THE MEMOIR OF GEORGE GREY, 1809–1833

[fo. 1] Yewden, May 23rd, 1870

A paper in *All the Year Round*,[65] on the battle of Navarino, in bringing that time to my recollection, has induced me to look upon some old letters and journals, and roughly to try to sketch out the principal occurrences of my life – in doing this I shall endeavour to be as concise as possible – and more or less correctly to connect this review of my earlier years, with the series of letter journals, which I began in 1835 and continued until the time of my marriage.

At nine years old I was sent to school at Richmond in Yorkshire, kept by the late Mr. James Tate, who died as Prebendary of St. Paul's: a dignity which he perhaps, in some degree, owed to this event,[66] but which had been, in life, denied him, owing to his political opinions, given that his reputation as a Greek scholar was, if not the first in England, but little removed from it.

I remained three years at Richmond, and I consider that on the whole my life was a happy one – we were well fed & cared for, and out of school hours allowed to go where we pleased […] Mr. Tate was a kind-hearted but passionate man – & when I have [**fo. 2**] met him in after life, I have always been glad to do so […] [W]e had great liberty in play hours, and there was not a young lad in the town more conversant with the doings of race horses and jockies than I was before I had been two years at the school – this was a good deal owing to the injudicious kindness of a person who has been long dead, Mr. Samuel Moulton-Barrett[67] who lived in the neighbourhood and supplied me with pocket money – he

[65] *All the Year Round* (*AtYR*) was a weekly magazine founded by Charles Dickens (1812–1870) in 1859 so that he might enjoy greater freedom than at *Household Words*. Among the novels that *AtYR* serialized were *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), *Great Expectations* (1860–1861), and Wilkie Collins's (1824–1889) *The Woman in White* (1859–1860) and *The Moonstone* (1868). The article about Navarino is: 'A battle at sea', *AtYR*, 3 (1870), 563–571.

[66] That is, to his connection with the Greys (see n. 3).

[67] Samuel Barrett Moulton-Barrett (1787–1837) was Whig MP for Richmond (1820–1827), and uncle of the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861).

was a friend of my brother in law, Mr. Lambton – afterwards Ld. Durham – at any rate I have never forgotten my boyish regard for him – poor man he not long after this time lost all his property owing principally to the decline of West Indian property generally, and died in Jamaica, where he had gone to try and save what he could from the wreck of his Estates[68] – Carlton the name of his place about seven miles from Richmond was purchased by Lord Prudhoe afterwards Duke of Northumberland.[69] Among others who were kind to me, as my father's son, were Lord Dundas of Aske, and his son the present Lord Zetland[70] […]

[**fo. 3**] Latin and Greek was the only knowledge thought useful at Richmond – Geography, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Modern languages were either totally neglected, or only attended to in so slovenly a manner, that it came to the same thing – and as for religion, we certainly did go to Church, and went through the form of prayers every evening, but it never was more than a form, and no boy could regard it otherwise, from the example that was held out to us […]

In the summer holidays of 1822, I had been given the task of learning the whole of the first two books of Virgil's *Aeneid* as a punishment, and, as the time drew near for returning to school, without my ever having looked at them – I mustered up courage to ask my father [**fo. 4**] to let me go to sea – for which I had always had some fancy, and which had been increased by the example shown by my brother Frederick, four years before. It seems like yesterday when I knocked at my father's door and I can now see his face of astonishment when I named my request. With his usual kindness he did not refuse [it] but advised me strongly to reconsider my choice of profession. I had made up my mind and in June 1822 I found myself at Portsmouth entered as Volunteer of the 1st. class, on board the

[68] The 'decline of West Indian property' is a euphemism for slave emancipation, although the Barretts' Jamaican holdings had already been affected by the enslaved uprising of December 1831. Upon the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 by the Grey government, Elizabeth Moulton-Barrett complained to a friend: 'Of course, the late bill has ruined the West Indians. That is settled. The consternation here is very great.'

[69] Algernon Percy, 4th duke of Northumberland (1792–1865) served in the Navy during the Napoleonic Wars before joining John Herschel (1792–1871) on his astronomical expedition to the southern hemisphere; he was later president of the RNLI, as it became, from 1851 to 1865.

[70] Lawrence Dundas, 1st earl of Zetland (1766–1839), Whig MP for Richmond (1790–1801, 1801–1802, 1808–1811) and York (1802–1807, 1811–1820); his son was Thomas Dundas, 2nd earl of Zetland (1795–1873), Whig MP for Richmond (1818–1830, 1835–1839) and York (1830–1832), Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England (1844–1870), and winner of the Derby and the St Leger Stakes with Voltigeur in 1850.

Forte 44 gun frigate,[71] commanded by Sir Thomas Cochrane.[72] As it was thought advisable to put me under the charge of a teacher of Navigation I spent the greater part of two or three months at the house of my Uncle Sir George Grey Commissioner of Portsmouth Dock Yard, varied with occasional short cruises – never shall I forget my Uncle's kindness – every moment that I could get away from my master, or that I was not attracted by my love of boat sailing in a wherry, which he put at my disposal, I spent in his office – he spoilt me I daresay […]

[**fo. 5**] In August 1822 I accompanied my uncle with his son, the present Sir George,[73] to attend upon Lord St. Vincent[74] who had determined on paying his respects to the King, George the IVth, on his embarkation at Greenwich for Scotland.[75] We went in the old Portsmouth yacht – (my yacht also 40 years afterwards) – and most horribly sea-sick I remember to have been. All the ceremony of the King's arrival, his reception of the old Admiral of the Fleet – and the whole scene on the river, is as fresh in my memory as if it had occurred but the other day. I felt proud of my new uniform, and still prouder of being stuck up near the coxswain of the Barge and of being considered as the Steersman of Lord St. Vincent, the last time he ever put his foot in a boat.

From Greenwich we went to Rochetts[76] his place in Essex, where we remained three days […] Lord St. V. was at this time in his 88th year, and wonderful as to strength & bodily activity, he was however failing in memory, and somewhat childish – which must have struck my uncle much accustomed as he had been for so many years to his stern & vigorous intellect […] Lord St. Vincent always addressed my uncle as 'Captain' and seemed much attracted to

[71] Here, Grey appears to have confused the armaments of HMS *Forte* (see n. 8) with the 44-gun HMS *Forte* (1799), formerly the French frigate *La Forte* (1794), which was wrecked off Jeddah in 1801.

[72] Thomas John Cochrane (1789–1872), not to be confused with Thomas Cochrane, 10th earl of Dundonald (1775–1860), served extensively in the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. Later the governor of Newfoundland (1825–1834) and commander-in-chief at Portsmouth (1852–1856), he was made admiral of the fleet in 1865.

[73] Sir George Grey, 2nd baronet (1799–1882), Whig MP for Devonport (1832–1847), North Northumberland (1847–1852), and Morpeth (1853–1874) and the longest-serving home secretary (1846–1852, 1855–1858, and 1861–1866).

[74] John Jervis, 1st earl of St Vincent (1735–1823), whose peerage derived from his victory over the French at the Battle of Cape St Vincent (1797) off the Portuguese coast.

[75] This was the first time that a reigning monarch had visited Scotland since the coronation of Charles II at Scone in 1651. George's ministers had organized the trip to prevent him from interfering with the Congress of Verona, where the great powers discussed Austrian rule in Italy, Greek independence, and French intervention in Spain.

[76] Rochetts Farm, approximately 2 miles west of Brentwood.

him. I think with additional pleasure on this visit, since I read a life of [**fo. 6**] Lord St. Vincent by Mr. Tucker, under the supervision of Sir William Parker[77] in which the Admiral's letters are admirable, and prove him to have deserved his reputation.

During the months that I spent mostly at the Commissioner's house in the Dock Yard, I look back to the injudicious manner in which Lady Grey endeavoured to impress upon me religious principles.[78] I believe there never was a better woman, but her earnestness made her intolerant, and her harshness of manner instead of encouraging a boy of my age, endangered making me a hypocrite, had I not asserted more independence than perhaps I ought have done […]

My time in a professional point of view was by no means badly spent. I had some hours of lessons in navigation, and when released from my master I either walked about the Yard with Sir George listening to his conversation with the Dock Yard officers, or different Captains of ships fitting out, or in a boat sailing under the care of his coxswain.

In December 1822, I sailed from Portsmouth in the *Forte* to join the *Jupiter* at Plymouth. Having succeeded in getting through the 'Needles'[79] we were caught in a very heavy S.W. Gale, which to me as the first has always seemed one of the severest I have ever been in; the frigate had her quarter-boats washed away, and part of her hammock nettings. The tossing about, the sea-sickness, noise and confusion made me for the first and, I may say the only time, regret the choice of the profession I was now fairly embarked in […] We returned to Spithead next morning and when my uncle came on board and asked me how I liked the specimen I had had, I answered with a good deal of bravado [**fo. 7**] partly from the fear of being laughed at, and partly because I had already forgotten my wretchedness.

On the first change of wind we sailed again with more success. During this passage I saw a man flogged for the first time, and

[77] Sir William Parker, 1st baronet of Shenstone (1781–1866), 'the last of Nelson's captains', had served at the Glorious First of June in 1794 and later saw action during the Portuguese Civil War and the Opium Wars; later lord of the Admiralty (1835–1841) and commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station (1845–1851). The book is Jedediah Tucker, *Memoirs of the Right Hon. the Earl of St. Vincent, G.C.B., &c.*, 2 vols (London, 1844).

[78] Lady Mary Grey (*née* Whitbread, 1770–1858), a Christian philanthropist who, besides impressing Evangelical principles upon the young Grey, 'launched, and for two decades maintained, a campaign of systematic circulation of immense quantities of the scriptures and Christian literature among virtually every category of seafarers' (*ODNB*).

[79] Three chalk stacks off the Isle of Wight; from 1863 to 1954, their batteries guarded the approach to the Solent.

now, nearly 48 years afterwards, I remember his name (Shannon) and the sickening impression it made on me. Since then I have seen very, very many similarly punished, and have had to order its infliction myself, presiding at the execution of the sentence – with the power of remitting it. A most painful duty, and one which I thought I had no right to shrink from, as the rules of the service were then in force; and I must say also that our crews were composed of many men who were lost to all sense except that of corporal pain – which men the Captains had no power of getting rid of. It is a great satisfaction to me to think now that I cannot recollect any case in which I would not much rather have let the culprit off than witness the infliction of the brutal act of flogging prescribed for certain crimes by the Articles of War – and the custom of the service. Punishment of this sort (abolished altogether by Parliament in 1881)[80] is now never inflicted except by sentence of a Court Martial and in very grave cases. How often have I seen it most unjustly inflicted in moments of passion by Captains of the old war who seemed to have no other idea of how to maintain order and discipline. Yet in the flogging days there were men who seldom resorted to it; before my time such Captains of Frigates as Sir William Hoste[81] and Sir Philip Broke[82] found how much could be done when the devotion & love of the crew, & not their fear, was to be depended upon in the hour of battle and danger.

The *Forte* was by no means a happy ship. Sir Thomas Cochrane was a violent & inconsistent man, [for] he had never known what it was to obey[. H]e had been made a Post Captain by his father at 18 & appointed to a frigate[83] on the American [**fo. 8**] station.[84]

[80] This is ambiguous: the Childers Reforms of 1881 abolished flogging in the Army, whilst the 'Great Cat Contention' had brought about the suspension but not the abolition of flogging in the Navy in 1879.

[81] Sir William Hoste (1780–1828) was one of Lord Nelson's protégés, celebrated for his victory over the French at the Battle of Lissa (1811). His actions at the sieges of Cattaro and Ragusa during the Adriatic Campaign inspired parts of the Patrick O'Brian novel *The Hundred Days* (1998).

[82] Sir Philip Brooke, 1st baronet (1776–1841), commanded HMS *Shannon* (1806) when it captured USS *Chesapeake* during the War of 1812.

[83] In April 1806, at 17, Cochrane became acting-captain of HMS *Jason* (1804), a 32-gun frigate built at Woolwich. His father, Admiral Sir Alexander Inglis Cochrane (1758–1832) had served with Nelson in Egypt before leading the failed assault on New Orleans during the War of 1812. The *ODNB* describes the younger Cochrane's rapid rise through the ranks as an instance of 'gross jobbery'.

[84] The North America Station was the command squadron headquartered at Bermuda and Halifax, Nova Scotia; in 1830 it merged with the Jamaica Station to become the North America and West Indies Station.

In running into Plymouth Sound he had sent two midshipmen […] to the Main Top Galt. Yard arm[85] – such freaks of power are no longer permitted. I have seen a great deal of Sir Thomas […] at different times since then – but never again I am happy to say served under him[. D]uring the five years from 1858 that I was Superintendent of Portsmouth Dock Yard, he lived in the Isle of Wight – at Quarr Abbey […] and we often went over to see him & Lady Cochrane. In his hospitality & kindness I could hardly think he was the man I used so to dread in 1822.

I remained for a few days in the house of Sir Alexander Cochrane Commander in Chief at Plymouth – & father of Sir Thomas when I was discharged into the *Jupiter* 50 gun ship on two decks, lying in Barn Pool waiting to take Lord Amherst as governor general to India. She was commanded by Sir George Westphal[86] […] He was also called a good-hearted man and may have been so on shore, where he had no power to give way to the unrestrained bursts of passion, with oaths & epithets that would astonish the officers & men of the present day. The first lieutenant was Alexander Ellice[87] a man beloved by all who knew him, a thorough sailor – gentlemanlike, and open-handed as he was open-hearted […] I was placed under his charge as his brother 'Bear' Ellice[88] had married my aunt Hannah (the widow of a Captain Bettesworth killed while in command of the *Tartar* frigate on the coast of Norway)[89] – and mostly on Lieut. Ellice's account I look back on the year I spent on board the *Jupiter* as among the happiest I can remember of my midshipman's life. We did not sail from Plymouth until early in March, which two months [**fo. 9**] I spent with several messmates of my own age, in pulling about in boats, in learning duty aloft – sometimes also in doing mischief and chasing the deer and wild Turkies in the beautiful grounds of Mount Edgecumbe[90] – where subsequently it was said a board was stuck up with the inscription 'No admittance for Dogs or Midshipmen' […]

[85] The spars running out from the uppermost mast of a ship.

[86] Sir George Westphal (1785–1875), born in Nova Scotia, was midshipman on HMS *Victory* at Trafalgar.

[87] Alexander Ellice (1791–1853), Whig MP for Harwich (1837–1841), was one of the few British slaveholders who renounced the compensation they were awarded by the Slavery Abolition Act 1833.

[88] 'The Bear' is Edward Ellice (1783–1863), who married Grey's aunt, Hannah, in 1809. MP for Coventry (1818–1826, 1830–1863), Ellice served in the Grey ministry as financial secretary to the Treasury (1830–1832) and secretary at war (1834), and as a director of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[89] George Edmund Byron Bettesworth (1785–1808), cousin of the poet, died at the Battle of Alvøen during the Gunboat War against Denmark-Norway.

[90] Mount Edgecumbe Country Park overlooks Plymouth Sound.

We sailed […] with Lord and Lady Amherst[91] [&] Captain McMahon[92] […] Lord Amherst, having been made an Earl some years afterwards, his daughter became Lady Sarah[93] – and I met her and [**fo. 10**] renewed my acquaintance with her[. S]he is now a widow, Lady S. Williams, and her daughter is married to Captain Verney who stood for Marlow two years ago.

We made the passage to Madeira in six days, a very quick one, and wonderfully so for so short a tub as the old *Jupiter*. The impression that this beautiful island made upon me, as the first foreign land I had seen, has been a lasting one […] [**fo. 11**] I was obliged to work the ship's daily reckoning to take lunars, and chronometers, and to show my book to the First Lieutenant who as a reward to its being regularly kept, took me on shore at every place we touched at. With this inducement and the wish to please him, I made great progress in navigation. [**fo. 12**]

[**fo. 13**] On our passage to India we remained after leaving Madeira for two or three days at Santa Cruz in Tenerife. Then came the usual shaving ceremony on crossing the equator,[94] with all its roughness and abuse […] On reaching the Cape of Good Hope, a violent gale made it unsafe to anchor in Table Bay and as the wind was fair we proceeded on our voyage. Here we lost a man overboard when it was quite impossible to lower a boat – and what made it more terrible was that the poor fellow succeeded in reaching & getting on the Life buoy, where he was left alone, the ship dashing on at the rate of eleven knots an hour – in all probability the cold & high sea would have prevented his [**fo. 14**] holding long […] [T]he wind moderating from its great fury continued to blow hard and steadily, so that for 33 days we averaged 209 miles a day – making a wonderful passage to Madras[95] […] While here I accompanied Lord Amherst on a state visit, which he paid to the Nabob of Arcot[96] who had his court in the neighbourhood […]

[91] Sarah Amherst, later Sarah Windsor, countess of Plymouth (1762–1838), who identified and described new species of pheasant and flowering trees while in India.

[92] Alexander St Leger McMahon (1790–1866), appointed aide-de-camp to Amherst in August 1823 (*Bombay Gazette*, 27 August 1823).

[93] Lady Sarah Elizabeth Hay-Williams (1801–1876), who made several watercolours of Indian flora before marrying the Welsh magistrate Sir John Hay-Williams (1794–1859). Their daughter was Margaret Verney (1844–1930), a campaigner for girls' education and the wife of Liberal politician Sir Edmund Hope Verney, 3rd baronet (1838–1910).

[94] The traditional 'line-crossing ceremony' which invoked 'King Neptune'.

[95] The present-day city of Chennai.

[96] The nawab of the Carnatic Sultanate, which had been a Princely State under the East India Company since 1801. Its capital at Arcot lay between Madras and Bangalore. The nawab at the time was Azam Jah (1797–1825).

We remained six weeks at Calcutta to which place we next proceeded [and] during all this time I lived with Captain Ellice, at the house of a bachelor merchant at [**fo. 15**] the fashionable quarter of Calcutta – the other Officers and midshipmen who could be spared duty from the ship, which remained at the anchorage in Sangor roads,[97] were lodged in a Government house at Fort William put at their disposal by Lord Amherst. The weather was very hot, it being the hottest season, but in the novelty and enjoyment of this new life I did not mind it. We rode every morning at daylight, bathed with water thrown over us, which had been cooling all night, had a substantial breakfast, and then slept or lounged through the hottest hours, or were carried in our Palanquins to Government House, where there was always a substantial lunch ready called Tiffin – rode again in the evening and dined late […] A visit to Lord & Lady Amherst at Barackpore[98] took up part of this time, also an excursion up the Hoogly in a steamer, almost the first that had gone up, and which astonished and frightened the natives not a little […]

[**fo. 16**] On sailing from Calcutta we steered for Mauritius […] and had only been at sea a few days when the Cholera broke out most suddenly, about fifty men were attacked, of whom eight & some of them the strongest men in the ship died – none of the Officers had it badly. Our passage […] was a tedious one, owing to light winds, [and] we remained at Port Louis[99] a week […] At Cape Town we remained another week, and there the cooler climate made it a more pleasant visit, besides horses were cheap to hire, and very good, [and] young as I was I rode with a large party of Officers & midshipmen to Stelenboch[100] a distance of 32 miles returning the same day […] Newlands[101] the country seat of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset[102] I well remember […] At St. Helena we only remained one day, where I added to my stock of small treasures a cutting from the willow which overhangs Napoleon's grave,[103] and which is now a thriving tree on the bank of the burn in the Long

[97] The anchorage off Sagar Island in the delta of the Bhagirathi River (i.e. the Hooghly River). More generally, 'roads' were calm, sheltered stretches of water where ships could drop anchor safely.

[98] Present-day Barrackpur, where 1,400 Indian sepoys mutinied in 1824.

[99] Port Louis is the capital of present-day Mauritius.

[100] The present-day city of Stellenbosch.

[101] Newlands had been the seat of the Dutch and British governors at the Cape; it now gives its name to the city's Test cricket and rugby union grounds.

[102] Lord Charles Henry Somerset (1767–1831) was MP for Scarborough (1786–1802) and Monmouth (1802–1813), paymaster-general (1804–1813), and governor of the Cape Colony (1814–1826).

[103] Bonaparte had died at Longwood House on St Helena in 1821; his remains were repatriated to France in 1840.

Walk at Howick. At Ascension we fell in with the *Driver* Corvette[104] from the Coast of Africa having lost half her crew from fever. [**fo. 17**] On anchoring at Spithead, about Christmas, little more than nine months since we had left England I heard that my father was living at the Government House at Devonport[105] where he had gone for the sake of my mother's health […] I was fond of my profession, & I was returning home with the knowledge that I was well spoken of by my superior officers […]

[**fo. 18**] The *Jupiter* having been paid off, I was appointed to the *Samarang* 28[106] or what was called a donkey frigate, fitting out for the Halifax station, and commanded by Sir William Wiseman[107] […] Seamen were in those days only paid at the expiration of the ship's commission, were seldom or ever allowed to go on shore after leaving England for fear of desertion. Now the men are brought up as boys in the service – enter for a certain time – get pay monthly – and are allowed leave where ever the ship goes to, while they behave properly, and being treated with kindness and as rational beings they behave as such […] [**fos 19–20**] During this time I went through the form of studying mathematics with a Mr. Harvey[108] a very clever man, but too good natured in allowing my excuses for idleness and holidays. This poor man destroyed himself some years afterward – he had received an appointment which would have made him comfortable for life, but whether the joy at thus being freed from embarrassment, or the difficulty of paying his immediate debts affected him, the result was that he destroyed himself, leaving a widow & several children.

When the *Samarang* was nearly ready for sea I rejoined her at Portsmouth and we sailed shortly afterwards in the spring of 1824 for St. John's New Brunswick taking out Sir Howard Douglas,[109] the newly appointed Governor with his wife & family […] Our 3 Lieutenants, Plagenborg,[110] McClintock[111] and

[104] HMS *Driver* (1797), an 18-gun sloop that had been serving in the West Africa Squadron.

[105] The Admiralty House at Mount Wise, Devonport, outside Plymouth.

[106] HMS *Samarang* (1822), launched at Cochin.

[107] Sir William Saltonstall Wiseman, 7th baronet (1784–1845).

[108] William Harvey, FRS (d. 1834), the Plymouth-based mathematician noted for his work on naval architecture, chronometers, the magnetic compass, and colour-blindness.

[109] General Sir Howard Douglas, 3rd baronet (1776–1861), was lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick from 1824 to 1831, a period of tension with the United States over the border with Maine. Douglas later served as lord high commissioner of the Ionian Islands and as Conservative MP for Liverpool (1842–1847).

[110] Lieutenant Edward Plaggenborg (d. 1828) was in command of HMS *Contest* (1812) when it was wrecked and all hands lost off Halifax in April 1828.

[111] William Bunbury McClintock-Bunbury (1800–1866) rose to the rank of commander in 1835 before sitting as MP for County Carlow (1846–1852, 1853–1862).

Brownrigg,[112] were much above the average, & in short no ship could have had better Officers or a nicer set in the Midshipman's berth. Plagenborg was promoted from the *Samarang* to the *Contest* gun brig, one of those unsafe description of gun brigs, commonly called coffins, and was lost in her, with all hands, about two years later. McClintock I often saw afterwards[. H]e left the service, on being made a Commander, succeeded to a large fortune in Ireland and sat for many years in the House of Commons […] [**fo. 21**] [He] was a friend of my uncle, and of the present Sir George Grey, and used to invite me occasionally in his cabin to bid me good advice[. H]e was sincerely religious, but like many of the Evangelical school of that day, was not judicious in gaining influence over one so young as I was – like Lady Grey he thought it wrong to read anything in the shape of a novel, even those of Sir Walter Scott[113] […]

[**fo. 22**] We remained some days at Madeira on our passage out [to Halifax], where I properly found the difference of having to take my turn with the other midshipmen, being now older, and able to be of more use. We had a poor fellow killed here – he had strayed from a boat on duty and got drunk, and in a quarrel with some Portuguese got a blow on the head which was not thought of much when he was brought on board, and put in irons on the main deck – in the morning he was found dead – it seems writing about it now that there must have been some neglect […]

We first touched at Halifax, where we found my old ship the *Jupiter*, with the flag of Sir Willoughby Lake,[114] having just relieved Admiral Fahie[115] in the *Salibsury*[.[116] W]e then proceeded to St. John's New Brunswick where Sir Howard Douglas left us with his family […]

While at St. John's I made some excursions in the Bay of Fundy with McClintock, and was much [**fo. 23**] taken with the beauty of it […] At St John's I dined at the Mess of the 52$^{d.}$ Regiment, and I always think with disgust how grown men could drink themselves, and encourage boys, as a number of us were, to do the same […] I fortunately had a dislike to wine and never willingly exceeded, whether I had done so on this occasion I cannot now remember,

[112] Marcus Freeman Brownrigg (1801–1884) retired as a commander in 1851 before emigrating to Australia, where he served as a police magistrate.

[113] The novelist, poet, and historian Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), whom Grey would encounter at Malta (see **p. 54**).

[114] Sir Willoughby Thomas Lake (1773–1847), promoted to vice-admiral in 1825, was chief of the North America Station from 1824 to 1827.

[115] Sir William Charles Fahie (1763–1833) played a key role in the invasions of Martinique (1809) and Guadeloupe (1810). Upon his succession by Lake, Fahie retired to Bermuda.

[116] HMS *Salisbury* (1814), built at Deptford, a 58-gun fourth-rate ship.

but I do remember falling down a flight of steps on returning to the boat which nearly killed me.

The *Samarang* did not remain long on the Halifax Station, having gone on shore in the Bay of Fundy and having been nearly lost in a hurricane at Bermuda. In the latter case we were at anchor in October in St. Catherine's bay,[117] when the storm coming on suddenly [**fo. 24**] we were obliged to slip our cable and put to sea, leaving half the Officers on shore. By carrying all the sail the ship could stagger under, we just succeeded in clearing a reef of rocks off St. David's head […] The gale moderated in 24 hours, and we returned to pick up the Officers left on shore. Sir William Wiseman, having reported, both on this occasion and on that of getting on shore in the Bay of Fundy, that the ship had not answered her helm as she ought to have done, attribute[ed] the defect to some pieces of zinc, which as preservation for the copper had been fixed to the stern & stern post to test one of Sir Humphry Davy's experiments.[118] At any rate, Sir W. Lake ordered us to England […] [**fo. 25**] I was sorry to leave this station, altho' I cannot say that I liked the climate, as excessive cold is always much felt on board ship. I remember having been mastheaded for above six hours, and I was so benumbed when called down that I was unable to move and was actually carried down by two of the topmen […]

We sailed for England in November and anchored at Spithead in 19 days, having, off Scilly, been in the tremendous gale at the end of 1824[119] […] [**fo. 26**] One middle watch, in which I was sitting under the weather bulwark in the sill of a port, the Carronade being secured fore and aft, we shipped a sea over the weather quarter […] passing clean over my head[, and] this same watch the man at the wheel was so dazzled and stunned by a flash of lightning that he was carried below, quite insensible […] Arriving at Spithead put an end to all our miseries. Certainly life on board a 28 gun frigate then, and that of today on board one of the present Leviathans, is indeed a contrast, [for] now the Midshipmen have every comfort, carry livestock to sea and, most essential of all, have roving places for sleeping, not huddled together in a close 'tween decks as we used to be […]

[117] Probably Gates Bay, which runs to the south-west from Fort St Catherine.

[118] This was the first vessel to benefit from cathodic protection, a process described by Sir Humphry Davy (1778–1829) and which involved the application of a 'sacrificial' quantity of zinc or iron to the copper of a ship's hull in order to prevent the corrosion of the latter.

[119] The Great Storm of 1824 wreaked havoc in south-west England. At Lyme Regis, the fossilist Mary Anning (1799–1847) described the damage: 'A great part of the Cobb is destroyed [and] two of the revenue men drowned.'

[**fo. 27**] On this occasion, I remained at home only three weeks […] [**fo. 28**] Sir George's idea was that it would be an advantage to serve in a sea-going Line of Battleship – with a schoolmaster on board. Perhaps his idea of Captain Hamond,[120] afterwards Sir Graham, who was in command of the *Wellesley* 74 Guardship[121] in Portsmouth harbour may have influenced him, but it was a great mistake[. H]aving now been two years at sea, in a ship with comparatively few midshipmen, like the *Samarang*, I should have been in a more responsible position than in a Liner, where I [would be] lost among 30 mates & mids of all ages, many of them old mates who had hoped never to go to sea again, but to remain in guardship until put on shore with Lieut'ts half pay.

Captain Hamond […] was a young man for his rank, being quite at the head of the Captain's list[. H]e had been promoted to Post rank at the age of 18, being the son of Sir Andrew Hamond,[122] Controller of the Navy, who commanded the *Lively*[123] frigate at the battle of Copenhagen, and one of those who took the Spanish Treasure ships in 1806. [**fo. 29**] […] He must have been about 45 when I was placed under his charge in the *Wellesley*. He was as deaf as a post, fidgety to a degree that was laughable, if he had not been so waspish at the same time – a despot in his own family, a bigoted Tory, and a specimen of intolerance contracted from never having had to obey, and by the prejudices fostered by living uncontradicted in a small community dependent upon him […]

[**fo. 30**] We sailed in March, with Sir Charles Stuart (afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay)[124] bound to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro on a special mission & belonging to his suite were Colonel Freemantle,[125]

[120] Sir Graham Eden Hamond (1779–1862), 2nd baronet, joined the Navy as his father's servant aged 5 and was only 14 at Glorious First of June; he was appointed admiral of the fleet only weeks before his death in 1862.

[121] HMS *Wellesley* (1812), a third-rate ship built at Bombay, was Thomas Maitland's (1803–1878) ship when the British took Karachi in 1839. She was damaged and sunk during a German raid over the Thames in 1940.

[122] Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, 1st baronet (1738–1828), was commander-in-chief at the Nore, comptroller of the Navy (1794–1806), and a member of the court martial which tried the *Bounty* mutineers.

[123] HMS *Lively* (1804), a 38-gun fifth-rate frigate built at Woolwich.

[124] Charles Stuart, 1st Baron Stuart de Rothsay (1779–1845), was British ambassador to France (1815–1824, 1828–1830) and Russia (1841–1844). Between spells in France he was the ambassador to Portugal, when he was empowered by John VI (1767–1826, r.1816–1826) to negotiate the treaty, concluded in August 1825, by which Portugal recognized Brazilian independence.

[125] John Fremantle (1790–1845), appointed aide-de-camp to Wellington in 1813, was present at Waterloo and concluded the Convention of St Cloud, which brought an end to the Hundred Days.

Colonel Garwood[126] (Editor of the Duke of Wellington's despatches) and Lord Marcus Hill,[127] all of whom were very kind to me […] [**fo. 31**]

[**fo. 32**] We had a fair passage to Lisbon where we remained several weeks, and where we found a squadron of two or three Line of Battle ships and some frigates under the Command of Lord Amelius Branden,[128] with whom I remember dining on one occasion and feeling considerable in awe of him, as the old type was noted for his roughness of manner. The ambassador [had] a good deal to arrange relating to the mission to the Brazils, the object being to bring Portugal to recognise the independence of that country, having failed to prevent it in a war of several years […] [**fos 33–36**] During our stay at Lisbon, Sir Charles Stuart gave a magnificent ball on board the *Wellesley* to the King of Portugal and the Royal family, no expense was spared, and it was a very fine sight[. N]ext day an order was published by Lord Amelius Branden, forbidding Officers to kiss the hands of Foreign Princes […] There was also a ball given at the Royal Palace and one by Sir William A'Court (Lord Heytesbury)[129] but […] I did not go to either.

On sailing from Lisbon [to Brazil] we remained a day at Madeira and another at Tenerife, but these stoppages were not to me what they had been in the *Jupiter* […] [**fos 37–39**] I used often to be sent for by Sir Charles Stuart into the after cabin, where the Captain never came in the evening. Sir Charles & Colonel Freemantle used to encourage me in relating my boyish tricks, and certainly the conversation of His Excellency was not very edifying. No ship could have been in worse order than the *Wellesley* […] [**fo. 40**] On crossing the Equator, which [the Captain] did for the first time, he very properly would not allow the Officers to be shaved, but set the example himself of drinking Neptune's health in a glass of salt water, which was followed by the others. The men had got the ceremony up very well, the dresses were good and under the

[126] John Gurwood (1790–1845), part of the forlorn hope during the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo in January 1812 (see n. 131).

[127] Arthur Marcus Cecil Sandys, 3rd Baron Sandys (1798–1863), MP for Newry (1832–1835) and Evesham (1838–1852), comptroller of the household (1841, 1846–1847), and treasurer of the household (1847–1852). In the corporate mythology of Lea & Perrins, Sandys is credited with discovering the recipe for Worcestershire sauce in Bombay.

[128] Lord Amelius Beauclerk (1771–1846), commander-in-chief at Lisbon at this time, became full admiral in 1830 and commander-in-chief at Plymouth in 1836.

[129] Sir William à Court, 1st Baron Heytesbury (1779–1860), was MP for Dorchester (1812–1814), British ambassador to Portugal (1824–1827) and Russia (1828–1832), and lord lieutenant of Ireland (1844–1846).

guidance of one of the Quarter Masters there was a good deal of cleverness in the arrangement […]

At Rio de Janeiro I spent a very pleasant fortnight at the country house of the Ambassador[130] […] We had been only a few days at Rio when Major Gurwood determined on going home by the packet. He suffered v. much at sea from a feeling of nervousness – fear one could hardly call it, in a man who had led two forlorn hopes [**fo. 41**] and was considered one of the best Officers in the Light Division during the Peninsular war. His subsequent fate shows there must have been some morbid tendency. After having gained great credit & reputation for the manner in which he had collected and published the Duke of Wellington's despatches, he destroyed himself owing to some unfortunate railway speculation, leaving a wife and children.[131]

Sir George Eyre[132] the Commander in Chief on the station having found the *Spartiate* (76),[133] his flag ship, in such a state, from some undiscovered leak as to require to go to England, determined on changing with all his Officers and men into the *Wellesley*. The desire of the *Spartiate*'s men to take their own ship home, the bad example shown by many of our officers in expressing discontent at having to move, and Admiral Hamond's remonstrance (he had seen his promotion in the *Gazette*,[134] but having no order to hoist his flag remained as Captain of the *Wellesley*,) caused what more nearly approached to a mutiny than anything I have ever seen before or since […] [**fo. 42**] We sailed for England [in the *Spartiate*] at the end of September and, two days after we got to sea, a small leak, which from its regularity in harbour was not thought much of, increased so that the ship made 26 inches of water an hour; this produced some alarm at first, owing to reports of the ship being generally rotten […] For seventy-two days we were constantly at the pumps; an old transport that sailed from England on the same day arrived in 49, and there was no end to reports that we had been

[130] It is unclear to whom Grey refers: Henry Chamberlain (1773–1829) was consul-general in the months after Portuguese recognition of Brazil's independence, but was replaced in 1826 by Sir Robert Gordon (1791–1847), brother of the future prime minister George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860).

[131] *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington* (London, 1834–1838); by 'destroyed himself', Grey refers to Gurwood's suicide.

[132] George Eyre (d. 1839) served in the French wars before commanding the South America Station (1823–1826).

[133] A French ship built at Toulon that Nelson captured at the Nile in 1798; later commanded by Francis Laforey (1767–1835) at Trafalgar, *Spartiate*'s union jack – the last surviving from the battle – sold for £384,000 in 2009.

[134] *The Gazette*, first published in 1665, is the authoritative source for naval and military appointments.

lost at sea, as the *Spartiate* was known to be almost the fastest line of battle ship in the Service […] [**fo. 43**]

I was now appointed to the *Talbot* on the home station […] [**fo. 44**] In April 1826 our family left Devonport, and I joined the *Talbot* at Portsmouth having remained for a short time with my brother Charles who with the Depot of the 43^{d} Regiment happened to be at Devonport. In May 1826 I went to London for a few days to be present at my sister Bessy's marriage with John Bulteel,[135] [and] a few days afterwards we sailed on a short cruise to the North Sea and anchored off Grimsby in the Humber, where having received orders to prepare for the Mediterranean station we sailed for Portsmouth to refit.

While the ship remained at Portsmouth I spent my time with my Uncle in the Dock Yard and also at Lord Spencer's[136] house at Ryde, now belonging to Sir Augustus Clifford.[137] A short time before we sailed while at the latter place I received a letter from home announcing the sudden death of my dear brother Tom[138] – it came upon me like a thunder clap – it was my first serious affliction. I hurried into a wood in that hot summer weather and spent hours in an agony of grief. I could not believe that I was never to see him more. Lady Spencer[139] was very kind, but it was some days before I could recover in any degree. My love for Tom was the strongest feeling of my heart[. A]ltho' younger, he was before me at school, but there never was the slightest jealousy mixed with my admiration of him, [and] for many years I could not bear to hear his name mentioned […] [**fo. 45**] [He] died from sun stroke in that terrible hot summer of 1826.

Captain Spencer[140] followed up the kindness I had received from his Mother, and in my daily duties my grief gradually subsided,

[135] John Crocker Bulteel (1793–1843), known as 'the young Squire of Fleet', was Whig MP for South Devon (1832– 1834) and the master of a celebrated pack of hunting hounds. He married Grey's sister Elizabeth in May 1826.

[136] George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758–1834), was home secretary in the Talents ministry (1806–1807) and the father of John Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl Spencer (1782–1845), who as Viscount Althorp was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Whig ministries of 1830–1834.

[137] Westfield House at Ryde on the Isle of Wight, which Augustus Clifford (1788–1877), an illegitimate child of William Cavendish, 5th duke of Devonshire (1748–1811), bought from Spencer in 1843 for £6,399.

[138] Thomas Grey (1810–1826), who died at the age of 15.

[139] Lavinia Spencer, Countess Spencer (née Bingham, 1762–1832), the daughter of Charles Bingham, 1st earl of Lucan (1735–1799), and an artist whose drawings were engraved by Mariano Bovi (1757–1813).

[140] Robert Cavendish Spencer (1791–1830), the younger brother of Viscount Althorp; he died on HMS *Madagascar* off Alexandria and is buried at Valletta.

but even at that age when nothing is lasting, and when in the noise of those around me, I might forget for a time, the reality used to come upon me in the midst of mirth, for many months, and check me suddenly.

In approaching Gibraltar, the ship struck upon a shoal about 3 miles to the Westward of Tarifa[141] called the 'Cabegas' with such force that nothing could have saved her from sinking but the great good fortune of her having struck on her exact stern, her false keel knocked clean off, her main keel started as far aft as the mainmast […] many of her planks and butt ends started [to give], the filling in between her timbers alone keeping her afloat.

We sailed from Gibraltar in company with the *Romney*[142] 50 Captain Lockyer,[143] but soon parted, falling in with the *Glasgow*[144] frigate […] [W]e anchored safely in Malta harbour, about the middle of July. [**fo. 46**] […] [D]uring the repairing and refitting the ship's crew & officers were lodged in the 'Lofts', a sort of barrack excavated in the soft rock, formerly galley arches at the head of the Dock Yard creek. Our life during this six weeks was not the most orderly, the officers paid little attention to us when off duty, the schoolmaster had a holiday, there being no fit place for a schoolroom, and Captain Spencer, living on shore at the Palace,[145] did not trouble himself about us […] Of my messmates I have met many since, [including] Lord Clarence Paget[146] & Hamond, now Sir Andrew,[147] son of my old Captain in the *Wellesley*.

[**fo. 47**] We sailed for the [Greek] Archipelago in August 1826, [and] at this time the Greek and Turkish war was at its height.[148]

[141] The southernmost point of mainland Spain and continental Europe.

[142] HMS *Romney* (1815), a fourth-rate ship that had been refitted as a 30-gun troopship.

[143] Nicholas Lockyer (1781–1847), who had served on the Walcheren expedition – when British forces failed to seize or blockade Antwerp in 1809 – and in the War of 1812.

[144] HMS *Glasgow* (1814), a 44-gun fifth-rate frigate that took part in the bombardment of Algiers in 1816.

[145] The Grandmaster's Palace in Valletta, the former residence of the Grand Master of the Order of St John.

[146] Clarence Paget (1811–1895) entered the Navy aged 12 and was a midshipman at Navarino before making captain in 1839 and admiral in 1870, following action in the Baltic theatre of the Crimean War. He was twice Whig MP for Sandwich (1847–1852, 1857–1866) and first secretary of the Admiralty (1859–1866), in respect of which the *ODNB* describes him as 'the most effective naval officer in the House of Commons in the nineteenth century'.

[147] Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, 3rd baronet (1811–1874), not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name.

[148] The Greek War of Independence against the Ottomans had begun in 1821. The Protocol of St Petersburg, concluded in April 1826, asserted the great powers' right to intervene if either belligerent rejected their peace plan.

Captain Hamilton[149] of the *Cambrian*[150] was senior officer in the Greek & Turkish waters and during the winter we were actively employed in convoying merchant ships and in chasing the Pirates with which the Greek islands were infested[151] […] Captain Spencer seeing that I was really fond of my profession, did all in his power to encourage me, and to this I attribute having been preserved from entering into the life of dissipation so universal those days when sailors [were] on shore. I was now seventeen, and had charge of a Lieutenant's watch whenever there were an Officer sick or on leave […] During this winter we had several brushes with the Pirates, & [**fo. 48**] […] to such an extent had the evil arisen that convoys of different nations were given periodically from Smyrna[152] to beyond Cape Matapan,[153] but in the dark nights vessels were often robbed in the middle of the convoy. On one occasion we had nearly 80 merchant vessels of all nations under our care, but with good arrangement we carried all safe, and the Pirates more oftener meddled with those under the care of an Austrian or Sardinian[154] man of war.

A Greek Corvette nominally fitted out against the Turks had committed great depredations and […] her commander, a ruffian of the name of Zacca,[155] had committed some cruel murders. In December 1826, we were off the Island of Hydra, and Captain Spencer was in communication with the Primate of the Island, against whom the seamen of the island had revolted, and at last one night we stood close into the batteries & brought off old Admiral Mioulis,[156] Condurrotti,[157] Mavrocordato[158]

[149] Gawen William Hamilton (1783–1838), of Ulster's minor gentry, rendered 'unspeakable services to the cause of suffering humanity' during the Greek war (*NBD*).

[150] HMS *Cambrian* (1797), built at Burlesdon, a 40-gun fifth-rate frigate that was wrecked off the Greek island of Gramvousa in January 1828; Hamilton and his officers were exonerated.

[151] Piracy had been a subsistence economy among the Greek islands and, upon the outbreak of the war, attacks on shipping had intensified: *Piracy in the Levant, 1827–8: Selected from the papers of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B.*, ed. C.G. Pitcairn Jones (1934).

[152] Present-day Izmir, Smyrna in 1826 was an Ottoman city with large Greek, Jewish, and Armenian populations.

[153] The southernmost point of mainland Greece on the Peloponnese.

[154] The Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia.

[155] Captain Giovanni Zacca (n.d.), the Hydriote captain of the *Achilles* corvette.

[156] Andreas Vokos (1765–1835), known as 'Miaoulis', was commander of Greek naval forces until Thomas Cochrane assumed command in 1827. He later served in the deputation to Otto of Bavaria, and became rear- and then vice-admiral in retirement.

[157] Probably the 'M. Condurrotti' whom the *Cork Examiner* of 1 May 1862 records as 'Minister of Foreign Affairs' and a pallbearer at the funeral of Sir Thomas Wyse (1791–1862), British minister to Greece (1849–1862).

[158] Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1791–1865), the statesman and former president of the Provisional Administration of Greece who later served several terms as prime minister of Greece (1833–1834, 1841, 1844, and 1854–1855).

and several others who did not consider their lives safe. Mavrocordato told our Captain that Zacca had brought the Corvette into Hydra manned with the greatest ruffians & had just robbed two English merchant vessels. Captain Spencer at once sent off an Officer in an Ionian schooner which he hired for the purpose to Captain Hamilton, who soon arrived and collected a squadron consisting of his own ship the *Cambrian* 44 – *Glasgow* 46 – *Talbot* 28 – & *Brisk* 10,[159] in Garden Bay opposite the island of Hydra.

[**fo. 49**] A day or two of unsuccessful negociations with the authorities of the island ensued, Captain Hamilton telling them that if they did not give up the Corvette he would cut her out with the ship's boats, but in truth they were powerless, and the mob of seamen being discontented and without pay determined to resist. The *Talbot* having taken Captain Hamilton on board got under way accompanied by the *Brisk* and all the boats of the squadron. As we approached the harbour, a narrow cove, without anchorage owing to the depth of water, but where vessels are made fast to the ricks with hawsers, the armed boats took us in tow. The town, a populous one built on the precipitous hills rising from the cliffs, quite overhangs the entrance, and as we passed in we saw the batteries manned and from the different houses the seamen might have swept our decks with perfect impunity to themselves, but they evidently had no wish to do this[. I]n the first place no one had done so much for the Greek nation as Captain Hamilton, who was much beloved by all ranks, and secondly the peaceful inhabitants would gladly have given up Zacca and the Corvette, had they been able to do so. We were allowed to enter the harbour without a shot being fired, and the ship was secured to the shore with her guns bearing on the wharf and custom house at the head of the harbour. The guns in the batteries could neither be depressed to bear on us, nor would ours bear on them, but the men actually looked down with interest on our decks. Besides the Corvette which was strongly secured to the shore with her rudder unshipped, there were two or three brigs and coasting vessels. The boats now shoved off, but in no order, [and] the first to reach the Corvette was a six-oared galley with Mr. Gregory,[160] 1st Lieutenant of the *Cambrian*. Zacca was standing on the gangway richly dressed with a pistol in his hand, waving to this boat to keep off, with not more than six or seven of his followers on deck. [**fo. 50**] Gregory pushed alongside, jumped in the stern sheets of his boat in order to board, when luckily he stumbled and fell, at the moment Zacca fired at him – the ball passing close to him &

[159] HMS *Brisk* (1819), built at Chatham, an unrated 10-gun sloop.
[160] Thomas Gregory (n.d.), made commander in 1833 (*NBD*).

wounding one of the boat's crew[. U]pon this a few shots were fired from a house near[by], and we immediately opened fire from our quarter deck cannonades. The Corvette was boarded from the other boats and was taken in an instant, all the Pirates escaping to the shore except one […] Lieut. Willis[161] of the *Glasgow* who was grazed by a ball, whether from our own people or the Greeks I would not say, was the only person hurt besides the man in the *Cambrian*'s galley. The boats of the squadron took the Corvette and brigs in tow, at the same time keeping up a fire on every thing they saw moving in the town, and from our quarter deck I saw what was apparently an influential person endeavouring to prevent resistance shot in the most brutal manner by a Corporal of Marines […]

[**fo. 51**] While employed in the Archipelago in the *Talbot* I saw many interesting episodes of the Greek & Turkish war, and amongst others the effect of the failure of the attack on Athens[162] by Lord Cochrane[163] and General Church,[164] the latter having been over persuaded by the former to attempt a day-break attack on the Turkish lines. The irregular Greek troops were no match on the level ground between Athens and Piraeus for the formidable Turkish cavalry. The Greeks having seized some earthworks, and having advanced some distance from their main body encamped on the Phalaerum Hill,[165] were of a sudden charged by the Delhis[166] or forlorn hope of Cavalry, and scattered over the plain with very great slaughter. A band of Suliots[167] under a chief of the name of Karaschaki,[168] to whom a plain obelisk monument now stands near the Piraeus, alone made a stand & by so doing saved the lives of Lord

[161] William Alexander Willis (n.d.) retired as a captain, receiving a pension for wounds (*NBD*).

[162] Ottoman forces had been sieging the Acropolis since August 1826.

[163] Cochrane had served in the French wars and as MP for Honiton (1806–1807) and Westminster (1807–1818), before his involvement in 1814's Great Stock Exchange Fraud; he later fought alongside Spanish-American revolutionaries.

[164] Sir Richard Church (1784–1873), the Irish soldier who became commander-in-chief of the Greek army in 1827 and later served in the Greek senate (1844–1845).

[165] At the Battle of Phaleron on 24 April 1827, Greek forces under the direction of Cochrane and Church attempted to lift the siege of the Acropolis but, in the heaviest Greek defeat of the war, they lost more than half of their 3,000 troops. Athens surrendered to the Ottomans on 5 June 1827.

[166] The shock troops of the Turkish light cavalry. Having played a major role in maintaining Ottoman control of the Balkans, they were disbanded – alongside the janissaries – as part of Mahmud II's reforms of 1829.

[167] The Souliotes were an Orthodox Albanian community from Epirus who fought with the Greeks.

[168] Georgios Karaiskakis (1782–1827), a military commander who was not Souliot but belonged to the Sarakatsani, a nomadic shepherd community of the Pindus mountains.

Cochrane & General Church, besides many others. Of 400 men 250 were killed and among them Karaschaki. We arrived immediately afterwards & received on board a young Englishman […] who had been badly wounded. The Greeks who had earlier mustered 14,000 men in and about the Piraeus only mustered between 3 & 4,000 on the Phalaerum Hill. Lord Cochrane also left in his frigate [**fo. 52**] and the prospects of Greece were at a lower ebb than they had been for a long time. General Church stuck to his post, and by his energy and constancy, inspired some confidence to his faithful followers who still rallied round him, and with whom he some months afterwards did essential service to the country by obtaining an extended frontier beyond what the allies first awarded in the following year[. B]ut other events rapidly followed bringing on the battle of Navarino which gave the independence to the present Kingdom of Greece, which the efforts of the inhabitants during six cruel years of warfare on both sides had failed to accomplish.

From Athens in July we sailed for Napulia de Romania[169] and off Spezzia[170] fell in with the *Asia* 84, the Flag ship of the New Commander in chief Vice Admiral Sir Edward Codrington accompanied by the *Rose*[171] 18 gun Corvette […] I forgot to note that shortly before this we had a cruise in the Gulf of Salonica with the *Philomel*[172] 10 gun brig under our orders, commanded by Lord Ingestre[173] […] [**fo. 53**] [I]t was also in this cruise that we retook an English merchant vessel and removed a young lad of the name of Barker son of the Consul or Vice Consul at Alexandria[174] – poor little fellow he was not above 13 and with us later in the battle of Navarino.

When we arrived at Nauplis in Company with the *Asia* & *Rose* Corvette, we found two rival chieftains in command of opposing forts in open warfare. Grievas[175] who I often saw afterwards, held

[169] Present-day Nafplio, the erstwhile capital of Greece (1827–1834).

[170] The island of Spetses.

[171] HMS *Rose* (1821), an 18-gun sloop.

[172] HMS *Philomel* (1823), a 10-gun sloop named after the mythological figure of Philomela.

[173] Henry Chetwynd-Talbot, later 18th earl of Shrewsbury (1803–1868), who brought news of victory from Navarino to Britain. He served as a Tory then Conservative MP for Hertford (1830–1831), Armagh City (1831), Dublin City (1831), Hertford again (1832–1833), and Staffordshire South (1837–1849).

[174] John Barker (1771–1849) had served as secretary to the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, consul to the Levant Company at Aleppo, and consul (1826) then consul-general (1829) at Alexandria. This is probably *not* Barker's elder son, the orientalist William Burckhardt Barker (*c.*1810–1856).

[175] Gardikiotis Grivas (1803–1855), the Athenian soldier who distinguished himself at the Battle of Arachova (1826).

the Palamede,[176] or Citadel, and Fotomaras[177] the town & lower batteries. The cannonade & musketry was kept up for a week and our boats would go in at night to assist the wounded & some were taken on board the *Asia* – one I remember in particular, an American of the name of Washington,[178] who was mortally wounded at the lower battery. A good description of this truly Greek Episode may be found in a novel [**fo. 54**] called 'Cavendish', written by one of our messmates, a lad of the name of Neale,[179] who soon after left the service & studied for the bar, but I believe made a more profitable trade [as a] Naval novelist. I saw him again in 1846 when he called upon me at the Colonial Office […]

On October the 31st we reached Malta with several other ships of the squadron to repair the damage received in the action […] Sir Frederick Ponsonby[180] was then Governor at Malta and he and Lady Emily were very kind to me[. T]he latter is still alive & living at Hampton Court[. H]er son Henry Ponsonby[181] has been married for some years to my niece Mary Bulteel, and last year [1870] succeeded my dear brother Charles as Secretary to the Queen.

The winter at Malta was spent in balls & parties, and in rejoicing over this 'untoward' event of Navarin.[182] Sir Edward Codrington, a kind, good-natured man, was one of the vainest I ever met. While the *Talbot* [**fo. 55**] was refitting, the Admiral gave me leave to go to Naples where I expected to have found my sister Louisa and her husband Mr Lambton in their yacht.

I went in a Russian Frigate with a Russian Diplomat of the name of Daschoff[183] who spoke English as well as I did and luckily for me,

[176] The Palamidi, the Venetian fortress to the south of Nafplion town centre.

[177] Probably Nasos Fotomaras (n.d.), who, having become a general in the armed forces of independent Greece, killed Konstantin Mavromichalis (1797–1831), who in turn had assassinated Count Ioannis Antonios Kapodistrias (1776–1831), the first prime minister of Greece, at Nafplion on 27 September 1831 (see n. 303).

[178] William Townsend Washington (1802–1827), a distant relative of George Washington (1732–1799), who had graduated from West Point only to resign his American commission to enlist among the Greek forces.

[179] *Cavendish; or, the Patrician at Sea*, 3 vols (London, 1831) by William Johnson Neale (1812–1893), whose legal career culminated as recorder of Walsall.

[180] Badly wounded at Waterloo, Frederick Ponsonby (1783–1837) had been given assistance by a French dragoon before his sister, the novelist Lady Caroline Lamb (1785–1828), 'tended' to him by bleeding him of three litres.

[181] Major-General Sir Henry Frederick Ponsonby (1825–1895) served in the Crimean War and was private secretary to Queen Victoria (1870–1895). He married Grey's niece, Mary Elizabeth Bulteel, in 1861.

[182] The phrase 'untoward event' is discussed at n. 196.

[183] Andrey Yakovlevich Dashkov (1775–1831), the former Russian ambassador to the United States.

as neither the Captain nor any of the Officers of the [ship] could speak anything but their own language, which was unusual in those days[. I]ndeed, many of the young Officers at Malta, when the Russian Squadron under Admiral Count Heyden[184] & Lazaroff[185] were also refitting, spoke French & English fluently […] I lived with Daschoff in the captain's cabin, and at Naples went on shore to [meet] the English Consul, Sir Henry Lushington.[186]

[**fo. 54v**] On my return from Naples I found the gaieties at Malta still in full swing, and when the Carnival came on about February, Colonel Bathurst[187] & some of the officers determined to set up a tournament in the Palace Square, and a most successful attempt it was in many respects. Sir George Brown,[188] then Colonel Brown of the Rifles, was the Black Knight in Ivanhoe[.[189] T]he old armour[,] of which there is a quantity in the armoury, was mostly too small for our officers. It had been arranged that the Master Attendant of the Dock Yard, Billy Pitt,[190] a drinking, singing, amusing, old vagabond, was to have been the Lady of the Tournament, but when the time came his nerve failed him and I was asked to take his place, which I did & enjoyed the fun […] Dressed in proper costume, with false curls, a long white veil and on a beautiful, but fiery Arab belonging to one of the A.D.C.s, I flatter myself I performed my part well. I was pelted with sugar plums and on the return of the procession, I fairly put my leg over the pummel of the saddle, & galloped into the Palace Yard, amidst the laughter of the grandees on the Balcony […]

[184] Count Lodewijk van Heiden (1773–1850), the Dutch naval officer who commanded a Russian squadron at Navarino; he later became military governor of the island of Kronstadt in the Gulf of Finland.

[185] Admiral Mikhail Petrovich Lazarev (1788–1851), who had served on British warships in the French wars, commanded the Russian flagship *Azov* at Navarino. He later conducted two circumnavigations of the globe, explored the Arctic ice pack, and became military governor of the ports of Sevastopol and Nikolayev, significantly improving the standard of Russia's Black Sea fleet.

[186] Sir Henry Lushington (1775–1863), cousin of the abolitionist Stephen Lushington (1782–1873).

[187] Seymour Thomas Bathurst (1793–1834), MP for the Cornish rotten borough of St Germans (1818–1826), was the son of Henry, 3rd earl Bathurst (1762–1834), who had been foreign secretary under Perceval (1809) and secretary for war and the colonies under Liverpool (1812–1827).

[188] George Brown (1790–1865) later commanded the Light Division during the Crimean War.

[189] In Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), the 'Black Knight' was a disguise for King Richard.

[190] Pitt's memoirs were published as *The Cabin Boy: Being the memoirs of an officer in the Civil Department of H.M. Navy, well known by the name of 'Billy Pitt'* (London, 1840).

[**fo. 55**] During the early summer we were sent to Ancona, for Sir Stratford Canning, Ambassador to the Porte.[191] Early in 1828 we were sent back to Greece and, besides again going occasionally to Corfu we were for some time cruising Navarin, to prevent the Egyptian transports & men of war sent there by Mehemet Ali[192] from going into the harbour. I remember on one occasion a most exciting chase after two corvettes, but they had the best of it & succeeded in getting under the land and making their way in. We fired one or two shots at them from the miserable guns of our small ship, which of course fell short.

[**fo. 56**] During this year we had a very pleasant cruise to the Coast of Italy. But I have forgotten to state that about June or July Sir Edward Codrington was superseded in the command of the Mediterranean Fleet by Sir Pulteney Malcolm.[193] The Government had not altogether approved of Sir Edward's conduct, but Mr. Canning's death in August 1827 led to Lord Goderich's being appointed Premier, and his ministry composed of men of different parties – Canningites – Whigs – & Moderate Tories, all in short in some degree responsible for the policy following Navarin.[194] No party discussion or censure took place in Parliament altho' many men of mark individually condemned both the battle of Navarino and the feeble measures after it, our fleet remaining in Malta, and Mehemet Ali being allowed with little interference on the part of the allies to transport many hundreds of the wretched inhabitants of the Morea to Egypt as slaves.[195] The Duke of Wellington who

[191] Stratford Canning, later 1st Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1786–1880), had been British envoy to the United States (1819–1823) before spending 20 years (1825–1828, 1841–1858) as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire.

[192] Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769–1849) was, for more than 40 years, the Ottoman governor and tyrant of Egypt. Despite extending Ottoman influence into Arabia and the Sudan, Ali was unable to intervene successfully in the Greek War of Independence; he later turned on the Ottomans, declaring war following a dispute over Syria, as a result of which he and his heirs were recognized as sovereigns of Egypt.

[193] Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm (1768–1838), commanding HMS *Donegal*, had missed the Battle of Trafalgar by a matter of days. Promoted to vice-admiral in 1821, he was commander-in-chief at Malta for seven years between 1828 and 1837. See: Paul Martinovich, *The Sea Is My Element: The eventful life of Admiral Sir Pulteney Macolm, 1766–1838* (Amherst, 2021).

[194] Appointed prime minister in April 1827, George Canning (1770–1827) died in August. He was succeeded by F.J. Robinson, Viscount Goderich (1782–1859), who failed to maintain the fragile coalition that Canning commanded, resigning in January 1828 without having seen Parliament meet.

[195] Seizing and ransoming the residents of the Mediterranean coastline (and further afield) had been a long-term tactic of the Egyptian pasha and Barbary corsairs, although the naval strength of the Western powers had reduced its efficacy by the mid-seventeenth century.

succeeded Lord Goderich as Prime Minister in the session of 1828 described the Battle of Navarino as an 'untoward event'.[196]

[**fo. 55v**] I find that I have omitted several events connected with our return to Greece in the autumn of 1828, when the war between the Turks & the Greeks continued. The Allies at the beginning of the year had appointed the Count Capo d'Istria,[197] a Russian statesman, & Ionian by birth, to the presidency of Greece, but the squabbles among the Chiefs prevented any unity of action, altho' without the crowning act of Navarino the cause [would have] been lost.

According to the Treaty for clearing the Morea of the Turks a French Force of some 10,000 men landed at Modon, Navarino, & Patras.[198] We accompanied the expedition to Patras under the orders of Captain Lyons in the *Blonde* Frigate and were present at the taking of the Lepanti Castles […] I was stationed in the trenches with the advanced French troops to signalize to the *Etna*[199] and as a sort of Aid de Camp to Captain Lyons, whose acquaintance I first made on this occasion and saw much of afterwards as Lieut. Com'r & Captain until the time of his death in 1858. General Maison[200] afterward Marshal commanded the French force, and of course so overwhelming a one could not long be resisted by the small garrison of Albanians who soon surrendered as did also the Castle of Patras. [**fo. 56**]

[**fo. 57**] We were ordered to England in November, 1828, our time having expired […] We reached England in December 1828 and I found my dear Uncle Sir George Grey had died shortly before at Portsmouth. This was a great grief to me, but as I was now senior midshipman on board I had most of the work to do in paying the ship off, which in those days was not a pleasant duty[. D]iscipline was always relaxed and drunkenness & riot with few exceptions was the rule even in ships where the order had been

[196] The phrase 'untoward event' was coined during the King's Speech of 1828 (*Hansard*, Lords, 29 January 1828, 2nd ser., vol. 18, cc. 1–4, at 3) and was the subject of immediate debate in Lords (*Hansard*, Lords, 29 January 1828, 2nd ser., vol. 18 cc. 4–35) between philhellene peers and the Wellington ministry. For the latter, the victory at Navarino and Greek independence were concerning harbingers of Russian encroachment into the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

[197] Kapodistrias was a Corfiot diplomat who rose through the Russian foreign service and represented Alexander I at the Congress of Vienna, where Metternich described him as 'not a bad man, but … a complete and thorough fool, a perfect miracle of wrong-headedness' (see nn. 177, 303).

[198] The Morea Expedition lasted until 1833.

[199] HMS *Aetna* (1824), a bomb vessel which carried six, rather than the normal two, 13-inch mortars.

[200] Nicolas Joseph Maison, 1st marquis of Maison (1771–1840), became marshal of France during the Expedition.

best[. I]ndeed, severity at such a time was ill judged as practically the Government had little hold on the men who in a few days were to be paid off, with three years pay as a lump sum in their pockets, in many cases to be robbed by the women and Jews who flocked on board [the] ships paying off. The men entered into other ships when their money was spent and there were many fitting out at the time, but there was no [**fo. 58**] pretence of any system. A sailor was considered a sort of wild animal to be picked up after his drunken frolic on shore, and then kept, under iron discipline for his term of three years service, with no pocket money allowed him even out of his own pay […] Soon after this time a change began to take place […] The men [now] enter the service as boys for the most part and being engaged for a certain period of continuous service, feel that they belong to the service, and I don't think there is a better conducted class of men in the country than the man of war's man of the present day.[201] As with the men so with the Officers – a more gentlemanlike tone prevails among them, drinking is rare, and swearing quite gone out. With the change from wooden to iron ships & steam, there are probably not so many good seamen among the Officers, not at least of the same sort, when circumstances called for more individual knowledge & resource in times of difficulty – in short there was then less science and theoretical knowledge, but more practical skill in handling ships. To those who were fortunate enough to have interest and to advance rapidly in the profession it was one of great power & independence and of great interest. The romance of the sea service is at an end & the Captain of the cruizing frigate no longer exists.

[**fo. 59A**] I went to Howick where I spent a very happy six weeks; all my younger brothers were at home for the holidays, which brought sadly to my recollection the last time I had seen my favourite brother Tom. Charles was with his regiment and Frederick on his way to England having lately been made a Post Captain, about the youngest in the service. There was at this time much excitement in the political world, as it was evident the Duke of Wellington was preparing to concede some of the just rights of the Roman Catholics in Ireland,[202] altho' he had apparently resented a letter written in that sense by Lord Anglesey[203] the Lord Lieutenant, who resigned in

[201] Grey was one among many Whig then Liberal officers who would push for such reforms.

[202] In the summer of 1828, the Catholic lawyer Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) had won the ministerial by-election for County Clare, precipitating the crisis which culminated in the Roman Catholic Relief Act of April 1829.

[203] In December 1828, Henry Paget, first marquess of Anglesey (1768–1854), the father of Clarence Paget (see n. 146) and then-lord lieutenant of Ireland, wrote to Patrick Curtis

consequence. At Howick, Lambton […] and other Whig leaders were evidently sore at the prospect of the wind thus being taken out of their sails, when they had many of them, contrary to my Father's advice, joined Canning in 1827[204] knowing that he preferred Office to principle on that question. My father was much abused at that time by his own party, for his unbending consistency, but most of them, Lambton included, lived to own he was right.

My father determined to go up to London in Feb'r 1829 to support the Duke in the House of Lords, and as I was to sail shortly for the Mediterranean to join the *Windsor Castle* as Lieutenant, I accompanied him from Howick, and I shall never forget the interest with which I listened to his speech in support of the Ministerial measure of Catholic [**fo. 59B**] emancipation. How he put on one side his own exclusion from office for thirty years owing to his consistent support of a measure which could now no longer be deferred without the risk of a civil war in Ireland and how he gave an honest & straightforward support to the measure altho' regretting that in some of its details it showed resentment to O'Connell and the liberals of Ireland. It was a great speech and allowed to be so by both sides, and it was a patriotic one, like my father, who only thought of the good of the country.[205] I don't think I had ever heard him speak before, and altho' I heard him often afterwards, during the great Reform struggle, this speech, and the effect of it still dwells the most forcibly on my memory.

About the middle of February, I believe the 17th was the day I sailed for Malta to join the *Windsor Castle* (76) as Lieutenant in the *Ferret* 10 gun brig,[206] commanded by Captain Hastings afterwards Sir Thomas Hastings[207] and first head of the Excellent Gunnery School & Portsmouth College […] This little brig not the size of one of the smallest of the modern Gunboats, under 300 tons, had a complement of 75 men, [and] she carried 8 18 pound carronades, and two long sixes, and except for patronage & detachment duties was even then ridiculous as a man of war.

(1740–1832), the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, that he disagreed with Wellington's position on Catholic relief and wished that all possible means would be used 'to forward the cause'. Upon the publication of the letter, Wellington recalled Anglesey from Dublin.

[204] Canning had been unable to form a government of Tories in 1827, relying instead upon moderate Whigs including Palmerston and the marquess of Lansdowne (1780–1863).

[205] *Hansard*, Lords, 13 February 1829, 2nd ser., vol. 20, cc. 309–325.

[206] HMS *Ferret* (1821), a 10-gun *Cherokee*-class sloop.

[207] Admiral Sir Thomas Hastings (1786–1870), who had escorted Napoleon to Elba in 1814, was 'a favourite of William IV' (*ODNB*) and played a key role in promoting scientific education within the Navy.

[**fo. 60**] It has always been a matter of astonishment to me how so many of our different Admiralty Boards could have gone on building such vessels, which rejoiced in the name of coffins in the service from the fact of so many of them having capsized at sea, but not only these wretched 10 gun brigs, but deep waisted, dangerous Corvettes like the *Rose* & *Pylades*[208] with 50 gun ships like the *Jupiter* on two decks, to say nothing of our small 36 gun Frigates and 74s, the latter called 40 Thieves[209] from that number having been ordered at once towards the end of the war. And this too when we had such models as the *Spartiate* & *Donegal*[210] – beautiful Liners, the former taken as far back as 1798 at the battle of the Nile, and the lesson we had been taught, during the American war of 1813 & 14,[211] ought to have warned us against small frigates & Corvettes.

The *Ferret* made the passage to Malta in 20 days, without touching at Gibraltar which was considered a good passage for those days […] We were crowded with supernumeraries and most uncomfortable. Lord Clarence Paget and Admiral [**fo. 61**] George Eliott[212] were among those going out to join ships in the Medit'n as Midshipmen, both two years junior to me in the service.

On our arrival in Malta in March I received my Lieutenant commission and appointment to the *Windsor Castle* […] and at once went on board. I am afraid the night before, I took rather more Champagne than was good for me, much against my inclination, as I never cared about wine, but it was then the habit to treat old friends and messmates on such occasions, called 'wetting the commission'. I know I had a splitting headache next day and had to stand on the quarter deck looking very miserable as our Captain Bouverie[213] read out my commission before the 600 Officers & men of the

[208] HMS *Pylades* (1824), built at Woolwich, was an 18-gun sloop which saw action in the First Opium War.

[209] The '40 thieves' were the *Vengeur*-class of 40 74-gun third-rate ships that the Surveyors of the Navy ordered from 1806. HMS *Ajax* was the first to be launched in May 1809; HMS *Russell* was the last in May 1822.

[210] HMS *Donegal* was another refitted French ship, launched in 1794 as *Le Barras*, and captured as *Le Hoche* at the Battle of Tory Island in 1798.

[211] Naval encounters during the War of 1812, especially the Battle of Lake Champlain and the surrender of HMS *Guerrière*, had disabused some British officers of the notion of absolute naval supremacy, but the capture of USS *Chesapeake*, *Essex*, and *President* subsequently demonstrated superior sailing and gunnery skills and restored British confidence: Andrew Lambert, *The Challenge: Britain and America in the naval war of 1812* (London, 2012).

[212] Sir George Elliott (1784–1863) became commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope Station and the East Indies and China Station, the latter during the First Opium War.

[213] Duncombe Pleydell-Bouverie (1780–1850), promoted to rear-admiral in 1837, was MP for Downton (1806–1807) and Salisbury (1828–1832, 1833–1835) but never once spoke in the Commons.

ship, and I heard afterwards that this first appearance had not given a favourable impression of my steadiness […]

[**fo. 62**] […] The men worked willingly for me and the Captain, at first doubtful owing to my age (not quite 20) and youthful appearance, soon slept as sound when I had charge of the watch as when it was kept by my seniors […] In a ship like the *Windsor Castle* with 5 Lieutenants, the first does not keep watch, but has charge of all the decks and internal arrangements of the ship in conjunction with the Commander. The Watches at sea would then be taken by the 3 next in seniority, and the junior, which I was, would have charge of the Signal Department, and take charge of the deck on the occasional absence of any of the others […]

[**fo. 63**] A short visit to Syracuse and exercise off the Coast of Sicily was followed by a move to the Greek Archipelago where the ships separated for a short time. We remained at Egina[214] – Nauplia de Romania – & Epidaurus[215] as our headquarters. We also visited the port of Piraeus at this time. Athens was now in the hands of the Turks, who remained in the Acropolis & surrounding country unmolested by the Greeks after the defeat of Lord Cochrane in 1827. I believe the *Windsor Castle* to have been the first Line of Battleship that ever anchored in Piraeus. We also visited the volcanic island of Santorini, the water of the anchorage being supposed to have the quality of cleaning the copper on a ship's bottom. We fancied our old tub sailed better afterwards. From this cruise we were recalled to join the flag of Sir P. Malcolm in Besika bay[216] at the mouth of the Dardanelles, where we found our chief [**fo. 64**] with all the Line of Battleships and Frigates he had been able to collect, consisting (including the *Windsor Castle*) of six of the former & 3 of the latter. The war which had broken out between Russia & Turkey the preceding year had led to the advance of the Russian Army under Diebitch[217] after crossing the Balkan to the neighbourhood of Adrianople and now in August 1829 Constantinople was threatened – a result which altho' brought about by our stupid policy in joining Russia at Navarino was thought so serious by the Duke of Wellington's Government that orders were

[214] The island of Aegina.

[215] The small town on the Peloponnese noted for its 14,000-seat ancient amphitheatre.

[216] Now Beşik Bay, close to the site of ancient Troy.

[217] Graf Hans Karl von Diebitsch (1785–1831), a Prussian soldier who had entered the Russian service on the wish of his father, a former aide-de-camp to Frederick II (1712–1786). Wounded at Austerlitz, he fought at Dresden and Leipzig, attended the Congress of Vienna, and helped to suppress the Decembrist Revolt of 1825. He had replaced Peter Wittgenstein (1769–1843) as Russian commander-in-chief in February 1829.

sent to Sir Pulteney Malcolm to prevent the entrance of the Russian squadron of seven Line of Battleships and four heavy frigates into the Dardanelles.[218]

([**fo. 63v**] Nov. 22, 1876. This opinion I must now qualify. The freedom of Greece with Russian co-operation was a good work. I only hope jealousy of that power may not interfere with the settlement of the present Eastern question.)

[**fo. 64**] This squadron still Commanded by Count Heiden with the ships that served at Navarin, reinforced by three very fine 80 gun ships under the orders of Admiral Lazaroff were at anchor between our squadron & Tenedos, waiting orders, and ready to act in case of the army advance. For some weeks the two squadrons lay watching each other[. T]here was great civility on both sides when Officers chanced to meet on shore, but […] for several days & nights both squadrons lay with their guns loose and the men at quarters, and early in September [**fo. 65**] this state of things was brought to a close by the treaty of Adrianople,[219] by which Russia gained some permanent objects of her ambition, but which at the time was thought more favourable to Turkey, and she was counselled to accept it by our ambassador Sir Robert Gordon.[220] It was soon however discovered that this seeming moderation was in reality in consequence of the sickly state of the Russian army, which was exhausted & demoralised by the hardships undergone during the advance from the Balkan to Adrianople. Peace having been signed it was no longer necessary to keep the ships in Besika Bay. I had enjoyed our stay there as whenever it was my turn to go on shore I would accompany one of my messmates […] on shooting expeditions roaming over the plain of Troy […]

[**fo. 66**] In the early part of 1830 we returned to Malta where we remained some months […] [**fo. 67**] At this time I formed a great intimacy with Lord W. Thynne Major of the 7th Fusiliers,[221] a very nice fellow, and my time was spent most happily at Malta […]

In the early spring of 1830 we had some pleasant cruises in the Mediterranean, but no incidents occurred that I now recollect as

[218] As ever, fears of Russian preponderance determined British foreign policy: Russian expansion into South-Eastern Europe threatened the balance of power that had been established at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

[219] By the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), Russia gained several forts in the Caucasus, access to the mouth of the Danube, and the removal of Russian merchants from Ottoman legal jurisdiction; in turn, the Ottomans accepted Greek autonomy.

[220] See n. 130.

[221] Lord Henry Thynne (1797–1837), later Viscount Weymouth and 3rd marquess of Bath. Despite being at sea, Thynne was Tory MP for Weobley (1824–1826 and 1828–1832).

worth recording[. O]ur old Commander Haydon[222] a quiet gentlemanlike man but worn out as an officer, left us and was replaced by Captain Marsham[223] […] a most popular and cheerily eccentric officer and agreeable messmate. One of our cruises was to Tripoli in Barbary where I made the acquaintance of Colonel Warrington,[224] the Consul General with whom I had much future communication when promoted to the command of the *Scylla* the following year. Colonel Warrington's son-in-law, the famous African Traveller Major Laing,[225] had been murdered in Timbuctoo, not without suspicion attaching to the Minister of the Bashaw of Tripoli Mohammed de Gheis,[226] and Colonel Warrington accused this man of having possessed himself of Major Laing's papers & of having disposed of them to the French Consul. A book published [**fo. 68**] in France descriptive of the desert & Timbuctoo by a Monsieur Caille[227] who was never known to have gone to Africa, gave rise to serious suspicions and was the cause of much diplomatic correspondence. It was on this subject that Captain Bouverie was sent by Sir P. Malcolm to confer with the Bashaw. I was present at the interview and struck with the high bred manner of Yassouf Caramanli, a man whose career of bloodshed & murder was most remarkable. Talking of a man named Hassan de Gheis,[228] brother of the minister, he said that he must have been about 24 or [2]5, as he was born the year 'I killed my brother', the said brother having been the heir apparent & older than Yassouf.[229] The Caramanlis had

[222] William Haydon (n.d.), second captain of the *Windsor Castle* (1828–1830) until his 'private affairs required his presence in England' (*NBD*).

[223] Henry Shovell Marsham (1794–1875).

[224] Warrington was described by his French counterpart as 'more the master of the country than the pasha himself, such that a gesture from him would make the pasha tremble' (*ODNB*).

[225] Alexander Gordon Laing (1794–1826), the explorer of Africa and the first known European to have visited Timbuktu, where he was murdered in September 1826. His *Travels in the Timannee* (1826) was one of the first major accounts of the African interior.

[226] Mahomet d'Ghies (n.d.), the Tripolitanian minister accused by Warrington's daughter of arranging the murder of Major Laing. Forced into a confession under interrogation, d'Ghies fled Tripoli with his brother (see n. 228).

[227] René Caillié (1799–1838), *Journal d'un voyage à Temboctoo et à Jenne dans l'Afrique Central* (Paris, 1830).

[228] Hassuna D'Ghies (1792–n.d.), the European-educated minister of the Tripolitan government. He sought asylum at the French embassy before fleeing Tripoli for Paris and then London, where he sought (unsuccessfully) to clear his name. He later became editor of the Istanbul newspaper *Moniteur Ottoman*.

[229] Hamet Karamanli (n.d.–1805/1806), who had ruled as Ahmad II (January–June 1795) until his brother exiled him to Egypt. During the United States's subsequent war with Tripoli, American forces threatened to reinstate Hamet as should Yusuf not yield to their demands and, when Tripoli sued for peace, Hamet received a stipend from the

reigned despotically at Tripoli, nominally subject to the Sultan, for upwards of 300 years, but their reign was about to come to an end, but more of that hereafter.

The French July Revolution[230] caused the squadron in the Mediterranean to be increased and there was much anxiety as to the state of Europe, but in spite of many threatening appearances, including the revolution in Belgium,[231] the peace of Europe was not disturbed. The effect at home was to render the Duke of Wellington's Government very insecure and led to several injudicious acts on his part, such as advising William the IVth, who succeeded about this time, not to accept a dinner at the Mansion House, in the belief that he would have been insulted,[232] and strong declarations against all Reform led to an adverse vote in the House of Commons, and my Father was sent for by the King and became Prime Minister in December 1830. We were ordered to England at the beginning of that month and as we were passing through the Straits of Gibraltar were recalled by signal & received orders to take the 43^{d} Regiment to England where serious disturbances [**fo. 69**] had broken out in the agricultural districts known as the 'Swing' riots, farm steadings and ricks having been burnt down and placards threatening outrages signed 'Swing'. Active measures were at once taken and the riots put down, with as little severity as possible. Still there was great distress in the country in the large towns as well as in the rural districts.[233] The old Tory measures of bloody repression were luckily abandoned, and my Father and his colleagues set to work to do what was possible to amend the laws and promise redress. The cause of Reform was now popular in the country and every-one waited in anxious expectation for the new measure promised, and in March 1831 this great measure

Americans; Yusuf then persuaded Hamet to become governor of Derna, where he was assassinated.

[230] The revolution of 26–29 July 1830 which deposed Charles X (1757–1836, r.1824–1830) and installed Louis-Philippe (1773–1850, r.1830–1848) as the 'citizen king'.

[231] From August 1830 to July 1831, the Belgian Revolution witnessed the secession of the southern, majority-Catholic and Flemish-speaking provinces of the Netherlands and the creation of the Kingdom of Belgium, whose independence was proclaimed in October 1830.

[232] William IV had accepted an invitation to the banquet of the Lord Mayor of London on 9 November 1830. Owing, however, to unrest in the city, Wellington's government had advised the king not to attend. His consequent rejection of the invitation aggravated fears of rioting and turmoil, causing stock prices to fall sharply.

[233] Named after a fictitious farmer whose descent from prosperity symbolized the fate of the agricultural worker, the Swing Riots convulsed south-east England, leading to fears of general insurrection.

was introduced into the House of Commons.[234] But I must return to the *Windsor Castle*.

We remained only 36 hours in Gibraltar bay, putting up temporary fittings for the Regiment consisting of about 600 men, 42 women and 100 children […] [**fos 70–72**] Our passage lasted a fortnight. The first few days were fine and all went well, but as the wind and sea increased, the lower deck ports, never very tight, admitted so much water as to make the women and children, who were sleeping on the deck […] most wretchedly cold and miserable, and some so seasick that the mates of the deck could not make them get up out of the water washing from side to side […] [**fos 73–74**]

[**fo. 75**] We arrived at Spithead before Christmas and orders came down for Captain Bouverie to give up the command of his ship to a Captain Quin,[235] who was to take her to Cork to reinforce the squadron in Ireland. I was also superseded and had little time to pack my things and dispose of my cabin furniture […] I was very sorry to leave the dear old *Windsor Castle* where I had spent two very happy years, and was always glad in after years to meet Admiral Bouverie, whose last service was as Admiral Superintendent at Portsmouth […]

[**fo. 76r**] I left Portsmouth the day after I landed from the *Windsor Castle*, and arrived in London about 5 o'clock. In those days, before railways, there were two fast coaches, the Rocket and the Regulator, which did the distance of 72 miles in about 8 hours, and a very pleasant journey it used to be in the summer.[236] The road, one of the prettiest in England, was much the same as the direct Portsmouth line of rail today. How well I remember being shown into the large drawing room at Downing Street with its yellow damask furniture. I had however only time to see my mother for a few minutes before going to some lodgings opposite, which I shared with my younger brothers, as the official house in Downing Street had not much bedroom accommodation. Still, it was a most liveable & comfortable house & is (Jan'y 1877) still used for some purposes such as receptions by the Prime Minister, but its days are numbered & with the new public offices towering above it,[237] it looks small & [**fo. 76v**] shabby[. N]evertheless, these old houses in some respects were better than their more pretentious neighbours, for instance the new India

[234] Russell laid the first draft of the Reform Bill before the House of Commons on 1 March 1831.

[235] Michael Quin (1791–1870), who had seen action at Finisterre and Copenhagen.

[236] The coaches left either London or Portsmouth at 8 a.m. every day to travel this 'Sailor's Highway'.

[237] George Gilbert Scott's (1811–1878) adjacent building for the Foreign Office had been completed in 1868.

[**fo. 77r**] office with its dark and long passages, and melancholy quadrangle. I also much doubt whether the modern plan of scattering people about in these immense structures is the way to get real work out of them.[238]

In December 1830, my Father's government had not been formed above a month, and the political world was in great excitement & curiosity as to the policy of the first Whig or Liberal administration that had been in power (with the exception of one year, 1806 & 7) for nearly 40 years.[239] The Greville Memoirs, which came out two years ago, treat most fully of this time and in spite of most unfair remarks on my Father, which however he shares with the Duke of Wellington, Peel, and all public men of note of that day, are to me very interesting as recalling many events of that most interesting time.[240] I was at home during some of the most dramatic events, the narrow divisions in the House of Commons, the sudden dissolution of Parliament in 1831, and the stormy scenes in both houses.[241] I shall never forget the unrivalled manner in which my father led the discussions in the House of Lords. Harassed on every occasion by questions raised by Lord Aberdeen[242] and other chiefs of the opposition without even the usual courtesy of previous notice, he was always equal to the occasion, [and] his answers at once complete and dignified were at the time extolled as they deserved, but his position & character, which probably saved the country from serious convulsions, [**fo. 78**] are now quite forgotten, and even the great Reform Bill, which he alone could have carried, is often placed to the credit of Lord John Russell who was not in the Cabinet that brought it forward, but as a compliment to his comparative long advocacy of the measure, was made the exponent of it in the House of Commons.[243]

[238] It was only in November 1877, ten months after Grey wrote this, that prime ministers, beginning with Disraeli, began consistently to live at 10 Downing Street.

[239] The exile was much longer than Grey suggests: Whig ministries had led Parliament for just over two-and-a-half years since 1770 (that is, over the previous 60 years).

[240] As a clerk of the Privy Council (1821–1859), Charles Greville (1794–1865) was in the ideal position to record an informed diary on the high politics of the day. *The Greville Memoirs: A journal of the reigns of King George IV and King William IV*, ed. Henry Reeve (3 vols, London, 1875) outraged society, with Queen Victoria being 'horrified and indignant at this dreadful and really scandalous book'.

[241] These 'stormy scenes' were the debates occasioned by the Whig pursuit of parliamentary reform. With Tories 'wrecking' the Reform Bill, William IV dissolved Parliament at the earl's request on 22 April 1831. The consequent general election resulted in a landslide victory for the Whigs, who returned 370 MPs.

[242] Having been foreign secretary under Wellington (1828–1830), Aberdeen was probably the second-most influential Tory in the upper house during the Grey ministry.

[243] This is not quite accurate. Russell had been paymaster-general since the formation of the Grey ministry and joined the Cabinet in June 1831, so, while Russell was not in the

At this time the state of Europe was precarious. The French Revolution in June, 1830, followed by that of Belgium, and the attitude of the Northern powers, made the Duke of Wellington assert that peace could not be maintained for six months. The most serious question was Belgium and the fear of its annexation by France. The King of Holland in possession of the Citadel of Antwerp, and encouraged by Russia & the German powers, was apparently likely to put down the Belgians, when France determined to intervene and my Father decided to act with them. Our fleet went to the North Sea, a French army took Antwerp[244] and finally, as agreed upon, evacuated the country, when Leopold,[245] having married a daughter of L. Phillipe, became King of the Belgians, and from that day to this, the country has been […] constitutionally governed without participating in the constant revolutions & changes in its neighbour, France. This policy was due to my Father in which he was no doubt ably seconded by Lord Palmerston, to whom alone it is now attributed. [**fo. 77v**] The Policy of Canning in 1827 of joining Russia in relieving the Greeks from the tyranny of the Turks, as that of 1831, in our acting with France, should have been adopted last year by Lord Derby,[246] which would probably have saved the present Eastern Crisis.[247]

[**fo. 79**] It was the day of my arrival, or at any rate the day after, that I saw Sir Thomas Hardy,[248] the senior Sea Lord of the Admiralty, who to my mother's great disgust at once appointed me to the *Alfred* 50 gun frigate[249] [that was] fitting out at Chatham. In those days the fitting out of ships was a different affair from what it is now, when the crews are all prepared and put on board from

Cabinet when he introduced the Bill in March that year, he *was* during subsequent attempts to pass the Bill.

[244] In August 1831, William I of the Netherlands (1772–1843, r.1815–1840) launched the Ten Days' Campaign to reclaim what had been the southern Dutch provinces. When the provisional Belgian government appealed for assistance, French forces under Étienne Maurice Gérard (1773–1852) intervened and retook Antwerp.

[245] Leopold I of Belgium (1790–1865, r.1831–1865) had been the allies' first choice for king of Greece.

[246] Not the former prime minister Edward George Stanley, 14th earl of Derby (1799–1869), but his son, Edward Henry Stanley, 15th earl of Derby (1826–1893), who was foreign secretary under Disraeli.

[247] The 'Eastern Crisis' concerned Ottoman weakness and the British desire to prevent either Russia or Austria from annexing Turkish territory. In 1877, the Question had flared into another Russo-Turkish War, with Russian victory leading to the independence of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro.

[248] Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, 1st baronet (1769–1839), who was of course on the *Victory* at Trafalgar.

[249] HMS *Alfred* (1819), which had launched in 1811 at Frindsbury as HMS *Asia*, was a 74-gun third-rate ship which had been reduced to a 50-gun, fourth-rate frigate.

the regular standing force of continuous service men, [who are] men instructed in gunnery and well drilled to the discipline of a Man of War. The *Alfred* was what is called a Razee, that is a Line of Battleship turned into a Frigate by one deck being taken off. She was one of the first of this class, and carried long 32 pounders on her maindeck, and was considered a very fine Frigate, with a complement of 500 men. The Captain Maunsell[250] had not been at sea for so many years and had the reputation of having been a severe man, but no one ever less deserved that character […] [T]he 2^{d} [lieutenant] Augustus Coulson[251] was a good Officer & sailor, but a disappointed man, the more so at this time as he was a violent Tory & his party was now out of power […] Atkinson the 3rd Lieut., commonly called in the service 'Matey', […] was [**fo. 80**] the son of the Master Attendant of Portsmouth Dock Yard, who had been Lord Nelson's master in the Victory of Trafalgar[252] […] Baring, our Junior Lieutenant, son of Mr. Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton[253] was just made, or promoted, [and] he was much wanting in common sense but naturally clever. A violent Tory and fond of talking politics, […] [he] died after a short illness of fever – poor fellow, he had ruined his constitution, young as he was, by always drinking cherry brandy and other strong drinks at all hours of the day & night, not in great quantities, but more than enough to ruin his health.

We were some time at Chatham as we manned slowly, owing to a number of other ships having been commissioned to form a channel squadron under the orders of Sir Edward Codrington. [**fos 81–82**] […] [I]t was some time before we were able to leave the Medway, as in those days it was a long process the procuring men for the different ships. By degrees the squadron[254] collected at Spithead, Sir E. Codrington in the *Caledonia*,[255] with his old Navarino Captain Curzon[256] as Flag Captain – Sir William Parker in the *Prince Regent*,[257]

[250] Sir Robert Maunsell (1783–1845), later commissioner of Greenwich Hospital.

[251] Not 'Augustus' but Gustavus Hamilton Coulson (1801–*c.*1884).

[252] Thomas Atkinson (1767–1836), who had seen action at Aboukir Bay and Trafalgar.

[253] Alexander Baring (1810–1832), the son of Alexander Baring, 1st Baron Ashburton (1774–1848); the father was a financier, slaveholder, and diplomat who concluded the Webster-Ashburton Treaty with the United States over the border between Maine and New Brunswick.

[254] The Experimental Squadron, or the 'Squadron of Evolution', of the Channel Fleet.

[255] HMS *Caledonia* (1808), built at Plymouth, a 120-gun first-rate ship of the line which bombed Algiers in 1816 before conversion into the Dreadnought Seamen's Hospital at Greenwich in 1856.

[256] Edward Curzon (1789–1862) was captain on the *Asia*, the allied flagship, at Navarino.

[257] HMS *Prince Regent* (1823), built at Chatham, a 120-gun first-rate ship of the line which saw action in the Baltic theatre of the Crimean War.

3-decker, and Deans Dundas[258] as Captain […] [I]t was ridiculous to see in our first cruises how ships were scattered about, [for] it seemed as if no one had ever sailed in a Fleet, or squadron […] [**fo. 83**] We had several cruises to the Westward, anchoring in Torbay, Plymouth & going off Scilly, [and] it was a very fine summer. At this time commenced the great change in ship building, and introduced a new model under the management of Captain Symonds, subsequently Sir William and Controller of the Navy.[259] What decided the alteration was the immense sailing superiority shown by the *Pantaloon*,[260] a Yacht brig built at the expense of the Duke of Portland. She was tried on this occasion against all the best ships in our squadron […] and in going to windward not one had the slightest chance with her […] [O]n the conclusion of the trials she was purchased by the Admiralty and made into a 10 gun brig. There was some suggestion of my being given Command of her, as I was about to be promoted, and it was flattering to be considered equal to it, altho' many would have said, and with much truth, that being the son of the Prime Minister had a great deal to do with it, and no doubt it was so […] As it was, after having seen some of the Lords of the Admiralty, I was told that I should be appointed to the Command of the *Scylla* (18), then in the Mediterranean, whose commander was to be promoted – this I liked much better, and was now anxious for the end of the summer cruise, but we had first all to go to the Downs where a large force was collected in consequence of the unsettled state of Belgium, and the suspicions raised by the [**fo. 84**] discussions in the French chambers[261] […]

My father, who was Prime Minister at this time and who took the leading part in all this, has been quite forgotten in respect to it, and

[258] Admiral Sir James Whitley Deans Dundas (1785–1862), a veteran of the 1799 invasion of Holland and of Copenhagen, who would lead British naval operations in the Black Sea during the Crimean War. A political appointee, he was Whig MP for Greenwich (1832–1835), Devizes (1836–1838), and Greenwich again (1841–1852), serving as first naval lord during the second Russell ministry. Augustus Phillimore's *The Life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir William Parker* (2 vols, London, 1879) describes some of his limitations at sea.

[259] Sir William Symonds (1782–1856), the naval architect, became surveyor of the Navy in 1832 and served in that role until 1847, when a series of failed designs compelled his retirement. Tory officers deplored Symonds's ships as symbols of Whig politics, not least because he sought Whig sailors such as Grey to command them. See: J.A. Sharp, *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Admiral Sir William Symonds* (1858); and A.D. Lambert, *The Last Sailing Battlefleet: Maintaining naval mastery, 1815–1850* (London, 1991).

[260] Symonds designed the *Pantaloon* (1831), a 10-gun brig built at Troon, as a yacht for William Bentinck, 4th duke of Portland (1768–1854); as Grey relates, the Navy purchased the ship in 1832 and kept the name. She later prosecuted the slave trade in the south Atlantic.

[261] For an example of parliamentary questions on the apparent belligerence of the French, see: *Hansard*, Commons, 25 July 1831, 3rd ser., vol. 5, cc. 271–273.

Lord Palmerston has the credit, but so it is, [and] those who puff themselves up & pander to the press are, in the eyes of the English public, the great men. If ever Lord Palmerston's history is written fairly and all the 'muddles & meddles'[262] of which he was the author truly described and their mischievous effects, it will be seen how vain all the intrigues with the politics of other countries and how often were we on the verge of war for questions that are now forgotten and in which our interests were in no ways concerned[. A]mong others, soon after my father's retirement in 1834 there was the quadruple treaty with Spain, Portugal & France[263] which gave us the excuse to interfere by sea and with Marines in the Basque Provinces with the Civil war in Spain, and to allow the enlistment of a Legion which went to Spain under Sir De Lacy Evans,[264] and brought little credit to England. The Carlist war which was settled by the Treaty of Bergara in 1839[265] was succeeded for the next twenty years by constant 'pronunciamientos', or I may rather say, for the next 40, for the last Carlist war[266] of nearly 4 years duration, only terminated 3 years ago, when Isabella's son[267] was called to the throne & has now married his cousin the daughter of the Duke of de Montpensier. ([**fo. 83v**] The young Queen Mercedes died 5 months after her marriage in June, 1878) [**fo. 84**] – what a satire upon all the intrigues & diplomacy of Louis Philippe & Ld. Palmerston […]

[**fo. 85**] As the *Alfred* was ordered to the Mediterranean, I took a passage in her, living with my old messmates in the gun room, as Captain Maunsell was not able to take me into his cabin, where, as a Commander, I should naturally have gone, owing to his having

[262] The words 'meddle' and 'muddle' were used colloquially to describe Palmerston's interventions in the domestic affairs of foreign countries.

[263] Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal signed the Quadruple Alliance in 1834 with a view to deposing Miguel I (1802–1866, r.1828–1834) from the Portuguese throne and resolving Spain's First Carlist War in favour of Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies (1806–1878), the regent for Isabella II (1830–1904, r.1833–1868).

[264] General Sir George de Lacy Evans (1787–1870) commanded the British Auxiliary Legion, also known as the Westminster Legion, from 1835 to 1837. Having assembled some 10,000 men at San Sebastian during the summer of 1836, the Legion suffered several bad defeats and, by late 1837, only one-sixth of the original force remained in Spain, the others having died of disease or in combat, or having returned to Britain.

[265] The Convention of Bergara (1839) provided for the greater integration of Basque territories into Spain.

[266] The Third Carlist War ended in February 1876 with the proclamation of the Spanish Constitution of 1876, the defeat of the pretender Carlos VII, and the abolition of most remaining institutions of Basque autonomy.

[267] Alfonso XII (1857–1885, r.1874–1885), m. Mercedes of Orléans (1860–1878), daughter of Antoine, duke of Montpensier (1824–1890).

to take Sir William Houston[268] out to Gibraltar to relieve good old Sir George Don.[269] Sir George had been Governor for 17 years, but now [was] too old to continue[. H]e however finished his days on the Rock having taken a private house when his successor arrived […]

[**fo. 86**] We sailed from Spithead on the 7th of September – Coronation of William the IVth, and had a good passage to Gibraltar, where we remained some days, but my brother Charles had gone with another brother, Frederick, in the *Actaeon*[270] 26 gun Frigate to Constantinople. The *Actaeon* had been commissioned in October or November 1830. She was a new 26, or Jackass Frigate, with a capital cabin and a most enjoyable command for a young man in those days, but a useless man of war at least for war time.

The *Barham* (50)[271] [under] Captain Pigot[272] also sailed for the Mediterranean about the same time, and took out as passenger to Malta Sir Walter Scott, completely broken in health, [and] indeed he died the following year[.[273] H]e was accompanied by his unmarried daughter[274] and his son Major Scott,[275] the latter I often met at the soldiers' messes at Malta, but Sir Walter himself I never spoke to, but I often saw him getting into his carriage at Beverly's Hotel[276] & I remember helping to get a man who made small wax & plaster busts to take his likeness, which he did by stealth, as he would not sit for it. These likenesses were wonderfully good […] On our passage from Gibraltar to Malta we passed close to

[268] Sir William Houston, 1st baronet (1766–1842), a former lieutenant-governor of Portsmouth, a groom of the bedchamber to George IV and William IV, and father-in-law to the writer Matilda Charlotte Houston (1811–1892).

[269] Sir George Don (1756–1832) had fought in the American and French wars, served as a Prussian spy, then acted as lieutenant-governor of Jersey (1806–1814) and acting governor of Gibraltar (1814–1821, 1825–1831).

[270] HMS *Actaeon* (1831), built at Portsmouth, was a 26-gun sixth-rate frigate which charted the Acteon Group of islands in French Polynesia in the mid 1830s, prosecuted the Atlantic slave trade (1844–1848), and surveyed the coast of southern China (1857–1859); during this last mission, it saw action at the bombardment of Canton.

[271] HMS *Barham* (1811), built at Blackwall Yard, was a 74-gun third-rate ship of the line, reduced to 50 guns in 1826.

[272] Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot (1775–1857) had served in the French wars and commander-in-chief of the Cork station (1844–1847).

[273] The Navy had put the *Barham* at Scott's disposal. While at Malta he began but did not finish *The Siege of Malta*, unpublished until 2008, which takes place during the Ottoman assault of Malta in 1565.

[274] Anne Scott (1803–1833), a frequent companion of her father and who died shortly after him.

[275] Walter Scott (1801–1847), eventually promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 15th King's Hussars.

[276] The Beverley Hotel, which stood on the present site of the St Paul's Modern Buildings, was popular with tourists: Disraeli had stayed there in 1830, and Scott enjoyed his 'excellent apartment' there.

Graham's Island,[277] off the South Coast of Sicily and nearly opposite to the island of Pantellaria. It was volcanic and […] came up almost in one night, and my old friend Charles Swinburne[278] was sent by Sir Pulteney Malcolm to survey it – indeed, not long before its appearance the Admiral [**fo. 87**] in the *Britannia* and Swinburne in the *Rapid* had passed over the spot. Some English seamen placed a Union Jack on top,[279] about 200 feet high, & very difficult to ascend owing to the lava. The Neapolitan Government[280] took great offence, as if we wished to appropriate the mound of cinders! But it soon settled itself as the island completely disappeared within 6 months, & has now only left rather a dangerous shoal.

On arriving at Malta I found my brother Charles in the Lazaretto[281] finishing the Quarantine that every one who came from Constantinople or the Levant had to endure. We also had a few days of quarantine to observe as the Cholera had shown itself in England before we sailed.[282] [**fo. 88**] The *Scylla*, Captain Hindmarsh,[283] had not arrived from the Archipelago, so I had to wait, borne as a supernumerary on the books of the *St Vincent* 3 decker, Flag ship of the Commander in Chief Sir Henry Hotham.[284] Sir Henry had been one of the Lords of the Admiralty on the change of government, and appointed to the Mediterranean by my father. He had distinguished himself in the great French war, and was still young, that is under 50 for an Admiral in those days. He was most gentlemanlike and to me most

[277] Ferdinandea Island, a volcanic seamount which has risen and fallen above sea level four times in recorded history. Grey is describing its most recent appearance (July 1831–January 1832).

[278] Admiral Charles Henry Swinburne (1797–1877), father of the writer Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909).

[279] Humphrey Fleming Senhouse (1781–1841), landing on 3 August 1831, claimed the island for Britain and named it Graham Island after Sir James Graham, 2nd baronet (1792–1861), first lord of the Admiralty in the Grey ministry and Conservative home secretary under Peel (1841–1846).

[280] The Sicilian customs official Michele Fiorini (n.d.) was the first to visit this iteration of the island when, on 17 July, he planted an oar to claim it for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (that is, 'the Neapolitan government').

[281] The medical and quarantine facility, initially constructed in the 1640s, on Manoel Island in Marsamxett Harbour.

[282] The 1831 cholera outbreak claimed 30,000 British lives and was especially severe in the north-east of England.

[283] Having joined the Navy as a servant to his father aged only seven, John Hindmarsh (1785–1860) saw action during the Glorious First of June, the Battle of the Nile, Trafalgar, the Walcheren Expedition, and the invasion of Java. 'Bluff Jack', as he was known, was then appointed as the first governor of South Australia in 1836, but tensions with other colonial officials led to his recall in 1838.

[284] Sir Henry Hotham (1777–1833) saw action at Bastia and first served on the Board of Admiralty from 1818 to 1830.

kind, as was also his wife Lady Frances, a sister of Rous the great Racing Admiral who only died last year (1877)[285] […]

While Charles was waiting for the packet to return to England, Captain Lyons, who was ordered home in his frigate the *Madagascar*,[286] wrote to me to say that, if he did not mind sleeping in a cot of the main deck, he should be too glad if he would join their large party for a passage to England […] [**fo. 89**] On arriving in England, Charles became Private Secretary to my Father, and on an application from Sir Henry Hotham to Sir James Graham[, who was] First Lord of the Admiralty, to send Captain Lyons back to the station being refused, was able to convey Sir Henry's wishes and opinions that it was for the good of the public service that he should return. My Father sent a Cabinet minute to that effect and the *Madagascar* returned to the station early in 1832 […]

After the *Madagascar* sailed early in November, I went on board the *St Vincent* as a guest of the Admiral and was on board during a cruise of some weeks off Sicily, visiting Syracuse and exercising the few ships of the squadron of which the *Alfred* was one. A few days after our return the *Scylla* returned from the Levant, but was put into long quarantine. I joined her on the 5th of December, and as she required a good deal of refitting, I took up my quarters in rooms at the Lazaretto in company with old Hindmarsh, whose promotion to Post Captain gave me command of the ship. Captain Hindmarsh was the son of a gunner and as a boy at the Battle of the Nile had brought himself into notice, and been made a midshipman[. H]is promotion had been slow and he was now upwards of 50[. H]e was hardly a gentleman, but a good sort of man[. H]aving no private fortune & a family at home, he was [**fo. 90**] unable to meet the expenses attendant on commands in those days and was I daresay unjustly accused of being stingy […] I was able to help him a few years later and, through Henry, obtained for him the Governorship of one of the smaller colonies in Australia, where I believe he did very well indeed[287] […]

[285] Admiral Henry John Rous (1795–1877), the son of John Rous, 1st earl of Stradbroke (1750–1827), served during the Walcheren and Adriatic campaigns and as Conservative MP for Westminster (1841–1846). As Grey notes, Rous came from an equestrian family. He was a steward of the Jockey Club for almost 40 years, managed the duke of Bedford's stables at Newmarket, and authored *On the Laws and Practice of Horse Racing* (London, 1866).

[286] HMS *Madagascar* (1822), built at Bombay, was a 46-gun fifth-rate frigate which later bore Otto of Bavaria to Nafplion in 1833 (see **p. 66**).

[287] See n. 283. Grey's comment that Hindmarsh did 'very well indeed' may refer to his December 1836 proclamation at Glenelg, South Australia, that the colonists would 'fulfil His Majesty's gracious and benevolent intentions towards [the indigenous inhabitants] by

[**fo. 91**] From the 5th of December to the 7th of January, 1832, I remained at Malta, refitting the *Scylla*, a great part of the time in quarantine, as, owing to the fear of the Plague and the old selfish sanitary laws, all ships from the Levant, Egypt & Barbary were subject to a long quarantine of observation, altho' they may have never have had a case of infectious sickness on board and the Port [that they] last left equally free. The excuse for these selfish fears was that the European powers would otherwise have shut Malta out from free communication, and, as the island depended greatly on Sicily for its supplies there was some sort of reason in the argument […]

[**fo. 92**] On the 7th of January 1832, I sailed from Malta for Tripoli in Barbary […] It was the 11th before I anchored in the harbour of Tripoli, owing to head winds, the distance being not more than 200 miles. The harbour is a very intricate one to enter and is formed by a low reef of rocks and altho' a year later my brother Frederick surveyed it, & took the *Belvidera*[288] commanded by Richard Dundas[289] into the anchorage, he only did so by lightening her, & crossing the bar on a calm day in almost the exact [**fo. 93**] depth of water she drew. The Arab pilots are very good ones and seldom fail in taking vessels up to a certain draught of water in and out with safety. The Consul, Colonel Warrington, had a consulate and house in the town and a country house about two miles distant, with a large garden situated on a promontory facing the entrance to the reef, indeed, a summer house & mark on his garden wall were the leading marks to run in by.

For the next two or three years I paid several visits to Tripoli and can never forget the kindness & hospitality of the Consul to myself & officers – he had a large family & many of the children spoke broken English, or rather a sort of Levant English, [for] among themselves Arabic was constantly used […] [One] son had been in command of a squadron of cavalry at the time of the Bristol riots[290] and had been dismissed from the service for want of decision at a critical

promoting their advancement in civilisation, and ultimately, under the blessing of Divine Providence, their conversion to the Christian Faith'.

[288] See n. 26.

[289] Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Saunders Dundas (1802–1861), who later saw action during the First Opium and Crimean Wars and served as third, second, and first sea lord between 1853 and his death.

[290] Taking place between 29 and 31 October 1831, the Bristol Riots were provoked by the visit of Sir Charles Weatherall (1770–1846), a notably anti-Reform MP, who had been invited to open the local assize courts. Three days of rioting destroyed much of Queen Square and were put to an end only by a dragoon charge.

moment.[291] This was a severe blow to his father, who had been an old Cavalry officer himself, and was one of the most determined & courageous men I ever knew. Frederick, the 3d son, was a man of curious habits, living in intimacy with the Moors, and of use to his father from his knowledge of the country & the language, but also a great anxiety to him owing to his habit of drinking[292] […]

[**fo. 94**] The ship being securely moored in Tripoli Harbour, I took up my quarters in the Consul's house and the first few days were taken up in receiving and returning visits from the foreign Consuls, some of whom were very gentlemanlike, […] but as a general rule, our Consuls and those of France were rivals for influence in all the Barbary and Levant ports. France, having been in possession of Algiers a little more than a year,[293] was naturally looked upon with fear by the rulers of Tunis & Tripoli and our English jealousy was then turned in that direction, as it now is towards Russia. Who can now doubt the great advantage to civilisation in France having superseded the barbarous & piratical Beys of Algiers, the long forbearance of whose rule on the part of Europe being caused by that dynastic jealousy and selfish policy which one hoped had ceased, but seems likely again to revive in our late proceedings, and [the] seizure of Cyprus[294] in our unreasoning fear of Russia, but I must keep to 1831! and not 1878!

On the 19th of January, 1832, I went with the Consul to wait on the Bashaw, old Yussouf Caramanli, the same whom I had seen in 1830 when in the *Windsor Castle*. Tripoli, like most Eastern towns, is a mixture of ruins, Mosques and fortifications, it has a large Bazaar which, on certain days, is crowded with natives of the different tribes of the interior [**fo. 95**] who come in large caravans from Timbuctoo, Moorzuk[295] and the Soudan, bringing dates […] & ostrich feathers, ivory, &c. Formerly there was a great traffic in negro slaves,[296] which still existed to some extent in 1831, that I believe is nearly extinct, while the feather traffic has taken large

[291] Captain William Henry Warrington (n.d.), who failed to communicate orders to his commanding officer, Colonel Thomas Brereton (1782–1832), to quell the riots. He was court-martialled and cashiered for this offence.

[292] The Pasha's soldiers attempted to murder Frederick Warrington (n.d.) by stabbing him with a stiletto on 5 September 1830 (*Tripoli Letters*, 287).

[293] France had invaded Algiers in June 1830, the casbah capitulating on 5 July.

[294] Cyprus became a British protectorate following the Russo-Turkish War of 1878.

[295] Present-day Murzuq in the south-western Libyan region of Fezzan.

[296] The trans-Saharan slave trade accounted for the enslavement of upwards of 6 million people between the seventh century and the abolition of slavery in Mauretania in 1981. British abolitionists paid much closer attention to this trade from the establishment of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1839.

dimensions, also the export of Esparto Grass,[297] a new article of commerce since the time of the Crimean war. The houses are mostly flat roofed and low, wretched looking as to the exterior, but I saw several with interior courts or Patios, as in Seville & the old Moorish parts of Spain, which were handsomely furnished and luxurious, with cool mats and silk divans. The women's apartments look into these courts, with trellice work in wood through which they can see without being seen. The narrow, filthy streets are thronged with wild looking Arabs, distinct from the Moor, or Berber, of settled habitations, Jews, Negroes and the scum of the Levant, among whom the Maltese and Ionians preponderate, being under British protection.

The Castle is a large and commanding building, one face to the harbour, with a landing place and postern gate, the others to the town & country and, like the rest of the town – much out of repair. Contrasting with some entirely new additions, it seems as if in the East it was not the custom ever to repair any thing.

We landed from my boat at the postern […] A minister by name of Mohamed Turki[298] met us on landing with interpreter & attendants. This man was charged with English affairs and, to a certain extent was, in consequence, under the protection of our Flag. Other nations had their recognised native Agent. We passed through a great length of dark & vaulted passages, past stables, prisons and large rooms filled with a motley crowd of armed Arabs, Negroes & men in [**fo. 96**] the new frank uniform lately adopted at Constantinople, Turkish trousers & slippers, red Fez, and blue frock coat copied from a French model. On being introduced into the audience chamber we found the Bashaw seated on a divan richly ornamented, with his ministers standing round. The room, or rather hall, was a capacious one and seemed at its lower end open to the public. We were given chairs & then coffee brought to us and sweetmeats, but not pipes as in Egypt. The Bashaw, his long beard died black & most gracefully dressed in a white Bournouse over a rich under garment covered with embroidery, Turban &c., received us most graciously, and Colonel Warrington through the interpreter gave the usual messages from the Admiral on the station with which I was charged and asked His Highness to appoint a day for us to have a more private audience to discuss the claims of the British merchants, to obtain payment of which had been the reason of the *Scylla* being sent to Tripoli. While we were talking over these preliminaries, to my astonishment a young Arab, in wretched

[297] A tough fibre produced from Mediterranean grasses, commonly used for cordmaking and basketry.

[298] 'Mohamed Turkey', a secretary to one of the Pasha's sons (*Tripoli Letters*, 297).

garments, rushed from the crowd of spectators and seized hold of my sword, kneeling & saying something in a beseeching tone. The Consul whispered to me to leave all to him, but not to allow the attendants to free me from the man as they were offering to do. It was curious to see the smile on Colonel Warrington's face when, in answer to the Bashaw's offer to have the man taken away he said he would not trouble his Highness, but immediately afterwards got up & took leave[. W]e returned through all the dark vaulted passages & corridors to the postern where my boat was waiting: a very fast 4-oared [**fo. 97**] gig. I put the man in the bow and told the boat's crew that his life probably depended upon our being able to reach the point on which the Consul's house was built, before the horsemen from the Castle whom we saw starting to gallop around the bay could reach the landing place near it. Of course the Consul could have taken the man into his house, but as the protection was only valid while within the walls he would have been watched day & night to our great annoyance, especially as we were ignorant of what was brought against him[. W]e did not wish to be responsible, but trusting that if he once landed among the thickly walled gardens of the Mescia – (the cultivated strip of date land along the coast) his chance of escape would be good & so it proved. When we landed we cut short all his gestures of gratitude and waved him to be off, wrapping his burnouse about him he started off like a deer[. H]e was a handsome young fellow, slim & active, with piercing black eyes. Some time after, one of his tribe brought me a present of dates from him in remembrance of his rescue, but how far […] this protection was a saving of life is very doubtful, as next day when we rode into the town, at the principal gate near the Castle wall we saw a sight I shall never forget. 5 Arabs, hanging over the wall on 3 ropes – that is, two of the ropes had each two bodies attached to them. It seems they, with the man we rescued, were hostages from some tribe in the interior, for the payment of tribute, and as the principal man had escaped the revengeful and bloody old Bashaw had vented his anger on these poor creatures. I never could bear the sight of him afterwards, altho' his manner in the different interviews with him he was always, I may say, most courteous & engaging.

[**fo. 98**] I forgot to mention that the day after my arrival the Bashaw had sent me a horse as a present, also a bullock & boat load of vegetables for the ship's company – a custom which was, soon after this, put an end to as it entailed on the part of our Government a return present through the Consul […] The Consul's Country house, built by himself in a large garden and well adapted to the climate, was a delightful residence, especially at this time of the year, when the climate of Tripoli is perfection.

There was a landing place, one of the best on the Coast, at the foot of the garden, and the Country inland was a succession of gardens, under a forest of date trees, extending some 8 or 10 miles along the coast, but in some places little [**fo. 99**] more in width than a mile from the desert. This district called the Mescia is very rich in its produce, and is thickly populated with a Berber, or Moorish, population. The wells which are very numerous and identical to the Spanish Norias in Andalucia & Valencia, are worked by means of a long spar which forms a lever, & by means of irrigation and most careful cultivation there is produced barley wheat, every sort of fruit & lucerns in abundance for their cattle. The date, or palm trees, form a pleasant shade and the rides which we took every evening through the narrow sandy roads, among the gardens were very pleasant […]

I used often to go with the Consul to the garden & house of an old renegade Scottish man, who was then chief Admiral, Mourad Reis was his Moorish title, his original name Peter Lyle,[299] and having been taken prisoner at the beginning of the century by one of the Barbary Corsairs, had nominally renounced his religion and become one of the most skilful & daring of the Bashaw's officers[. H]e was now an old man and I often saw him with a European blue coat over his Turkish trousers, pruning his fruit trees, and tending a garden in which he took great pride[. H]e had married a Moorish woman, and had a grown up family, & he was obliged to conform to the customs of the country by having a separate dwelling for the women of his family, but I one day saw in his own room a well thumbed English Bible, but even to the Consul with whom he had been intimate for many years, he never alluded to this subject, indeed, it would not have been safe for him to do so, as all his belongings were real Mohamedans, whatever he might have been.

[**fo. 100**] Another Scotchman who I remember well was Dr. Dickson,[300] who had been many years in the place, and was much respected both by natives and Christians. The Bashaw always consulted him, and it was also believed that in other matters besides those of his profession he used his influence for good. With the exception of the Maltese connected with the port & one quarter of the town, the Christian population consisted only of the Consuls and their families, and a few mercantile agents chiefly connected with

[299] Peter Lyle (1764–n.d.) was born in Perth, arrived in Tripoli in 1794, 'turned Turk', and became the Pasha's 'High Admiral' in the 1820s (*Tripoli Letters*, 53).

[300] Dr John Dickson (n.d.), a former surgeon in the Royal Navy who had served with Nelson at Copenhagen, became personal physician to the Pasha and 'superintendent of health' at Tripoli.

Malta and Sicily. The climate in January is very agreeable and during this first visit I had some most pleasant rides and excursions with the Consul and his two grown up daughters with generally one or two officers & midshipmen of the ship, who took turns in staying on shore, it having always been the custom of Colonel Warrington during the short visits of men of war to keep open house. The eldest sister married a Mr Wood,[301] Vice Consul at Benghazi, during one of our future visits, and the second, Louisa, a most popular and good natured girl, was the life of our riding parties, on her white horse 'Caro' which she rode beautifully[. S]he spoke Arabic better than English, naturally, having been born in the country, and living with Moorish servants[. S]he married a son of Dr. Dickson's some 10 years after this & I saw her at Malta in 1843. The marriage was not a happy one, her husband is now, and has been for some years, Physician to the Embassy at Constantinople,[302] [and] she has long been dead […]

[**fo. 101**] The Bashaw, after many excuses, at last owned he could not collect the money demanded of him in the time given by the Admiral's orders for my stay, but he wrote to Sir Henry Hotham pledging himself to pay what was due, if the *Scylla* returned in a month or 6 weeks […]

On the 30th of January we sailed from Tripoli and had a good run across to Malta where we anchored next day. Early in the afternoon, we had to go into the Quarantine harbour, and remain with the yellow flag up until the 13th of February […]

For the next fortnight I lived on shore dining at the mess of the 7th Fusiliers or with some party every night and enjoying the society of the place. I had to wait for the [**fo. 102**] arrival of the *Madagascar* – Captain Lyons then expected from England […] The *Madagascar* arrived on the 5th of March, 1832, and I sailed next day with her despatches and letters to join the Commander in Chief at […] Nauplia, in Greece […] At this time there was much diplomatic negotiation going on relative to the establishment of the Greek Kingdom, after the assassination of Capo D'Istrias,[303] [and] it had been offered to King Leopold[. H]e unfortunately would not accept the crown, owing to the curtailment of the territory by

[301] Wood appears once in the *Tripoli Letters* (p. 333), arriving from Benghazi with Frederick Warrington in 1832.

[302] Sir Joseph Ritchie Lyon Dickson (1820–1887), who, rather than serving the Ottoman sultan, was physician to the British legation at Tehran, in which role he frequently attended Nasr al-Din Shah Qajar (1831–1896, r.1848–1896), treating him for malaria in 1871. He was knighted upon accompanying the shah to Britain in 1873.

[303] Kapodistrias had been assassinated by Konstantis (see n. 177) and Georgios Mavromichalis (1800–1831) in 1831.

the Duke of Wellington and his ministry,[304] [which was] unfortunate not only as losing such a man as he proved himself in Belgium, but as entailing the present difficult question as to the extension of the boundary[. H]ad the addition now proposed been given in 1830, how different would the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus[305] in all probability have been, at this moment. Jealousy of Russia again!

[**fo. 103**] Our Minister in Greece at this time was Mr. Dawkins,[306] a very clever, agreeable, and unscrupulous diplomat. I often dined and rode with him, and some times stayed in his house, some of which attention I no doubt owed to being my father's son […] Dawkins lived to a considerable age, married a very nice person & became one of the quietest and most domestic of men – I used to dine with him in his handsome house in Brook Street, 20 years after this time […]

[**fo. 104**] […] On the 2nd of April I sailed in the *Scylla* for Malta, en route for Tripoli [and from] the 13th of April to the 19th of May we remained at Tripoli in the vain hope of the Bashaw producing the money he had promised to pay. I could not leave as every week it was to be forthcoming, but excuses & more promises were all we got. I began to suspect that it was not only unwillingness but an inability to pay, and so indeed it eventually proved. The climate at this time of year was delicious and we all enjoyed our rides and drives about the Mescia, and I got up some races on a sort of dry salt marsh. The Consul's hospitality was unbounded. I had a charming room at his country house, and some of the Officers & Midshipmen came to dinner after joining our daily rides. I had written to Sir Henry Hotham expressing my own opinion that Colonel Warrington was too sanguine in expecting to recover the claims of the Maltese merchants, and awaited his orders as I did not like to leave against the opinion of the Consul […]

[**fo. 105**] On the 19th of May we sailed from Tripoli, had a good run over to Malta, where we anchored the following day, while waiting for the packet from England and performing quarantine, [and] I landed the ship's company at the Lazaretto, painted and cleaned. Frederick was in the great harbour in the *Actaeon* and of course often came to see me at the Parlatorio.[307] On the 1st of June we went round to the other harbour and as I now had

[304] The Wellington ministry had agreed to the borders of autonomous Greece in the London Protocol (1829).

[305] Thessaly was 'returned' to Greece by the Convention of Constantinople (1881), and southern Epirus by the Treaty of London (1913) which concluded the Balkan Wars.

[306] Edward Dawkins (1792–1865), British minister plenipotentiary to Greece (1833–1835).

[307] This remains a wharf at Valletta.

pratique,[308] we lived together in lodgings until the *Actaeon* sailed to join the Admiral on the 12th. On the 5th [of July] Sir Henry Hotham determined in compliance with Colonel Warrington's proposal to send a more imposing force than the little *Scylla* alone, to renew the demands on the Bashaw of Tripoli. The *Belvidera*, *Actaeon* and *Scylla*, sailed under sealed orders, much to the mystification of the squadron and our officers. Captain Dundas in Command, Frederick and Dundas were sworn allies,[309] F. having some years before been a Lieutenant with Dundas in the *Volage*[310] […] On the night of the 13th we shortened sail off the town of Tripoli […] and the two larger ships anchored around noon on the 14th, outside the harbour reef and I took [**fo. 106**] up my old berth in the inner harbour […] Dundas accompanied by Frederick and myself called on the Consul and according to the instructions from the Admiral we waited on the Bashaw, giving him only 48 hours to pay down the $200,000[311] claimed by the Maltese merchants. As I fully expected, he could not do so and, on the 16th we all went to the Consular residence in the town and, with great formality and before a large crowd of natives, hauled down the British Flag. I slept at the Consul's country house, and next day as it was known I was to sail in a few days to carry the result of our threat to the Admiral a deputation of merchants with the principal Maltese Agent came to Colonel Warrington and offered to accept half the sum, viz. $100,000 which the Bashaw had offered in full discharge of all claims, and no doubt the claims were exorbitant. Of course the Consul would have accepted this, and when I went off with him to the *Belvidera* I was never so astonished as to find Dundas was determined to stick to the letter of his instructions. I endeavoured to get Frederick to change his resolution, but no persuasion was of any use. The Flag having been struck, the Consul could do nothing, and according to the orders should have embarked with his family on board the *Belvidera*, but this he positively refused to do, but said he would hire a merchant vessel in the bay and go to Sfax in the

[308] 'Pratique' is the licence that ships receive to enter a port; in this case it was effectively a clean bill of health following the mandatory quarantine.

[309] This friendship endured until Dundas's death, when Frederick Grey succeeded him as first sea lord; indeed, Frederick appears often in Dundas's papers: National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, GB234/GD51.

[310] HMS *Volage* (1825), built at Portsmouth, a sixth-rate frigate which served as the lead ship on the Aden Expedition of 1839, and saw action in the First Opium War and the Baltic theatre of the Crimean War.

[311] According to the Bank of England's historical inflation calculator, this is more than £18 million in 2024.

Regency of Tunis, to wait the decision of the Colonial Secretary[312] at home, to whom I was to forward his despatches from Malta […]

[**fo. 107**] I sailed on the 26th of July to join Sir Henry Hotham at Napoli di Romania […] During our stay there was a large assemblage of men of war as the boundaries of the new Greek Kingdom were to be settled by the allied powers. The English, French and Russian Admirals [were there and there was] a good deal of coming & going. The *Madagascar* came in on the 8th and Captain Lyons was as usual most kind to me. My ship was mustered and inspected by Sir Henry Hotham, and I was much pleased with the praise he gave us, he was always most kind to me. The *Barham* arrived on the 15th of August with Sir Stratford Canning on board, but sailed again on the 18th for Constantinople and I followed next day with Colonel Baker[313] and a [**fo. 108**] small brig in tow containing the Turkish commissioner for the new Greek boundary, Colonel Baker acting for England, those of France and Russia were to join them at Prevesa[314] […]

[**fo. 109**] On the 22d of August, we hove to off Modon – to send despatches to the French Commandant, that town as well as Navarino being held by the Contingent force sent in 1828 from France. On the 27th I cast off the Turkish brig with the Commissioner off Santa Maura and, on the 28th, anchored at Corfu where my passengers left me. I only remained at Corfu one day and sailed on the 29th for Nauplia, standing up the Gulf of Patras on our way to communicate with the *Rainbow*,[315] a small 28 gun frigate, commanded by Sir John Franklin, who even then seemed an old man, and when he left on his last expedition in 1845, was above 70 and old for his age.[316] After paying off the *Rainbow*, he was for some years Governor of Van Deeman's land,[317] and there my friend Streleski became very intimate with him, and at one time had almost decided on accompanying him to the Arctic seas. We did not anchor at Patras, but having received Sir

[312] At the time this was Goderich (November 1830–April 1833).

[313] Colonel George Baker (1794–1859), whose papers reside at the Bodleian Library.

[314] The parties conducted initial negotiations over the Greek–Ottoman border in July 1832. The border commission met again at Nafplio, and at Preveza in August 1832, when the Ottoman envoy was Hüseiyn Bey of Vonitsa.

[315] HMS *Rainbow* (1823), a sixth-rate 26-gun frigate, which had served in the East Indies and the Pacific.

[316] Sir John Franklin (1786–1847) was a veteran of Arctic exploration but, in pursuit of the Northwest Passage, he, his men, and the ships *Erebus* and *Terror* were lost during the winter of 1846–1847: Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic hero of polar navigation* (London, 2009).

[317] Franklin was governor of Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, between 1837 and 1843.

John's despatches, proceeded on our voyage, heaving to also off Navarino, where I went on shore to communicate with the French General. The bay now quiet and almost empty presenting a great contrast to when I had last seen it on the 20th of October, 1827, and the few following days that we remained after the action […]

[**fo. 110**] At this time nothing could exceed the confusion, indeed I might almost say anarchy, of the state of Greece. The French force had been much reduced, and now held only a few strong positions, such as Patras, Navarin, Modon, and Argos. The Greek Government was in a transitional state: John Capodistrias, brother of the late murdered President,[318] the nominal head, but the Chiefs were in arms against each other – Colocotroni,[319] Grievas, Hadji Christo[320] and others, with bands of brigands or 'Palikari' – Colette[321] [was] a protégé of France, Mavrocordato of the English. The Bavarian Prince Otto had been selected for King by the Allies on the refusal of Leopold, now King of the Belgians, to accept it, and Captain Lyons in the *Madagascar* accompanied by my friend Swinburne in the *Rapid* had gone, or [was] soon to go to Trieste to bring the young King, and his Three Germans who were to form the Regency.[322] The Allied Ministers and Admirals were anxious to avoid any collision with the rebellious Chieftains, but the French had not succeeded[. S]ome French soldiers at this time having been fired at by Palikari at Argos, an almost indiscriminate massacre of the male population[323] took place before the General and his officers could restrain the infuriated soldiers. For some time a feeling of rancour and bad blood had been growing up between the Greeks and the French, [and] at this time it was impossible to walk a mile outside the gates of Nauplia without the risk of being fired at. The

[318] Grey has confused the brothers: Ioannis was the elder and the first 'governor' of Greece; his younger brother and short-lived successor was Augustinos Kapodistrias (1778–1857).

[319] Theodoros Kolokotronis (1770–1843), the Greeks' leading commander during the war for independence.

[320] Hadji-Christos Voulgaris (born Kriste Dankovic, 1783–1853) was a Serbian-born military commander of Bulgarian origin whose feats of bravery won plaudits during the war.

[321] Ioannis Kolettis (*c.*1773–1847), the revolutionary soldier and politician who was twice (1834–1835, 1844–1847) prime minister of Greece. During his second premiership, Kolettis conceived the 'Megali Idea', meaning the revanchist conquest of Ottoman lands and the effective restoration of the Byzantine Empire.

[322] The regency council comprised the former Bavarian finance minister Josef Ludwig, Graf von Armansperg (1787–1853), the Rhenish jurist George Ludwig von Maurer (1790–1872), and the Bavarian colonel Carl Wilhelm von Heideck (1788–1861).

[323] This appears to refer to the events of 16 January 1833, when partisans of the Greek opposition attacked the French garrison at Argos, leading to several deaths on the bayonets of the Corsican light infantry.

jealousy of the Russian, English, & French ministers was taken advantage of by such Chiefs as Colocotroni & Grievas, but our [**fo. 111**] chivalrous and high minded Admiral Sir Henry Hotham was looked up to by all. My old friend Admiral Hugon,[324] the finest specimen of a sailor I had ever seen among Frenchmen, also left the lying and intriguing to his Minister, and ran true with our Chief; on the other hand, Admiral Ricord[325] the Russian was as sly and deceitful an old fox as ever lived, and I well remember the tone of surprise and contempt with which Sir Henry on one occasion said to me, 'I am sorry to say, Grey, that my Russian colleague is not a man of truth!'

The Colocotroni party, now in open arms against the Government in Nauplia, was joined by other influential chiefs, Grievas and Hadji Christo, and they threatened to cut off the water at some mills on the opposite shore of the Gulf, about four miles across from Nauplia, and upon which the squadron in the bay depended for water. In consequence of this I received orders to anchor off this watering place in company with a French Man of War Brig *Dragon*,[326] keeping up communication by signal with the Flag ship […] For several days I went out regularly and met no annoyance from the straggling Greeks that I [**fo. 112**] met and, becoming doubtful as to any real danger of the threatened occupation, I allowed myself to stray further inland and out of sight of the ship. At last one day having done so, I was followed by one of the boat's crew making signals and on joining him I heard that a large body of armed Greeks were between me and my boat, and taken possession of the mills. This was not pleasant intelligence & might have proved serious to me, from a professional point of view, but there was nothing for it but to put the best face I could on the matter, so shouldering my gun & followed by a young mid, my companion, and the man of the boat's crew, with my faithful dog Joe at my heels I walked towards the beach, and found a motley crowd of armed Palikari (irregular mountaineer soldiers) to the number of two or three hundred, and several mounted chieftains. No one interrupted me, and having gained my boat I went on board, where I found the crew at quarters, the guns loosed and the French Captain in considerable fidget waiting for me. Once on board and in my uniform, I was perfectly at ease, and accompanied my French colleague to the shore, in full fig. The head man was Hadji

[324] Admiral Gaud Amable Hugon, 1st Baron Hugon (1783–1862).

[325] Admiral Pyotr Ivanovich Ricord (1776–1855) who, having played a leading part in the Russo-Turkish War, remained in Greece to embolden the 'Russian Party' during these early years of Greek independence.

[326] *Le Dragon* (1822), built at Brest, an unrated brig.

Christo, a man who had earned a great reputation in the war as a cavalry leader. He offered us coffee & pipes, and after a good deal of swagger and twisting of his mostachios, he owed how useless it would be to attempt to hold the mills against the broadsides of our two ships, with [**fo. 113**] the power of asking for any amount of assistance from the large ships of the allied squadrons at the opposite side of the bay. He therefore moved off to an encampment some 3 or 4 miles further down the gulf, and in a few days disappeared altogether, so there was an end of this small matter, and the two ships rejoined their respective flags at Nauplia.

From the 2^{d} of October until the 8th we remained with the squadron, several arrivals and departures on different services taking place […] [**fos 114A–114B**]

[**fo. 115**] On the 8th of October, I sailed from […] Nauplia, on a cruise to look after some Pirate vessels, or large row boats, that had been committing depredations off Cape Matapan, on the Maina Coast and in the gulf of Kolykithia. My orders were to go to Navarino and to communicate with the French Commandant of that station. I arrived in the old bay on the 12th now with only two or three small French men of war in it and a few small trading vessels. The Castle was held by French troops, as was also those of Modon & Coron. Having shown my instructions to the Governor, he ordered the Commander of a small brig, the *Dauphinoise*,[327] to take on board 20 voltigeurs under the Command of a Lieutenant, with a small mountain howitzer and to sail in company with the *Scylla*, and to co-operate in any attack upon Pirates, or Pirate haunts, that we might consider there was sufficient justification for. We stood round the islands of Sapienza and at the Gulf of Kalamata, with the intention of summoning the chief of the village of Scardamoula,[328] situated on a rocky eminence and commanding a small harbour, to give up a Greek Mystico, or large lateen sailed boat, that had put in there, and was suspected of a late robbery on an Ionian merchant vessel. I had stood close in to this place on my way to Navarin, and had made up my mind how, with the ship's broadsides, and the landing of Marines and blue jackets, the possession of the place could be effected, and you may imagine the excitement & interest it gave this young captain of only 23 years of age, in those days of peace, to be selected for a service which, if successfully performed would have once brought me into notice. [**fo. 116**] […] It was at daylight on the 13th that we had sailed from Navarino, and after passing Modon it came on to blow rather fresh in squalls, and as

[327] *La Dauphinoise* (1823), built at Bayonne, an unrated schooner.
[328] The village of Kardamyla on Chios (see **p. 69**).

the *Scylla* sailed so much better than the French brig, I took in two reefs in the topsails and otherwise shortened sail, which so frightened the Frenchman, that he came on board to claim the weather was too bad to carry out our plan […]

This was by no means the first time, nor was it the last, in which I have seen French Captains left to their own responsibility act in the same way. Their large ships were in excellent order in those days, and acting together under a determined officer such as my old friend Hugon of the *Armide*[329] it would have been no Trafalgar that our often badly manned ships and old Officers would have attained[. B]ut when on detached service, and near the land the want of confidence in their own seamanship and in that of their men, made it very indifferent, and remembering this I have always of late laughed [**fo. 117**] at the ridiculous and disgraceful panics which have periodically occurred[. A]s for the invasion of a United England by France, or Russia, or both combined[,] I look upon it as absurd, [for] we know that Napoleon the great, not the Petit, with the continent almost at his command, with an unlimited number of men, and the best generals never did, or could, attempt it, and while our nation continues a commercial, that is a seafaring nation it can never be successful, even sketching the case, as in the 'Battle of Dorking',[330] of disposing of our Navy, either by dispersion or sinking […]

[**fo. 118**] The following day I again stood up the Gulf and communicated with the Primate of the village of Kardymyla, or Scardamoula. No small coasters or mysticoes were now in the small harbour, but probably concealed not far off. Of course the Primate professed that he and his Mainiote brethren were the most honest of men. Robbers as they were and had been for generations, and does it not prove much in favour of the Greece of our day that these are men [who] are now what they then professed to be, peaceable and honest. In a barren country comparatively as Maina or ancient Sparta is, they now developed many resources of trade, cultivation of silk worms, and considerable commerce by sea, yet it was even then the fashion with the atrocities of Ibrahim Pasha[331] before their eyes to praise up the cruel and sensual Turk as a gentleman,

[329] *Armide*, a 44-gun French frigate, not to be confused with the *Armide* (1804), captured by the Royal Navy in 1806.

[330] George Tomkyns Chesney's (1830–1895), *The Battle of Dorking; Reminiscences of a volunteer* (1871) commenced the British mania for invasion literature by imagining an amphibious attack by an unnamed but obviously German power.

[331] Ibrahim Pasha (1789–1848), an Ottoman general and the son of Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt (1769–1849), had been sent to Greece in 1824 to quell the revolution, and tales of the atrocities that he committed are legion. He is not to be confused with Ali Pasha (1740–1822), the Ottoman tyrant whose conduct in Greece was no less atrocious.

and to abuse the Greek as cunning & deceitful. If he was this, what had made him so, but ages of oppression and slavery. [**fos 119–125**]

[**fo. 126**] There was a good deal of movement at this time among our ships and the foreign ones, as the new King of Greece was expected. On the 17th of January, 1833, the *Alfred* arrived with Sir Henry Hotham's flag. On the 30th the *Madagascar* with King Otto arrived, accompanied by French and Russian Frigates, as belonging to the Alliance. Transports with Bavarian troops came at the same time. On the 6th of February the Allied squadron fired a royal salute on the landing of King Otto, and for some days afterwards we had a round of ceremonies and presentations. The King was accompanied by 3 Bavarian magnates, as a sort of Council of Regents, of whom the principal was Count Armansperg, who had 3 very pretty daughters, [and] there was considerable gaiety and amusement in the usual dull Napoli during this month, at least the part of it I was there.

[**fo. 127**] On the 18th of February, I again sailed for Malta […] It was not until the 27th that we arrived […] and, on the 15th of March got pratique with the *Pelican*, and towed round into the Grand Harbour, to have a general caulking and refit, of which the ship was much in want as a result of all the winter work of carrying the mails which had fallen to our lot […] [O]ne Sunday night when the ship had just been finished caulking, I received a note from Sir Henry Hotham to say that news had come from the Coast of Barbary that made it necessary for him to send the *Pelican* to Tripoli, and the *Scylla* to Tunis, and wishing to know how soon I could be ready […] [**fo. 128**] Officers & men showed the spirit I expected, and the work was arranged at once, I rode back to breakfast, and immediately afterwards waited on the Admiral, and told him that I proposed to haul the ship out to the fair way buoy on Wednesday evening, take in our powder on Thursday morning, and be ready to sail at 10 o'clock that forenoon. He took me by the hand, and said 'I expected you to do your best, but had no idea you would be able to do so much – go on as you are now doing, and your success in your profession is certain'. [**fo. 129**] […] The ship was ready at the time I named, and I sailed for Tunis, having on board as passenger Catesby Paget[332] of the 7th Fusiliers – a very nice fellow but, at that time wild and inclined to drink […] I never saw Sir Henry Hotham again. Shortly after I left Malta, he was taken ill while sitting on a court to try some Pirates, and from the rupture of a blood vessel in his head, died in a few hours […] [**fo. 130A**]

Great numbers of the wildest Arabs of the interior[] were encamped on the site of Carthage, and around the town of Tunis,

[332] Captain Catesby Paget (1809–1878).

but so afraid was the Bey and his ministers of these savage allies that they were not allowed to enter the town. I took up my quarters with Paget at the residence of Sir Thomas Reade[333] our Consul General in an old Palace called the 'Abdulleah' near Cape Carthage, in a lovely spot[334] […] After waiting on the Bey at his Palace of the Bardo,[335] and calling on the different Foreign Consuls & Captains, I spent most of my time at the Abdulleah, riding or driving down to the Goletta every other morning to go on board my ship for an hour or so […] [**fo. 130B**] I remained until the 12th of May, when the dispute between the Sardinians and the Bey having been arranged the Arab tribes returned to the interior, and the foreign squadrons left the Bay […] I remained at Tripoli the month of June […]

During this time I lived as usual with Colonel Warrington at the Consul's country house. [There was now a] civil war[336] between the town & country Bashaws, which had begun a year ago on our hauling down the English flag at the Consulate, and when Dundas so foolishly in my opinion refused to agree to the terms offered by the Bey, and accepted by the merchants.

Casual skirmishes & sorties, with firing on exposed parties from the Castle, without much loss of life on either side, was the regular routine, and one got accustomed to it all, altho' occasionally, in pulling backwards & forwards to the ship, the shots from the Castle, directed against a sand battery, erected near the Consul's garden were less than relaxing […] [**fos 131–132B**]

The rest of July and August I remained at Tripoli, and during this time the war between the Inside and Outside Bashaws continued, without much life on either side, with the exception of occasional Sorties from the Castle and the landing of some mortars for the Outside party from Malta. [**fo. 133**] […] It was curious to see the enthusiasm with which Colonel Warrington was greeted; indeed, as I often told him, he might have set himself up as a third Bashaw, and in all probability been the successful one. It is now 50 years since the events I am recording took place, but they, as others, are as fresh in my recollection as if they had occurred yesterday.[337] [**fos 134–135**]

[333] Sir Thomas Reade (1782–1849), who caused considerable damage to the Libyco-Punic Mausoleum at Dougga when removing its inscriptions for study by British scholars.

[334] Potentially the eighteenth-century palace of Dar Ben Abdallah.

[335] Now the Bardo National Museum, Tunis.

[336] With rival factions coalescing around his three sons, Yusuf Karamanli abdicated in 1832, but could not prevent Tripoli from descending into a second civil war in 40 years.

[337] The second Tripolitanian civil war ended in May 1835 when the Ottomans deposed and exiled Ali II, stripped Tripoli of its independence, and established the Tripoli Province under the governorship of Mustafa Negib (n.d.).