land me in Virginia with only the officers and non-commissioned officers of three black regiments, that is to say about one hundred persons accustomed to drill black men. Let the ships with store of arms lay off while I strike into the woods with my drill men, my own regiment, and proclamations exciting the blacks to rise for freedom: forbidding them however to commit excesses under pain of being given up or hanged. The multitude of blacks who nightly come to our ships, and whom we drive back to death or renewed slavery, shews that we can in a week assemble a million—certainly one hundred thousand before any force could reach us, indeed before the American government can be aware of our descent, as we shall lie hidden in the forests until the influx of blacks discovers us.

"All the blacks can use arms, and in twelve hours can be organized in regiments and brigades, each commanded by an officer more experienced than American militiamen; for the American regular forces were then in the north, and even they had but small experience at the time. When this vast

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mass shall be collected and armed, we shall roll down to the coast, and our large fleet can pass us into the Delaware country, out of which we shall instantly chase the whole population. Then, with half our fleet in the Delaware River, with provisions in the Delaware country, and a handful of corn or rice is all a black slave will want for that occasion, we shall people the deserted space, set all the women and children to cultivate the ground, and with our enormous mass of males, will have entrenched a position across the isthmus in twenty-four hours, for the fleet will supply us with tools, powder, cannon, engineers and marines. Such was my proposal, nothing could have approached us, and in a month a drilled army of two hundred thousand men, well appointed, would have been formed with one hundred thousand in reserve, to supply losses. At the head of that army I would have sallied from our lines and taken Washington, while Sir George Prevost from Canada followed the American army, which must perforce have retired on the first alarm either to the Indian country or to the south: the British force from Canada could then have joined my black force at Washington, and we could have dictated peace. Had this plan been accepted, two things must have happened: we should have dictated peace, and abolished slavery in America!

"This proposal was not even noticed: yet I heard afterwards that the government gave three reasons against it. 1°. It would be a bad example for our black slaves in the West Indies. 2°. We should not know what to do with the million of blacks liberated. 3°. Horrible excesses would be committed by the slaves. These reasons were false and foolish. Had we not in the West Indies a force which effectually kept our own poor slaves from rising, though suffering from our horrible cruelty? Could not the liberated blacks have been easily established in some convenient locality; on the borders of Canada for example to ward off American invasion; or have been sent to Hayti? And in Canada

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is there not land to locate, not one but one hundred millions?

"As to horrors, war is full of horrors. No large army ever did or can move without horrors! Accursed be they who make unjust war! but the blacks could be held in more rigid discipline than our own troops, and there was no reason to think many horrors would have been perpetrated. Some! yes! so much the worse, yet on whom? Slaveholders! Men on whom God's justice would have fallen, through the medium of the poor wretches in whom they had outraged his laws and their own image: they would have reaped as they had sowed! But the fact was that the dread of such a measure was so great at the time, that the whites fled from those parts most in danger, and would have wholly absconded on the first alarm: numbers of slaves came to us, as it was, and not one instance of vengeance by them did we hear of. At Hampton horrors were indeed perpetrated, for which England ought to blush; but for which no person was punished by the commanders. At that place the negroes joined us and pointed out the plunder, but I neither saw nor heard of their committing any atrocity. The reasons against my plan were those of ignorance. Sir John Warren told me at that time, our government had asked him — if light frigates drawing little water could not sail up the St. Lawrence to the lakes! Is it to be believed that the Admiralty did not know that the Falls of Niagara are not suited for sailing whether up or down! What people to govern a great empire! Thank God we now have Wellington at our head, and it is to be hoped he will take the road a man of his genius should take."

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TENTH EPOCH.

THIRD PERIOD.

CHARLES NAPIER's judgment in waiting on the Greek revolution was soon vindicated. One year after the rejection of his services in London, the leading men of Greece adjured him to command their army, and even to meddle with their government. It was at a time of great depression, when Ibrahim Pacha was ravaging the Morea and the Turkish fleet blockading their coast, that the Greeks thus turned towards him for safety. From Mavrocordato and Tricoupis in Greece, from Orlando and Luriotis in London, and from others of the islands, came letters saying, that his capacity and energy, his military knowledge and resolution; and still more the nice judgment with which he had performed his duty to a neutral government without losing the good-will of the Greeks, had attracted the attention of the Hellenes and they expected their salvation from him. Greece wished for and expected him. Such were the phrases used, and they were enough to stimulate a great spirit to a rash course; but truly he said of himself, that a wild enthusiasm was no part of his nature: he could grasp and appreciate all the calculable chances of a great enterprize, and dare anything; but he would not accept of any uncertainty capable of being solved beforehand. Upon this occasion a correspondence with his brothers displays his views.

"Argostoli, September 14th.—When a man's mind is resolved, there is little use in the whys and wherefores: my conditions for accepting command of the Greek forces are these, and you are authorized to act as agreed upon when they are fulfilled.

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"1°. Twelve thousand pounds deposited in your hands for me, as remuneration for sacrificing thirty years' service, rank and future prospects.

"2°. Two thousand pounds, to be paid in the proportion of one thousand to each of two scientific officers who have agreed to accompany me, and who are masters of modern Greek.

"3°. One hundred and fifty thousand or at least one hundred thousand, to be secured to the satisfaction of Mr. Ricardo, for the exact payment of the soldiers during the first six months, or as long as that sum lasts.

"4°. Ten thousand musquets, bayonets, pouches and belts must be immediately sent to Napoli di Romania, each pouch to contain sixty rounds of ammunition.

"5°. The twelve thousand pounds for myself is to be considered as definitive, and precluding any further demand on my part for pay, allowances or remuneration: for that I bind myself to the Greek service, except in the event of a war with England.

"6°. At least five hundred Englishmen, or Irishmen, or Scotsmen, equipped and armed like British soldiers, are to be sent to this island to accompany me to Greece.

"These conditions are nearly similar to those before offered by me in reply to a like proposition from the Greek government. At that time they were rejected, but are essential.

"September 15th.—Things are nearly arranged. The money for myself, for the two officers, and for the soldiers' pay, together with the ten thousand stand of arms have been offered. I am to be head of everything military, not even the government is to interfere. This assurance came with many letters, by a confidential agent who had full powers. I am invited to interfere in their political arrangements as my strength gathers, and even to take them all into my own hands when time is fitting. The £12,000 must be paid on my verbal promise, for if I am not to be trusted on such a matter, how can they trust me with power? It will, however,

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on this point be well to consult William and Bickersteth"—the late Lord Langdale, for whose powerful intellect and lofty disinterested character he had the greatest admiration.

"It will, in my opinion, be wise also to speak openly to Sir Herbert Taylor. The Horse Guards can have no objection to the sale of my commission after thirty-one years' service: if they have, to stick at such a loss in the game I am playing would be absurd, for it is a dangerous one. However moderation and caution go far, and my real fear fixes on the want of exertion in the deputies as to sending arms, ammunition and money: all other matters are but secondary. Their politics I will not mix in, my business shall be the single act of beating the Turks. No temptation, no flattery shall draw me into their politics: a man may do that when he has a formed army, but not when he has to create one in face of an enemy.

"Many gentlemen of these islands are, it is told me, resolved to go under my command, and to them shall be left the care of supporting me with the government; they are all persons of influence and good character, who were oppressed by Maitland for their interference in the Greek cause. The whole of the Capitani, Colocotroni included, have joined in the invitation to me, avowing a readiness to serve under me. Lying villains! It will be horrid to flatter these men, yet one cannot affront force without force: however a civil manner, with honest conduct, makes so many friends that villains are more easily baffled than people think. If this matter cannot be managed my failure is certain; but my conviction is that it can, or I would not go. As to the money for myself, accept no promises: no Greek ever tells truth. But the Greek deputies must be made to understand the necessity of my being accompanied by a strong force of foreign bayonets; they are the only arguments that will be heard in a country torn by national dissensions, and oppressed by a cruel enemy.

"November 4th.—A proclamation has just come out from

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the English government forbidding us to take part with the Greeks: this does not alarm me, but if it stops the Greek loan it will stop the money necessary for my ulterior operations, and my bargain must not be struck. If the loan goes on and the money is forthcoming, I have no fear for the ultimate result. If Napoli di Romania falls the Greek game is indeed over, and Missalonghi can scarcely last long; but all is well while Napoli holds out, and a loan can be raised; the proclamation will not stop me then; but it has made the Greeks indisposed as they expect England to go further against them. Ibrahim Pacha gave quarter at first to women and children, who were saleable: now he destroys all, and means to put an Arab population in the Morea. If the money for myself is paid, and the proclamation stops the loan and supply of arms and troops, and that I am actually out of the army, I am clearly entitled to keep that sum according to my express condition; but not being inclined thus to deprive the Greeks of that money, if they can supply the arms and money for the troops, go I will; not otherwise, for unless what can be done, and what cannot be done is clearly before me, no stirring for me: I will not run after impossibilities. But again: if the money and arms do arrive, my knowledge of the actual state of Greece enables me to say there is good ground for believing we shall free the Morea, and more: the supplies must however come before Napoli falls. If my commission is sold, tell Orlando to send me everything he can of money, that it may not be squandered on the Greek fleet, which cannot get Ibrahim out, though it might have prevented his getting in."

Here ceased the negotiation. The Greek government was worked upon by the members of the Greek loan committee, principally Mr. E. Ellice and Mr. Hume, men well qualified to mar any military enterprize: by them the Greek government was compelled to apply the money wanted for an army under Napier, to establish a fleet under Lord Cochrane, which, as foretold by the former, could do nothing effectual

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even under so justly renowned a commander. This wasteful mismanagement would probably have ruined the cause, if the European powers had not patched it up by that abortion called the kingdom of Greece. Yet the Greeks themselves would not resign the general of their choice, and still offered him personal remuneration in larger measure than before. But to degrade himself to a hireling adventurer was not in his thoughts. To rescue a brave and noted race from misery was his ambition; not for glory, but from beneficence and a feeling of strength to accomplish that noble object. Being now foiled in that, he turned his attention entirely to the public affairs of the islands, and finding Adam was projecting a loan on false principles offered a memoir, some extracts from which will indicate the extent of his studies in that branch of government.

"*Memoir.*—Bacon in his essay on Colonies says, 'Speedy prosperity is not to be neglected, so far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further.' In this view all money, above a small sum retained in the treasury to meet unforeseen expences, should be employed: but to borrow money for increase of production when a large sum exists in the treasury seems absurd. The progress of improvement should be steady, and vigorous; all projects should repay expences, and follow, not precede, public wants. Improvements should be gradual, when forced they cost too much and generally fail. The exertions of a state under an energetic administration with good management are natural; those stimulated by foreign loans are unnatural and detrimental. The continental Greeks borrowed money, but if they did not do so they would suffer more from the Turks: it is a choice of evils. With the Ionian Islands it will be a choice between good and evil; the good being an unincumbered revenue and large surplus, the evil a loan. It may be said, all this will by a loan be obtained in three instead of ten years: not so. Forced improvements outstrip wants. Men are astonished at wonders but do not

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use them as they ought. Improvements which follow wants are blessings, those which are forced becomes whims and mischievous. Craftsmen are required in great numbers, and must be brought from a distance, or taken from private employers, in either case distressing the country by extra cost, and eventually by starving artizans: it is better to do well than much, and very difficult to do both."

Sir F. Adam rejected this advice, but his extravagance was so known that capitalists would not lend. Indeed his object was only to minister to pomp, and the building palaces, of which he had three in Corfu: one of them was afterwards appropriated for a lunatic asylum but was found inconvenient, which drew from the Cephalonian Resident this biting sarcasm, that it was not constructed for so many!

Vexation from another quarter was at hand. The Duke of York's ill-will towards Charles Napier was always apparent. It had been evinced by tardiness of promotion, rough rejection of well-founded claims, and the withholding of honours, and now was displayed with broad injustice in the following manner. In Cephalonia the 51st Regiment was quartered under Lieutenant-Colonel Rice, an officer who in a long course of service had failed to convince any person but himself that he was a soldier. Garrison duty was then onerous for the field officers, and to relieve them, an order of Charles Napier's predecessor, which had been approved of by Sir Thomas Maitland, and again by Sir F. Adam, was revived. It was in strict accordance with the customs of the service, namely, to place some captains on to the field officers' rolster. Colonel Rice called it a degrading of the field officers to the captain's rolster, and with a false pretence obtained leave from the Resident to communicate with higher authority on the subject. Under this mask he forwarded charges against Colonel Napier, both to Sir F. Adam and the Duke of York, foully misrepresenting the matter, and misstating facts: the whole in violation of the regulations.

The duke had often before driven officers from the army

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for such a breach of discipline; but here, adopting without inquiry both the misstatement and inferences of Colonel Rice, he immediately directed the lord high commissioner to convey his "serious animadversions and censure upon Colonel Napier for having taken upon himself to introduce innovations into the British army, confounding ranks and degrading authority on which discipline depended!" Sir Frederick Adam, astounded at such a grandiloquent confusion of ideas and facts, answered, that if blame was merited he was responsible, having approved of the act, which was in accord with the practice of all garrisons, and was in fact an elevation of the captains, not a degradation of the field officers. Colonel Napier also, shewed at length, in an official letter, how falsely Colonel Rice had stated the matter; how he had broken the regulations by his complaint, and how unfounded was the charge of innovation, seeing that, on an emergency, nothing had been done but reviving an order of his predecessor, with the knowledge of and approval of the lord high commissioner. All this availed not. With a perverseness of authority truly royal, the duke reiterated the facts, as stated by Rice, and still assuming their truth, though solemnly denied by Adam and Napier, expressed his trust, that the former had conveyed his high displeasure, immediately on receipt of the first communication—"without waiting for the explanation which Colonel Napier was ready to afford!" Royal Rhadamanthus!

The affair was terminated by a direct command that Colonel Napier was immediately to rescind and annul his innovating garrison order. Upon which he simply remarked that he could neither rescind nor annul what never existed; and that if the secretary to his royal highness would only name the order meant, Colonel Napier's dream that there was no such thing, would end. But not content with this, his royal highness soon seized another occasion for insult: this time to protect moral turpitude and cruelty, for which the following complaint, publicly ad-

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dressed to the Resident by some Cephalonians with a demand for his interference, furnished the occasion.

"A poor girl only thirteen years old, orphan as to a mother, her father miserable and wandering to obtain subsistence, was by this father, in hope to gain something by his child's services, allowed to enter the family of Captain ——, 51st Regiment. Instead of being employed in his house, she was insidiously passed into the service of D—— of the same regiment, who had asked for her, and taking advantage of her tender age debauched her. After retaining her for fifteen days, he removed her to a room in the house of a woman he had taken into his affections: then giving the girl sixteen dollars and some clothes he abandoned her in such a state that she fell into total perdition."

The accused officers, far from denying the facts, sought only to palliate their offence and evade public exposure, by charging this girl of thirteen with levity, and extravagant expenditure of the dollars and clothes given to her by the seducer! Charles Napier however, convinced by evidence that the case was even worse than represented in the complaint, put the offenders in arrest and applied for a court-martial. Sir F. Adam, thinking it difficult to frame a charge under the articles of war, referred the matter to his royal highness as one calling for a summary exercise of power. Far from acceding to this, the duke, with a laboured sophistry, evincing throughout a consciousness of wrong and a secret motive, not only exonerated the accused of having committed any offence, but spoke of them as injured persons! Then forbidding any reply, reproved in the severest terms both Sir Frederick and Colonel Napier for having interfered, and ordered that his animadversions should be publicly read at the head of every regiment in every island!

Probably his royal highness's own antecedents in such affairs of gallantry made him reluctant to throw stones; and the tacit rebuke which his previous unjust partiality had sustained from the unanswerable explanation about Rice,

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suggested the prudence of prohibiting any reply on the present occasion. But the reading of the reprimand at the head of every regiment in every island, could only have personal ill-will for motive, and a more flagrant display of hostility, a more open protection of immorality could scarcely be made. So it was regarded by the community. An officer, writing from Zante after hearing the public reading, with concise power thus spoke the general feeling. "All I have to say, is that I know not what to say. What is to become of us? Are we to be gentlemen or not?"

Charles Napier's notice of the matter was thus endorsed on the duke's letter. "His royal highness's view is so prejudiced as scarcely to be worth an answer, were I permitted to make one; but I could do so most fully, and to the infamy of the men he protects." Now turning from this revolting display of power protecting vice, the insulted man's correspondence shall be resumed. It recommences in 1826. His first emotion was to throw up his commission and appeal to the public; but void of self-reproach his spirit soon recovered buoyancy, disdaining the wrong.

"January 1st.—A happy new year to you beloved mother, all happiness to you, I cannot let the day pass without telling you how much I love you. I am much pleased at having made a garden in a convent, six miles from the capital, with a view to teach the peasants how to garden. Being director of all convents, I took from the largest so much as would pay a soldier gardener, and a Greek lad, whom the soldier is to teach: this boy is so eager that he has a part for himself which the soldier is not to touch. The vegetables are given away, not sold, and spare seeds also: all the nuns are becoming gardeners, earnestly watching the progress of the soldier, who by the way is a very handsome young man. Whether they are attracted by beans or beauty is not known, but it is supposed by beans, as the ladies average about ninety years each. The Greek lad's friends

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are already beginning to make gardens and useful knowledge is thus planted.

"February 14th.—My wit for torturing is a pretty one, and just now bent to practise on a gentleman of the island; but unfortunately it cannot be indulged because he is unknown: he fastened a kettle to my poor dog's tail with wire, which has torn the flesh off legs and tail, and he is in such a state we fear madness, for he is very queer. Were his tormentor and I in a wilderness, and he the weakest, he should wish all kettles, all wires, nay! all tinmen and tinkers and dogs at the devil. Is it not horrible to torment such animals as dogs and horses, or any animal, for no reason but the beastly one of giving pain? Jack it must be owned was *bite-iferous;* but only to people who came to his house with, as he thought, malevolent designs: had they slain him at once it might have been excused. To talk of pleasanter things—yet Jack's mishap will intrude,—my roads begin to tell. Seventy miles are fit for riding, and twenty for carriages: and there are such beautiful milestones that the mules stop to admire them, and donkeys gaze with wonderment!

"Now for a Greek story. Having built a very high wall, and being in some fear of its falling, my doubts were made known to the Greek mason, who very gravely answered thus. Excellenza di God he tomble down out of di heaven, because mi no understand what keep him dere: but dat wall he never tombel down. What a good mason this fellow would have been at the building of Babel!

"The fall of Missalonghi has been a sad affair: glorious but terrible. The fighting men, numbering eighteen hundred, cut their way out; the old, the sick, the women and children were self-destroyed to avoid worse! Poor people! The Greeks have now but to put all into the hands of Fabvier, a French officer of name, and so far as I trace his conduct a man of talent: he has made mistakes, but apparently not his own, he is not master. My best has been

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done here to persuade the Greeks to throw all into his hands. Napoli di Romania will now be besieged: but a friend of the Greeks"—himself, "has convinced them of the importance of Napoli de Malvasia, and they have at last provisioned it, but only for six months: that will do if they keep the sea, and that the Maniotes are staunch, but Colocotroni is now commander in chief which augurs badly."

The horrible storming of Missalonghi was thus described by one of the survivors.

"On the night of Saturday, 22nd April, I escaped from Missalonghi with seven others. In the town, for seventeen days we had lived on the carcases of horses, cats and rats, and those being finished we ate sea-weed, and roots picked up on the beach. These failed also, and after remaining four days without food we resolved on a sortie in four columns, each to sally in a different direction, having the aged, the women and children, in the centre. At 9 P.M. four hundred of us rushed out against a Turkish battery, but were instantly cut to pieces. One hundred remained, who took to the mountains, pursued by the Turkish cavalry, and I know not if they escaped. General Tzavella, seeing this disaster would not let the other columns follow, ordering them to remain and perish in Missalonghi. At 11 P.M., the same night, the Turks in mass made an irruption from the battery, entered the town, set fire to all the wooden houses, and massacred all the women and children they met with. The armed Greeks betook themselves to their fortified houses and batteries, but after two hours' fighting left the batteries for the fortified houses; they were fifty in number and supplied with ammunition. Finding themselves in danger of being taken prisoners they fired the houses and were all burned or buried beneath the ruins. In the fortified mills were a hundred and fifty men who defended themselves the whole of Sunday, but at length, worn out, fired their ammunition and all blown up. The infirm, the women and children, had gathered in one place and fought for several hours but finally blowed themselves

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up, sharing the fate of their heroic companions. Such is the sad story of Missalonghi's fall."

Charles Napier now begun a settlement of Maltese agriculturists at Pronos, a wild neglected yet fertile district; designing thereby not only to reclaim it but to introduce better husbandry into Cephalonia. It was a favourite project and well calculated for good, but he was instantly opposed and thwarted by intrigues, the movers of which he could not discover. Old decrepid men and troublesome characters were sent, instead of skilled labourers, and soon became wandering beggars. But to drive him from a well-considered plan was not easy. He renewed his efforts, planted his colony, and placing an active skilled young Englishman, or rather Australian, Mr. E. Curling, at the head, soon brought the farming to a state of prosperity. It spread a knowledge of cultivation, excited the shrewd imitative Greeks, and was moreover beginning to return a profit to government, when Sir Frederick Adam, jealous himself and surrounded by jealous and envious men, stamped it out. This happened however at a later date.

No other events of note occurred during the summer, but many influential continental Greeks, and men of the Archipelago; and some celebrated persons, such as Captain Hamilton of the Cambrian, Mr. Gordon, Trelawney, and others, kept the Cephalonian Resident fully informed of the progress of Greek freedom: all regretting the loss of his services to the cause. Some would have had him relinquish his terms; but he would not, remaining intent on his own government until a dreadful calamity bowed him to the dust. On the 20th of August his mother died at the age of eighty-one. The tenor of his long correspondence must speak for the depth of his affliction; no journals or letters describing his feelings exist; his grief was silent. This event brought him once more to England, where he remained for several months, sorrowing in secret, yet presenting his usual firm front to adversity.

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In April 1827 he married a widow, much older than himself, but to whom he was strongly attached, and in July he returned with her to Cephalonia, from whence his family correspondence was renewed, chiefly with his sisters: the first was however written in England.

"April 1827.—It pleases me dear Louisa to hear that your friend Mr. Robinson, (Lord Ripon,) is to be our master: yet Lord Bathurst was a good one, of whom we had nothing to complain, for he took a fair view, and a liberal one of our small affairs. Personally this change affects me not, save through the lord high commissioner; but who he is, and what he is, makes all to me, and two good fellows like Adam and Robinson, are not likely to fall out."

His natural sagacity was here at fault, as indeed it often was, as to men, through life, being blunted by his natural goodness and generous temper: always he accepted them as worthy, and even amplified their supposed merits in his own mind, until bad actions aroused his suspicions; and even then, slowly and reluctantly he resigned favourable sentiments. These "two good fellows" did not indeed fall out, but will be found hereafter, conjointly and separately his bitter enemies, treating him at the most important periods of his life with inexpressible injustice. His letter thus continues.

"The whole country seems wild about Canning; his popularity is something wonderful; and when the king and the people join who is to shake him? Why is he such a great man all of a sudden? In the city, amongst the counting-houses, nothing but Canning! Canning! would they cry. One man who directs several steam and gas companies, assured me that Canning won all the battles in the Peninsula: the utmost grace to be obtained for the Duke of Wellington was, that he was present at some of them, and did not always run away. Well, my hope is to have him back at the head of the army."

In Cephalonia he found Paul Buonaparte a son of

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Lucien, seeking to join the Greeks: he liked him much, and gave him an earnest recommendation to Lord Cochrane, who was then admiral of the Greek fleet. "He is," he said, "the son of a man who refused sovereignty altogether, when most of the great crowns of Europe were in his choice."

"September 24th.—Your eloquent men dear Louisa, are not fit for ministers; and the duke's return as commander in chief is delightful. My agricultural colony goes on beautifully, and my table is furnished with vegetables from a tract of country which, ten months ago, was a barren uninhabited waste. I feel proud of this colony; it is being of use to our kind to have taken three hundred starving people, fed them, and made them turn a desert into a garden. The people here have had a bust of me made, and say it is very like. This is agreeable, but we always sit beside sorrow. My wife has had a dreadful overturn. I try not to think of it. Bacon is right. A man is more fit for public life without wife or child. Yet when death comes there is perhaps more comfort in love than glory. Poor old Blanco died in the Bay of Biscay, dropped suddenly."

His private note-book recommenced at this time.

"Note-book.—I have been irregular as to journals all my life. On most of my campaigns they were kept, but some are lost, and unless something spurs idleness prevails: every one cannot, like Mr. Pepys, put down their doses of physic and effects; nor what one's wife wore each day: a dull day, and most of mine are so, needs no register of its monotony; wherefore my recollections shall be only set down here according to my humour, but I have had many accidents and odd adventures.

"When a boy at Limerick a rascal half persuaded me to be a methodist; but he soon betrayed the secrets of his principles. Soon afterwards he was detected cheating the public, and turned out of the custom-house. What an insufferable rogue to have been too bad even for the Limerick

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customs! I remember nothing good but the pigs and gloves; and nothing pleasant but the women, who were quite delightful, and as wicked as they were pretty: or as women could wish to be. Well, time gives broad hints, though I never take them. The old bore however goes on, and on, and on, and blow after blow falls thicker and heavier and closer. We begin life thinking whom time hits, but I am come to the age in which we look for whom he misses! After all it is a glorious race between eight hundred millions of people, all trying to lose! This leads to religion.

"Every man thinks of this subject, because every man knows he must die, and he is more reflective as he approaches his end. Many people harp on the necessity of fixed principles. For moral conduct Yes! Do as you would be done by: but for religion—Jesus of Nazareth! the thing is impossible! Who that ever inquired can have fixed principles? They require proof, and that we have not for, or against any religion—sect I should say.

"None are so dull, but that they might, if willing, understand why their neighbour cannot believe as they do. The greatest fool may find truth if he seeks it, and thus be convinced that no man's religion is wrong who honestly practises what he professes, and does not endanger society. Judge not lest ye be judged. Let the orthodox man believe his dogmas, they may be right; but let me have mine without Smithfield fires. Your fixed principles people will not be content with this; principles are not fixed unless they are their principles. But there are no such things as fixed principles; these people mean fixed feelings or convictions: nothing can be fixed without proof. It is a fixed principle that the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a right angle triangle; but to bet on a horse is not so, it is only a fixed feeling that he will win. I believe in a Creator because we are created, and that He enters into all our thoughts and actions. I believe in a

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future state, but do not presume to judge what that state will be. I do not, so far as my present judgment leads me, believe that Christ was God, for many reasons: two will suffice. First. Believing in a future state, and in a great and merciful God, the tenets of Christ are for me true, without thinking God took man's form to teach them. God has Himself given me self-conviction of a future state by simple means: and if to me, so to others. Second. If Christ was man, I can as man follow his precepts and example, for what man has done man may do. But if Christ were God I am hopeless to imitate, and thus cover my frailty—God could resist passions, I cannot. In this view I find myself travelling side by side with the orthodox magnate of Canterbury on the road to heaven; only meeting here and there a stile which he gets over one way and I another. We differ greatly though on one point; he would burn me for getting over differently from him, whereas I would not even say he was wrong: but thus travelling, in trying to get out of the archbishop's way I come against a stiff-necked atheist, who thus accosts me.

"So you believe in God and a future state? Yes! worshipful, or rather non-worshipful sir. You soldiers are queer fellows. You ain't afraid of a cannon-ball, yet quaver before a parson. Beg pardon atheistship—am, and ever was very much afraid of a cannon-ball, and never feared a parson, except when expecting long sermons in a cold church. Then give me proof that your creed is true. No friend, I am not able. My faith is made up from feeling, the result of accidents, reflections, dangers, joys, a hotch-potch of things, many of which I can't remember, but they have produced decided results in my bosom. I will even own that for me there is no proof of a future state to oppose to your reason: you would lay me prostrate. But I have a heart as well as a head, and may surely cultivate one as well

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as the other. Let me now ask you some questions, your answers will shew you my meaning.

"Ask.

"Have you a child? Yes. So have I. Let us then suppose my child more useful to society than yours, which we will call a very mischievous creature; but you love it, and it is a good child to you. Suppose one must die, and you had to decide which: you would grieve, but would kill mine? Yes, colonel. But that would be against reason, mine being of most use. I love mine best. Exactly so, but that is feeling, not reason. If your child died would you not be more sorry than if mine died? Yes. Feeling again. An impartial person would regret mine most as being the best. For children substitute religion, and say mine is the worst, the most offensive to all persons but myself; still it is a help and comfort to me; a thousand trifles, a thousand feelings make it all in all to me: your reasoning may be stronger than mine, but feeling overrules! My child is good to me, and as yours cannot supply its place, a higher reason says, Keep that which gives you comfort."

"March 1828.—What have I done for Cephalonia in return for the four dollars a day she has given to me for six years? This question must be answered honestly if not satisfactorily, in a concise manner.

"1°. I have built two market-places and established two markets. Before my time she had none; the people knew not what a market meant: they opposed me, but the hand of power prevailed against the opinion of fools.

"2°. A mole from the bridge to the lazzaretto—one mile and a half: it was previously a dirty sea beach.

"3°. More than one hundred miles of road, forty miles blasted out of the solid rock.

"4°. Spacious streets constructed, instead of dirty narrow lanes which composed the town previous to my coming.

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" 5°. The little mud square fronting the house of George Coidan, was by me flagged, surrounded with columns and chains, and so changed to a neat piazza.

" 6°. I raised all that part of the town towards the bridge, which part was before mud; and then formed a pretty street on what was previously beach; the houses and the ground now between it and the sea were also my doing: that is, I filled the sea up and sold the ground for government at four times the cost of filling up. Moreover I am gradually forcing the neighbouring proprietors to fill up, being convinced that the low level of Argostoli on that side causes the illness constantly suffered, more even than the neighbouring marsh of Cranea, which is so execrated.

" 7°. All the narrow lanes have been paved, and the barrack at St. George's Castle restored.

" 8°. I established Dickson's school for girls at the expence of the convents.

" 9°. The Maltese colony at Pronos has been planted by me, and a barren waste without inhabitants, though naturally the most fertile district of Cephalonia, has thus been rendered the best cultivated of the island: my hope is this will go on, it is my best work.

10°. My new prison, nearly completed, and the market-place at Luxuri, are magnificent structures. If the stone proves as good as Kennedy's architecture, they are immortal works, honourable to the projector and executor—myself and Kennedy: and neither of us think small beer of ourselves for the same.

" 11°. The lighthouse is hardly claimable by me, the public cried out for one, and in my absence it was projected; but my return was exactly timed to stop a miserable work like a windmill, which ——— and ——— in the exuberance of their taste were going to place in a wrong position! I broke the contract and saved our credit; but not being an architect waited for Kennedy's arrival, when his genius erected the superb column now on Guardiani Island. It is mine so

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far, that without me it would not have been; but no jealousy troubles me in such matters: my interest in useful things proposed by others is as great as if they were my own. The mole was not my project originally, yet I executed it under great difficulties; for all the world, except McLean and Kennedy, and a few who expected inordinate profit, opposed me. Now the whole city is in extacy with the work! But this is human nature: things pronounced beforehand foolish, bad, and even impracticable, are when done called useful, wise, and above all—perfectly easy of execution! My mountain roads were denounced as 'attempts bordering on madness.' Now, 'nothing could be less difficult; any one could have done the same.' Yes! any one could, but no one did. The truth is, most people are lazy and I am not so; and have enough of mathematics in me to execute what I conceive.

"12°. The quarry of Luxuri stone opened by me. If it stands all weather and time, which is more than I am at present sure of, it will be very valuable, and is very beautiful.

"13°. I have drawn Paul Valsamachi, Demetrio Delladecima, and Mignetti out of the cloud which hid them from favour; and pulled up the brothers Constantine and Spiro Valsamachi from the dust, to make them judges. I served McPhail and Maudesly, and brought Kennedy from Ireland, when he had nearly slipped through the fingers of fools. Primera also, and others of worth, have been by me brought forward, and these things are, in my mind, amongst my best doings.

"14°. The money I saved for the public has been considerable, but of no use—it has been saved for fools to squander.

"15°. I have made rules to save the poor peasants from being cheated by the public agents in the weighing and taxing of their staple commodity, the currants; and those rules have been effectual.

"16°. I broke two vile judges high in rank for foul op-

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pression of the poor; but the blow was not followed up at Corfu: my part however had great effect. Were I lord high commissioner the villains should have been hung in chains like scarecrows and as scare judges!

"17°. I wrote a good book about Cephalonia.

"18°. The command of the Greek army was by me refused, except on conditions; it did not suit me to be commander in name not in fact, like Church, who calling himself generalissimo, is yet obliged to beg of his soldiers to do their duty as a personal favour! The Greek government tried to meet my terms but could not bring it about, save as regarding my personal interest, which was precisely what I least cared for, and would not accept without the others—yet I would have accepted the others without that. They were able and willing to advance my share, but had they assured me of the public money and arms I would have gone at all hazards. Kennedy, Muir, Stevens, and six other Englishmen would have gone under me; and twelve Greek gentlemen of weight and property, and looked up to in Greece, were prepared to follow, but I would have started with the Englishmen.

"19°. I introduced spinning-wheels to Cephalonia.

"20°. I opened the ports of Algo, Guiscardo, Samos and Pronos, proving to the Corfu government that the having shut up Asso and Guiscardo was a mistake, which lost money and distressed the people.

"For all these things, and some more, my pay was good, more than enough for my labour; for as to labouring for pay we are none of us ever better than we should be. On a conscientious examination of my six years' government, four may be called lost from dawdling; or rather two lost, and two that a more decided energetic man would have made more of. Yet I have seen others lose the whole six years! How idle men are! Two years ought to have sufficed for all my works; and yet I have a name for being active, and am so, compared with the drones around; but not when con-

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science is called in to witness, and when the sense of what a man can do, if all his energies are put forth, is consulted. Man! man! thou art a beast in whose sides the spur should be ever plunged!"

These were noble works to be accomplished by a single man, harassed and restricted by ignorant and jealous superiors. More! yes, ten times as much would have been done by that energetic spirit, that original genius and unceasing activity, prompted by the unbounded benevolence of that great heart, if free action had been accorded by the narrow intellect of the man under whom he served. But more was done. His statement only notes the salient points of his government, and not all of those. He is silent upon the fisheries he established, and his well-conceived plan for draining the pestiferous marsh of Cranea; nor has he told of the days of labour and nights of sleepless care, of suffering and thought, austere and continued with a severity to waste the body, and drive the mind to fatuity, if both had not been sustained by a spirit capable of surmounting any danger, and every difficulty. He has not noted either, the eternal thwarting, the foolish interference, the absurd orders and instructions, the silly plans, regulations and laws—all tending to public confusion, which emanated from the Corfu government and its parasites, and which he had to resist, or to palliate from his own inexhaustible resources of mind.

He has not noted that the greater portion of the Cephalonian revenue, which he was constantly augmenting and saving with a miser's care, was as constantly drawn away to Corfu, there to be squandered on palaces, and on fawning treasury leeches, and on ill-conceived and worse-executed public works: a few miles of road made by Sir F. Adam at Corfu, cost, in a level country, more than the hundred miles of mountain road at Cephalonia!

He has not noted, the thousand acts of private benevolence which endeared him to the islanders; nor the higher tone he gave to public feeling and patriotism; nor the purity he

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introduced into the administration of justice; nor the improvement of the laws; nor the great spring he gave to commerce, to internal traffic, to general enterprise and to the expansion of the currant grape cultivation, by teaching the people how to support the earth with terraces along the mountain sides. Nor has he spoken out, of his unceasing vigilance for the protection of the peasants against feudal oppression, while he nourished their spirit of independence by a just administration, of which one example will suffice for illustration. A poor man bought a peculiarly fine fish in the market of Argostoli, but the intendant of a great feudal signor coming up, insisted on having it for his lord. Peasant and salesman hesitated, the intendant menaced, but at that moment Charles Napier was seen on horseback at the farther end of the market, and the salesman instantly called out to the poor man—Take your fish! we have laws now, and here comes the man who will enforce them!

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TENTH EPOCH.

FOURTH PERIOD.

A MAN so pure and energetic in the public service as Charles Napier, was entitled at least to support from the governments whose credit and character he sustained by his integrity and talent: but these qualities were offensive to men devoid of them; and enmity, malignant and treacherous, being aroused, would not be appeased until he was driven into private life. His oppressors hoped indeed to suppress him altogether: but God who gave him the qualities so offensive to their mediocrity had destined him for fame.

"Miss Napier, April 14th.—As your friend Lord Goderich, (Ripon,) by losing the premiership brings in the Duke of Wellington I rejoice, for we are in too bad a state for any man but old Douro to save us. Weak men do not suit these times, and orators least of all. Let me talk at random. Kennedy's lighthouse is beautiful. The column is eighty foot high, of cut stone, quite white and fluted; any architect will tell you what a fine thing it is. My Maltese colony also flourishes like flowers in May. Is Lady Georgina Bathurst married? My love to her. Wedded or single she is the prettiest person I know. Again let me say, that the duke being premier delights me; the best chance for England is having the greatest man of Europe for her ruler. He has done all he ever had to do well, and we are too far gone to care about Whig or Tory, it is an affair of existence. 'But he is a fool!' Ay! but then how got he there? as Mrs. Siddons said of the French minister who died in his bureau, which she interpreted an escritoire.

"His brother William, April.—Church has sent me an

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account of his plans, which appear bad. He has spent money and food idly, at Dragomestre, and now he has neither: nor discipline. He had but few men, yet has spread them on a chain of posts for fifty miles, and he is trying to stop the predatory excursions of the Greeks; but what else has he to look to? He threatens, he says, Lepanto and Missalonghi; that is, he sends ten or twenty thousand wild rascals to the neighbouring mountains, who come back when they have stolen all the sheep and goats of their friends. Fabvier has failed at Scio, as he has everywhere. He is superior as a general to Church; but they have both gone the wrong way to work, and shew that they neither knew the Greeks nor their own lesson. To attack fortified places or positions is not of the Greek character, troops or people in their present state; nor would it be wise to do so if it were. They should take and fortify positions on the Turks' lines of operations, which are few, and unchangeable because they depend on certain strong towns. The Greeks are bad for assailing such positions, but the Turks are worse; they would wonderfully dislike the option of starving, or carrying a Greek position: the secret on both sides is, that neither expects quarter, and therefore both defend themselves lustily. All the Greek generals have been bent on assailing positions; but neither they, nor Fabvier, nor Church, have thought of assailing supplies: they must change this, or suffer defeat.

"As to these islands, would that Lord Bathurst were our master again! We are going fast. Sir F. Adam has spent all our money, fribbled it away, and has nothing to shew. He has no system, no general views; all is extravagance, accompanied by mean savings and the employing of too many people too highly paid. I gave him a plan for reduction, which would save at least a hundred thousand dollars yearly; he approved, yet no reduction has taken place. He has re-appointed a body called 'The Supreme Council of Justice.' Kirkpatrick is the head, having under him two clever Greeks who ride Adam roughshod, and Adam does

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not perceive that they are tying his own power up in a sack, for they rule the islands. I proved to him two nefarious acts of theirs, for which I would have hanged them by special commission. Yet Adam will not strike! I would run any risk of offending him by telling the truth, if it would do good; but he thinks I talk nonsense, although the existing confusion is a source of public ridicule; and fear also, for fresh taxes are dreaded."

This generous feeling towards Sir Frederick, had been maintained despite of many mortifying crossings, which Charles Napier in his singleness of mind would only accept as well-meaning weaknesses; but he was now compelled to understand, that he had to do with a man in whom envy and duplicity strove on equal terms with folly: the proof came abruptly.

"His brother, July 24th.—Sir Frederick Adam has suddenly passed an act through the Ionian parliament, for taking the roads and other public works entirely out of my hands. If he liked to do this, and as he is said to have expressed himself—'tie up Napier's hands,' he had full right; but what hurts me is concealment of the whole until the act was prepared: this is what one gets by serving a fool! The act is not indeed directed against me by name, but there are scarcely any works going on in the other islands, except Cerigo; and the Resident there, who has followed my system, writes to me thus, 'I feel that all my exertions have been so much crime, and I walk about like a detected felon.' Adam is jealous, is always courting popularity, and to gain it momentarily puts an end to my works. I did think him loyal, and that was a great counterweight to his folly: now I find him the reverse, his mind is too little to be honest. Capo D'Istria frightens him, yet Capo D'Istria can scarcely hold his own, as president of Greece, while he menaces Adam. And lo! the latter's folly! We are hovering between war and peace with Russia, all the islanders are Russian, and he takes this moment to let the people arm, for the

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sake of a pound, yearly tax on their guns! They are of course arming themselves.

"Now for my tailor. He is a Daniel, and woe betide the lions who get into his den, if they wear breeches. Oh! I forgot that they were civil lions and did not tear, which his breeches do: also he eats me up. If a revolution happens in England off goes Daniel's head with his own shears, which will be but sheer justice," &c. The remainder of this letter is in the wildest Rabelais vein, such being his wont when moved by grief, anger or mortification: the two last were now prevalent and appear in the following remonstrance against the new act.

"Colonel Rudsdale. I have felt much on reading the new road act. That his excellency's authority is supreme, and that he cannot be troubled with Residents' opinions is unquestionable. At the same time, after six years' strenuous exertions to give his excellency's orders full effect; after having had his approbation, and that of Sir Thomas Maitland; I might have received some hint from you that a bill was being prepared, by which the works that had occupied my time and thoughts so many years were to be taken entirely out of my hands, and placed in those of a municipal body. I may also be allowed to feel hurt at your official letter telling me, tacitly, that I am not a judge of what is urgent and what is not. That the bridges were urgent, essentially so, could be proved, but I am not inclined to do so: I am now merely stating my feelings as a private gentleman. They certainly are not flattered by being told I am not capable of deciding upon the urgency of a trifling work of forty pounds, after having conducted the whole of the public works for six years; after saving fifty thousand dollars out of the sum allotted for the expence; and yet executing them in a way that excited repeated expressions of astonishment and admiration from your engineer, Mr. Fletcher.

"Personally the new act has relieved me from a world of

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very disagreeable and painful responsibility, of which I was heartily sick; for whatever credit may attach to the initiative arrangement, and whatever approbation has been bestowed by his excellency and the public, much hatred has also arisen for my resolute perseverance in execution. Now my small share of credit will remain, and my unpopularity subside. To be lord high commissioner is not likely to be my lot; if it was I should rejoice at the delay in completing the works which will now occur, leaving for me the laurels. No, it is not the act which gives me concern; nor the manner of it; nor your letter that would do so, if the act and your letter were from Sir Thomas Maitland and Hankey: it is because it is your doing that I feel hurt. That feeling time will remove, and his excellency may rest assured it shall not interfere with the service: all my force shall be applied to give full effect to the new act, so far as that act will prevent my interfering."

It was with such gentle dignity he rebuked an ignoble breach of friendship; yet he was deeply pained to find this failure in a man to whom he had been sincerely attached. Meanwhile he treated the act with the severity it merited for its folly and malignity.

Sir F. Adam boasted that he had tied up Napier's hands, not perceiving that he had thereby tied up his own honour, and all claim to sense at the same time, and in a very dirty bundle. His act was however a result of fear as well as jealousy: for at this period war had commenced between Russia and Turkey; and Capo D'Istria, an Ionian, though president of Greece, was still the Czar's agent, seeking to stir the island Greeks to insurrection against England. Her government was represented by him as being in various ways tyrannical, and Adam, timid as all weak men are when danger is to be probed, thought Capo D'Istria formidable, and therefore sought to render his own government agreeable to the Ionians by lowering its just powers. This was a strange way to conciliate men who were aiming to destroy

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it altogether; but Cephalonia offered him the means of combining the remedy for his fears with the gratification of malignant feelings towards its Resident. Pretending that the people were oppressed by the public works, he with a foolish cunning, masked or rather marked his fear of Capo D'Istria, by depriving Charles Napier of all control over the public works, transferring it to the regent and municipality, with many new and pernicious rules, but all directed to acquire that momentary, shameful popularity, which greets the bending of just power before insolent pretension. With this introduction the nature of the act will be learned from the following strictures written after experience of its working.

"Strictures. This act cannot bear examination in respect of foreign policy, internal policy, or island improvement. What care need the Ionian government have for any power, while protected by the strong arm of England? None, if its acts be just. Capo D'Istria can scarcely maintain his own power, and the government of these islands may despise him. When some one spoke to the French general Donzelot, during his government here, of danger from Capo D'Istria, he asked—How many soldiers has he in Corfu? None. Very well, I have a thousand! The point to consider is whether, being all-powerful, we are just? Whether we give to weakness and hostility the alliance of public opinion? Let us then consider the conduct of the Corfu government towards Cephalonia.

"It issued originally an act to form roads by corvée, but laid down nothing special, leaving all to the local government. Now, after six years' progress, taking no heed of such long experience by those engaged on the work, it issues a new act with minute details, which should clearly have been first issued, and the alterations called for by experience should have followed. Capo D'Istria of course says, with seeming truth, Oh ho! you avow a course of oppression for six years, and confirm the confession by an

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act of parliament: you can no longer call it an enemy's aspersion! When I, who know your tricks, was in disgrace and obscurity you had no pity on the Ionians; now being in power you fear me, and the people get from your fear what their groans could not get from your justice. What weakness! But Capo D'Istria knows not the full extent of this weakness. No oppression, no injustice, has been perpetrated in Cephalonia, and the people dare not complain openly of any without being instantly put to shame as liars. To say no man met with injustice in the course of six years' work on the roads none but an idiot would assert, but the whole in principle and practice has been thoroughly just. How weak then to change a good system from fear of Capo D'Istria; how weak to be bullied out of right, not into right, and thus avow that right was wrong from fear. If wrong has happened in the other islands, it should be corrected without this exhibition of mistrust in our own strength, and therefore for external policy this new act is silly and contemptible.

"As to internal policy, when blind men ride hard, and ignorance becomes vigorous in legislation, great is the danger. The Cephalonian peasant is idle, fond of shooting, gambling, and lawsuits; for these he sacrifices tillage, family and substance; yet from under population and the great demand for workmen labour is so paid, that two days' wages enables him to spend five on his pleasures: the indolence natural in a warm climate is thus fostered, and policy dictates the disarming of the peasants, and the stimulating their industry. The corvée did this. Had it admitted exemption for a privileged class it would have been an insufferable cruelty and injustice; but as it embraced all men, like that established in America, it was just, and being necessary was useful. Still this question remains, How far may forced labour be justly demanded by a government? My conviction was, that four days in each month is not too much for men who can in three months earn

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full subsistence for a year; the other nine months being spent in idleness, or worse. The general government decided that one day in a fortnight should be the rule, and so it was for six years. At first it caused great discontent, the people could not even see the use of roads: latterly they saw the advantage, and their displeasure so far abated as to last only while the day's work was being exacted.

"What has been the moral effect? Instead of thinking, as before, that labour was disgraceful, they are grown to be good workmen, cheerful workmen, and have no longer shame at working for themselves. Being deprived of guns, and seeing British officers work with them, the use of the spade is no longer a mark of extreme poverty; and it is beyond question, that the industry of the male peasants has increased and fewer women are put to the spade. Moreover the men, when working in common with the British soldiers for the public did not feel humbled in their own estimation. There was also another co-operating stimulus to industry. Those who know the Greek character are aware that for nothing, save sensual indulgence, will they disburse money. This is the case with all half-civilized nations; and is here so strong, that even the more educated enlightened classes will never speculate on future profit: many sound projects have been ruined because the projector would not advance capital. This feeling has caused numbers of men who abhorred labour even for their own advantage, to take up the spade, rather than lay down the shilling fine for absence from the corvée they threw off their jackets and turned to with spirit. The Resident worked, the engineer worked, British sergeants and soldiers worked: who then could laugh at or contemn work? No one did. Having worked for government they now in numbers work for themselves; and the women of several districts praise the corvée, saying—Our men do not leave all the digging to us, and we have time at home to spin.

"Another fact to be noted is, that the men on corvée do

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now three times as much labour in a day as they did at first; and have acquired a quickness and industry and knowledge, apparent to every one, in their mode of extracting rocks, building dry stone walls, banking up ground; it is a source of admiration to themselves and to those who have witnessed their progress. They will now clear ground for cultivation that they would not have even looked at before; and the seeing fine roads carried through precipices and over rocks where only goats could pass previously, has awakened them to industry and enterprise: labour has thus become fashionable with the peasants instead of disreputable.

"The Cephalonian peasant had been idle because the government gave him no security for the fruit of industry; because high wages enabled him to live with little work; because he loved shooting, gambling and tending goats. The Resident of Cephalonia looked to these things when fixing the corvée at four days in a month; that was diminished by Sir F. Adam, influenced by cunning gentlemen, who seeing payments were regulated by the quantity of labour, looked to diminish their contributions in lieu thereof. But opening the fertile valleys of Cephalonia by roads has been declared 'not useful' by some Grecian and English oracles. This I leave to men's opinion; it sufficed for me that the lord high commissioner and his parliament ordered roads to be made, and I made them: the public approved, and though the paradoxical assisted the coffee-house keepers' trade by their harangues, their doctrines vanished with the smoke of their own pipes.

"When the quota of labour to be demanded from the poorer classes was fixed, the payments by those who did not like work were to be regulated. My first idea was to fix it by the extent of property; but it was soon found that it would be more easy to fix it by classes, and would be as just: Cephalonia contains such variety of ground, flat, hilly, fertile, sterile, public, private, townships, commons, woods, and all with such uncertain boundaries, that to determine

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any man's property was difficult. Vast tracts were in dispute; vast tracts usurped; there were great obstacles without proportional means for overcoming them: for to the difficulty of ascertaining ownership for rating the corvée, would be added enormous perjury and fraud, and the extent of property could not be a good rule. Count Carburi is perhaps the poorest gentleman of Cephalonia, yet possesses a vast, and a rich territory if he had capital to work it up: it now produces nothing, yet must be taken at a fair value! The practical difficulties of this mode were enormous, but as no gentleman had to pay above five pounds yearly, by dividing them into six classes and taxing the highest five the lowest one pound, seemed a fair and not an onerous system: and to ease those who worked, instead of paying, a seventh class was established, permitted to buy off any particular day of labour at the cost of tenpence.

"The next point was to allow of no privileged class and no shirkers. The Resident voluntarily paid more than the richest gentleman; all other English gentlemen receiving island pay also gave their proportion: none were exempt, save some extremely indigent priests who had no just excuse for not working; but to have compelled them to do so in their religious costume would have rendered this priest-ridden community furious. These few were therefore exempt, but all others, priest and layman, paid or laboured. The measure thus established was just, and therefore rigorously enforced: and in two years the roads would have been finished and the corvée terminated, if an ignorant imbecile administration of the general finances for four years at Corfu had not interfered. Such was my road system, calculated to correct idle habits, if supported by just administration, and a disarmament. It was not oppressive, it was impartial, and finally extremely œconomical. Instead of borrowing from the public chest, as happened at Corfu to the amount of eighty thousand dollars, we saved above fifty thousand, half in hard dollars: the remainder was lent to make moles.

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And with all this saving we have made many more miles of road, over rocky and stupendous mountains, than have been made in all the other islands together. The Cephalonian roads are good and great works, those in the other islands are ordinary roads, through flat ground generally, except at Cerigo, where the Cephalonian system was adopted, and with a like success!

"My mode of enforcing the road-work was by giving extra work to idle labourers; but for this offence, if it was repeated, a fortnight's extra tasks was the maximum: the law would have awarded six months' imprisonment, whereas my ordinary punishment was but two days extra. I personally examined all cases not of a trifling nature; for the corvée was unpopular, and perjury is so very common in Cephalonia, that fifty or sixty perjuries would be committed in the law courts in one day. It was clear, and frequent trials proved it, that the whole corvée party would deliberately swear that every word spoken by the overseer was false. By the courts of law therefore no misconduct could be punished, but the Resident having the power of the high police used it as above. The question was whether this should be, or the roads stopped; for the general government had made no law on the subject as it ought to have done. This system has been upset by the new act and the work is interminable; the men may come, but there is no punishment for not working: the labour applied decreases daily, and must come to an end from inanition. Meanwhile the expence is doubled, because everything, a gutter or a milestone, must be estimated for separately, and await confirmation from Corfu: that is, after approval by men whose ignorance regarding such matters is proved by the enormous expences of their own roads!

"Those who framed the act, by the act shew their ignorance: any but an Ionian legislator would know that estimates must be on a large scale; and the engineer ought to be made answerable for working within his estimate, as we

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did at Cephalonia. Now down come the new estimates when they have been studied, and not comprehended by the senate, and when the working season has passed away. If approved it is bad; if not approved it is worse: bad, because instead of hiring men by the year at the cheapest time, we must double wages to get them for the job if we can, after the last season for work is gone! Worse, because time and money are both lost and no work is done!

"My personal mortification is not slight. For six years public works had been carried on with rapidity, œconomy and success. Everything is upset by this new act. No general act can suit all the islands, and common sense prescribed a previous consultation with those best acquainted with local interests. The act is, in this island, calculated to enfeeble government; giving the wild mountaineers licence for, and the habit of abusing and defying authority: to stop the works altogether would be better. The diminution of labour, which was too little before, will also encourage idleness and unsettle the habits of the people again. The not allowing of substitutes, in the old system, stopped oppression by the gentlemen; it was easier also to the peasant, who then paid a quarter dollar for a day's work: now he cannot get a substitute for less than a dollar. He complains, and the exemption to numerous strong, idle, rich fellows in Argostoli and Luxuri, gives just cause for discontent: numbers of peasants also go to Luxuri and say they are servants; thus a privileged class is re-established.

"Allowing the regent and municipal body to decide on works is a sure way to stop all improvement: they will never tax themselves. My mole and market-place, and other improvements of Argostoli, were effected in despite of that body, which moved heaven and earth to baffle me: had this act been passed seven years ago Argostoli would be now what it was then. And the mode of raising the funds by the new act leaves the country gentlemen to value their own property; consequently the greatest liar is least taxed, for the

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municipal body will not swear him to facts, unless from some family feud, or because the lie is too outrageous: they do not want to call forth remarks on their own property. Suppose he is sworn, he perjures himself and gets a premium for his crime. Is this legislation? Laws should never be based on conscience, because bad men evade them of course. As to the points on which 'the people justly complained' —using Colonel Rudsdale's words, I know not what they were, and therefore can say nothing; but well I know there were none in this island in principle; and as to practice, none was designed, though some abuses must of course have happened unknown to the higher authorities."

These strictures shew that Sir F. Adam sought to cover his jealousy by imputing oppression, and assuming as the ground of that imputation the very measures which proved the excellence of the system he condemned. He sought also to depreciate it by a pretended commiseration for sufferings which did not exist, indirectly indicating the Resident as an oppressor, while he was himself negligently permitting the foulest cruelty to be perpetrated, as exhibited in the following notes.

"Notes.—Here is Ionian justice! a man in prison for a year, and under sentence of death without even an accusation against him. Here is another condemned to eight months' imprisonment in irons: the Judge-Advocate Fiscal appeals, thinking him innocent, and at the end of thirteen months the appeal is decided against the prisoner, who has remained all that time in prison, and is now to endure in addition, the original sentence!" Again. "Four men are acquitted of murder, and the same judge-advocate appeals against the acquittal, thinking them guilty; they are kept waiting eleven months, and then the acquittal is confirmed: innocent, in the eyes of the supreme tribunal, they have been kept imprisoned nearly a year by that tribunal! And Sir Frederick Adam heaps honours on the perpetrators of these sins!"

Pass now to worse cruelty, as affecting numbers, and

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springing, not from feebleness and negligence but personal jealousy, which Adam gratified at the expence of a whole people's welfare! All the islands were at this time trembling at an impending evil, vitally menacing their dawning prosperity, and the commercial men of Cephalonia bethought themselves of a petition to the king for relief. Charles Napier, at their request, framed one, some extracts from which will shew the nature of the evil and the remedy.

"Our mountainous and rocky island has been as it were transformed into a vast vineyard, at great cost of labour and money; rocks have been torn up and made to form the boundaries of those fields which they formerly covered, seemingly in defiance of man's industry. That this is not an exaggeration your majesty will believe when we humbly state a simple fact, which the custom-house books will verify, namely, that in the year 1820 our currants were but five millions pounds weight, and now are ten millions and annually augmenting. This has not been caused by abandoning other cultivation, or turning fruitful fields into more fruitful vineyards, but by reducing rocky ground to fertile land, effected by the energy of all ranks, whose money and personal qualities, would otherwise have been lost in the struggle on the continent of Greece. On this superb produce depends not only our happiness and tranquillity but our actual existence! The noble supports his house, the peasant his children by this rich gift of nature, which for some years has rendered us comfortable and happy: but unless your majesty will now protect us, Cephalonia must again fall into the state of misery from which your arms and subsequent policy relieved it.

"While the whole of our currants were consumed in England they were all purchased by English merchants; and your ministers justly said, that with such a demand they could not, fairly to the revenue, lower the enormous tax on the commodity levied in England: it was a luxury for which consumers were willing to pay, and they were numerous

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enough to take all our produce. Time has changed this. Your English subjects buy a smaller quantity, while that produced has been doubled by our industry: of eight millions pounds weight of currants produced last year, six millions, as we are credibly informed by the English merchants, remain unsold in their magazines. A crop calculated at nearly ten millions now loads our vines, a crop such as never was before seen in the island. This beautiful sight, where the bounty of the Almighty has united with a just government and the people's industry to produce an enormous quantity of fruit, causes, strange to say, a general and justly-founded alarm. We can live by, but we cannot live upon our currants: and if we shall not find a sale in the season the misfortune will be direct immediate and terrible. Those who are in a better state will become poor, and the poor will starve.

"We do not speak of the rich for there are none such; there are no capitalists; the sale of our fruit in summer feeds us in winter; and if this resource fails, nought remains for the larger proprietors but misery, and for the rest emigration, which has already taken place to a great extent in all the islands. Much of this is undoubtedly to be attributed to the hallucination of adventure, excited by the present state of the Peloponnesus; but a sudden cessation of sale for our produce would go near to depopulate this island: for the whole of our peasants are proprietors, and if the returns of their land are not immediate they starve. Thus the objection of your majesty's ministers to a reduction of the duty no longer holds good: purchasers have disappeared from the market. It is true that we have not yet suffered, but we have the strongest reason to believe, that unless the duty is immediately lowered we shall suffer: and there will be evident loss also to your majesty's treasury. Such being the case the coming winter threatens to be one of woe to this island."

This enormous increase in the produce of Cephalonia,

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was the result of Charles Napier's government; of his road-making, and teaching of the peasants how to prop their mountain terraces and bring rocky land into cultivation: in fine those very measures which Sir F. Adam was treating as oppressive from a base fear of Capo d'Istria. Let the fate of this petition speak for the protecting care of the two men. The copy of it was thus endorsed by Charles Napier in 1831. "This memorial was written by me for the people of Cephalonia at the request of the regent, and the large growers of fruit: they were much pleased, and it would have had the signatures of every man in Cephalonia, but it was stopped by Sir F. Adam, who told them he would get the tax repealed. This was in 1828, and now in 1831 the tax still continues! The truth is Sir Frederick well knew who was the author, and it gave too much satisfaction to the people to give any to him."

All this negligence and folly and foul government, caused great suffering and increased emigration: it cast a blight over the rising prosperity and the hopes of the islanders, which has rendered them, especially in Cephalonia, discontented ever since. Cephalonia has indeed been pronounced an essentially rebellious community, the Ireland of the Ionian states: it was not so under Charles Napier, nor when Lord Seaton ruled the islands. But deeply as the Resident felt his wrongs, it was for the public more than himself, and with all imaginable diligence and honest purpose, he strove to render the new system as little pernicious as possible. Those measures which he had still permission to control he directed to good; where the system controlled him he sought to enlighten the Corfu government as to the true interests of the people, and with that view early in 1829 composed the subjoined state papers.

"MEMOIR ON THE FINANCES OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

"The vast resources of these islands compared with their financial difficulties has made me reflect upon the matter,

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that so far as my power extends I may not add to difficulties actually existing, and those rapidly approaching. These difficulties spring from two causes—the first being the extravagance of the Ionian government; the second the burthen laid on the island treasury by the British government.

"In considering the first the following distinct branches are presented.

"1°. The extravagant system arisen from the constitution established by Sir Thomas Maitland, and which no lord high commissioner can alter.

"2°. The extravagant mode in which Sir Thomas gave effect to his extravagant constitution: it was said to be necessary to his system, but in my opinion was not so. His œconomy was bad, positively bad in itself, though compared with Adam's it was admirable, but bad were the means employed to give it effect.

"3°. Sir F. Adam's greater extravagance, which is absolutely ruinous, and of incalculable evil to Zante and Cephalonia, by draining the specie from those islands to expend in Corfu. The people of the latter are thus supported by an act of injustice to the former; and yet without desirable advantages to the Corfiotes; for as they gain their money without enterprize or industry, so they continue idle and unprosperous, trusting to Cephalonia and Zante as Spain did to her Indian possessions.

"These three branches of the first cause, require each a distinct examination; they are of the rills which swell the torrent of expence now threatening ruin to the islands, and which Sir Frederick is vainly striving to oppose with acts of parliament, estimates, and other things equally futile. Amongst these are the proceedings in the courts of justice: a strange assertion, but to be proved in its proper place. It shall be shewn also, that Sir Frederick's ill success is to be wholly attributed to a mistaken view of the subject under consideration. He has been unable to trace effects to causes,

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and by trying to deal with the former instead of the latter, has been overwhelmed while striving for good.

"Sir Thomas Maitland's constitution stands first for investigation. The islands contain altogether a population about equal to a third-class city of England, which is, or may be well ruled by a mayor and corporation; and surely this, not exceeding population of the islands divided into seven parts might be ruled by a small municipal body in each. But as these islands are torn by factions exactly as they were in ancient days, to this municipal body—here called the 'Regent and Municipality,' has been added a commandant from the ruling nation, called by Sir Thomas Maitland 'The Resident of the Lord High Commissioner.' So far indeed all was good, cheap and practical; but more was required to unite the seven states' governments, each supreme in its own island. Every paramount nation has always appointed its own chief, ours is called lord high commissioner, to combine check and overrule the local governments and commandants of each island. This also was wise cheap and simple, and in this state Maitland found the islands. He was certainly a man of talent, and it is difficult to understand why he altered the system. A change of name, from commandant to resident, signified nothing, and a better regulation of the local governments might have been necessary and good: but he altered the system of general government.

"Instead of retaining the old form of lord high commissioner, or what was better understood by these people, general commanding, with a council of seven—one from each island, with his military and civil secretaries, he made a constitution, with a senate, a legislative assembly, an ecclesiastical establishment, and a temporary judicial establishment. Names are nothing, and however ridiculous the pomposity of calling his council a senate might appear to the English, and to the acute satirical natives, there was no harm: but why give them enormous pay, exceeding the private fortunes

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of the richest inhabitants? Why appoint a legislative assembly also, with enormous pay? that is, enormous for a body which should have had no existence. A parliament for these states is expensive and mischievous; because it is not, and cannot be a representative body; because its cost is beyond what the revenue can afford, and it is ridiculed by the people. It cannot be a representative body either, because the population is small, divided into seven portions, and in each portion or island, every man woman and child is of some violent faction. These factions are both general and local, and the general takes two forms.

"1°. *The Political.*—Always the Ionians have been adverse to the nation ruling them, whether French, English, Venetian, Turkish or Russian: our partizans are, our bayonets and people in office—we have no other. A Greek serves whoever pays him, and while you pay he may be trusted. But there are French, English, and Russian factions, and all violent. The English are most powerful because holding the treasury; for there are very few Greeks who would not assassinate the head of his own party for a dollar: they are to be pitied for this demoralization, but it is a fact to be guarded against, though not to be cast in their teeth.

"2°. *Island Factions.*—The islands of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, detest each other: nothing would be more acceptable to each, than an expedition to destroy man, woman and child of the other islands. Then come their several local factions, springing from ancient feuds between old families, or feuds between villages about boundaries: and there are minor feuds about lawsuits, and in all the violence is so great that the presence of troops alone prevents bloodshed. Hardly a man exists who would not, if he dare, put his enemy to death; and as we prevent open violence they seek revenge by perjury, when opportunity offers. Exceptions there are, but only three have come to my knowledge in a ten years' residence amongst them. How can such a

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population have a real representation? Moreover the parliament is virtually nominated by the lord high commissioner—that is the only good part: but if he is to form it of his creatures why have it? Let him rule alone, or with a council; that would please the Greeks, for they know and say they cannot have a real representation, and ridicule the expensive mummery.

"*Ecclesiastical establishment.*—This may be necessary, yet is on so bad a footing it would take volumes to expose its defects. I know how all ecclesiastical expence to the revenue could be saved, having had all convent affairs of this island in my hands for six years: yet in vain have I shewn to the government the loss it sustains under the present system.

"*Judicial establishment.*—Ill regulated and expensive. A new system is threatened: will it be better? I suspect, reasoning from analogy, that it will be worse. However I am no advocate for saving here, but wish the vast sums expended should produce proportionate effect. Sir Frederick is completely lawyer-ridden by the supreme council of justice. Mr. Kirkpatrick is an honest man, and when he is present things go on with some safety; but when absent the bit is clapped into Adam's mouth, winkers on his eyes, and the Greek members ride their own pace. What safety can there be for men when their cases are judged from the examination, not of witnesses but reports of evidence? Is it not a strange justice to hang men on a judgment formed by reading a trial which acquits them! hang them on the verdict of judges who never even saw prisoners or witnesses! A system must be bad when a man may be hanged by judges in whose presence he never stood!

"There is also another strange part of our judicial system. Proceedings are carried on in the Italian language, and peasants, speaking only Greek, hear their lives or deaths discussed without comprehending a word. All the wretch knows is that his lawyer turns round at last and tells him

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he is to be hanged. The horror of this can only be fully estimated by those who know the virulence of faction in these islands: but the evils are too numerous to state here, it is an Augean stable, and Adam is no Hercules.

"Sir Frederick multiplies checks upon small offenders, but spares the greater; and in two years we have had three complete changes of system in our judicial and executive police: the last by far the worst! Our smaller tribunals and police hardly know the details of one system when out comes another: acts of parliament are sent forth in such quantity as to be a public amusement. All this causes expence, no one fears punishment, and the supreme council secures injustice and extravagance. Mr. Kirkpatrick, the head, is exonerated; he is an upright man and said to be a good lawyer: but he cannot be always present, nor always prove malpractices when aware of them; moreover the power of punishing such practices is not with him but with Adam. It is not by exorbitant salaries to the supreme court that justice is to be obtained; nor is a check put to expence by the new system of referring all crimes to law: that increases cost by increasing the demand for people to carry on the law proceedings. I know what prejudices will rise up in fury, when I say the free use of despotic power is far preferable to law. Nay! that it is absolutely necessary in these Grecian islands: yet I do say it. Foster all institutions which educate the people, schools, a free press, &c.; they are good, and they are compatible with the despotism I mean: but we have to deal with an ignorant demoralized people, whose occupation is to rob and injure each other:—one fact of a hundred shall be adduced in illustration. Sixty-five peasants perjured themselves in one day, to take the life of a prisoner, innocent but belonging to another faction! Often have the judges told me they are afraid to pass sentence upon direct testimony, however strong, unless supported by circumstantial evidence!

"In this state, amongst a people with whom perjury is a

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passion, Sir F. Adam's system of innumerable acts of parliament, composed with great ignorance and referring all breaches of law to the tribunals, is bad; it creates criminals and increases law to a degree that produces idleness, debt, misery and expence to public and individual. A vigorous ruler, studying the Greek character and the general barbarism, would have no parliament for a community so small and factious. Few laws, well composed and vigorously executed, would be his system; but he would make every possible exertion to educate the people socially and politically. As to the last we are permitted to have one government press, where to print a book costs a far greater sum than to send it to Trieste or Venice or Malta: thus all opposition is offered to literature, for which these people thirst, and which might be made a source of revenue. But carried away by my reflections I have deviated in some degree from my subject. However, I repeat, that the judicial system is badly managed, and bad management is synonymous with expence. Our judicial system is a failure, and one without excuse, except the inebriate idleness of Maitland, who could perhaps have done better; and the zealous weakness of Adam, who cannot do better: he is a pilot who in a storm would abandon the helm to coil up a rope!"

This memoir was followed by another, extracts from which shew how all authority was being shaken in Cephalonia by the silly jealousy of Sir F. Adam.

"The mountain districts will soon become inaccessible to the civil power. The causes are four. 1°. Barbarism. 2°. Habits of perjury. 3°. The new road act. 4°. Foreign influence. The first is most important, but the measures taken for public instruction will produce good according to their wisdom; and great benefit will doubtless result from the recent establishment of schools. The last signifies little if dealt with wisely. The second and third demand investigation.

"Perjury flourishes so, that social order is nearly de-

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stroyed: no person in authority can find protection from evil men. The peasantry, being in clans, swear their clansmen through any difficulty; and the judge cannot sentence against evidence. Constables must be foreigners or natives. If the first, all factions join against him and against the law. If the second, he is inevitably connected with some faction, and becomes a partizan with power, instead of an executor of the law. This evil, which is one of the great supports of feudalism, has long existed; but the French and English governments have generally been too vigorous for the people to try the force of perjury against their officers until lately: they knew not their own force until the new road act taught them the secret. For previously there was the high police power to protect constables; now that power is, with respect to the roads, paralyzed by the new act, which expressly deprives the Resident of authority with respect to the corvée. An overseer is here considered of higher authority than a constable: many accept that office who would disdain the other. Yet, since this new act the overseers have been bullied and stoned; for that act does not provide against either process; and not only do the offenders escape, but the overseer who proceeds against one in any form is immediately accused of some grave crime, and a crowd of perjurers attest the fact!

"Thus taught, they are extending their experiments now to the constables. Should I in such cases use the power of the high police? I think not. That powerful engine should not remedy a defect in law, which law ought itself to remedy. Were it one solitary bold defiance of law, the police power could be wisely applied in correction: but here are men, not defying, but confiding in law to protect them unjustly against the agents of the law who act honestly in discharge of duty! Such an evil demands, not sudden unusual police interference but radical legislative cure. The evil is in the protection bad men find in the law for opposition to the law: there is more safety in the breach than in the observance of

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law. An overseer cannot do his duty without danger, and if he neglects it the peasant is idle, and the public welfare suffers; but if he takes bribes he is safe: this is exactly what happens.

"Remedy.—The first step against perjury is to abolish the thing called the 'decree,' made by Theotoky under the French rule. It does no credit to those who composed it, and is not worth comment; yet, as guiding our judges, the abolition would be beneficial, seeing that a certain security is given to perjury by the foolish thing. Perhaps the new code, now preparing, will provide against this evil; but the framers should be told that power must be given to some man or body of men to act with a vigour beyond the ordinary form of law: for if power of that nature is not conferred the code will not put down the evil, the evil will put down the code! As to the road act, total repeal is the true remedy; but as that is not likely to be, those portions of it which produce resistance to authority should be amended. Road work is a temporary affair, and when completed done with for ever. Why then should the Resident not be trusted with power to enforce the work? Whether such authority as the Resident's should exist at all may be disputed: I however agree with Maitland, who established it, saying the state of society demanded such power. I told him it was freely used by me in the road affairs, as necessary until they were completed; for otherwise the torment of the corvée would last for years: he agreed and my opinion remains the same."

Can the picture painted in these memoirs, be regarded without indignation at the imbecility and wickedness of the man who, from personal jealousy, thus pulled down the noble social structure rising under a benevolent genius? Charles Napier had opened the springs of material prosperity for sixty thousand people and their descendants. He had in a great measure changed their morals by introducing industry, honesty, and useful knowledge, where idleness vio-

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lence and falsehood had before prevailed; and just when the light of civilization was dawning on the land, Sir F. Adam interposed the dull cloud of folly, charged with malignity, to wither nascent virtues and revive sinking vices! Is the vengeance of history sufficient punishment for such a criminal arresting of human progress?

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TENTH EPOCH.

FIFTH PERIOD.

SUCH expositions as the foregoing memoirs present were not calculated to obtain favour, and the machinations of their author's enemies were now in full activity, though not yet shewn in full dishonour: meanwhile, incapable of mean feelings, he thus wrote in August: "I still personally like Adam, he is only weak and misled, and under existing circumstances, as Pitt used to say, we may go on: but I can no longer do the good I did in Maitland's time." Thus treating the past, and expecting no more enmity, his correspondence was as lively and frank as ever.

"Miss Napier.—I have begun a theatre with immense stones, falling from the ancient walls of Kranea; they were underground, could never be seen, and would have been destroyed by the peasants. Their origin shall be noted in an inscription on the theatre. So Seymour Bathurst is married: if he gets as good a wife as she does a husband he will be happy. Being my cousin, this is much to say. Generally I have not affection for my male cousins: on principle I hate them in a lump, but love a few female ones in practice. Seymour is as good as he looks, no small compliment to appearance or heart. No one can say so much for me; for though really a right good fellow; 'a moral well-meaning man who wishes to do all for the best,' I am so thin, so sharp, so black, so Jewish, so rascally, so knavish a looking son of a gun, that mayhap nature never turned such a one before out of her lathe. She could not have turned me, the tools would have been blunted.

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The north-east wind turns south-west when it meets me on the mountains; the thermometer falls to freezing point under my look; and while shaving I admire my own courage in trusting a razor in the hands of such an ill-looking rascal as the glass reflects. Well God send I may not be hanged, for unless more fat and less modesty comes, it will be impossible for me to assert my innocence at the gibbet. My horse kicked me yesterday for no apparent reason; he must have thought I was going to steal his shoes. Give my best love to lady Georgina Bathurst. Is she as beautiful as ever?

"Jan. 1830.—I am glad you mean to live a hundred years, my wish is for all I love to outlive me; yet I think my life will last until unable to walk without treading on the tombstone of some one dear to me: one thing is however certain, I shall never waste away, until mummies perspire, and skeletons grow greasy. What makes you think I overwork myself? When I reflect how well England pays us, my feeling is that the account cannot be fairly balanced; much less that more has been done for it than there ought to be. If those who employ me are satisfied that my work is enough, well and good; at the same time I hope they won't ask my own opinion on the subject."

That his career of usefulness was ended, he could now no longer doubt, and though his strong spirit would not yield outwardly, his private notes indicate that he took leave of his great works as a father of his children. And a noble family they were both as to stature and propriety: their cost would be incredible if not proved by authentic documents. One hundred and thirty-four miles of road had been constructed over mountains as high and rugged as the Cenis; and only twenty-one miles were incomplete, though passable for mules, when the control was taken from his hands. One hundred and thirteen therefore were fit for carriages, ninety-six having been cut or blasted through the living rock. On their course many bridges had been cast, some of cut stone; milestones and guarding

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parapets had been raised, and the whole cost of this stupendous operation was—the Angheria being set aside, but seventeen thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine pounds! This gave for the carriage portion an average of only one hundred and fifty pounds a mile, including bridges, and small dwellings of refuge for the overseers in wild parts. And to his own unceasing vigilance and arrangement the œconomy was due; for labour and materials were not cheaper than in England, and the difficulty of procuring them was greater. His other works, of great utility and beauty, are thus noticed.

"1829.—The lighthouse on the Guardiani Island, and that of St. Theodoro are completed, and do honour to Kennedy's architectural taste: and this year will be completed the road up the Black Mountain. It is a bold and magnificent undertaking, and if I don't carry it on who will? No one! My Maltese colony goes on admirably, though everybody was against it except myself, Curling, Kennedy and Cambici, an island gentleman of talent high honour and large property. My two market-places cost, together, less than five thousand pounds; and in the first year revenue was received, much of the capital paid off, and the unredeemed portion now yields 8 per cent. Had my general plan not been rendered abortive by the Corfu government, a pier would also have been made at Luxuri, where shipping could have rode in safety; and as the rents of shops would then have doubled, the revenue would have been immense. Kennedy thinks that laying out many projects at once will induce government to finish them: but the mass of men do not comprehend works until their full effect is produced, and meanwhile deem the labour thrown away. Much work is lost by tardy completion, we cannot command the future; and incomplete works are generally failures in the end, because new men, from vanity, prefer their own projects to finishing other men's conceptions."

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Noticing a transfer of the Custom-house and sanitary office, which he had effected, and the establishment of a public bakery to bring the private bread traders to reason, he then shews,—that the first had produced a yearly saving of more than sixteen hundred dollars; and the latter, organized early in 1827, had in 1830, yielded a profit of nearly five hundred dollars, besides reducing very considerably and permanently the price of bread. But the manner in which this last improvement was effected, in violation of the dogmas of political economy, with a beneficial result, was afterwards made by Sir F. Adam matter of charge against him, as oppression; wherefore the answer shall be given here rather than in its chronological order.

"1830. Sir F. Adam. Kennedy tells me you were annoyed at hearing I had quartered soldiers on the bakers at Cephalonia in 1826:—that you said it was hard such things could be done without your knowledge. But so doing was only what the constitution empowered me to do: you were not then in the islands, and if you had been there was not time for reference. Under Sir Thos. Maitland I always acted on my own responsibility, because he told me to do so: under Ponsonby also, because his system was the same; but with you only on emergence, because you did not like it. The constitution permitted my action on this occasion, because the Resident is charged to preserve the public peace, which was on the point of being broken, the bakers having refused to supply bread. Two days had thus passed, when the regent proposed to me the casting of the bakers into prison, according to former custom on such occasions. The populace was justly indignant against them; but to put men in gaol to force them to bake was ridiculous, and would have failed, as it had often done before. It was at best a bad expedient, and a severe one, whereas we wanted a sure means to check the evil at the moment, and provide against its

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recurrence. The permanent remedy was the establishment of the convent bakery without any privilege: the expedient of the moment was to quarter a soldier on each baker.

"By this two objects were gained:—the baker was protected from violence, and the angry people were supplied with bread. Had constables been employed, they would have been bribed, been in fear of the baker's feudal protector, or had some relationship to him: thus the whole plan would have been defeated, and the people without bread at a moment of great political discontent. The putting bakers in prison being severe and ineffectual, while the quartering of soldiers was effectual and lenient, and both being constitutional, and at the moment justifiable, it was right that I should choose the least severe and most effectual measure: for vigour means effect, not severity. I reported the transaction to General Ponsonby, I never have concealed any of my acts; and always doing what appears to me right, I am never afraid of responsibility: when the public sees that no private ends influence a man's conduct, it sooner or later bears him through everything."

It may now be comprehended that his great works were not the only difficulties he overcame, nor the only benefits he conferred, and designed for Cephalonia. But one of his great projects remains to be noticed, namely, an attempt to drain the historically pestilent marsh of Kranea, near Argostoli. Lying between the foot of a mountain and the sea, it offered no sufficient fall for ordinary draining; and Charles Napier, applying his own theory of malaria, judged that the peculiar malignancy sprung from the meeting of the salt water with the decayed matters brought down by the fresh water pouring over the marsh. Hence to bar this junction and fill up the rotten ground, he projected a catch-water ditch, crescent-shaped, to cut off the marsh from the mountain waters. At each end was to be a tank, so contrived with sluices and aqueducts, that the intercepted waters should deposit their earthy spoils in the tanks, and then run

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clear off by the aqueducts into the sea, beyond the meeting of the salt and fresh waters. This deposit, with other materials, was then to be applied to the filling up of the marsh, which, when cut off from the mountain drains, would soon dry up under the Ionian sun. This noble project was for years continually opposed by the Corfu government, but on his departure was adopted in all the details, and the merit of originality assumed by those who had so long retarded the execution: it is not however yet completed.

In 1830 Adam projected a new code of taxation so entirely unsuitable, that the Resident of Cephalonia again felt it a duty to point out the defects as bearing on that island, and by an unsparing dissection increased the hatred then fermenting in secret. Indeed Sir Frederick's jealousy was so malignant that he would willingly have destroyed all the Cephalonian works; and being compelled to leave that to time and neglect resolved to ruin their author. His course of proceeding was very base, and founded on false accusations of misgovernment; wherefore, previous to entering upon that subject, it is fitting that his own system of government should be known from Charles Napier's notes, drawn up after long consideration and experience.

Notes on the Ionian Islands.

"Faults run so through all the intricacies of this government that its frame is like that of a man broken on the wheel. A lord high commissioner, and a president of the senate, having higher pay than the American president, are not necessary for two hundred thousand souls. A legislature of two houses, all paid, is not necessary. A host of secretaries, all paid at the highest English rates, are not necessary: a general sanita, a general custom-house office, and a general treasury, are not necessary.

"Why this word general? Take the sanita. All that touches the public health depends on the local offices in each island; they cannot wait for orders from Corfu, which

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are also incredibly foolish. Two men died of plague, and long after they were buried came an order directing a peculiar treatment for cure! Answer, dead. Some weeks later came full instructions for burying them! Answer, Bodies of plague victims are not kept as curiosities, they are buried at once. This general office costs enormous sums: so do the others but the name serves as an excuse for high pay.

"The supreme council of justice is immoderately costly, and its decisions proverbially the result of bribery and faction.

"Another unnecessary expence is having a major-general and a commandant of the citadel. Their duties could be done by the lieutenant-general; or rather, a lieutenant-general should not be here, a major-general could do the duties of all three. The lieutenant general, who is also lord high commissioner, has not much to do: Adam indeed makes business, but does not do business. The commandant of the citadel is a farce, every one knows it was made for Ponsonby: there is no duty. Nor are a quartermaster and adjutant-general with large salaries required, a brigade-major is sufficient.

"Now comes a mountain of destruction—the engineer establishments civil and military. The extravagance, the waste of this department, is the subject of general criticism. I will not here touch on their works, although those give much discontent; and it seems to me we need no greater works than satisfied the French when they had no fleet, while we command the seas.

"As to the civil engineer, to show the knavery and folly pervading all the civil public works at Corfu, let a comparason be made between the cost of the temple on the esplanade of Corfu, with that of a similar edifice for a lighthouse at Point Theodore in Cephalonia; the cost of an ugly market-place, at Corfu, with a beautiful one at Luxuri; the cost of roads per mile in Corfu and Cephalonia.

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"Now let the principles of action in each island be compared.

"Sir F. Adam has adopted, it is said by the advice of Mr. Baynes secretary to the senate, the imbecile principle, that the government is to examine and decide upon and direct all things, all details. This is an old stupid theory of all weak heads: 'maintaining the chain of authority.' This maxim has been bandied down from fool to fool for hundreds of years; and for the same time ridiculed by men of sense, because a more complete fallacy never danced a maze in a wittol's brains. Everything is to emanate from the head, like rays from the sun, quere, the fool's face at the top? The chain of responsibility is to be preserved. But if the head is bad? Eh! Then the emanations will be bad. The head should control on general principles, not direct everything in detail.

"The local governments are not extravagant, that of Cephalonia does not take more than four shillings a head, but the general government adds ten shillings more, and unnecessarily. Lately also the parliament has thrown the convent funds into the general treasury; yet these funds are the private property of the island, an accumulation of religious gifts and legacies! Sir Thomas Maitland would not suffer this when it was proposed; Sir Frederick has done so, to the great discontent of the Cephalonian people. Those funds were previously left to the disposal of the Resident and the regent. I was able to do much good with them, having first so regulated the collection of convent rents as to increase the funds very greatly. They are now taken away.

"No state can avoid ruin that, from a revenue of one hundred and forty thousand pounds, appropriates fifty thousand for troops, ships, and fortifications; and fifty-seven thousand pounds for a civil list: and be it borne in mind that the taxes cannot be increased in the islands, because the population would emigrate to Greece. The poor man goes to get

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work; the rich man because labour would become too costly for him at home, in consequence of the emigration of the labourer. Why should they be taxed to pay a lord high commissioner six thousand a year, and twelve hundred to a coadjutor with the title of highness; a thousand to a major-general; three hundred to a commandant of the citadel; to the senators seven hundred a year; and to members of parliament one hundred and nineteen pounds a year, when there is no necessity for any parliament? Why should they pay for two magnificent palaces for the lord high commissioner, within gun-shot of each other? Why pay for the lodgings of his highness the coadjutor, and of the senators? The construction of these palaces cost:—the one about forty thousand pounds, the other about twelve thousand: and they are expensive in repairs, furniture, &c.

"Corfu is filled with paid idlers. The police costs four thousand a year; that of Cephalonia two thousand six hundred. Corfu is the smaller island, with a population of only forty thousand, half of which are concentrated in the capital under the eye of the police, which has a large garrison to aid: Cephalonia has a population of sixty thousand dispersed in mountains, and has two cities so divided, by a vast harbour, that two complete police establishments are absolutely necessary. All other departments of the general governments are in the same proportion, and the government at Corfu is feeble as well as extravagant, and is unpopular in the two islands of Cephalonia and Zante. Reductions are wanted, and there can be no personal hardship, because all places are given for five years only.

"In Argostoli I tried to draw the population from the unhealthy parts towards better air, by opening new streets and gradually removing all public offices to the healthy parts: this has been stopped by Adam. I planted avenues of trees, and the general government objected to the expence of watering them: it was about £30 and never came out of the treasury. By removing the custom-house and sanita

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from hired houses to public buildings, I made large savings: this also has been stopped!" Such were Charles Napier's notes: and now it shall be shown that Sir Frederick has not been accused of treachery unjustly.

Mrs. Napier became ill, and her husband was forced to take her to England so suddenly that he left his children behind. He touched at Corfu, and was received by the lord high commissioner with all demonstrations of friendship, his lodging being the palace. A passage in the government steamer was offered. Sir Frederick went with them to the sea-side, and took leave with these words, 'Good bye, Napier. Stay as long as you please, but remember that the longer you stay the worse for us.' Thus saying, he turned to render it the kiss of Judas. For first he stopped all the works of Cephalonia, and then removed the Maltese colony, planted with such care, to Corfu, where it was not wanted, and that he did when final success in Cephalonia was certain: thus stamping out the glowing spark of agricultural knowledge! Mr. Curling offered to continue it at no more cost than one hundred pounds yearly, with the certainty that in four years it would make enormous returns, besides the moral advantages of increased comforts and improvement in the character and habits of the poorer classes: in vain he held up this magic mirror to jealousy directed by folly. Worse remained behind.

Five months after Charles Napier's departure, a disturbance in Cephalonia brought Sir Frederick to that island. It had arisen from a belief, propagated by Russian agents, that Adam's new and foolish code was designed against their religion; and one mode of showing their discontent was refusing to sign an address to the king on his accession. Sir Frederick publicly acknowledged in the island, that this religious fear was the cause, and he sought to remove it: but to the secretary of state he said it arose from what he called Colonel Napier's oppressive and illegal conduct, and his means were base as his end to give that charge plausibility.

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Functionaries of the general government used his name to stimulate the people to accusations; Sir Frederick himself, in a public address, expressed his surprize that charges had not been before made against the absent Resident; and to give assurance of his real design, embodied in a letter to the secretary of state specific accusations, saying the absent Resident had previously completely deceived him, and concealed his misdeeds! This done he seized his public papers, and would have seized his private papers also, if Captain Kennedy, anticipating his design, had not secured them on board a merchant vessel.

Having thus, as he thought, deprived his intended victim of means to repel his accusations by reference to orders and reports, he told the secretary of state that seventy serious charges had been presented; and that the people were so exasperated that he could not let Colonel Napier return. To give this monstrous accusation weight he had recourse to a despicable deception. On first arriving he made a public speech, expressing such approbation of the Resident's conduct as to call forth an acknowledgment from Captain Kennedy: afterwards, when Kennedy was not present, he inveighed against the Resident's acts; and then told the secretary of state that Colonel Napier's bosom friend had thanked him with emotion for fair dealing: as if there had been but one speech!

When the accused man heard of the second speech, he was only prevented from going to Cephalonia by tidings that Adam was coming home; and when that happened he called for a specification of the offences alluded to. An insolent reply, through a secretary, denied a right to question Sir Frederick's conduct. Lord Goderich was appealed to, but after much shuffling was forced to call officially on Adam for the charges. Nineteen were selected, the rest acknowledged to be false! and those adopted so ridiculous as to require no answer, though they received one: three specimens will show their nature. In the eight years of road-

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making one man's tree had been cut down on the Black Mountain without compensation; another had some stones placed in his field; a third had some stones taken from his field without permission: Sir Frederick was not ashamed to adduce these as proofs of Charles Napier's tyranny! They were not even true: they had come forth, because Sir Frederick had in person invited charges against an absent man! they had never been before complained of, and were for the magistrate's, not the Resident's adjudication.

To the secretary of state Sir Frederick had declared that he would not suffer the Resident to return, because of his past tyranny; that he was so odious his presence would lead to insurrection. To the notables of Cephalonia he said Colonel Napier's rule had enabled the poor man to obtain justice; he said also that the only satisfaction he derived from his visit was the finding how few persons' minds had been poisoned by the discontented: it was therefore no satisfaction to find the poor protected, that was tyranny! The declaration was an epitome of his government, which was thus described by Charles Napier when defending himself from the foul charge.

"I have ruled Cephalonia for nine years, changed the face of the island, encreased the revenue and established justice. All I did was approved by Sir Thomas Maitland, and all has since been gradually, but effectually, overset by Sir F. Adam: and this speech is my reward! Yet I have neither done myself, nor permitted others to do any job. Columns and inscriptions have been offered in abundance by the people, but were stopped at once by me: the only honours ever accepted were, some public dinners and balls, given by the towns of Argostoli and Luxuri on my return from every temporary departure. As to errors, that many have been committed during nine years' ruling, is as certain, as that night follows day. Sir Frederick Adam has also committed a multitude; but where is there one great or useful measure of his, effected during his six years of despotic rule? The

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system of foreign judges in each island was my proposal to Maitland. Adam found the islands prosperous, and an enormous sum in the treasury; they are not now prosperous, and the poverty of the treasury is entire. Yet this man calls upon the Cephalonians to complain of my rule; and he expresses his surprize that they have not done so before. When uttering that word, he knew there were not half a dozen of the large assembly he was addressing, who were not ready for any nefarious act dictated by the interest of the moment. He knew also, that most of them were the very tyrants whose oppressions I had suppressed, and therefore he stimulated them to complain. There were, it has been told to me, some twenty charges immediately made, but they fell even before him, from their gross, self-evident falsehood. When I heard of this, my observation was, Would that there had been ten times as many, for each would prove an act of justice on my part for the protection of some oppressed person, or for the public interest.

"Sir F. Adam has not behaved honestly or wisely, towards me or the public at any time. He had undoubtedly a right to alter my system of ruling, of road-making, of building, &c. I might regret the best years of my life consumed, the vast sums of public money uselessly expended, but could not justly take personal offence at the responsible chief's correcting what he deemed the errors of my system. But when my conduct had drawn from him every kind of approbation:—bestowed at the very moment he was preparing to overthrow my system and publicly proclaim me an oppressor, his wrong is apparent. There are many things to quote, shewing my want of support from Sir F. Adam, especially in the administration of justice; but enough has been said to prove that his object was to crush me, not to serve the public. The œconomy of my government was in mortifying contrast to his extravagance; its integrity also, for he used the corvée to build his own

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house. To hold office therefore at his pleasure now would be a fraud on the public and dangerous to myself.

"The Residents should depend on the secretary of state, or the commander in chief, not on the pleasure of a lord high commissioner, swayed by Greek and English intrigues. The Resident who acts with zeal and honesty is exposed to the secret assaults of every scoundrel whose knavery he exposes, or punishes, or even baffles. In my absence Sir F. Adam blames my conduct, removes me from command after ten years' service, and I am quite ignorant why! This is power not to be given to any man so far from the influence of the English government; the more honest an officer is, the greater his danger under a weak vindictive character like Adam. He is perfectly despotic, his will is law, there is no appeal, his character is feeble, his disposition jealous and insidious: he is a tool in the hands of Greek knaves who excite his passions.

"If at the mercy of Adam I will not go back. I never gained money there, the expences equalled the salary, and that salary is to be reduced; loss will therefore follow, because I cannot disgrace myself and my station by levying contributions on the people for my table, as has been more than once done by Residents: and will be done again if the pay is reduced below six hundred a year. The Residents will then become consuls, and live like consuls, by presents, mercantile speculations, and other shifts, which turn such posts to profit, but are not becoming, not honest for the representatives of the king or his lord high commissioner."

His appeal thus pressed on Lord Goderich could no longer be neglected, when in addition he asserted, what was true, that the regent of Cephalonia, a Greek, had been menaced with loss of his high office if he did not get up accusations against the late Resident! Sir Frederick's reply to the secretary of state was so shamelessly absurd, that no man,

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unless sure of his judge, could so recklessly have perilled his cause.

He said "The people had been nearly driven to rebellion by oppressions which had been hidden from the government." This was impossible, seeing that the highest offices at Corfu were filled by Cephalonians; and Sir Frederick had visited Cephalonia frequently during the Resident's absence, as well as when he was present: but in fact every occurrence had been constantly reported, he had as constantly accorded his approbation, and it was to stifle that proof that he had seized the Resident's papers.

He said "That he found the people in a dangerous state of exasperation when he reached Cephalonia, because of the late Resident's tyranny!" Strange that an impulsive vehement people like the Greeks, who had before, on every return of this tyrant from temporary absence greeted him with tumultuous joy, should reserve their exasperation until five months after his final departure! The proof adduced of this exasperation was, that they had refused to sign a loyal address to the king on his accession to the throne; the fact being, that their refusal was founded on a belief that Sir Frederick's new code was designed to change their religion.

He said "He had learned that the late Resident suspended the act abolishing the corvée." The answer was, Colonel Napier had left the island before that act was even promulgated!

He said that "Priests had been made to work on the roads in their religious vestments." Answered, "It is not true."

He said "He had called on Captain Kennedy to defend Colonel Napier's conduct, and had given him full opportunity; that he was present when the speech imputing offences to the latter had been delivered, and had with much emotion expressed his satisfaction." Answered, "Not Kennedy but the man accused should have been called upon." Kennedy however declared, that he himself was never called upon,

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was not present at the delivery of that speech, never expressed satisfaction; and the only emotion he experienced was indignation at the injustice of Sir F. Adam!"

He said "That sixty or seventy complaints had been made, though only nineteen were transmitted, several of which shewed a total deviation from the law, to the great detriment of private individuals." These were proved by public documents to be false, and so ridiculously flimsy as to be harmless if true.

He said "The corvée had been so oppressively enforced as to produce dangerous discontent." The answer was "Enforced on the rich as well as on the poor, and the former are the discontented complainants; they were made to pay, the poor were made to work: what the rich wanted was to evade both work and payment, according to previous custom. Why," it was asked by the accused man, "did he, with these opinions, continue to express the warmest approval up to the moment of my departure, even at Corfu?" But were the people discontented? Formerly, said a peasant, it took me two days to go to Argostoli, now I go and return in one! Was this discontent?

Adam said "He had made no charge against the Resident, it was the people who had done so; they were on the point of insurrection from oppressions, and he could not wait!" Could not wait to inquire and act with justice! Yet this extreme exasperation of a whole people, who were by him publicly stimulated to complain, condensed itself, like steam under cold, to the nineteen ridiculous cases already exposed, which were in fact against overseers and clerks, not against the Resident!

He said "No man could have had a stronger desire than himself to justify Colonel Napier." Yet he had invited charges, and in an official communication embodied all these self-evident falsehoods!

He said "That to re-appoint Colonel Napier Resident of Cephalonia would, from his unpopularity, produce serious

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consequences." The answer was, He had mistaken the whoop of a faction for the voice of the people—the howl of the wolves for the bleating of the sheep. Had testimonies of popularity been valued by Charles Napier, he could have obtained abundance of such Liliputian honours, such Corinthian brass, more precious than gold. Nevertheless he had some. Crowds of all ranks had attended him on his departure to the shore with every demonstration of regard: and the Cephalonians in the Greek army had sent, when expecting him to take the command, an offer to become his body-guard. To this may be added the remarkable fact, that when he had quitted Cephalonia for ever, the Greek peasants voluntarily cultivated a small piece of land left by him uncared for, and transmitted yearly the value of the produce, their names and numbers being kept secret! With a just scorn therefore he repelled the calumny of unpopularity.

Such were the leading points of this injustice, but it was in vain that redress was demanded from Lord Goderich. He indeed proposed the Residency of Zante as an amend; but though Zante was considered the higher command, Charles Napier said his character was to be vindicated, and he would have nothing but a restoration to Cephalonia under the authority of the secretary of state: that he demanded. Lord Goderich did not even notice this demand, and the wronged man was thus driven from public life. It was designed that he should languish in poverty, obscurity and insignificance, during the rest of his life; for whispered calumnies were continued from powerful quarters long afterwards, and with effect. And for ten years he remained unemployed, wasting on slight matters, that powerful genius which God had formed for the support and augmentation of a great empire. But there is a tardy, mysterious and awful justice pervading human affairs. This Adam, then so high in station, so arrogant and disdainful of equity; he who thought to push his victim down into the darkness of

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obscurity, was himself tottering on the verge of that gloomy descent. Transferred to an Indian government, he there so exposed his shallow intellect, that contempt surrounded him in command, and his departure was felt as the removal of a weight on the community: his services were never more required by government or people; he lived without notice, and his cessation of existence was entirely unmarked by the public. Not so with Charles Napier. Drawn again into active life, and though pursued to his latest hour by malignant enmity, which was again countenanced by the same Lord Goderich, his glorious deeds have been stamped for posterity with the applause of admiring nations: and when his hour for the narrow resting-place struck, sixty thousand voluntary attendants, with a solemn reverence more impressive than the most elaborate pomp, displayed their veneration for a hero.

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ELEVENTH EPOCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

WITH a sick wife, two children, and a mortified though unyielding spirit, Charles Napier now found himself at the age of fifty cast loose from public employment, to live or die as he could: but a few letters, going somewhat back in date, will exhibit his vigorous spirit during the struggle for justice, and shew his character.

"His brother William. March.—Kennedy has arrived: the new Resident, Colonel Conyers, was full charged to undo all he can of my works and could not conceal his zeal.

"May.—What the end of my dispute will be God knows. Meanwhile my pocket is nearly empty, and I have eight mouths to feed here, and four in Cephalonia, besides two horses and two cows; having also a journey of two thousand miles before me, with a reduction of three hundred a year in my pay: that, or half-pay at home, with a journey out and back to fetch my children! Worse than all, I have no home. Verily this furnishes food for thought.

"June.—From Cephalonia I hear that Adam has sent Baynes and Condosi to fish out matter against me: these practices don't disturb me; I was yesterday on board a China ship playing with a large good-humoured tyger, and so I can with ill-tempered beasts. Not liking to affront him, I could not refuse his civilities, and he took a great fancy to my umbrella. He is very beautiful and good-tempered; but they thrash him when he shows sulk, and keep his nails pared. A good example.

"Holme is doing Paul. He told me that when he de-

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layed, I should say, Why persecutest thou me? My answer was, If the flash of lightning were mine also, Yes! but without that it was doubtful if even the original interrogation would move him; and that it was added in Paul's case proves that, then as now, there was malgré as well as bongré wanted to manage men: pure reason won't reach the mark even from divine lips!" This Bryan Holme was the eminent attorney, a man of imperturbable good temper, unbounded liberality and purest integrity, but somewhat dilatory.

"July.—Much obliged to you for the old usquebagh. I remember my father getting the two bottles from Colonel Staples, called Tacitus: it was then supposed to be what Noah left when he got drunk on landing:"—it was one hundred and eighty-five years old! "What are ministers about for Ireland? It is nonsense to leave a whole people to private charity. In Cephalonia a hard winter caused great distress; I at once sent two magistrates to each district with mules laden with corn, for which each village gave a receipt, and a list of persons relieved. A promise of repayment in labour or kind was exacted from those who had means, but nothing from the destitute. Now what has been done in one place could be done in another; but as the Irish are patient and obedient to the laws of man, instead of adopting God's law of self-preservation, no exertion is made to help them: pretty encouragement to be good subjects! There are plenty of ways to help Ireland and they will not try. I would willingly, no, unwillingly subscribe, if there was any certainty of the money filling the bellies of the hungry creatures. I would subscribe because the accounts of suffering put me in a fever; but my predominant feeling is to stamp on Lord Grey's full belly until he does something decisive. Charitable gifts do harm. It is scarcely possible to reconcile oneself to this expression; but they turn men's minds from the real sources of relief, and then those who have power don't hurry them-

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selves, and trust to charity, and the patience of the poor suffering creatures."—He gave largely.

"September.—We may say the least blunder of the ministers is their best deed. We are here starving nearly, and in Ireland a whole nation starves as a matter of course! An old woman dies of cholic in Sunderland, and the world is wild with anxiety to know whether she ought to have had a blister or—something else. Thousands are dying of hunger in Ireland for every one dying of cholera in Sunderland, because what might be done is not done! and a little corner of a newspaper is all the notice taken of the wide-spreading tragedy! Why is this? Because the ministers know the famine there is their fault. They are in their own way good men! Yes, but they adopt the way of wholesale assassination. Burke and Bishop were very good men in their way, but not to the Italian boy. Nations want results, not motives; Lord Grey has destroyed more subjects than all the Burkes and Bishops in England: it is dreadful! I have just seen Digby Macworth's bulletin of the Bristol battle; and of his own Anabasis through the roof of the mansion-house with the warlike mayor: it is hard to say whether Xenophon or Harlequin has the right to claim them. I hear nothing from that what-in-the-world-can-I-do? Lord Goderich. Edward Curling, who has brought home my children, tells me, that when he left Cephalonia the peasants had got up a memorial to the king to have me back; above two thousand had signed before he came away and it was going on fast. Adam's satellites will soon crush this."—They did crush it.

"Miss Napier. October.—Lord Goderich tries my patience. He said Adam's speech was very favourable to me, and proved it by reading it aloud, with emphasis on the laudatory parts and muttering over the animadversions! I said, Lord Goderich, emphasis does not change the meaning of words. He is frightened by Adam.

"George Jones, R.A. December.—I saw Lord Goderich,

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and he obligingly assured me that Adam loved me—whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. He said I ought to return to Zante, or some other island; that he was a common friend and would make up the quarrel; that I was too stiff: very stiff with rheumatism in my knee while he was speaking. In short, there was this great man, descending to coax a poor colonel to be friends with a lord high commissioner! Now, when you consider that I had, in an old threadbare coat, cut my way through three pompous messengers and a prig of a secretary, you may think my courage was cooled. No. After a fruitless attack in the morning—being defeated by, My lord is engaged, the cabinet is assembled, I waited till my lord came from the cabinet, then stormed his castle, and after standing a full hour of nonsense said, My lord very much obliged to you, but no power shall make me put myself again under Sir F. Adam, or reconcile me to him. My great man has been played upon by cunning. Sir Frederick Adam will not meet me: Lord Goderich replied to my request on that point. No! in the present temper you are both in it would only make matters worse. If ever you paint the picture of a secretary of state, make him pay double, and return half when he tells you he likes his picture! Generals are sufficiently knavish, but they can come to a point. Adam said No! but Goody Goderich will not say Yea, or Nay."

His loss of public position followed, and his subsequent letters relate only to his private life; but ill-usage did not abate his desire to serve the public. Being applied to by Sir James McDonald, Adam's successor in the islands, for information as to the character of the leading men, and the real state of affairs, he sent him an elaborate memoir from which the following observations are extracted. The advice and information were however thrown away upon Sir James, who was one of those goose politicians that the Whigs have always been ready to foist upon the public as swans, and who are considered so until they swim alone.

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"Memoir.—The following persons are in my belief honest or clever, or both; but being of a race with whom intrigue is deep and habitual I vouch only for talent. I trusted no man, and kept incessant watch on all, and they knew it: no spying however with anything but my own senses. To hear of, or to suspect an abuse, made me employ all my faculties to discover and remedy the evil: thus fear balanced temptation. As these men were found by me so I speak of them: under a person of greater ability they will be better public servants; under one of less zeal they will certainly be worse. I am told Colonel Conyers gives up two hours a day to public business; fourteen hours a day did not satisfy my sense of what was necessary. Colonel Conyers may have ability to do in two hours what cost me fourteen; but if he possesses ten times that talent, and yet attends but two hours, the men I now think useful public servants will become the contrary. With a Resident of two-hours-a-day power, there is no saying what they may prove."—Here followed the characters of all the leading men of the islands, given with racy humour and keen perception, but finishing thus. "My object is however to draw your attention to the miserable system going on, and you will soon discover whether my judgment is true or false, for you are placed behind the scenes at once, and no talent could do without long experience. You will be able to obtain proofs of my statements in a week.

"Miss Napier.—The duke has reason to be low, for he is the cause of all the troubles which may fall on this land. Had he understood the English people, he would have known that they may be led even to absolute starving, but if bullied will hardly endure a look of taunt or defiance. Had he spontaneously given a fair reform England would have been at his feet. He was, before that blunder, popular beyond any man in the country: now God knows what will happen. I hate to think of our state altogether, and if my wife were young would go to New South Wales to

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get out of the way, and rear young kangaroos to play with Susan and Emily.

"Yes! I did read Grattan's speech, and an admirable one it was: Cobbett says it was the best speech made in the house, but that Grattan spoke it so rapidly the reporters could not do justice. Oh the Whigs! oh that Stanley! oh that Lord Grey! They are the men who are sending more bayonets and bullets to Ireland, justice halting a long way after military execution! God forgive me, but if one did not know the king is a good fellow himself, this is enough to shake loyalty! Reform tithes, establish poor laws, and drive absentees home to do their duty to starving labourers; and then if outrage continues send your bayonets and welcome: but then they would never go, for Ireland would be quiet and happy. I am of no party, but when I see people starving in the midst of abundance, my blood first runs cold with horror, and then boils with indignation. It is said there is over-population. Mr. Nimmo, the government engineer affirms that he has surveyed five millions of acres, which he will engage to put into complete cultivation for nine guineas an acre, and the first crop shall sell for ten guineas an acre! Sir Humphrey Davy said every acre of this ground could be made a mass of manure! These five millions of acres could support fifteen millions of people, and all Ireland has but eight millions. Yet they are left barren, and the Almighty who has sent such means is accused of over-populating! Grant me patience oh God! Fifty millions could be well fed and happy in Ireland!

"I have had ten years' experience in governing, which is something, and I would stake my life to make every sixpence of tithes be paid up to the parsons without the aid of a soldier or policeman: and in six months not a man should starve. Stanley would make blood flow to produce love! Coercion! damnable coercion! What has been the ruin of Ireland but this accursed coercion, which these Whigs have been crying down for forty years, and now cry up, being in

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office! Had Stanley said, every parish that pays up its arrears to the parson shall be relieved from tithes, he being at the same time prepared with another church establishment for the future, all would have paid at once. O'Connell is called a devil, but he is doing an angel's duty. Fools that the Whigs are! Can they put down famine with bayonets? Starve my wife and children and see if bayonets will put me down, except by death."

During his fruitless efforts to raise Lord Goderich's mind to the dignity of comprehending justice, he had lived at one time in Berkshire, at another in Hampshire, in each devoting himself to gardening and the care of the poor. Finally he settled close to Bath, and continued there until late in 1833. His wife was then very ill, his mind harassed, and he narrowly escaped death by the cholera, but triumphed over that terrible disease. His correspondence was naturally scant under this mental and bodily pressure, and the great political convulsion of reform was only watched by him at first, as it were askance; his own affairs, and the composition of a book, exposing Adam's conduct, prevented him from mixing in politics. And soon a shock, the most terrible, nearly overset his enduring mind: on the 31st of July his wife died, and one extract from his secret, written meditations, discloses the internal struggle with terrible power.

"Oh God! merciful, inscrutable Being, give me power to bear this thy behest! Hitherto I had life and light, but now all is as a dream and I am in darkness: the darkness of death, the loneliness of the desert! I see life and movement and affection around me, but I am as marble. Oh God defend me, for the spirit of evil has struck a terrible blow. I too can die, but thus my own deed may give the dreadful spirit power over me, and I may in my haste to join my adored Elisabeth divide myself for ever from her! My head, my head seems to burst. Oh mercy! mercy! for this seems past endurance!"

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He was not destined so to sink, and his stern resistance to affliction is again displayed in a letter to his sister Louisa.

"September 25th.—You were quite right not to marry, it does not do for old people to begin a new way of life; and this dreadful separation! Merciful God! it is indeed fearful. Emily says she knows well what I feel: she thinks of the loss of her aunt. That loss was to her what the loss of my mother was to me: but how different is this! She has my prayers for dying before her husband, or she will find how much more severe her grief will be. This is a selfishness I wish to throw off, but cannot, and grieve with weak unavailing tears! I have just pulled away the bullet that at Busaco went through my head. How little we can judge for ourselves; then I rejoiced at my escape, and now regret it! We know nothing! but we are to act as our consciences dictate, and take what God sends: even my angel's death, the word chokes me! is better as it is. May my dear girls be happy, but I do not expect it, nor feel sure that it is good for us to be so: we forget death in the enjoyment of life!"

He now settled at Caen in Normandy, from whence his next letter is addressed to the same sister.

"December 21st.—Poor Amelia Lockart! is she a widow? What is life? We have here Bourrienne, mad; Brummel living on charity! What a world it is! yet it is a beautiful world, though to me a hateful one. I am not of Dr. Johnson's opinion now: I was so, but have now no hate. Still an honest man should not let himself be crushed wrongfully, and I will defend myself. At all times however, I loved those who loved what I loved, and was conscious that I hated my enemies till the cup was full enough. Johnson had a base mind, he loved and hated from personal feelings; my hate has always been against villainy, whether practised on myself or others: to be sure I was no niggard of it, but most surely it is now softened down. I am sorry you will quarrel with Lord Ripon for my sake. However I shall treat him myself with little ceremony. If

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called on to answer an attack, said to be preparing by Adam's friends in London and Corfu for the Edinburgh Review, I will assail in turn, and am so cool, so out of the power of being ruffled by danger, that my fighting will be hard. The fear of being taken from my Elisabeth to a gaol made me something fearful when I wrote before; now I defy prosecution, and every other kind of contest. Lord Hill and Lord Fitzroy Somerset behaved so kindly to me that they are the only people in power I will not ridicule, as far as my talent in that way goes.

"I have been reading Whewell's Bridgewater Treatise. It is very good. If you read it you may pass all the scientific part, which might have been plainer; but he argues well the greatness and goodness of God: I like to see scientific men meet the attacks of science upon religion."

The menaced review was not published, Adam and his friends judged it safer to buy up, than to answer an exposition true and capable of expansion without loss of sharpness. Meanwhile Charles Napier remained at Caen, but not in quiet, being obliged to direct part of a family lawsuit, conducted principally by his cousin Mr. Charles Beauclerk against the Duke of Richmond, for the French estate of D'Aubigny. This seignory, granted by Louis XIV. to the Duchess of Portsmouth, had descended of right to the Dukes of Richmond as Dukes of D'Aubigny, until the French revolution swept away that title and changed the law of succession. Overlooked at the peace, this was now remembered by the collateral descendants of the third duke, and a lawsuit resulted with the usual concomitants: for though, thanks to Napoleon's code, the delays were not inordinate, there was chicane, and greedy and negligent lawyers; Louis Philippe also exacted the personal claims of the sovereign to share in the spoil with miserly avidity; and when the decision in favour of the claimants was made, the duke lost a great deal and his opponents gained very little. The affair took Charles Napier to Paris.

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"Miss Napier. January 13th, Paris.—I am here on the Aubigny business. You say well that changes in life are good for us; but alas I know of no change now that is not sad for me, except dying, the hope of which comes across my mind like bursts of light on showery days. Yes changes are good to wean us from life, for we must die, and death is terrible to the happy. It was terrible to me five months ago, and came in the most terrible form; but the silver chord has snapped and my wish is now for what then was dreaded. However my children make a home, not what it was, but containing beings to whom I am all in all: formerly, when looking down from Portsdown Hill on Broomfield, which contained my wife and children, how great was my gratitude to God! My heart was on its knees if my body was not. You recommend Charles Bell's treatise on the hand, it will be a pleasure; Whewell's science alarmed many persons and they would not read. I am entirely of your opinion however, that God's goodness, with events, are the best studies: they are his books and far beyond Bridgewater treatises."

Some efforts were now made to restore him to public life.

"January 18th.—Lord Hill's offer to me of something in Canada I refused; but it was made handsomely in time and manner, not to be forgotten; and therefore I will never ask anything from him and Lord Fitzroy, beset as they are. Moreover, though willing to accept a favour from Lord Hill, my admiration of him being great, a favour from the Whigs I will not accept: they are all that is infamous and stupid in politics, all that is contemptible and incapable in governing; and have generally no feeling but love of lucre, no ambition beyond making a speech in parliament. I should be sorry to say that amongst them are no men honest or good, but in mass they are despicable. To do good I would take anything, though ambition and desire of life have passed from me, and my only wish is death; the country might indeed be well served by me in the Ionian Islands,

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but the thought of serving under imbeciles like the present ministers is hateful. To serve under the duke would be agreeable, but he has opposed himself to every just feeling of the age, and a man who tries to stem the feeling of the world acts like a madman. He who might, and who ought to lead the nation is overwhelmed by that nation. I detest these men for being in office, and the duke himself for being out of it.

"John Kennedy has been all over Ireland, and found that Lord Gosport and Colonel Close have adopted the plan he is raving about, for ameliorating the condition of the poor and improving agriculture, and their success is beyond even his sanguine expectation. This is owing to an admirable agent of theirs, a Mr. Blacker, who has been beforehand with Kennedy's plans. Their tenants pay regularly, their labourers are happy and well fed: in fine all Kennedy's plans have been realized by Mr. Blacker. He, Kennedy, tells me of praise bestowed on me by Lord Byron, in Blackwood, No. 217: praise has no longer the charms for me, yet is gratifying coming from Lord Byron.

"January 29th, Caen.—In educating my children my unfitness comes home to me; but I bear in mind this rule of my beloved wife. Whatever faults a child has, it has also plenty of reason for its age; therefore reason with a child, and exercise and strengthen its reason, and you will teach it to govern itself: a little firmness and good examples in your own habits will do the rest. E—— tells me she makes it a rule never to reason with a child; but reason acts powerfully within children, and is not given for nothing: wherefore my reason tells me my wife was right. Unsparing self-examination is however necessary to this system, and that with me is neither a trivial nor an agreeable task: my fault is acting from impulses of temper, and a worse fault with children can scarcely be. I am well aware my fate might be much worse, as you say, but all my

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energy cannot destroy memory: this morning my eyes fell on the account of Napoleon's bursting into tears when meeting the doctor who attended Josephine at her death. What he felt at that moment I feel hourly. Yet I am cheerful with others, my grief breaks out when alone; at no other time do I let it have its way: but when tears are too much checked, comes a terrible feel on the top of my head, which though not real pain distracts me, and my lowness then seems past endurance.

"That you gave Ripon a dose pleases me, for he deserved it; but it grieves me also that my quarrel should spoil the least pleasure for you, much more a portion of the greatest; for society is a great, and natural, and the best of pleasures. We may differ as to what constitutes pleasant society, but all who have common sense must admit the principle. Lord Ripon will not like your behaviour. Moral cowardice made him flinch from deciding between me and Adam, and that same feeling will make him worried with your rebuke.

"I will teach my girls only useful things. French for example, because it will be of real use and it would be painful to them not to know what so many fools know. But my object will be to teach only one thing at a time, and useful things first: you remember my father always said the advantage of Scotch education was, that it taught but one thing at a time. By useful I mean

"1°. Religion as the foundation; to this I trust for steadiness.

"2°. Accounts, to teach the value of money and how to regulate a house.

"3°. Work, that spare hours may not be lost if rich; and if poor that they may make their own things.

"4°. Cooking to a certain extent, that they may not be at a loss if a revolution throws them on their own resources; and also to guard against servants' waste.

"5°. French, that they may not be dumb in a foreign

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land, which would kill them! These things I can teach them, if I live until they are fourteen; then they shall learn anything to which their tastes incline.

"They begin to make out French when they like. Walking in the street, a French lady made an observation not intelligible to me, but Susan whispered, Papa I know what that lady said. What my dear? What two pretty children those are; then after a while added, I think that was a very pretty woman—she being very like an ourang outang. As long as I live my aim will be to make them religious, and at my death they will be with those who will do the same; so they have as fair a chance as girls can have. And as to money, I don't want them to have a shilling more than a hundred a year each, with a house, and I have saved that for them. My hope is that they will not marry brutes or fools, but that is their affair, and the future does not trouble me. He that sent them will take care of them. My desire is to live well while I do live, and to make those about me as happy as possible: but for myself death is my prayer, wishing it to come while welcome, rather than delay until time and rekindling affections make it less so.

"Paris. June.—Thinking it right to be at Sancerre about the lawsuit, though feeling ill, I exerted myself; but between Paris and Fontainbleau, in the night, was forced to stop at an inn and get a doctor. With cataplasms he subdued the pain, and it was no trifle that made me stop at night in a French inn: thinking however that it was neither agreeable nor gentlemanlike to have my soul jerked out by a French diligence, without springs on a bad road, I gave in. The doctors don't seem to know if it was inflammation of liver or lungs, or passing of a gall stone; but it was sharp pain and my pulse was 'affreusement concentré et bien irregulier.' The nurse near Fontainbleau treated me as she would her own child.

"Caen. June.—Beauclerc is very angry with the duke for going to Sancerre and calling on the judges; but I am

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never angry with a man for fighting his battle as he can. So the Canning folk are enraged with William's history. As to Canning's character not belonging to the history, I am not sure it does, more than Hamlet belongs to the play. It would certainly have been better had he confined himself to his work, and said nothing about Wellington, Napoleon and Soult, or the ambassadors and ministers; they are extraneous to his subject! What necessity would there be, in writing Hannibal's wars, to say the senate and Hanno refused him supplies? William would have done better to have described the war as one in Australia between kangaroos."

Time and an increasing interest in his children were now doing their work as consolers; and meanwhile his public reputation opened the prospect of a new career of usefulness.

"July 1834.—There is an idea of offering me the government of a new colony in Australia, but there are many candidates who ask, which I will not though I should like the thing much. The salary is a thousand yearly. Well done book, if it gets this government. How delightfully we are governed at home. People abuse me for violence in my book. Take a debate in the dignified house of lords and compare their sayings and my writing; but dukes and chancellors may steal horses when ill-treated half-pay colonels must not look over the hedge!—I will though! So we are such a stupid nation that if Lord Althorpe resigns we are lost! Oh dear! Oh dear! as Punch squeaks. Yes! Punch it is, Punch, all Punch, only not half so funny as the old fellow!

"August.—The death of Lord Bathurst, so nearly at the anniversary of my own loss, brings home all the wretchedness of life. Lady Bathurst has much to suffer, for until the best beloved is gone life is not a burthen; it has its rough days, its sorrows, but they are shared by one who is all in all to us, and while that one remains we have

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shelter in the rudest storms: when gone we are wrecked indeed! And reckless too, for grief may subside, pleasure may again come, but life can never be what it was. To a man whose fortunes had been ruined, as mine have been by that wretch Adam, a beloved wife was all that was left to give an interest in life, and while I had her I was content, —and now I am so, for time keeps on its steady course! Poor Lady Bathurst's trial is equally severe, though different. She had all that fortune could give to make life agreeable; now all is useless, all vain, and the result, as with me, must be a contempt for all things. She cannot feel otherwise; but she has his children, good and amiable and worthy of her affection; in them she will find support, for God ever gives comfort when He gives affliction: not comfort which attaches us to life, but which renders us able to bear it. Among the rest is the conviction that the lost ones are at rest, and can defy the world and its troubles; for even if there is no future state death still brings peace. But for those who, like me, have a full conviction of another life, there is assurance of reunion which supports us and calms the heat that makes one long even for death.

"Lord Bathurst was sensible to the last. That was a trial for her at the moment, but now consoling, to think she heard his last wishes and knew his last thoughts; this was a comfort denied to me, but all things are as they should be in this world: our greatest and our least wants are ruled by destiny; the hairs of our head are numbered we are told by Him whose words are not to be disputed. Lady Bathurst will feel she has been a good wife, and I feel that I was a good husband, for certainly I adored my Elisabeth: yet every impatient word ever uttered rose up in bitterness against me and well nigh distracted me. Few men were ever less cross perhaps to their wives than myself; and whatever temper I shewed was seen by the world, for being alone with her made me so happy I was always in good-humour. Sure I am therefore that Lady Bathurst,

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good and gentle as she is, will reproach herself with things that she will rake up to her own annoyance; time will soften this, but the pain is very great. I am at this moment particularly alive to all she suffers, for her heart is a kind and feeling one: may God bless her in this hour of trial, which is indeed one almost beyond human endurance: yet we must endure. Give her my love dearest Louisa, and tell her I feel for her deeply, and so doing I feel for myself, our sorrows are alike."

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ELEVENTH EPOCH.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE most sorrowful and inert portion of Charles Napier's life had now passed away, and the Australian offer revived his master passion, that of being useful in his generation. He was however soon troubled, and finally baffled, by personal intrigues, without which nothing affecting the public interest can be conducted in England: it was a complicated affair, but a simple outline will suffice.

In August 1834, an act was passed, declaring that certain parts of Australia were waste and unoccupied, the natives' existence being ignored: wherefore a company was chartered to settle there, under certain conditions as to government. Amongst the chief parliamentary promoters of this enterprize was Mr. Charles Buller, who proposed that Charles Napier should ask for the governorship. The answer was, that from the Whig government he would seek no favour, deeming that government to be at once tyrannical and imbecile. Mr. Buller replied, "that the secretary of state, Mr. Spring Rice, could not relinquish the nomination, yet would feel bound by the wishes of the colonists; wherefore Colonel Napier would do well to engage their suffrages. Colonel Torrens, who had been active to form the company, was indeed canvassing for himself; but the most earnest and influential persons interested, were nowise disposed towards him, and were so towards Colonel Napier." The latter still refused to solicit, and as to canvassing for personal favour, it was revolting—he would not do so.

"Mr. Buller. Caen, July 28th.—The French papers say

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Colonel Torrens has been appointed, which puts an end to my being the man; had it been otherwise, my intent was to have conferred with you on the subject in London. If you think my notes on colonization, sent to you, will be of service to Colonel Torrens he is welcome to them: he has not, probably, been so much in the habit of supplying large bodies, as I have; and will perhaps believe me when saying, that foreseen difficulties bear no proportion to the unforeseen."

Being undeceived about Torrens he went to London in August, and there received an address from fifteen of the most influential colonists, again urging him to solicit the government and promising their support. He answered again that it was contrary to his principles to seek favour from government; but if a great body of colonists thought him worth asking for, and so got him appointed he was ready to go. This did not check their zeal and he remained several months awaiting the result; but finding much folly and intrigue afloat, without progress, he settled at Portsmouth, with a mind restored to public life.

"November 30th.—Black Charles"—Admiral Napier,—"is canvassing Portsmouth, and is to have a public meeting. My going is uncertain, as I have refused to attend and be silent if called on to speak. I told him not to expect me to speak aught but my honest convictions, whether suitable for his interests or not. He has Tories, Whigs and Radicals to deal with, and wishes to affront none; but I am dead Wellingtonian, and for addressing his majesty in congratulation at having turned out the Whigs. The duke opposed reform while it was only a bill under discussion; now it is the law, and we have no reason to distrust him because he was honest enough to sacrifice his power and popularity to his opinions. Always holding those opinions to be wrong, I still say his very opposition to reform demands the confidence of the country. If the duke does not lead the reformers, if he is guided by those friends who seek to make him a thorough Tory, we shall have mischief. The vile

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Globe says he will be a renegade: stuff! A renegade from what? He thought reform bad and opposed it; now, being law, if he has to execute it he will act honestly for his country. The Whigs know this, they dread his being a reformer and are trying to bully him from that course, which they feel would destroy them for ever: yet I own to being afraid of him; afraid of his Tory habits: if he tries to hark back there will be a row, it cannot be done; if he confides in the troops he is wrong, and even victory would be ruin. Certainly the nation takes this view, whether from conscience or passion."

The uncertainty of the Australian appointment continued a long time, yet the colonists were so earnest to have him, that Mr. Spring Rice finally acceded to their wishes; but then a change of administration placed Lord Glenelg in the colonial office, and though Mr. Rice left a note of his intention, the work was practically to be gone over again. Meanwhile commissioners to supervise and control certain points of arrangement were appointed, and immediately, following the custom of all official boards in England, assumed powers not belonging to them, and displayed a remarkable arrogance and ignorance. Nothing advanced, and the time thus lost was employed by Charles Napier in composing a work upon *Colonization*, in which he explicitly declared his resolution to protect the rights of the Aborigines in property and life; and that the usual Anglo-Saxon process of planting civilization by robbery, oppression, murder and extermination of natives, should not take place under him. His general plan was thus sketched to his brother.

"You will like to hear of the Australian matter. The scheme for securing labour is to sell land and pay for the passage of labourers with the price. One hundred acres will fetch sixty pounds, which will take out two men and two women. My objection is, that two men cannot cultivate sixty acres, and labour will diminish in proportion as land is

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sold, until its value will become too great to be paid for: there will then be a standstill, except where men and their sons go on by their own work. The society will not believe this, but it is true, and they will fall down to where they ought to begin, namely, with a few hard-working labourers and artificers. To remedy this, my design is to send for Chinese labourers; they are capital fellows, though with a serious objection, they bring no women. I know not why, but suspect some foul play, and that the women can be got: that is to be seen. The natives have remonstrated against our shooting their kangaroos; wherefore, if I go, their property shall be respected, and we must buy kangaroo meat from them, elevating monsieur kangaroo to the dignity of monsieur sheep.

"All the colonists and the framers of the colony, including Mr. Mill the younger, are too sanguine, thinking a fine flourishing town can be established at once. All the small capitalists will be ruined in two years by the high prices of labour, and want of a market; large capital may stand the battle, so will labourers who rely on their own work, which, if wages stop, will procure them food. It is long before a wilderness can produce, long before a market can be found for that produce; especially as Sydney and Van Diemen's Land are already overstocked with produce of the same nature. I am told the sale of land will compress the population, and combination of labour will create at once produce and demand: we shall see. Not I though, probably, for it is told to me that the hatred of the colonial office towards me is great on account of my book. A commissioner is to go out, with great powers, besides the governor, and I have told them, that if Kennedy is not the man they cannot have me; the colonial office would surely send some tool to thwart, and then cast failure on me. Kennedy and myself could get over the inevitable difficulties, but I alone could not, if opposed by enemies at home and an adverse commissioner on the spot. Government is

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quite hostile to the whole scheme; the act was carried by members of parliament whom government feared to offend."

Notwithstanding these delays and changes of ministers, all difficulties seemed to be overcome in April; and so certain did he then deem his nomination that, reflecting on the age of his girls, the society they must be cast into, and his own loneliness, he resolved to give them by another marriage a protectress, and himself a companion whom he had long known and esteemed as a friend. It took place in that month with the widow of Captain Alcock, R.N. She had three children, two grown up; and there was a previous family connection, she being niece to Admiral Sir Thomas Foley, Nelson's leading captain at the Nile, who had married Charles Napier's cousin-german, Lady Lucy Fitzgerald.

Scarcely had he taken this step when an insurmountable bar to his colonial projects was interposed. He was in May officially informed that his nomination was ready, but his terms would not be complied with by the commissioners: these were, the right to draw for a hundred thousand pounds in case of distress for the colonists, two hundred soldiers, and a ship of war. This meddling of the commissioners was beyond their legitimate power, and as Lord Glenelg would not overrule them Charles Napier refused the government on their terms. He told the commissioners, that while there was sufficient security for, and even a forcing of the supply of labour, there was none for supply of capital to employ that labour; and if not employed the consequences must be disastrous. That to provide against that, and other unforeseen but inevitable dangers, there must be a reserve of money and soldiers; for he would not attempt to govern a large population in a wilderness, where much inconvenience must be suffered, without a force to protect the good against the bad: the colony would be as an army without discipline, suffering privations, yet with plenty of liquor: danger might not arise, but he would only go prepared.

Unmoved by this reasoning, the committee quoted in op-

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position the establishment of the American colonies, but with such plenitude of historical ignorance as to be astounding, coming from men pretending to govern a distant colony on philosophical principles. They designated their scheme as founded on a self-supporting principle:—a fine phrase which Charles Napier instantly demolished by shewing it to be a loan-supporting principle. The whole of this controversy has been exposed in his work on Colonization, but the commissioners had their way. They chose a new governor, expended actually more money than had been asked for as a reserve, and finally were compelled to send soldiers. But the unforeseen difficulties abounded, governor after governor went out, and the self-supporting colony floundered on amidst debt and discontent, and distress, until the discovery of gold changed the aspect of the whole community. The commissioners certainly had not prepared themselves for their task; but some extracts from the private notes of the rejected man will shew how deeply he had meditated on the details as well as the general principles.

"Memoranda.—Sailing in spring is bad, because you reach the Cape in bad weather, and Australia in winter, and to bivouac with women and children in winter would kill half. The Australian coast is very dangerous in winter. August is the best time to sail, it takes you to Australia in the middle of summer: this is the more desirable, as in summer only can we judge of the supply of water, and without knowing that, how are we to fix on a spot for a town? To know where water is good, certain and plentiful, is a vital point; one very difficult to be well ascertained, but a matter of far more importance than all others. We hear that eighteen months have been known to pass without a drop of rain; how then are we to know if the rivers, springs and wells, will bear this without drying up? I find no satisfactory information on this point." Omitting some calculations as to cost and profits he continues.

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"Soldiers are necessary on account of both savages and colonists, the latter most troublesome I suspect, as spirits are cheap: we shall also find that the escaped prisoners from Sydney will in a few years become very formidable as banditti; we already hear of their defeating police in bands. My hope is to form a guard of savages, who, if warlike, will be much more easily civilized than if a peaceable race.

"I will introduce the decimal coinage of France, and have farthings current: all however stamped with our arms and date of landing A smaller money even might be coined, like mites: the smaller the tangible money the cheaper will be the necessaries of life. To have New Zealand women brought over will be a good thing. Major Cruize describes them as handsome, gentle, and so captivating to our sailors as to keep them in the island; and so fond of our men in return that great difficulty occurred in separating them: they can be bought for musquets, a New Zealander will sell anything for a musquet. Bargains made with masters of vessels should bear, that if man woman or child dies on the voyage, only so much of the passage money shall be paid: this is necessary to prevent the people being destroyed by ill-usage for gain. As to government, colonial and all discontent springs from unjust treatment; idiots talk of agitators, there is but one in existence:—injustice! The cure for discontent in a colony is to find out where the shoe pinches and ease it. If you hang an agitator and leave the injustice, instead of punishing a villain you murder a patriot."

Having refused this government he was again cast adrift on the ocean of life. Sink he could not, he had a mission: but he was to struggle for a long time with an augmented family and diminished means; for having placed the savings of his life in the Philadelphian funds, he was temporarily, in common with so many others, made the victim of a national dishonesty which at once disgraced and bewildered civiliza-

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tion. Meanwhile he returned to Caen and his family correspondence was revived.

"Caen.—The diligence run away with us from Honfleur, it was ugly enough; the maids were crying, Minnie and myself trying to comfort her mother, the children delighted and fearless." Here it may be remarked how constantly he was exposed to personal dangers. During his former stay, having occasion to go back to Portsmouth he was on his return all but shipwrecked, the escape being marvellous.

"August.—Two attacks have been made on my book, in the Spectator and Atlas. One says I am vulgar and stupid; the other that I am inconsistent: both quote me falsely. Richard objects to my laying so much stress on having money to employ labour, as capital will circulate. His reasons will be good when the colony is established: but he also says there will be produce after the first ten months, thus passing over the period in which the whole difficulty is contained. At the Swan River Colony, after nine years, they cannot yet supply themselves, and meat is from two shillings to half-a-crown a pound! Moreover Spring Rice told me, the sums government has poured into that colony are beyond their power to avow. Hume should pull out this: it would support my views.

"Your politics are nearly mine. A Tory well chastised and taught that he is like other people, is well enough; but Whigs have all the Tory faults and their own besides. A Tory is a bold open bandit who avows his trade and takes all chances, doing at times handsome and generous things. The Whig is a sneaking pickpocket, pretending to elegance and honesty while he commits every dirty trick recorded in the Newgate Calendar:—so far as it is safe. Tories by birth are not to be hated, Tories from subserviency are. The institutions of the country make the first, he has no choice, unless he be a man of extraordinary talent and character. A high-born Whig who has not courage or talent to be Radical or Tory is hateful. As to your violent

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she politicians, they draw largely on one's indulgence by asking credit for common sense.

"My girls' next acquirement shall be arithmetic, one not sufficiently attended to in women's education. If they are taught French, dancing, needle-work, and to be good accountants at twelve years old, they will have enough learning and accomplishment. Knowing two languages they can teach themselves any other, and be at home in any country. My object is to give them means to work, and then they may become as *blue* as burning brandy. Not with my will, I don't like it: my taste is for women who read as much as life requires, and what is applicable to life. If a woman is a Mrs. Somerville well and good; but the attempt to be such is very bad: it is like jumping over a ditch, all right if you do not fall short, for that is to flounder in mud."

At this time died the wife of a valued friend, Lord Mark Kerr, an event which awakened all his own dormant sorrows.

"November.—I will not say how Mark Kerr's loss calls up my own, for that is a black sun that never sets. He was away, I was present: there is not much to choose, the result is equally terrible; life is broken to pieces without being lost, and we must patch up the fragments as we can, until our own hour comes to put an end to memory. We then cease altogether, which will be perfect peace; or we go to those we had lost, which will be perfect happiness. I am not well and will change the subject.

"December.—So Richard is star-gazing for Mrs. Somerville. Mighty cowld work in November jewel; I 'd rather he nor I. Yet that is not true, for I would do it for him to save his eyes"—they were apparently failing. "Nothing is more destructive to sight than looking through telescopes, sailors say. It is to me strange that a man whose own sight is already in danger should thus endanger it more: we pity those whose sustenance depends on doing what is injurious to the eyes; but to volunteer such work is to me

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unaccountable. A man's sight is his own to do what he likes with it, but those to whom his welfare and happiness are dear must regret the danger he thus needlessly runs.

"March 1836.—I have written a book on Military Law which treats of flogging, and if published at all should be so at once. I condemn flogging in peace, not in war, and the matter is treated, in my opinion, in a better way than they do in their speeches on either side; so far at least as those speeches are given in the papers. Flogging is odious and unnecessary in peace. Our father was always against it, and he was right. The feeling of the country is now too strong to bear it longer, and the Horse Guards may as well give way at once as be forced to do so by parliament. Sir F. Adam has resigned Madras. The papers speak positively, and Indian people tell me their letters coincide, that he has been forced to resign from absolute incapacity. I have no ill-will against him when he is out of power!

"I had before written for the information you sent me about the United States' Bank. I don't like the name of Nick Biddle the Yankee, it smells keen and conscientiousless. Sorry to hear you have a lawsuit on hand, for my belief is that honour and conscience have little weight with juries; they seldom give honest verdicts, except when bullied by mobs on political questions. George and Henry tell me the new Poor Law Bill has done wonders; so does a fallen horse when a fire is lighted under his belly: I suppose the demand for railroads has given a momentary help to the people. These railroads! The world seems tending to the likeness of a man on a gibbet, all bound with iron! How small it will be when we can travel sixty miles an hour: one-fifth of the size when we travelled only twelve miles an hour!"

In the latter end of 1836 he once more settled at Bath, and in January 1837, he and his brother George became major-generals by brevet. George was soon afterwards appointed governor of the Cape, where he displayed the same

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activity for good that Charles had done in Cephalonia, and his governing may be thus succinctly described. He had no recourse to the sword against the Kaffres because he would not appeal to arms without an absolute necessity; and because he judged that one month of war would be more injurious than ten years of Kaffre depredations to the colonists:—always excepting the knaves who clamoured for hostilities with a view to fatten on public calamities. But he always sought, and generally obtained redress for real injuries by peaceful means, and often found the savage more reasonable and just than the, so called, civilized man. But while thus staving off war he was most industrious in peaceable legislation. He enforced the abolition of slavery without commotion, reduced the colonial paper debt from two hundred thousand pounds to almost nothing, and, coincidently, abolished all taxes, relying for revenue on import duties only. He gave municipal government to all towns and considerable villages, and urged very earnestly upon the ministers the policy of granting a general representation.

He found the public schools languishing from neglect or bad management, with but a few hundred scholars ill-taught; he revived, reformed, nourished and protected them, obtained good masters from England, and left them flourishing with more than twelve thousand attendant pupils of all creeds and colours! To this may be added some public works. He was constantly troubled by an active opposition discontented with the home government, yet, when he resigned, men of all political opinions united to give him a public dinner, where the most energetic of the opposition were warmest in testifying to his political integrity and the purity of his government, acknowledging its entire freedom from jobs or favouritism. When he embarked the humbler classes followed him in crowds to the shore, and even in boats to the ship with loud and grateful demonstrations of attachment.

Scarcely had this notice of George Napier's govern-

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ment been written, when he suddenly passed from this life. He died at Geneva, a General and Knight Commander of the Bath; and many mourning friends he left behind, in foreign countries as well as in his own; for he lived much abroad, and everywhere gained friends in a remarkable manner by his frank generous warmth of heart and manner, and his active benevolence. Twice he rejected extraordinary advancement, on principle. Once when the gallant King of Sardinia offered him the command of his army before the battle of Novarra; he would not make war except for his own country. Again: when the battle of Chillianwallah created a panic in England he refused the command of the Indian armies, thinking, in common with the nation, that the post belonged of right and policy to his brother Charles.* Enemies he must have had, it is the fate of all men, but his friends were so numerous that open hatred none ever shewed.

At Bath Charles Napier entered warmly into the politics of the day, which were perilous; and Bath was at that time the most vigorous reforming city of the empire, being then unsurpassed in generous patriotism. He attended public meetings and dinners, aided the formation of reforming associations, and avowed himself a Radical. Yet always he endeavoured to repress a tendency to public violence, which for their own party purposes was so much encouraged by the Whigs. On one occasion, animadverting on Mr. O'Connell's conduct, he said "Ireland requires a poor law, and Mr. O'Connell sets himself against it because the poorest Irish-

* This passage requires explanation; the first officially declined the Indian command, because he feared that an internal disorder would prevent a vigorous discharge of duty. He could well have sustained the command and pomp; but would not accept dignity and salary, without returning a full measure of duty. This, however, was before Chillianwallah caused his brother's appointment to be mooted; for then he declared that if in full health, he would neither have accepted, nor even retained the command, but he would have asked to go out as Charles Napier's Lieutenant.

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man, such is their generosity, will always divide his last potatoe with a distressed countryman. He is thus willing to sacrifice the poor to the Irish landlords; saying they shall be left to starve, because they are generous enough to give one-half of their potatoes to suffering creatures at their doors, and the other half—to Mr. O'Connell!" The agitator was stung, and at a great Irish meeting commented, not on the speech but the man, with more vehemence than good taste and less than his ordinary felicity of sarcasm. He had however a dangerous opponent. Charles Napier replied in a public letter of force to command general attention; it was even quoted and remarked upon in France. O'Connell could not answer it, and made no attempt at the time: but the battle did not thus end.

At a later period O'Connell, with great inconsistency, supported an Irish poor law, and Charles Napier again assailed him in a letter, so damaging that the agitator's mortification was evinced in such unguarded abuse as to lay himself open to the most biting taunts. "You Mr. O'Connell" said Charles Napier in reply, "call me a 'ridiculous blockhead' and accuse me of heaping 'filthy vituperation' on you. Possibly a blockhead I may be; and as I am forced by conviction to go along with you on the subject of a poor law for Ireland, I confess alarm, knowing the danger which attends a blockhead when he travels with a consummate knave: but as to vituperation I have not used it, nor would it be wise to do so against so perfect a master of the art. I once asked a dirty fellow, black as a chimney-sweep, if a coal-pit could be descended without soiling my clothes? Lord bless you I goes down ten times a day and never minds my clothes was his answer. Do you Mr. O'Connell make the application!" The thrust went home, and O'Connell, flying to that vulgar refuge for imbecility, personal abuse, vented his mortification at a subsequent meeting thus. "That Napier was a short time ago a colonel, he is now a general; that is what I call a *doldrum-general.*" Doldrum

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is an Irish expletive for a lazy, incapable, do-nothing fellow, which certainly was not very applicable to Charles Napier; and in sarcasm ranked with the stunted corporal and the one-armed miscreant, expletives launched from the same quarter against the Duke of Wellington and Lord Hardinge.

A few private letters will now carry the reader through 1837. The earliest were written to the author of this biography, who had been much mixed with Bath politics, and being then at Barege, seeking health, was anxious to know the cause of a temporary election defeat sustained by Mr. Roebuck.

"August 7th.—Roebuck was cast 1°. By bribery. 2°. By the dissenters, who split on account of his speech about the Sabbath. 3°. The Whigs set up Captain Scobell, which drew votes from Roebuck and made another split; Scobell then resigned, having done the mischief which his set designed in setting him up. 4°. Intimidation to a furious length, which made many tradesmen vote against their opinions, and a still greater number refuse to vote at all. To these causes of failure, one party says, may be added mismanagement of his committee, directed by Tutton the auctioneer. This I do not believe had any influence whatever, my belief is that it was all well done. That not very wise man H——, is at the head of the accusing party; but if men choose to vote, no mismanagement of the committee could have hindered them.

"To describe the rage and grief of the people is difficult, the chairing was a funeral procession amidst groans and hisses; and since the election many Whigs even have expressed their regret for Roebuck's failure. Hobhouse worked hard for him, and voted for him; Roebuck and he are friends now, and Tom Falconer told me, as did Roebuck, that nothing could be more handsome than Hobhouse's conduct. The reasons thus given to you for Roebuck's failure are those generally ascribed, and truly; yet I am myself of opinion that his support of the new poor law was a fifth: neither he nor Falconer will admit

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this, but it had some effect, though not much. The noise was so immense that speaking was out of the question, or I would have tested this. Roebuck did not attempt to speak on the hustings; the others did; but though almost touching Lord Powerscourt I could not even hear his voice, much less catch the words: he seemed like one making faces! They may flatter themselves that their advocacy of the new poor law does them no harm, but it does: had the sun been a political œconomist Joshua could never have stopped him! They are now proposing subscriptions to give Roebuck a piece of plate, no one to subscribe more than ten shillings: I shall subscribe. The address to be presented with it is not to pledge one to any particular opinions, but merely to express approbation of his general conduct and detestation of the personal abuse heaped on him by a certain set at Bath.

"With regard to the elections generally, I am in hopes they will turn out the Whigs, and that the Tories will give us something as a gratuity, an instalment, to get in; then the Whigs, being out, will be of some use as curs to bark at the Tories; when we have done with them they may be hanged, as all curs should be. All things considered, matters seem favourable to the people. But the state of Bath is pitiable. The Tories, especially the women, are making a run against all the Radical shops; it is a hateful system, yet I have been driven to adopt it in justice to the Radical tradesmen; and the tradesmen have amongst themselves begun a system of exclusive dealing: this is very disgusting and barbarous, but what can be done? Can we let a poor devil be ruined by the Tories because he honestly resisted intimidation and bribery? Nothing can exceed the fury of the old Tory ladies. Old Barry swears he knows an old lady who subscribed three hundred pounds to assist in bribing voters.

"Roebuck was going to be very violent with Lord Powerscourt, but I stopped him, and would not let him push it to

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a duel as he wished. He accused Lord Powerscourt of bribing, who denied it, and I believe he did not bribe, or personally know of bribery, but he certainly treated. Roebuck called him a 'barbarian of weak intellect' and therefore, if any challenge was necessary it ought to have come from the other side, and I think I did right in quashing the quarrel. A letter came here for you, having the Bath postmark. I opened it and found the most abusive anonymous attack you ever read: very amusing though. The writer calls himself Anti-Jacobin. You are hiding your head at Freshford. Roebuck is shirtless, the spawn of a gipsey: you are only Catiline, malicious against British officers, with a due portion of treason.

"August 11th.—The Tories have made a desperate rally, carrying by force of money all before them. At Devizes Sir F. Burdett was elected and the riot was tremendous: several were killed we hear. At York also, Feargus O'Connor says there were fifty thousand combatants, pretty equal on each side: some were killed report says. The result is that the Tories have the majority, and it seems to be the general opinion that Lord Melbourne will resign. So far as I can judge, the Tory reaction is all humbug: it is money and the people's apathy about Whiggism that has caused the defeat of the latter, for the Radicals are stronger and more determined than ever. I am however afraid there is one bad effect springing from the success of the Tories, namely, that the Radicals are ready to believe all the Whigs say, and in this town they are resolved to unite: Crisp and Tutton fight like dogs, yet agree on this. That they are right I do not believe, yet they know their own game best. I have advised them if they coalesce to do so on the condition that the members they take up shall pledge themselves to the ballot, short parliaments, extended suffrage and protection for the factory children: if the Whigs will not join in this to cut them.

"12th.—I went to a private meeting. The question was

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—shall the Radicals join the Whig association?—the latter being secretly against Roebuck. I and one or two others were averse to a junction, but all the rest in favour of it. Crisp said, that unless it takes place a mass of timid citizens will join the Whig association from fear of our supposed violence; but if the Radicals join the Whigs those timid people will adhere to the former on all important occasions. We finally voted that a deputation of Radicals should meet the Whig committee and offer a union, on condition that they should not take part in any election against Roebuck, and that half the committee of management should be named by Radicals. I demanded that a test of Radicalism should be established, and it was agreed that these committee men should be such as were pledged to vote for Roebuck at the next election.

"The deputation met a Mr. Wilson, spokesman for the association. We had a good deal of conversation, in which he said the association wished to exclude two classes, extreme Tories and extreme Radicals and Republicans, which he seemed to consider the same. I objected to all exclusion: and as to extreme Radicals, it would exclude our members and the deputation who had the honour to meet him. Republicanism and Radicalism were not one. I was an ultra-Radical and not a Republican. The others expressed like opinions, saying, that at all the meetings they had attended at Bath for many years, no man had ever heard a wish to establish a republic. Mr. Wilson said he would submit our resolutions to the society, and appoint a day for our further proceedings. The discussion lasted until past nine o'clock. I asked Crisp why we should not form a Radical society and let the Whigs join us if they chose? He said we were not strong enough.

"All things in Ireland look threatening, but whether the storm will burst in our time God knows. Would to God I had been a farmer, thick-skinned and without a thought beyond my plough, and that always going in the same track;

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interests, habits, feelings all in one furrow, going on. You and I and George are broken off like worms chopped by the spade, we twist about, heads and tails separated, and not knowing where to look for each other. Yet we are better off than many and so must jog on till the hour of peace arrives. The anxieties of life press closer as we grow old, and we are less able to bear them; but with me, the strong conviction of a future state gives me a philosophy to bear that I should not possess without it: this conviction is never shaken, though I confess we are so bepreached sometimes, that it provokes me almost out of my opinions. However religion supports the sincere, and is a maintenance to the hypocritical; so for both it is a pursuit in this life which helps a man through trouble one way or another. I have fallen into a sermon, which is natural when one is low-spirited; for finding little that is pleasant in this world one looks anxiously for another.

"King Bill is gracious, so he was to George at the levée. Parson Brock is a trump of a priest. Had he seen your speech he would have seen the remedy for one thing he complains of so justly, namely, that the poor have no tribunal to which they can appeal; if they are wronged they have no means of redress: he is not correct literally, but practically he is, and the last was the footing you put it on. If I recollect right, you proposed a guardian for the poor to balance the guardian for the ratepayers. Ever since the Bath dinner, and from what I see daily, my thoughts are strangely inclined to a good tough despotic government, sufficiently bloody, as the best of all possible forms of ruling. I would rather be cut down by O'Connell's guards in a rage, than be constitutionally strangled after a long speech from '*The Mandarin*,' John Russell. Depend upon it Tiberius was a model for all that is good virtuous and useful, to say nothing of pleasure."

So passed 1837. Charles Napier was then deep in his fifty-sixth year, after eight of inactivity, when his mind,

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fortified by long experience, was equal to the most difficult and glorious services; and while thus fretted in spirit he was oppressed by congestion of blood in the eyelids, causing a painful depression, and leading him to fear the loss of sight with poverty, and an existence at once obscure and suffering. His time was however to come, and his unyielding temper was, early in 1838, excited by hearing that a junior general was appointed to a command in Ireland. Then addressing Lord Fitzroy Somerset, he urged his claim, his services and his wrongs, so succinctly and impressively as to justify the insertion of his letter here, though touching on things already made known.

"March 20th.—Seeing by the papers that Sir Leonard Greenwell expects to be appointed to a district in Ireland, allow me to hope that my services will not be forgotten. Sir Leonard is my junior, and if he be given a district in Ireland it will, I think, be using me hardly. The governments of Portsmouth and Plymouth, and Irish districts, are things which those who have served long hope to succeed to in turn. Exclusive of services in the Peninsula during 1808–9–10 and 11, my claims are for services in the West Indies, North America, and the Mediterranean; and also those which arise from having been on three occasions very ill-used. First, after the battle of Coruña I was the only major commanding a regiment that did not receive the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Gough, Atcheson, and others at Barrosa, got that step though only commanding detachments in that single action, whereas I had commanded a regiment during a whole campaign in winter. At last I got my lieutenant-colonelcy in 1811, and left the Peninsula towards the end of that year, proceeding in command of the 102nd Regiment to the West Indies, and thence in 1813 to form part of a floating expedition against the coast of the United States of America, where we were engaged in several actions with the enemy.

"Peace then came, and seeing that some lieutenant-

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colonels had their commissions ante-dated I, having been so hardly treated about Coruña, asked to have mine ante-dated, but the answer I received was, No! That it was impossible. Two months after I saw Lieutenant-Colonel Duffy's commission ante-dated! What Lieutenant-Colonel Duffy had done that I had not done, is a secret I have not yet discovered. Again: I was second in command, not accidentally but by direct appointment from home, to Sir Sydney Beckwith, when he commanded the floating force above mentioned on the coast of America. Now my lord, I hope you will not think me boastful when I say, that all Sir Sydney Beckwith did not do himself he entrusted to me, and I did not fail on those occasions, but received that excellent officer's approbation. I commanded a brigade—my own regiment and two battalions of marines, which were under two majors, one of them a brevet lieutenant-colonel but junior to me. I received the thanks of Sir Sydney in his public dispatches, and in the orders of the day, for my conduct at Little Hampton, where I commanded the attack; and also for some operations by a force detached under my command to South Carolina, conjointly with Sir George Cockburn. This was beside the unfortunate affair at Craney Island, where however I executed all that I was ordered to do, the failure having occurred amongst the boats in another part of the attack. The Order of the Bath soon after came out on a new arrangement. Sir Sydney Beckwith was gazetted a knight commander; but I was only made a companion, while the two majors of marines under my immediate orders were made knights commanders. They had no gold medals as I had, having previously commanded a regiment in a general action; they had never even commanded a battalion, except under my orders!

"When a full colonel, and next in rank to the lord high commissioner of the Ionian Islands, as employed in a civil capacity, I saw young lieutenant-colonels, and even a commissary clerk made knights commanders of the Order of

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St. Michael and St. George for service in the Ionian Islands; services which I may venture to say were neither so arduous, so severe, so successful, nor continued for so long a period as my own. My not receiving that order of knighthood was indeed owing to the private pique of Sir F. Adam, but Sir Frederick was only a channel: he was not the source from whence such honours flow, and to the sovereign as the source of honour I naturally looked for reward. With all these things in my mind I did hope, and hope still that I may expect employment on the Irish staff before a junior officer. I never asked nor wish to supersede a senior, but trust that above forty years' service will not be passed over to favour a junior general officer."

He was told in answer that a senior, not a junior general, was going to Ireland; but that the commander in chief was not bound by seniority in placing generals on the staff, and that Lord Hill had nothing to say to former wrongs. This was all undeniable; yet did not precisely touch the point in question, save as to the seniority of the general chosen: the gist of Charles Napier's letter was to remonstrate against a continuance of former wrong by new men. He therefore replied.

"April 3rd.—I assure you I do not think the commander in chief bound to consider seniority exclusively in the selection of general officers for employment; nor did I ever imagine myself hardly dealt with by Lord Hill. The things I complained of were not his lordship's doings, and I mentioned them because I did not think either you or Lord Hill had cognizance of them, and it seemed fair to myself to state such matters. Allow me also to say, that there is in your lordship's office the copy of a letter from Lord William Bentinck, declaring, that from what Sir John Moore expressed to him, he, Lord William Bentinck, had no doubt of that general's intention to apply for my promotion in consequence of my conduct during the retreat before the battle of Coruña; declaring also Lord William Bentinck's own

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opinion, that the 50th Regiment under my command was the immediate cause of the victory. Yet Major Williams of the 60th Regiment, I speak from memory, was immediately made a lieutenant-colonel, and I was not promoted until two years and a half after. The whole of that time, I was either a prisoner—I did not surrender my sword until disabled by numerous wounds and contusions, being singly engaged against eight or ten Frenchmen—or serving in the Peninsula, being there again wounded, yet junior majors at Barrosa were promoted before me. I am aware that the principle of the Order of the Bath was not adopted to exclude individuals, and it was for that reason I thought, and Sir Sydney Beckwith thought also, that I was ill-used. However I merely stated this circumstance as thinking it might have weight with Lord Hill in the consideration of my long services; services which at fifty-six years of age cannot be much longer available."

Thus baffled, he with his usual philosophy, though resolute still to assert his claims on all fitting occasions, accepted the obscurity which seemed now to be his fate. He turned his thoughts on literature, and a letter to one of his publishers will show the humorous turn of his mind in bargaining.

"Mr. Boone.—You have been studying Cæsar's Commentaries, and there find that nothing should be trusted to fortune. This is very correct as a general, very incorrect as a publisher: the one seeks to ill-treat his enemies, the other to well-treat his friends. The same maxim cannot apply to both; yet under the warlike impression you shrink from enterprize! You trust nothing to the chapter of accidents. A publisher should continually cry Venture! venture! venture! and treat his authors magnificently. Pay and puff until your lungs and your credit account are consumptive. I abhor half-and-half, from grog to publishing: take all the cost, and all the profit if you will; but venture! venture! venture! let that be your motto and give me a good sum for

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the copyright, and I am your man. I will call you Boone the magnificent, and send your praises through the land. Ney was the valiant of the valiant, and I will dub you the Boone of Boones. But no half-and-half as you propose; no half-dressed beefsteak, burnt without and raw within! I know your Cæsar-like qualities will not lead you to buy the copyright like a man of enterprize: the idea of pulling the golden sovereigns out of the till would make you shrink and crumple like a withered apple, so I will take my whole case into my own hands. I will buy my paper, agree with a printer here—as I cannot go to London for two months—advertise my book and deliver the copies to you to publish at 7½ per cent., which I believe is the usual thing when all the rest of the risk and trouble is taken by the author: therefore, if you like to make me an offer for my copyright let me have your proposal by return of post; but do not let it be aut Cæsar aut nullus, for I will have nothing to do with that ancient cut-throat and his caution! On the contrary, read the Life of Robert the Magnificent Duke of Normandy—as I have been doing—who shod his ass with gold: treat me in the same way and I will put up with the affront, and wish I had four feet instead of two!"

He now wrote a dialogue on the poor laws, to which he was stimulated by his dispute with O'Connell; he also published his "Military Law," and edited Count Alfred De Vigny's and Elzèar Blase's "Lights and Shadows of Military Life." In this last he introduced original essays, combating the French author's notions of the military character obligations and feelings, as false if applied to the British army. This work had and continues to have a considerable circulation: not so the "Military Law," because of its ill-chosen title; for it is no dry disquisition, but an interesting and entertaining exposition of the moral defects of the military code then existing, diversified with curiously instructive anecdotes of soldiers in peace and war. But his principal

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work was a historical romance, suggested during his residence at Caen by the many vestiges of William the Conqueror in that country; the manuscript of this work has strangely disappeared; certainly it was never destroyed by him, yet has been vainly sought for since his death. Entitled "Harold," it was offered to Mr. Colburn for publication, and with the author's name would have been purchased, but Charles Napier would not accede to that condition and demanded back his MS.: Mr. Colburn was however so tenacious of it, that only by a vigorous correspondence and many months' delay could it be recovered.

Years afterwards, when Charles Napier was in India, Sir Bulwer Lytton's romance of the same title appeared, with several remarkable resemblances to the manuscript work:—such as the introduction of Harold's warfare against the Welsh; of a knight who plays a conspicuous part, though in a different way, from one of the same name in Napier's romance;—a peculiar trial of skill between William and Harold in the play of their distinctive weapons, the Seax and the long-bow;—lastly, and most curiously, the creation of a half-mad, half-supernatural prophetess, called in both works the Vala, who is related to Harold and watches over his fortunes. The stories are indeed differently constructed, but it is no partial criticism to say, that if the lost manuscript shall be ever recovered for publication, it will be found, in racy biting dialogue, in variety of incident, and in fiery poetic description, as far above what may be called its rival, as that rival is below its author's best productions; and not the least so in the creation of the Vala. But the soldier described heroic adventures with the like of which he had been familiar in early life, and foreshadowed scenes of sanguinary battle, conquest and government, which he realized afterwards as a conqueror and ruler: scenes which Sir Bulwer could only guess at.

Turning his attention now to Ireland as the best field for beneficent exertions in private life, he removed to Pater, near

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Milford Haven, and his intention was to stop there until he could, through his friend Captain Kennedy, hear of a suitable place in Ireland. Unexpected circumstances detained him many months, and his family correspondence must again tell his story.

"March 24th.—I propose to go to Ireland by Milford Haven; and, as it is a cheap place, to stay there and finish my romance in quiet. I am always fearful of making myself of more value than is just; but still forty-two years' service and my wounds, without ever avoiding a single duty, and more than fourteen of those years in the colonies, makes it hard to be passed over in my profession. Nothing however shall make me abuse Lord Hill, or Lord Fitzroy; if they are unjust it will be from some cause they cannot control. That I shall be ill-used is certain, it is my fate.

"April 4th.—Lord Fitzroy's answer has come. It says in a civil way that I have no claims, and they cannot employ me. As Lady Edward Fitzgerald used to say, They want a man to be their valet, and if he resists they will cast him off: it is their service, not the public service, they look to. However it don't much matter and it shall not worry me.

"Lord Elliot said in the House of Commons that Gurwood commanded the stormers at Ciudad Rodrigo! I have written to his lordship about this. I will not see George's fame thus put aside in his absence without resistance.

"April 9th.—Richard will tell you of my correspondence with Lord Elliot, who has behaved admirably: pray say so, if you know and come across any of his friends. I am low: life is a wet day to all, and lucky are they who have their daily bread, the shelter of a house and a home. I feel ashamed to grieve when looking on my girls, knowing how many see their children perish before their eyes from want of food and raiment! How many parents whom starvation, without any fault of their own, has cast into the accursed bastiles of the new poor law, their infants torn from them to perish in another bastile far away, where they can never

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know the treatment they receive from strangers, nor if they be sick or well! Lord Stanhope has had sent to him the means of obtaining proof that numbers of infants have been killed: I did not send it to him, but know who did. When thinking of these woes and tortures inflicted on the poor I feel fortunate, and that God demands from me labour to save others rather than complain of my own lot. Yet sickness and vexations do make me often discontented."

At this time the author of this work had an opportunity of speaking to Lord Fitzroy Somerset upon the neglect of Charles Napier's services. He was told frankly that he had been represented to the Horse Guards as an impracticable man who quarrelled with every one! The source of that calumny could not be mistaken. The answer was that he would ever be quarrelsome if resistance of oppression was so termed; and if foul whisperings were to bar his being employed, one of the best officers in the army would be cast from the service. Lord Fitzroy did not reply, but the final result proved that he was satisfied; yet he was unable then to act, for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Jersey having become vacant Charles Napier applied for it and after a long suspense was refused.

"May.—A large sample of my romance of Harold has gone to Bentley, who will purchase if he likes it: should he do so my writings will serve my brats, for I could easily write two a-year.

"July.—George and I have been made K.C.B. by Lord Hill's recommendation. I do feel proud of this, and wish my father had lived to see two of his sons Knights of the Bath, and to know that a third will also be one. Have I a right to supporters? If so, one shall be a French drummer for poor Guibert's sake.

"Miss Napier, July 27th.—Our fate is decreed and none can change it; nor does it signify what that fate be, for a coffin is always at the apex of the triangle. All we have

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to do is to conquer ourselves so far as to travel agreeably and without unavailing regrets for deprivations which are trivial: trivial are the greatest. My object is to have few wants, but passions disturb philosophy. I however really tell you truth, when I say want of occupation oppresses me. The delay and expectation of the Jersey government, unsettles and disturbs me, and we have been in this pot-house a quarter of a year, worn out with daily expectation of a letter from Lord Fitzroy. There is no exaggeration, it is a mere pothouse, where the dockyard men smoke, sing, and drink every night till 12 o'clock; and every day we are driven by their pipes from one room to another: no lodging can be got. Your picture of Wellington is sad, but such is human grandeur: Napoleon is in his tomb! In God's name, of what avail is it to us to care for such things? I have more pleasure in having my children on my knee than in all this government could give me. After all, if I am unjustly treated what then? Who was ever justly treated but a sycophant? Was our father? and when I compare myself to him I feel quite easy at any treatment: in short I have nothing to complain of when I see others better than me get nothing, not even the empty title of knight."

Now came the refusal of Jersey and he proceeded to Dublin, intent to devote his energies in furtherance of Captain Kennedy's project for raising the scale of civilization in Ireland, by combining useful education with an improved system of agriculture. It was as great and comprehensive a scheme for the regeneration of a whole people as ever private man contemplated; and so well reasoned and urged that the government partially adopted it, and permitted Kennedy to form a model farm at Glasnevin near Dublin as a commencement. The immediate results justified the project, the success being greater than even the theory promised; but it was not a faction-begotten scheme and as a matter of course it was by faction opposed.

"October 29th.—Hardly had I sent my last letter to you

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when the intrigues against John Kennedy began to shew: the Education Board seems resolved to destroy all that he has accomplished. The leaders are Blake, and a Scotch Mr. Kennedy, said to be genus, caput porcinum, and horribly virtuous. Henry thinks me unjust towards him: however the devil was an angel before he fell from heaven, and Mr. Kennedy, having left heavenly Scotland, is come to play the devil in Ireland, so far as John Kennedy is concerned. This plan is a matter of devotion with him; he has sacrificed for it the government of Australia, which he might have had with eight hundred a year, and an agency of four hundred a year. If he now quarrels his hopes fall to the ground, and these men work so insidiously that it is almost impossible to fix an overt act. They call his plan visionary and labour to make it so. Yet Loch Ash, where it had fair play for experiment, proves the glaring falseness of this assertion, and not one of them has gone there to ascertain that his plan is real, not visionary. Yesterday he shewed me a dozen surveys, made, and neatly laid down on paper by a lad who had been only three weeks in his school at Glasnevin. When a man has laboured as he has done to realize a great plan for saving a whole people from misery, it is heartbreaking to have it thus upset; rather than see this, he bears all with clinging hope. I have endeavoured to do him good by a small work, shewing the value of the man and his plan. It is of fourteen sheets foolscap. Blake is however a very clever fellow, he rules Ireland, and what is curious does it well.

"My Australian prophecy has come to pass. The runaway fellows have already formed bands of robbers near Adelaide, in the South Australian colony! I am less of a noodle than the commissioner took me for in these matters."

The small work mentioned above, was an "Essay addressed to Irish Absentees on the State of Ireland." Published early in 1839; it shewed that from misapplied industry or entire neglect, three-fourths of the country was absolutely lost to production and rental:—that the remain-

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ing fourth, badly cultivated, was unable to support the eight millions of people cumbering it:—hence the supply of labour was beyond the demand, and the rate of wages too low to support the labourer. The cause was general ignorance, the result general distress. Captain Kennedy was prepared with a remedy thus noticed in the work.

"He travelled through all those parts of Europe where education and agriculture were best understood, selecting in each, for his system, what he found suited to Ireland, for he is eminently a practical man and not a visionary. He put his theory into practice on his nephew's estate at Loch Ash in the county of Tyrone; and after several years, finding it entirely successful, published a small book on the subject with a title extracted from the writings of the celebrated Arthur Young, viz. 'instruct, employ, don't hang them.' These words were an abstract of the matter, but unfortunately for this powerful little work some folks quarrelled with the title. There is no accounting for fashionable antipathies; but Captain Kennedy might have known, that there is something so revolting to society in the idea of not hanging Irishmen—habit being second nature, that such an injunction was imprudent.

"Under the auspices of the Education Board, to which he is attached, with the title but not the power of Superintendent-general of Agricultural Education, he proposes to divide Ireland into twenty-five districts of about thirty-five miles square, and attach to each a principal model farm of forty acres; another farm of five acres he gives to each secondary educational school; and to each primary school a farm of one acre. For the instruction of the directors of these farms, he has already formed a central school and model farm, of seventy-five acres, at Glasnevin, where many directors are in training for the subordinate farms. They are taught not only to be schoolmasters, but overseers of public works in aid of the new poor laws, by preparing estimates and organizing employment; and they are also ren-

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dered capable of becoming bailiffs to large estates, being instructed in draining, road-making, building, and farming scientifically."

This magnificent scheme, fraught with such promise of national prosperity, after being commenced with excellent success at Glasnevin, was finally starved, though not absolutely stifled, by faction: had it been supported and fairly put in practice, the terrible famine which a few years later wasted Ireland to a ghastly skeleton, would probably have been prevented; it would certainly have been abated to a common scarcity, for the potato would no longer have been the staple produce, and more than double the ordinary extent of land would have been cultivated on a good system: folly and faction paved a way for death!

This publication terminated Charles Napier's dreary years of inaction. The spell of foul play was suddenly broken by Lord Hill and Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the road to fame was opened again, and instantly he strode along it with a giant's step.

END OF VOL. I.

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