NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE

TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

John Torrance Jr
March 1868.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G.

THE

Life and Times

OF

LORD PALMERSTON.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF VISCOUNT PALMERSTON:

EMBRACING

THE DIPLOMATIC AND DOMESTIC HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

By J. EWING RITCHIE,
AUTHOR OF "MODERN STATESMEN," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH BEAUTIFUL
STEEL ENGRAVINGS, FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, PAINTINGS,
ETC., ETC.

VOL. I.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,
LONDON AND NEW YORK.

DA 536. P2R6 v. 1

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON (*Frontispiece*).
VIEW OF BROADLANDS (*Vignette*).

	TO FACE PAGE
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON	128
LORD BROUGHAM	200
SIR ROBERT PEEL	262
EARL RUSSELL	362
DANIEL O'CONNELL	403
MR. ROEBUCK	490
THE EMPEROR LOUIS NAPOLEON	515
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT	595
JOHN BRIGHT	690
THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI	713
LORD MACAULAY	730
LORD LYNDHURST	740

005597

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

PREFACE.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Palmerstons	1
II.	The Fall of Monarchy in France	23
III.	Ireland	45
IV.	England and France at the commencement of the War	50
V.	The First Consul and William Pitt	63
VI.	France under the Empire	81
VII.	England at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century	98
VIII.	Palmerston in Parliament	116
IX.	The Peninsular War	123
X.	The Fall of Napoleon	133
XI.	The Settlement of Europe	138
XII.	The English Settlement	149
XIII.	Our Second Quarrel with America	161
XIV.	Affairs in India	167
XV.	Order reigns	177
XVI.	Sedition and Conspiracy	187
XVII.	The Royal Family	193
XVIII.	The Dawn of Liberalism	210
XIX.	Foreign Affairs	228
XX.	India and our Colonies	238
XXI.	Trade and Commerce under George IV.	247
XXII.	The Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts	255
XXIII.	The Roman Catholic Question	262
XXIV.	The Story of the Peninsula	291
XXV.	The Last of the Georges	305
XXVI.	The New King	330
XXVII.	Continental Revolutions	340
XXVIII.	The History of Reform	355
XXIX.	The Irish Difficulty	395
XXX.	Slavery and the Slave-Trade	418
XXXI.	Lord Palmerston at work	432
XXXII.	Further Reforms	448
XXXIII.	Changes under William IV.	461
XXXIV.	Queen Victoria	474
XXXV.	Canada and the Canadians	486
XXXVI.	Church Questions	498
XXXVII.	European Complications	512

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXXVIII.	A Court Interlude	539
XXXIX.	New Zealand, China, and India	551
XL.	Chartism and Social Disturbances	581
XLI.	Victoria and Albert	593
XLII.	London Society	612
XLIII.	Sir Robert Peel in Power	628
XLIV.	War in Scinde and the Punjaub	653
XLV.	The Corn-Laws	679
XLVI.	Ireland and Sir Robert Peel	725
XLVII.	Sir Robert Peel and Progress	739
XLVIII.	Lord Palmerston a third time Foreign Secretary	756
XLIX.	Action and Reaction	790

PREFACE.

History or political biography is usually written under unfavourable conditions. The historian's views are tinged with his prejudices; and, like Dr. Johnson (who always took care to give the Whig dogs the worst of it, as he told Boswell), he is bewildered by contradictory statements, and unconsciously, perhaps, prefers the account least correct. Every day we see convincing proofs how utterly impossible it is to arrive at the exact truth. If the queen opens parliament, no two newspaper correspondents can describe the scene alike. Croker somewhere observes, that there are no less than twelve different accounts of the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes; and since then, in Lord Auckland's *Memoirs*, another description has appeared, professing to be the only true and correct one. A reform demonstration is held in Hyde Park. According to the *Standard*, it is little better than a gathering of roughs; while, on the contrary, the *Morning Star* grows eloquent as it dwells upon its imposing numbers, and their respectable appearance. Burke, when he saw Marie Antoinette, the unfortunate Queen of France, in her pomp and grandeur, at Versailles, came back and told us that he never beheld a more delightful vision. "In her features," writes Sir William Wraxall, "she wanted softness and regularity. She had, besides, weak or inflamed eyes." Her unfortunate husband died, say most of the historians, with the dignity of a king. Yet the private accounts of the time indicate "that Louis attempted to resist or impede the executioners, who, impatient to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the guillotine." Of all the statesmen of the Georgian era, few have been sketched by so many unfriendly hands as the old Duke of Newcastle. Yet it is now clear that his talents were above mediocrity; that he was a ready speaker and writer; and that, in many respects, he was far superior to the men of his class and time. Few public men present a more imposing

aspect to posterity than Lord Chatham; yet he was haughty, perverse, impracticable; led away by a love of military renown; and of his pecuniary extravagance in the shape of national debt, we yet feel the results. Again, take George III.: how different are the characters drawn of him by such writers as Wraxall on the one side, or Howitt on the other. Some say actually that he was no gentleman: old Sam Johnson, on the contrary, was enraptured, and swore there never was such a monarch. "Sir," said he, to the librarian at Kew, "they may talk of the king as they will, but he is the finest gentleman I have ever seen." At one time, Louis XIV., Charles II., and George IV., were thought to be types of all that was exalted in deportment. People now are beginning to think differently; and they are discovering Oliver Cromwell, whom our fathers regarded as a monster of hypocrisy and crime, to have been in many ways a remarkable man. In the same way, by the Roman Catholic writers, Luther was regarded as but little better than the father of Evil himself. How men differ in opinion about Governor Eyre or John Bright, about Mr. Bellew or Mr. Spurgeon. Even Mr. Newdegate has been unkind enough to intimate, with respect to his Protestant coadjutor, the fervid Whalley, that he was little better than a Jesuit in disguise. Is Martin Tupper a poet? The critics say no; yet certainly no poet in our day has had a more extensive sale. Who are we to believe when we thus find testimonies so discordant? We regard the Earl of Derby as a great statesman; yet, only a few years ago, the cleverest paper of our time wrote of his lordship thus—"Colonies were to him games, and countries and government a *rouge et noir*. * * * It is only a Lord Stanley who would encourage such a man as Mr. Disraeli to hope for great office. But of all the jokes Lord Stanley had encountered in politics, the joke of presenting Mr. Disraeli as leader of the bigoted Tory and Protestant party, must have struck him as the most uniquely sublime. Mr. Disraeli was a man after Lord Stanley's own heart; and his appointment, despite the consternation and the remonstrances of the Inglises, and the old peers of his new party, does the highest credit to his character as a wag." Really, the more one reads, the more one is puzzled. In history, every man has two faces; and there are, indeed, two sides to every story. No wonder Sir Robert Walpole despised history, or that in many quarters there is a tone of scepticism as to what the papers say. If statesmen would but write their memoirs, or if their friends and survivors

would publish their letters—when we could compare and test them—how much history would gain in truthfulness. As it is, we paint the picture, and put the name underneath. That four-legged, sprawling quadruped yonder is a lion. You doubt it. Look! the artist has written "Lion" underneath. Such is history, more or less. The eye brings with it the power of seeing—a man writes what he sees.

Of a statesman so conspicuous as Lord Palmerston—of one who held office so many years, and had been mixed up with such important transactions in every quarter of the globe—it may be that it is barely the time to write fully yet. He was, undoubtedly, concerned in many affairs, judgment on which cannot be pronounced definitely; inasmuch as the materials, by means of which alone a true judgment can be formed, are at this time inaccessible. However, for popular purposes, enough is known to warrant the publication of such a Work as the present. It may be that, after the living generation has been gathered to its fathers, there may appear the Palmerston despatches, full of startling revelations. We, however, must do the best we can; and, with this end in view, the Author has endeavoured, as much as possible, to write the story of his lordship's life and times. It is we—the men of to-day—not our grandchildren, who will take an interest in the matter.

The Author has not aimed at writing history, so much as at finding materials for history. He has endeavoured to preserve a fair amount of impartiality. At the same time he is free to confess that he sides with those who have faith in the future, and in man, rather than with those who contend for the wisdom of our ancestors—who believe abuses enhance the beauty of our constitution in church and state—who oppose improvement under the plea of innovation, till, in their panic, they throw down their arms, surrender at discretion, and support innovation when it has ceased to be improvement. With this latter class of politicians Lord Palmerston was at war all his life; and in asking the reader to study his career, on the principle that, in the language of one of the old translators of Plutarch, "it is better to see learning in noblemen's lives than to read it in philosophers' writings," the Author trusts the political opinions of many on the side of progress will be strengthened and sustained. The study of a career so lengthy as his lordship's, cannot but show how vain are the fears of those whose faith is in the past—in the good old times when George III. was king.

Lord Palmerston is, of course, the principal figure in the following Work; but his contemporaries, whether politicians or authors, or men of fashion or wit, are not forgotten. Considerable space has also been devoted to the progress of the nation in science and art, in education, in commerce; indeed, in every possible way, whether in Great Britain and Ireland, or in the colonies and dependencies more or less remote. To a certain extent, also, the LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD PALMERSTON must necessarily be a history of Europe and her revolutions. Little more than a bird's-eye view could be sketched in such a Work as the present; but the general reader, it is hoped, will here find as much information as he may require.

The Author would add a few more words. His aim has been completeness rather than originality. To authors past and present he is under innumerable obligations. In every case he believes, however, he has indicated the source whence his information has been drawn; and he now makes this general acknowledgment, and gratefully returns his thanks.

Finally, the Author would say, that, in a Work composed under such circumstances as the LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD PALMERSTON, there must be many imperfections. Conscious of them, the Author can only say he has done his best; and must now trust himself to the kind indulgence of his readers.

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL history is the history of the struggle between those who have power and those who desire it. Society has never existed by means of a social compact. The strong have seized what they could, and then they called it Right. Philosophy taught men that this right was but Might; and the problem given to society has been to destroy the reign of Might, and to substitute for it Right.

Christianity gave men a sanction for this struggle. To do to others as we would have others to do to us, is its golden rule.

The age of miracles is past. In history we see the invariable sequence—cause and effect. A rapid glance over the past will teach us this.

Pomponius Mela—we quote him second-hand, on the authority of Gibbon—in referring to the war commenced by Claudius against the new Roman province of Britain, says he trusts that, by means of it, the island and its savage inhabitants would soon be better known. It was not long ere this wish, amusing as it may seem to us, was realised. The philosophical student can now trace the development of men and circumstances, which we call history; and will see that a change has, indeed, come over the spirit of the dream; that she who was named eternal has passed away; that a new religion, abhorred by the great and the wise, has banished to the winds the mythology which philosophy had received—which art had enshrined—which genius had married to immortal verse;—that men of alien manners, and blood, and tongue, have succeeded to the power and fame then possessed by Rome; and that the obscure island whose pearls attracted the avarice of the Roman soldiery as they viewed its white cliffs from the shores of Gaul, has now linked all of progress to which man's mind can aspire, and has a sway amongst the nations of the earth, of which Rome, in her palmiest days, never dreamt. The eloquent pen of Gibbon has left us a vivid idea of the Roman empire in the age of the Antonines—an empire which swayed the lives and fortunes of 120,000,000 of human beings—an empire, reckoning from the wall of Antoninus to Mount Atlas, 2,000 miles broad, and from the western ocean to the Euphrates, 3,000 miles long; comprising, altogether, 1,600,000 square miles—an empire situated in the finest parts of the temperate zone—an empire rich in the possession of all the arts which humanise and bless mankind—an empire whose merchants set in motion the looms of Babylon, and bought up the furs of Scythia, the marbles of Greece, the corn of Egypt, the amber found on the shores of the Baltic, and the silks and glittering jewels of the East—an empire whose sons, of matchless energy and iron arm, had made Rome the seat of commerce, the home of civilisation, and polity, and

religion—the queen of cities, the mistress of the world. Paul the apostle, conscious that a new spirit was about to walk the earth, might deem that the night was far spent, and the day at hand; but the Roman citizen might well be forgiven, if, with the shortsightedness natural to man, he imagined that the night of barbarism was past, and that the day had already come: he might well be forgiven if he dreamt that Rome was eternal as the hills on which she stood, as the yellow Tiber that washed her marble halls—if he little thought that the time would ever arrive when her legions would turn their backs to the foe—when fiery Goth and furious Hun would bivouac in her streets, and around her "Capitol," and insult its conscript father.

Centuries of conquest were necessary ere Rome could fight her way up to supremacy and power. There was a long interval before the mud hovels of Romulus were exchanged for the marble palaces of the crafty nephew of Julius Cæsar. What the Romans took centuries to do, was achieved by the barbarous inhabitants, of whom Pomponius Mela speaks so disrespectfully, in little more than forty years. In one quarter of the globe, and at a distance of 8,000 miles, 120,000,000 of men, whose manners and institutions remained what they were when Diodorus Siculus closed his account—whose earliest records carry us back to the dim grey of the world's dawn—whom the legions of Alexander of Macedon had failed to conquer—whom the hosts of Timour and Nadir Shah never thoroughly subdued—yielded up to British supremacy the vast extent of territory stretching from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin; and the manner was almost as wonderful as the fact itself. This territory, separated from us by barriers which we might imagine no amount of skill, or cunning, or prowess, or all three of them combined, could overleap, was won, not so much by armed hosts as by a company of merchants, who went forth to trade, and in time to reign, on the shores of Hindostan. Nor is this all. The English mind has become yet more potent than the English sword. In America, in Australia, there are vast continents inhabited by millions, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; of whom, as of us, it may be said—

> "In our halls are hung
> Armoury of the invincible knight of old.
> We must be free, or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold
> That Milton held. In everything we're sprung
> Of earth's best blood—have titles manifold."

What constitutes the difference between Rome and England? Why is England great and glorious, and Rome in ruins? One word sums up the reply—Progress.

Progress is impossible in a despotism. England's history is that of progress. Lord Palmerston obeyed the law, and he was the most successful statesman of his age.

To the idea of progress, the Conservatives, such as Mr. Alison, oppose that of decay. They quote the authority of Bacon, who tells us—"In the infancy of a state arms do prevail; in its maturity, arms and learning for a short season; in

its decline, commerce and the mechanical arts." If Lord Bacon be correct in his conclusions, our country has seen its best days. If nations flourish and decay as individuals, there is also no help for us. Let us consider the latter idea first. The argument, from analogy, is often deceptive, and in this case particularly so. All that on which society rests, and flourishes, and makes progress, is derived from experience—from the reception of new truths, or from the wider application of those already in existence. A living society—a state where there is progress—is one continued march; and where such is the case there can be no decay. Now that the press preserves and hands down to the future all the truth, and wisdom, and ennobling traditions of the past, progress must exist. Our grandfathers tell us, that when they were young, people in the country made their wills when they set out on a journey to London. Who can say that our present rapid mode of locomotion may not be superseded by one more rapid? As man learns more, and better, to understand, and interpret, and obey the laws of nature, who can tell at what conclusions he may not arrive? In economical science we may never have another Adam Smith; nor in inductive philosophy another Bacon; nor in astronomy another Newton; but our future astronomers, and philosophers, and political economists will find out truths of which the former never dreamt, inasmuch as they show us the way, and we commence where they were compelled to stop. About the same time, in all, youth passes into manhood, and manhood becomes old age. "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if, by reason of strength, they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow, for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." In the history of nations there are no such well-defined and simultaneous epochs. Internal strife, hostile invasion, the exhaustion of the soil, the removal of trade, the existence of institutions opposed to the happiness and well-being of a community, may lead, and have led, to national destruction; but they are not necessary—they can be evaded: but an individual cannot keep off old age, or defy the stroke of death.

Venice fell into decay because the discovery of the passage to the East, by the Cape of Good Hope, diverted elsewhere the tide of traffic and trade. The grass now grows in the deserted streets of Lubeck—once a city of merchant princes—because elsewhere commerce finds a more congenial home. The bigotry of Philip of Spain dealt a blow at Flanders from which the country has never yet recovered. Sparta and Athens, and the other republics of antiquity, fell into decay because their thirty or forty thousand privileged citizens bore no proportion to the amount of slaves; so that when the hour of danger came, there were none they could lead forth to battle for their hearths and homes—

> "For the ashes of their fathers,
> And the temples of their gods."

Rome fell, after centuries of renown, for a similar reason; and, as if to show how absurd is the analogy between nations and individuals, we have the vast empire of China existing for ages—existing as far back as history can trace, without

the shadow of a change. Nations die of *felo de se.* It was in their power to have averted such a catastrophe.

We now return to the sentence of Bacon, in which timid and trembling Conservatism perceives the ground and warrant of its fears. The dwarf on the giant's back can see further than the giant himself. Bacon was a giant; we may be dwarfs; but we stand on the giant's back. When Lord Bacon was, in spite of his meanness, building for himself an immortal renown, but few of the principles of political science were discovered and understood. Even so great a genius was not exempt from the errors of his times. "It is true," as Cowley finely remarks, in his ode to the Royal Society, "that Bacon led forth the sciences from their house of bondage;" but it is also equally true that he died before he reached the promised land. The age in which he lived was remarkable for an intellectual activity on some points, only equalled by its gross credulity in others. The powers of the human mind seemed concentrated in the most perverse and mischievous directions. The barren subtleties of the schoolmen were still veritable realities. The loftiest intellects were spell-bound by the mysterious marvels of the illiterate and rude. Lives and fortunes were frittered away in search of the philosopher's stone, that was to turn everything it touched into gold; and that was to prolong to an age beyond that of Methuselah the life of the fortunate possessor. Dr. Dee was reverenced as a philosopher: and a man of acute and polished intellect, like Sir Walter Raleigh, helped to bewilder a credulous people by his wondrous accounts of nations of Amazons; of men whose heads were beneath their shoulders; of El Dorado, and its mountains of glittering gold. Over everything a fervid imagination threw a gorgeous robe. It was an age of poetry, when romance had her house, not in the globe, nor in the player's brain, but in all broad England, from the Land's End to Johnny Groat's. To such a people there was nothing fascinating in the abstractions of political economy; and the sciences, which did not find food for the fancy, which required merely patient observation and accurate investigation, were undervalued and overlooked. Bacon knew little of political economy, and considered the sumptuary laws of Henry VII. most admirable enactments. Bacon was gathered to his fathers, but no Elisha was found to wear his mantle: and in the angry days which followed, when the battle was fought between parliament and king—when England had peace at home and honour abroad, under the splendid sway of the Lord Protector—when the mad frenzy of the Restoration disgraced the land, and threw it back half a century, the political economist had little time to study, and had little chance of being heard. England had her philosophers, but the times were unfavourable. Her Milton, when the trumpet sounded, hastened home from Italy and the congenial company of philosophers and scholars, to take part in the struggle for freedom. The philosopher of despotism, Hobbes, as he saw the storm began to lower, hurried away, to linger amidst the vineyards of France, beneath the blue skies of the sunny south. An English revolution had to take place; American independence had to be achieved; a French revolution had to be consummated, ere people could have faith in progress and in man.

Race and creed have much to do with national progress. For instance, there is little progress amongst Roman Catholic nations. Miss Cobbe, in her interesting work on Italy, makes it clear what an enemy to progress is the priest, by working on the fears of the wife or mother, and thus paralysing the patriotic husband or son. Her testimony on this point is explicit, and what we might expect. The priest belongs to the past rather than the present. Again, some races appear unable to rise to freedom and independence. The black man, for instance, is a slave. How is that? You cannot make a slave of an Anglo-Saxon. We pause to consider the origin of the latter. We shall understand modern history the better for doing so. The fictions about unknown continents and islands, with which our fathers were amused and deceived, have been dispelled by increased geographical knowledge. Almost every nook and corner in the earth's remotest regions has been explored and noted down. There are now no hordes of savage warriors to burst forth like a volcano from the forts and forests of northern Europe, scattering everywhere desolation and death. Nor can we anticipate a new revelation, to proclaim to man a nobler destiny than that which the Bible unfolds. We are, then, thrown back upon the Anglo-Saxon race. We shall find them everywhere the advocates of freedom and progress, and especially in connection with Protestantism. They were a wonderful people, those northern nations, when they first made their appearance in history. They had conquered Varrus and his three legions; they had given the title of Germanicus to the first Roman of his age. Even now the Scandinavians long for the voluptuous south, with its olive gardens and vineyards—with its blue sky and unclouded sun—with its dark beauties bewitching with laughter and love;—as did their fathers, as, thicker and thicker, they clustered round the ill-fated walls of Rome. Death for them had no terrors; it but translated them to Walhalla, where meet and dwell together the God-like and the brave. From the glimpses we get of them in Cæsar and Tacitus, we see how indomitable was their war-spirit, and what virtue and freedom there was in their life. Tacitus may have exaggerated the latter; as did Rousseau, in a civilisation equally corrupt and effete as that of the time of Tacitus, the charms of barbarism, when—

> "Wild in woods the noble savage ran."

But Tacitus may be relied on to a certain extent. They were braver and better men than others—hence their success, when force ruled the world, and virtue was called courage. It is said that Ulphilas, who translated the Bible into the Mæso-Gothic tongue, omitted the Chronicles of the Kings on account of the wars there enumerated, fearing the bad effects of such literature on his fighting converts. When Clovis heard of the sufferings of the Saviour—how he was reviled, and persecuted, and betrayed—how he was unjustly condemned, and ignominiously slain—the king furiously exclaimed—"Had I been there, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries." Yet from the northern wall of China there poured forth hordes of savages, before whom trembled Herman,

who ruled all the Goths, from the Euxine to the Baltic. They differed in appearance from those with whom they came in contact. With broad shoulders, flat noses, small, black, sunken eyes, their presence excited unmixed disgust amidst their terrified opponents, who compared them to the misshapen figures of the god Terminus, with which the Romans were wont to encumber or adorn their bridges. To these strange uncouth invaders an origin was assigned, which rendered them, in a still greater degree, objects of disgust, and fear, and hate. That they were the offspring of connexions between fiends and witches in the wilds of Scythia, was the tale told, and believed. Against this new barbarian irruption the decaying strength of Rome could oppose but a feeble barrier. Soon they became as familiar with its walls as they were with those of China. They had heard much of Italian groves and villas, fruits and flowers, and corn and wine. Italy was to them a land flowing with milk and honey; and they hastened to claim the land of promise as their own. Onward they came in irresistible strength. They divided the spoil. Every nation that had rejoiced under the mild despotism of Augustus became subject to their sway. In time they fused into one, and lorded it all over Europe. They drove out the men whom civilisation, and ease, and luxury had emasculated, and thus we got the new blood and the Anglo-Saxon race.

In the dawn of the world's history, Asia appears to have been the home from which went forth the sons of men to colonise the world. From its high central lands they followed one another as wave succeeds wave. In Europe we find the Celtic race preceding the Slavonic, and the latter the Teutonic. Sweden and Norway became the seat of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic family. Here, as it were, beyond the pale of that European civilisation which, from Rome, extended to every clime and race, they dwelt, cherishing the faith, and practising the rites their fathers held. It was long before the Hebrew creed penetrated the frozen north. The fourth century witnessed the conversion of the Goths; the Franks were converted in the fifth; the Anglo-Saxons in the sixth; the Germans, generally, in the seventh and eighth; the Saxons in the ninth: but it was not till the eleventh century that Scandinavia embraced the religion of the Cross. For the historical student this is a fortunate event. While our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were writing homilies, and counting their beads, and singing psalms, the Skalds and the Vikings of the north were celebrating, in their rough-strung verse, a heroism and hardihood which exists still; but now, happily, applied in a less sanguinary direction. These lays, in the long winter nights, were said and sung by many a fireside, to many a sympathetic group;—the deeds of Roguar Ladbrook; the tearless sorrows of Guthrun; tales of daring and revenge—how Thor wrestled—how Loki plotted. In such lore was the Scandinavian nursed from his youth; and in the spirit such a lore cherished and sustained, the mild genius of Christianity long found its most inveterate foe.

In Iceland all these legends existed in full force down to a late period of history. It seems strange that this small island, in the ocean's midst; with its sterile soil; its people reduced and poor; with its ungenial climate and wintry

winds, should have acquired for itself a literary renown to which Denmark, Sweden, or Norway can lay no claim. Such is the fact, however. Iceland was the nursery of the Skalds—of the men who created and embalmed northern mythology, and whose presence in the field often led warriors to deeds of prowess. Olaf, king of Norway, taking three with him to the field of battle, exclaimed—"You shall not relate what you have heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of yourselves." The Earl of Norway had five along with him in the great battle in which the warriors of Jomsburg were defeated. Harold the Fair-haired awarded them the best seats at his feasts. Golden rings, rich apparel, and glittering arms were their usual reward. The songs they composed were sung by the blazing fire in the chieftain's hall, while the cup was quaffed, and the hot blood of the Norseman was on fire. According to Tacitus, these songs were the only annals those warriors possessed.

From the Sagas of the Skalds we obtain an idea of Scandinavian manners, truer, if less flattering to their morals, than that which Tacitus has left behind in immortal prose. From him we gather, that the golden age of innocence still reigned on the shores of the Baltic. According to M. Mallet, this was true of the Norseman at a much later period of his existence. The Sagas do not sanction such an idea as regards the morals of the people. Their well-authenticated facts display a state of society such as we might expect to find where men nursed in savage independence loved to congregate. The Sagar, it is true, tells us nothing of polygamy; but the husband frequently kept his *frilla*, or concubine. The woman, however, seems to have had equal rights with the man. A wife could easily emancipate herself from marital authority. She had only to tell her husband that from that day they ceased to be man and wife, and her marriage was, *de facto* and *de jure*, annulled. Marriages were celebrated without any religious ceremony. We only read of banquets given to the friends and relatives, according to the opulence of the parties. At the marriage of a wealthy person the feasting would be prolonged for several days, till a grand quarrel terminated these proceedings in bloodshed—as is the case amongst the lower order of Celtic Irish even in our own day. Occasionally men would exchange their wives. A rough, imperious people, evidently.

So much for race. The way, also, was being prepared for the new creed, which, with the new blood, was to make history something more than a record of battles, or the rise and fall of dynasties; which was to illustrate how clear it is that, through the ages—

"One unceasing purpose runs."

For many an age the Jew had testified to mankind the unity of Jehovah. In the drama of the world's history, Palestine was now called upon to act her part. From the fair humanities of old religion, men's minds, on account of their utter worthlessness, had become estranged. Men had outlived Fetichism and Polytheism. In the great questions relative to this world and the next, to which man's universal heart has ever sought a clue, they returned answers vague, unmeaning,

delusive, false. The augur laughed when he met his brother augur. The scholar, the philosopher, the statesman, and the king, saw—

> "No God, no heaven in the wide void—
> The wide, grey, lampless, dark, unpeopled void."

Everywhere unbelief—shallow, sensual, blighting—prevailed. Our Milton has grandly outlined for us that past:—

> "The oracles were dumb;
> No voice or hideous hum
> Ran through the arched roof in words deceiving.
> Apollo, from his shrine,
> Could no more divine,
> With hollow shriek, the steep of Delphos leaving.
> No nightly trance or breathed spell
> Inspired the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell."

The Jew himself had become dead to the grand truth it had been his proud destiny to receive and guard; he had lost the substance in the shadow—the spirit in the form. The Levite had become a formalist; the temple was desecrated: on its altar the sacred fire had ceased to burn. Then came the new creed which Jesus of Nazareth proclaimed with wondrous power, and sealed with a yet more wondrous death—the creed which, carried by the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world, makes society ever young—ever vigilant against decay—ever hopeful as to the future.

In the England of Palmerston's time this has been especially clear.

England's religion, we are sometimes told, is the cause of her prosperity Just in the same way, Symmachus, pleading before Valentinian for the altar of victory, argued that the old Pagan creed of Rome had reduced the world under its laws; had repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Goth from the capital. Gustavus Adolphus perished on the field of Lutzen; yet he was fighting for the truth. Cracow was not more irreligious than Vienna; yet how different their fates! The Protestant faith of the Huguenot was no preservative from the sword of his Roman Catholic oppressor. While the drivelling James was playing a losing game at Whitehall, the husband of an English princess was in vain risking his Bohemian kingdom and crown for the precious truths for which Huss died, and Luther lived. Religious truth has been, and can be, put down by force. History teems with illustrations. If it had not been for Alva and his soldiers, Belgium would be a Protestant country. While the empire of the West was crumbling to decay, Constantinople was the seat and fountain of religious excitement. In the time of Gregory of Nazianzus, not a mechanic or slave existed who did not dogmatise on the most subtle mysteries of our faith. "If," he writes, "you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father. If you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing." Pious people, as

they call themselves, may ignore the commonest conditions of political life and progress, and the state must and will decay; politics may be abandoned to placemen and party politicians; bad laws and heavy taxes may exist; there may be injustice, and monopoly, and class legislation; and yet there may be much real religion existing in the land. But the beneficial influences of the one will not counteract the deteriorating tendencies of the other, any more than will orthodoxy of creed keep off the contagion of cholera, or preserve the health of the man who daily violates the conditions of physical life. When Lord Palmerston began to take a part in politics, religion was the excuse of the worst blots of our political system. It was argued against Charles I., that he had invaded the liberties of the country; and the defence set up for him was, that he was faithful to his wife, and attached to the doctrines and rites of the English church. George III., it was said, had stretched the royal prerogative to a degree utterly at variance with the principles which had seated the House of Hanover on the throne; and the reply was, that he made a point of reading his Bible, and went regularly to church. When it was objected to Mr. Perceval that he was a very narrow-minded man, that he saw but a little way before him, and that what little he saw was wrong, his friends thought the reformers very unreasonable because they still continued grumbling, though assured that his creed was Calvinistic, and his piety without a doubt.

> "Whene'er of statesmen we complain,
> They cry, why raise this vulgar strife so?
> 'Tis true this tax may give ye pain;
> But then his lordship loves his wife so.
> This law, indeed, may gall ye rather;
> But then his lordship's such a father."

Under such a feeling in England we were fast becoming lethargic, and all Europe was falling into decay. Liberty and progress were but names. The seven sleepers might have fallen asleep when George I. ascended the throne, and woke up in the reign of George III., only to find society, in all its dulness and obtuseness, much the same. The age whose slander, and gossip, and tea-table talk still lives in the letters of Walpole, was not an heroic one. How could it be, when it admired the insipid dramas of Hayley, and took its easy tone of morality from the letters of the licentious and accomplished Chesterfield? Philosophy put its eye to the telescope of time, and could see no shadow of a coming change. Goldsmith, it is true, did when he travelled in France; and, on his return to England, said so. But Goldsmith, who—

> "Wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll,"

had not the reputation for wisdom in his day which he has in ours. Adam Smith thought that society had become, as it were, stereotyped, and that communities and governments, to the end of the chapter, would remain much the same. The writer of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, regretted that, for the future, history would cease to record those moving incidents which, in all time past, had

lent to its pages excitements, thrilling charms. Thus wrote men whose claims to wisdom had been sanctioned and confirmed by the universal suffrages of the *savants* of Europe. But before the ink was dry, these sage predictions were singularly falsified. A change came, sudden as the lightning's flash. Without a note of warning, without space given for repentance, the haughty aristocracy of France had to pay a terrible atonement for the crimes and follies of the past. In a moment the fury of the storm swept through the land; there was a shaking amongst the dry bones; a hurrying to-and-fro of armed men in the imperial halls of Versailles; the blood of the heir of a hundred kings was spilt like water; a queen, the loveliest and tenderest of her time, was killed as we kill the scum and offscouring of the earth. In laughter and tears, in frenzy and woe, with the shout and the song, with the dance and the dirge, was celebrated that carnival of death. In that dark tragedy there was much to shudder at and deplore—much to sicken the heart and whiten the cheek; but we must remember that it recalled dead principles to life—that it saved Europe from becoming extinct—that it did something more than burn the Bastille, and send to the guillotine as harmless and well-meaning a monarch as ever lived.

In England, great was the alarm felt by the rich and titled when the French revolution commenced. Mr. Wilberforce enters in his diary, under the date 1792—"Heard of the militia being called out, and parliament summoned; talked politics, and of the state of the country, which seems very critical." Mr. Wywill writes, about the same time—"I cannot omit to communicate to you, by the earliest opportunity, what I have heard since I came here, concerning the disposition of the lower people in the county of Durham. Considerable numbers, in Bernard Castle, have manifested disaffection to the constitution; and the words 'No King!' 'Liberty and Equality!' have been written there upon the market cross." During the late disturbance among the keelmen at Shields and Sunderland, General Lambton was thus addressed:—"Have you read this little work of Tom Paine's?" "No." "Then read it. We will divide your land." "You will presently spend it in liquor; and what will you do then?" "Why, then, general, we will divide again." "At Carlisle," writes Dr. Milner, "we had many reports concerning tumults and sedition; and the affair seemed to be of considerable magnitude." The doctor is grieved to find that a few gentlemen are disposed to favour French principles; and that Mr. Paley, who, as a moral philosopher and minister of religion, ought to have known better, "is as loose in his politics as he is in his religion." Writing from Leeds, Mr. Hey says—"Immense pains are now taken to make the lower classes of people discontented, and to excite rebellion. Paine's mischievous work on the *Rights of Man* is compressed into a sixpenny pamphlet, and is sold and given away in profusion. One merchant in this town ordered 200 of them to be distributed at his expense. You may see them in the houses of our journeymen cloth-dressers. The soldiers are everywhere tampered with; no pains are spared to render this island a scene of confusion." Almost every one was an alarmist, and bewailed the clouds darkening the political horizon. The English

nation fell into a panic; and when people are panic-struck, it is in vain you appeal to reason. This particular panic was, however, an expensive one. It plunged us into the most fearful warfare in which the nation ever engaged. It was not an easy matter then to do anything without causing a weak brother to offend. Mr. Smith reports to Mr. Wilberforce, that he has placed £50, for a charity, to his credit with his bankers. "I should," he observes, "have done so with more pleasure had Clarkson forborne to mix politics with the subject of the slave-trade when he travelled through the country." Of course there was some ground for this feeling. The Girondists and Cordeliers of the revolution had the sympathies and admiration of many of the English. The members of both clubs set up a monthly review, after the English fashion, in which not only the leader of both parties, but several English people—as John Oswald, Helen Maria Williams, and Horne Tooke, as well as Thomas Paine—wrote. An English deputation, accompanied by some Americans, had presented addresses. The nation remembered how they had been received at the Jacobin club with wonderful *éclat;* how the flags of England, France, and America had been suspended together: how one, from a woman, was delivered, who, at the same time, presented the English with a box containing a map of France divided into the eighty-three departments; a cap of liberty; the new French constitution; their tricolour flags; the national cockade; ears of wheat: and how the clubs had ordered for their hall, busts of, amongst others, Algernon Sydney and Dr. Price.

The Corresponding Society, and the Society for Constitutional Information, kept up an open correspondence with France, even after the September massacres. Unwarned by these acts, they professed to see, in the example of Frenchmen, the only chance of the liberation of the English nation from the oppression of the crown and of an overgrown aristocracy. They made no secret of a desire to establish a republic in this country. These proceedings called forth an opposite class of associations, in which the clergy of the establishment took the lead. The bishop and clergy of Worcester, and Dr. Watson, the bishop, and clergy of Llandaff, met, and presented addresses to the king, expressing their abhorrence of these associations, which made no secret of their demands for the rights of man, liberty and equality, no king and no parliament: and they expressed their conviction that this country already possessed more genuine liberty than any other nation whatever. They asserted that the constitution, the church, and the state, had received more improvements since the revolution of 1688, than in all previous ages; that the dissenters and Catholics had been greatly relieved; the judges had been rendered independent; and the laws, in various ways, more liberalised since the accession of his present majesty, than for several sessions previously. They boldly declared, that in no country could men rise from the lowest positions to affluence and honour by trade, by the practice of the law, by other arts and professions, so well as in this; that the general wealth everywhere visible, the general and increasing prosperity, testified to this fact, in happy contrast to the miserable condition of France. As for the French, they said—

"The excesses of those ruffian demagogues have no bounds: they have already surpassed the wildest frenzies of fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm; plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries. They deal in imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed. Their philosophy is the talk of schoolboys; their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts. Such are the new lights and the false philosophy of our pretended reformers; and such the effects they have produced, where alone they have unfortunately been tried." They concluded by recommending the formation of counter-associations in all parts of the country, to diffuse sound constitutional sentiments, and to expose the mischievous fallacies of the democratic societies. This advice was speedily followed, and every neighbourhood became the arena of contending politics; the noble and the wealthy, of course, defending things as they were. "So you wish," said a nobleman to Wilberforce, on a certain occasion—"so you wish, young man, to be reformer of men's morals. Look, then, and see there what is the end of such reformers!"—pointing, as he spoke, to a picture of the crucifixion. In those days it was, indeed, almost impossible for any one to remain neutral;—when Mr. Wilberforce, for instance, was compelled to part with Pitt, on the question of peace and war, to the delight of Mr. Fox, who assured Wilberforce that he would soon have to join their ranks altogether. The same reasons, add his biographers, which led the opposition party to claim him as their own, rendered him suspected by the bulk of sober men. "Your friend, Mr. Wilberforce," said Mr. Wyndham to Lady Spencer, "will be very happy, any morning, to hand your ladyship to the guillotine:" and others, less violent, partook, in a great measure, of the same suspicions. "When I first went to the *levée*, after moving my amendment, the king cut me," writes Mr. Wilberforce in his diary. "Mr. Wilberforce is a very respectable gentleman," said Burke to Mr. Pitt; "but he is not the people of England." The pious dean of Carlisle was intensely frightened. "I hope," he writes to Wilberforce, "you will not prove a dupe to the dishonest opposition, who will be glad to make use of you for hunting down Pitt, and for no other purpose. On Friday night I read over the debates, and I can truly say I was never so much concerned about politics in my life. I was quite low, and so I continue." He adds—"The bulk of people think you are doing a great deal of mischief." "So general, and sometimes so strong, was this feeling, that in one family of my most zealous partisans," writes Wilberforce, "when I visited Yorkshire, even as late as the middle of the summer, the ladies would scarcely speak to me." No wonder. In the same year, Wilberforce enters in his diary—"Papers are dispersed against property—prints of guillotining the king and others;" and, add the biographers, "The king was violently mobbed on his way to parliament. Tumultuary meetings were held in the metropolis; whilst the most inflammatory publications were actively disseminated. Wilberforce set off for a county meeting at York, in Mr. Pitt's carriage, as his own could not be got ready in time." If, they said, one of his friends "find out whose carriage you have got, you will run the risk of being murdered."

The publication of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* caused an immense sensation. Edition after edition was bought up, and greedily devoured. It called forth numerous replies. Sir James Mackintosh (then a briefless barrister) wrote one; Thomas Paine one; and Drs. Price and Priestley preached as well as published in its favour. Ladies also distinguished themselves on the same side; chiefly Mary Woolstoncroft and Mrs. Macaulay. Dr. Priestley was a martyr for his faith. As an illustration of the reactionary spirit of the times, we give an outline of his career. When he commenced his championship of French principles, he had arrived at an age—nearly sixty—when men rarely become great enthusiasts. He was, at the time to which we refer, a Unitarian minister at Birmingham, and was well known for his various theological writings, especially for his *Disquisition on Matter and Spirit;* in which he had argued against the immateriality of the soul. He had been tutor to Lord Shelburne, first Lord Lansdowne; but had quitted the post, as supposed, in consequence of the objection of Lord Shelburne to these principles, retaining a salary of £150 a year. As a natural philosopher Priestley had acquired great fame. His *History of Electricity* had obtained for him the membership of the Royal Society; his election as an associate into the French Academy of Sciences, and the degree of Doctor of Laws from Edinburgh. Of course, in those days, Priestley was regarded as an infidel or atheist; and his work, the *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, was excluded from the public library at Birmingham, though controversial works were freely admitted, and even professed refutations of his works. Priestley, with such prejudices against him, had but little chance of fair play; and when he and his friends, in 1791, resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Birmingham was shocked, and rose to arms. A few days previous to the celebration, a hand-bill, with no signature or printer's name attached, had been circulated. It ran as follows:—

"My Countrymen!—The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism should give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember, that on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell. Remember the generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors. Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal; your ministers hypocritical; your clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people who gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom? But, on the 14th of this month, prove to the political sycophants of the day, that you reverence the olive-branch; that you will sacrifice the public tranquillity till the

majority shall exclaim—'The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom.' At that moment let tyrants beware."

The authorship of this hand-bill was denied by Priestley and his friends.

On the day of the dinner (which, in consequence of a rumour of an intended riot, Priestley and his friends would have postponed), the magistrates, and friends of order, had a dinner also.

Flushed with wine and loyalty, the latter certainly encouraged the mob, who burnt down Priestley's meeting-house, and another, and then marched to Priestley's residence, where they utterly burned and destroyed all the valuable library, philosophical instruments, and manuscripts containing notes of the doctor's further experiments and discoveries. Fire-engines were called out to prevent the flames of the meeting-houses communicating with the adjoining meeting-houses; but they were not suffered to play on the meeting-houses themselves, nor does any effort appear to have been made to save Priestley's house. The doctor and his family made a timely retreat. He himself passed the two first nights in a post-chaise, and the two succeeding on horseback; but less owing to his own apprehensions of danger than those of his friends. An eye-witness asserts, that the high road, for full half a mile from the doctor's house, was strewn with books; and that on entering the library, there were not a dozen volumes on the shelves; while the floor was covered, several inches deep, with the torn manuscripts.

The next day, reinforced by colliers, and iron-founders, and nail-makers, from Walsall, the mob attacked the villa of Mr. John Ryland, a dissenter, and friend of Priestley. There was good wine there; and after drinking till the burning roof fell in and killed several of them, the mob proceeded to destroy Bardesley Hall, the house of another dissenter. Next they attacked the town prison, and liberated the prisoners. Hutton's place of business and his country residence were the next objects of attack; and he was a man of whom Birmingham had reason to be proud. Nor did the work of destruction end here: the houses of other dissenters suffered in a similar way. This frightful state of things lasted three days, the church-and-king party doing nothing, or next to nothing, to prevent the destruction of the property of dissenters. The magistrates, all the while, contented themselves with issuing the mildest possible proclamations, addressing the rioters as "friends and brother churchmen;" and hinting that they had done enough. They insinuated that these drunken rioters had been doing an acceptable service to their king and country. The riots were not thus to be put down. At length the soldiers appeared, and Birmingham was quiet as ever till the trials commenced, when such was the state of public feeling, that the sufferers were regarded as persons seeking the lives of innocent men, who had only shown their loyalty to church and king. They were declared to be no better than selfish murderers.

Men altered their tone after the French revolution. Before it, the philosopher exclaimed, with Horace—"*Odi profanum vulgus.*" Before it, Frederick the Great, writing to Voltaire, said—"I look upon the people as the deer in a great man's park, whose only business is to people the enclosure." After the French revolu-

tion, such language (as well it might) went out of fashion; and some went so far as to use Bentham's philosophy, and talk about "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Church dignitaries were, at first, shocked with the language. Did not the Bible tell us that the poor were always with us; that they would never cease out of the land; that they were to be thankful to Providence, and starve?

Geologists tell us that, in place of the narrow strait that separates France from England, there was once solid land. Be this as it may, it is clear that what takes place in one country, sooner or later, produces an effect on the other. The French revolution recalled us to the need of progress and liberty—to the need of a freer and fuller development than that existing amongst ourselves. But the excesses of the revolution frightened our governing classes, of whom Pitt was the minister, and led to a policy of repression severer than we can realise. Those were the days when any attempt at reform was silenced by the cry of Jacobinism—when the principle of English policy was that of a sullen, and bigoted, and uncompromising Toryism; and when laws to silence popular discussion, and measures to stifle the expression of opinion, were the ordinary and recognised expedients of government. The result was that the ancient evils of our constitution remained, and that others were created. In the later years of George III. the nation actually receded; our parliaments became more oligarchic; our government more selfish and corrupt, our legislation more tyrannical, and bloodthirsty, and severe. Pitt knew better; but such men as Sidmouth, and Eldon, and Castlereagh, seemed to think that it was only by brute force, by pains and penalties, that the country could be ruled. What a dismal picture of the time is drawn in the *Memoirs* of Romilly and Horner! But this sullen, dark, benighted Toryism was sowing the seed of reform.

Europe had gained nothing by the war; legitimacy was again restored; constitutions, alien to the spirit of the age, were bolstered up a little while longer; sceptres were again grasped by feeble and unworthy hands; gold and force had triumphed; Napoleon was sent to St. Helena; a Bourbon once more inhabited the palaces of France; Poland became the prey of the czar. Across the fair fields of the south floated the eagle of Austrian despotism; Norway was handed over to Sweden; Prussia, for her share of the booty, was satisfied with the Rhenish province, a slice of the duchy of Warsaw, and half Saxony; and, in defiance of the utmost diversity in religion, in language, and in race, Belgium and Holland were united under a common king. But to this latter arrangement there were insurmountable obstacles. Nature forbade the banns, and in 1830 the ill-fated union was dissolved. We came out of the struggle with the hearty hatred of France, the loss of 700,000 British soldiers, and expenditure of nearly £800,000,000, and with an island or two not worth the trouble or the expense of keeping. But this settlement was not a work of spoliation. The holy alliance professed to act on Christian principles. In a manifesto, published by Alexander, the contracting parties "solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution in the administration of their respective states; and, in their political relations with every other government, to

take for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour—namely, the principles of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps; as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying human imperfections." France, in 1812, embraced a population of more than 50,000,000. It was the boast of Napoleon that the Mediterranean would be but a French lake; but then he was a usurper, and the French were infidels. Castlereagh, and Metternich, and Alexander blotted out Poland, signed away nations and peoples, and acted the robber's part under the influence of Christian principles. "The holy religion of our Saviour was their sole guide," so they said. They were honourable men; they could walk up into the temple, and thank God that they were not like the French extortioners, unjust, &c. If they plundered and oppressed, it was in the name of the Lord. He who, with his winds and snows had blasted the proudest legions that ever gathered round Napoleon, could smile on them as on the luxurious *salons* of Vienna: they arrogated the right to themselves to partition out Europe, to hold freedom in chains, and to stay man's onward march.

England was fast tending to slavery. We quote from Lord John Russell.

"In 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and spies were sent from the Home Office into the manufacturing districts; who, acting according to their nature, and not according to their instructions, stimulated the crimes which were afterwards punished on the scaffold. In 1819, bills were introduced by Lord Castlereagh, as measures of severe coercion. The general state of the laws, finances, and trade of England was most backward. The criminal law was full of capital penalties, some for very trifling offences, such as cutting down a growing tree, or being seen with the face blackened on the high road. Foreign trade was cramped by monopolies and restrictions. Taxes were imposed upon the necessaries of life; excise duties were very onerous; and the duties of customs, extending to many hundred articles, produced as much vexation to merchants as revenue to the state. Protestant dissenters were only indirectly admitted to office; Roman Catholics and Jews were expressly excluded both from parliament and political offices; parliamentary reform was successfully opposed. Even when a corrupt borough was extinguished, the populous and flourishing borough of Leeds was not enfranchised, because it would be a novelty. The press was restricted by a fourpenny stamp on each newspaper, and prosecutions were rife against those who had indulged in too great freedom of criticism."

Popular feeling had but little voice in the House of Commons. The discussions were always more favourable to government than to the former. Lord John Russell gathers this from an analysis of the discussions. He writes—

"On the Walcheren expedition, the English county members, against ministers, were nearly as three to two; but the majority of the whole House was in favour of administration. In 1817, upon the question of appointing a commission with less than five placemen upon it, the county members divided, 27 to 15,

for the opposition; the House at large, 178 to 136 for ministers. On a motion for reducing the Lords of the Admiralty, the county members were 35 to 16; the House, 208 to 152 the other way. It thus appears, that during two periods of crisis, the county members, who, as we have seen, are men of property, inclined to the crown from station, and generally, by party, have been in minorities upon the popular side. It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that other parts of the House of Commons are far indeed from representing the people. The boroughs especially are liable to this censure. The boroughs generally give a large majority to ministers; but the smaller boroughs give five and six to one, and the Cornish boroughs sixteen or seventeen to one, in their favour."

And now for the wages. Men who sold their votes in parliament were well paid in those days. Lord John Russell writes—

"If we here sum up, in a few words, the influence of the crown, we shall have to reckon new peerages, and steps in the peerage, bestowed with great profusion; ribbons, blue, red, and green; six archbishoprics, and forty-two bishoprics, some of them of £20,000, and many above £8,000 a year, in value. Military and civil commands in Ireland, India, Ionian Islands, Cape of Good Hope, &c., &c., &c. Embassies to Paris, Vienna, Petersburg, and Brussels, of £8,000 a year each. Many others of £7,000, £6,000, and £5,000; others of £3,000 and £2,000. Ships in the navy; regiments in the army; offices of all kinds at home and abroad. More than a million of civil list, containing Lord Chamberlains, Lord Stewards, and numerous inferior offices; rich livings falling-in every week; valuable appointments in India, greatly increased in amount. About £2,000,000 for salaries in the offices for collection of the revenue, and £2,000,000 more for expenses. Retired allowances to a tenth of that sum; clerkships, hospitals, contracts, &c.; and an establishment costing, on the whole, £18,000,000 a year."

The influences at that juncture, perilous to the constitution, may be summed up as the immense patronage in the hands of the crown; the corruption of the boroughs; the horror caused by the French revolution; the growing disposition of men to cling to ease and quiet as a security for property; the want of respect for old forms; the custom, but recently resorted to, of recurring to new remedies and new restraints on the appearance of popular excesses; and the increase of the number of the people, causing dissensions to kindle more quickly, and appear more formidable than before.

Fortunately, Englishmen were true to themselves and their country. The peace brought with it an opening of men's eyes to the evils which had grown up during the war mania. Lord Castlereagh might coolly intimate that it was a matter of indifference whether we added a million or two to the national debt or not; and, in his pavilion at Brighton, surrounded by his satellites, the Prince Regent might remain callous and careless as ever. But people were becoming in earnest; and the country applauded, while Henry Brougham pointed his powerful invective against those who, "in utter disregard of the feelings of an oppressed and insulted nation, proceeded from one wasteful expenditure to another; who deco-

rated and crowded their houses with the splendid results of their extravagance; who associated with the most profligate of human beings; who, when the gaols were filled with wretches, could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements* to end the sad suspense between life and death." The colliers, the weavers, the agriculturists, were alike starving; and no wonder was it that then a cry of angry and discontented Radicalism was in our midst. Nor was that Radicalism very easy to put down. It was in vain that a meeting was held at the London Tavern, at which the chair was taken by the Duke of Kent, "to take into consideration the present distressed state of the lower classes, and the most effectual mode of relieving them;" that hand corn-mills were recommended for use, instead of machinery; that men and women were sent into the fields to shell beans; that tracts inculcating resignation to the dispensations of Providence, and obedience to our betters, were lavishly distributed; or charity soup liberally doled out. Reform of the constitution; remission of taxation; abolition of sinecures—these were the angry cries of lean and hungry men. Twopenny trash was circulated; Hampden clubs were organised; weaver boys became orators; and the aristocratic Sir F. Burdett became the leader of unwashed artisans. Government appears to have infused no little dread into the minds of the rich by exaggerating the wild tales of such visionaries as Spence, the Yorkshire schoolmaster, into dangerous conspiracies against church and state. A few spies were found abandoned enough to lie for the handsome rewards offered by government; and a few resolute men were found ready to suffer for the sake of reform—the good old cause for which Hampden, and Russell, and Sydney bled.

Wilberforce was one of the alarmists. He writes—

"A letter recently received from Morritt, paints, in very glowing colours, the state of the manufacturing part of our great country. In Leicester the lower orders are in the habit of meeting by night, in parties of twenty-five, to practise the pike exercise." He refers to them as sucking in the poison of Carlisle and such other venomous beings. "In 1819, the worst feature was the zeal of the disaffected against the Christian faith—what your lordship," Wilberforce reminds Lord Milton, amongst the papers of the Secret Committee, "gave me but too much reason to fear—that the enemies of our political constitution were also enemies to our religion. Heretofore they inveighed against the inequality of property, and used every artifice to alienate the people from the constitution of their country. But now they are sapping the foundations of the social edifice more effectually by attacking Christianity. The newspapers," he adds, "are the greatest, if not the very greatest evils of the country." "Have you reflected," he asks Dr. Chalmers, "on the effects produced in this country by the newspapers? They are almost incalculably great; and, on the whole, I fear very injurious." And this is the language of a man who was a reformer, and a philanthropist, and one of the ablest and most influential men of his time. We have grown wiser, and now acknowledge that the newspaper, by its dissemination of error, and its utterance

* At that time there were fifty-eight people in Newgate sentenced to death.

of the truth—by its circulation in all corners of the land—by the light it sheds upon public life, is the cause and guarantee of political freedom and national progress. In the freedom of the press we have the surest basis on which society can build.

But it was vain that a system of terrorism was resorted to. Men were aroused, and in earnest; and this time there were no means of staving off the popular demands. Ireland was not in a state of unusual discontent. There was no French Alexander with whom to wage war. We were in a state of profound peace. In parliament, and out, there was progress; and when Paris had its "three days of July," the popular excitement here came to a head, and the long struggle for reform ended in triumph. Statesmen now began to believe in progress, and to look for better days. From our national history they had begun to elucidate the truth, that progress and the power of the people went hand-in-hand; to have faith in the future rather than in the past; to refuse to take their stand upon old ways and old traditions; to revolve the fact—

> "That God fulfils himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt a world."

The croakers had a terrible time of it, as they saw the old landmarks removed; rotten boroughs done away with; persecution to Catholics, and penal laws against dissenters brought to an end; sinecures abolished, and monopolies destroyed. "In my day," says Graves, in Sir Bulwer Lytton's play of *Money*, "I have seen already eighteen crises; six annihilations of agriculture and commerce; four overthrows of the church; and three last and irremediable destructions of the entire constitution." It must have been really ludicrous to have lived in those days, and listened to the groans, and tears, and terrors of such good old Tories as Lord Eldon, who thought that the end of the world had come. Even in our day, Sir A. Alison is almost as broken-hearted as he records the progress of liberal principles. The more philosophical De Tocqueville sees not only England, but all the nations of the earth, progressing to democracy, as surely as the tide of civilisation and life is now rushing from east to west. Again, let us glance at the past. Greece fed and fired the human intellect; government, organisation, law, came from Rome. A yet nobler mission pertained to the Jews; but they vanished. Then came the new creed, which, linked with men of Anglo-Saxon race, has taught man, in Europe and America—in the old world and the new—to be free.

When Lord Palmerston, even, commenced his political career, few cared to know, or did know, anything about political economy. Lord Derby tells he was born before the scientific era; and this is equally true of Lord Palmerston. In those days we hear little of social or sanitary reform. No one could think of anything but the tremendous struggle for existence with Napoleon, in which the country was involved. The war had made bread dear; but the starving poor believed that they were the victims of combinations of corn-factors and bakers; and that if these conspirators could be forced to bring their goods to market again,

there would be cheapness and plenty in the land. In this respect the educated classes failed as much as the ignorant. No one knew anything of political economy. Fox, the glory of the Whigs, knew nothing of it. Lawyers, statesmen, and charity-boys were all equally ignorant on this subject. Men were sent to prison for buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest. Lord Warwick rejoiced, in his place in the House of Lords, that there had been 400 convictions for forestalling, regrating, and monopolising. When a Mark-lane corn-dealer, named Rusby, had been convicted of purchasing, by sample, ninety quarters of wheat, and selling forty of them the same day, in the same market, at 44*s.*, the Lord Chief Justice said to the jury—"You have conferred, by your verdict, almost the greatest benefit on your country that was ever conferred by any jury." Such was the language of the best and wisest in the country fifty years since. We have wonderfully altered since then. Our poet-laureate writes about the long, long canker of peace: and peace undoubtedly enervates, and renders people careless and impatient, and absorbed too much in the pursuit of material wealth. But peace also has its blessings, in the time it gives us for reflection; in the mental and moral elevation of the labouring classes, which it enables us to effect; and in the golden gains of wisdom and virtue it gives to all. Let us not undervalue peace. Peace saved us, when it came, under the regency, from bankruptcy and civil war. Had it not been for peace, England would have become a waste, howling wilderness.

Fifty years ago men hated the French—believed that one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen; and as to Bonaparte, he was, in the popular estimation, only second to Old Nick. We have learned to do Napoleon the justice which our fathers denied him—to recognise his magnificent genius for the work of destruction, and his gigantic powers. It was not so when Palmerston was young. We have seen a famous caricature by Gillray, in which the feeling of the time was admirably embodied. "Farmer George," in it, figures in his wig and Windsor uniform, as the king of Brobdignag; and the emperor as a little Gulliver, whom George holds in his hand, and surveys through a magnifying-glass with patronising pity. Even Southey, in his savage verse, did but express the intense character of the feeling entertained by the English nation towards the man who had defied and disturbed them in all quarters of the globe—who had been to them as the terror by night, and the arrow that flyeth by day—to grapple with whom, all classes, from the highest to the lowest in the land, had given up their treasures and their best beloved; and whose successes had saddened many a home, and left many a widow to mourn, and starve, and die. In the verses to which we refer, Southey writes—

> "'Twas as much too cold upon the road
> As it was too hot in Moscow;
> But there is a place which he must go to,
> Where the fire is red, and the brimstone blue.
> Morbleu! Parbleau!
> He'll find it much hotter than Moscow."

The feeling was still cherished long, long after Napoleon had lost his power. "I came," wrote Mr. Thackeray, "from India as a child; and our ship touched at an island on the way home, where my black servant took me a long walk, over rocks and hills, until we reached a garden, where we saw a man walking. 'That is he,' said the black man; 'that is Bonaparte! He eats three sheep a-day, and all the little children he can lay hands on.'" Well might Mr. Thackeray add—"There were people in the British dominions, beside that poor Calcutta serving-man, with an equal horror of the Corsican ogre." The old woman, of whom Miss Knight writes in her *Autobiography*, was not so overcome by fear. Referring to the great invasion of 1804, she tells us—"A gentleman, who was fishing at this time in a sequestered spot from London, was accosted by an old woman of the neighbourhood, who entered into conversation with him on various matters. After a little, he asked her if she were not alarmed about Bonaparte's landing in the island? 'Oh dear, no,' she answered, 'I am up to all that. He was expected here when I was a young woman; and he nearly came at that time: they called him the Pretender, and now they call him Bonaparte.'" This feeling was not uncommon. Much as Englishmen hated Bonaparte, in an equal manner did they despise and underrate the French. At this very time, when Pitt had placed himself as Lord Warden of 3,000 volunteers—when an army of thousands of veterans, flushed with victory, and embittered by former disappointments, lay just across the Channel, ready to invade our ships—when pious Wilberforce went to Bath to pray, Dr. Milner writes him, from a northern town where he was staying—"Literally and verily, there seems here not the smallest concern about the war. I never saw a place so involved in worldly affairs. It is shocking: it is affecting beyond measure." Wilberforce, in a letter to his friend Hey, writes—"The most enlightened and experienced in naval matters, in this part of the world, are most alarmed." Bonaparte himself, perhaps, wished the English to regard him as an ogre. "Let me tell you," writes Wilberforce to Thomas Babington, Esq., "while I think of it, that the accounts you will see in the newspapers of Bonaparte's violent language and demeanour towards Lord Whitworth at Madame Bonaparte's drawing-room, are substantially true. He spoke loud enough to be heard by 200 people, and his countenance was perfectly distorted with passion."

One of Bonaparte's generals, in the true spirit of his school, is said to have declared—"Let me land with 100,000 men in England; and I do not say I will keep possession of the country for France; but this I say, that the country shall be brought into such a state, that no Englishman shall be able to live in comfort in it for a hundred years." The people hated Bonaparte; and they had every reason to do so. They rejoiced when they heard that his armies had wasted away; and when the news came that he had retired to Elba, and that the king had got his own again, people breathed more freely, and society flattered itself that legitimacy had triumphed over the ambition of a usurper.

In our times, statesmanship has almost ceased to be a party warfare. The true statesman is he who understands the signs of the times, and obeys the

spirit of the age. A paternal government, or a wise despotism, is fatal to progress and life. Let a nation be ruled, and not rule, and its decay is inevitable. Let a state be given up to a despotism, however paternal, however beneficent, the greatness of that nation, in spite of its apparent splendour and power, is short-lived, and built upon the sand. Where there is no political liberty there must be intellectual stagnation and decay. Under the empire in France, as it is now, this is but too apparent. The greatest men in France have been driven into exile; the press is gagged; political liberty is denied; and the Frenchman of to-day has no religion, no lofty faith—is sunk in sensualism and the worship of worldly success. It is true the emperor has done much for France—that he has blessed it richly with wealth and peace; but even these may be purchased at too dear a price. It is not to make money, or to dance and sing, that man is born into the world. A nation has a grander thing to do than to become rich or gay. "Unless," writes Mr. Mill, in his invaluable work on Liberty—"unless individuality shall be able to assert itself, Europe, notwithstanding its noble antecedents and its professed Christianity, will tend to become another China." In France this is emphatically the case. Wilhelm von Humboldt points out two things as necessary conditions of human development, because needful to render people unlike one another—namely, freedom, and variety of situation. The more people are split up into nationalities, the greater chance there is of freedom and individual liberty. In theory universal empire is grand and imposing, but in practice it is fraught with innumerable ills. The real life of the French empire, at this moment, is sustained and fed by its exiles, who, from Belgium and other smaller states, utter the truth, which, in France, no man dare say.

Among the nations foremost for its Christian creed and northern blood, is our own sea-girt isle; and the former, asserting, as it does, man's equality—the nothingness of earthly distinction—the common judgment awaiting the wronger and the wronged—sanctions and refines the democracy which had its birth beneath the forests of beech that bordered the shores of the Baltic. Priestism may have frowned upon the common weal—may have identified itself with a class; but Christianity, properly understood and rightly applied, must have an opposite effect. Only the historian of a party, such as Alison undoubtedly is, can assert that it is obnoxious to democracy; or, because suffering is essential to the purification of the human heart, can, for a moment, defend the imperfection that at present attaches, more or less, to all present political arrangements. The clash of Conservatism with the onward march of progress, is by no means to be deprecated as an ill. Humanity has shown brightest in the hour of its darkest struggles. Wars, and sufferings, and distress often make nations, like individuals, stronger and more daring. It would require the most profound ignorance of history, for a man to class the contest that gave the victories of Marathon and Salamis to the Greeks—that decided, for ever, the fate of Carthage—that roused up, in the middle ages, the warm-hearted followers of the Crescent and the Cross—that drove away the degenerate Stuarts from the throne they had neither the courage nor the dignity to fill—that laid the

foundation of American independence—that threw down, in France, feudalism and the Bastille—among the least illustrious events which occupy and illustrate the annals of the world.

Such struggles we have had; such we may continue to have. From the elements of discord around, and ever around us, we may conclude that we shall have storms to weather, severe as any which have awakened the energy and heroism of our countrymen in days gone by. Indeed, from the past we can best anticipate the future. The historian, in some degree, acts the part of a prophet. There is order, and law, and unity in the world's development. Not by accident is modern history rich in the possession of the new blood and creed, for want of which the glory of Athens, Corinth, and Rome passed away as a dream. Not that England may perish does that new blood course through the veins, and that new creed fructify in the hearts of her sons. Two acts seem to compose the great drama of time. With ancient history closed the one; when the other shall terminate is alone known to Him who "sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and before whom the nations are as the small dust of the balance." As we have seen, the analogy that would lead us to talk of the youth, and manhood, and decay of nature, as of men, is totally false. Decay has been the result, not of old age, against which no skill of the body politic could avail; but of causes the results of which might have been foreseen, and provided against. Peopled cities, it is true, have become solitary wastes; thrones and sceptres have moulded into dust: the crowded streets of ancient capitals; the busy haunts of men, where beauty thrilled, where riches dazzled, where luxury enslaved, where science taught, where idolatry debased, where rival factions armed and harangued, contended, and won, are silent and deserted as the grave. But we see no reason to believe that in Paris will be renewed the fate of Palmyra, or that St. Paul's, like the Coliseum, will remain a melancholy memorial of the past. In the development of popular progress, we see one additional reason why such a catastrophe is unlikely to occur.

The more of power and responsibility a man has, the more the man within him is developed and matured. This is a great fundamental truth, sanctioned by the experience of every age and clime. There is a vast difference between a slave and a free man; but a Brazilian slave does not differ more from a Finland serf, than does a citizen of New York or London differ from one of Vienna or Berlin. Give the latter his cup of coffee, his theatre, and his cigar, and he is content: the other must have his liberty to think, and speak, and act. In our day a statesman has little to do but to catch, and understand, and obey the spirit of the age. It was sometimes said of Lord Palmerston, as a reproach, that he sailed with the times—that he had no settled convictions. Herein his lordship showed his true wisdom.

It is not too much to say that Lord Palmerston's success was due to his recognition of these truths—to his belief in progress—the progress which has saved England from the fate of Rome. Since 1820, legislation has been, more or less, in accordance with these facts. A revolution has been gradually altering the aspect and condition of English society. The England that rejoices in the mild sway of Queen

Victoria—that rejoices in its reformed parliament—a representation still aristocratic, yet fairly embodying the will of the nation—that has witnessed the principles of religious liberty carried out, to a considerable extent, in Catholic emancipation; the repeal of laws that weighed heavily on nonconformists; and the restraint laid on a dominant establishment—that will yet witness religious equality—that has seen the magnificent triumphs of free trade, and is reaping its vast and growing advantages—that has happily felt the reforming hand applied to remove patrician abuses, ministerial jobbing, and Court influence—that has purged our law from its worst defects of chicane, costliness, and unjust barbarity—that has made a progress in material wealth that would amaze our fathers of the days of George IV.; and that can, even now, boast that her class dissensions have nearly disappeared—is an England very different to that of George IV. and Queen Caroline; of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and the Six Acts; of selfish oligarchy in church and state; of Manchester disaffection and chartism. "For thirty years," writes Lord John Russell, "the Reform Bill has been part and parcel of the constitution of these realms. For thirty years the constitution has been more loved and respected than it ever was before. For thirty years, the success of measures proposed, after free and general discussion, has been no longer obstructed by the nominees of individuals, or by representatives who purchased seats for corrupt boroughs, in order to protect monopoly, maintain colonial slavery, and reject the claims of civil and religious freedom. The prerogatives of the crown, under the operation of the Reform Act, in spite of many prophecies to the contrary, have been secure. As little can it be affirmed that the authority of the House of Lords has been infringed or menaced. But the functions of the House of Commons have grown. It is theirs to guard the rights and liberties of the people; to protect every subject of the realm in the enjoyment of his property and rights; to point out to the crown, by extending to one party, and refusing it to another, which is the party, and who are the statesmen, qualified to guide this mighty empire."

Lord John Russell sums up the legislation of the last forty years. We quote his remarks, as a rapid outline of Lord Palmerston's political and ministerial career. His lordship says—

"I find parliament reformed; slavery abolished; Test and Corporation Acts repealed; Roman Catholic disabilities repealed; Jewish disabilities partially repealed; tithes commuted in England and Ireland; municipal corporations reformed in England, Scotland, and Ireland; poor-laws, reformed in England, enacted in Scotland and Ireland; bishops' revenues equalised in England; large sums made applicable to spiritual destitution and small livings; education of the poor promoted; customs' duties reduced from many hundred to twelve; differential duties abolished; protection duties repealed or reduced; corn-laws repealed; taxes on glass, wax candles, paper, newspaper stamps, and many other articles, repealed."

But while these things happened, England's attention was not, by any means, confined to domestic policy. Her foreign policy was comprehensive and energetic,

and mostly under the control of Lord Palmerston. His lordship began life early, when all Europe was banded against France, and when England was at the head of the confederacy.

The history we shall have to write will be one of unsurpassed interest in every corner of the globe. When Palmerston commenced his career, Europe was in arms against France—aggressive and domineering. The time had passed when the French had been hailed as the forerunners of liberty and peace. Their insolence and organised exactions proved grievous in the extreme; and the hardship was felt as the more insupportable when the administrative powers gave to them the form of a regular tribute, and conducted the riches of conquered Europe, in a perennial stream, to the imperial treasury. A unanimous cry of indignation arose from every part of the continent. A crusade of the sufferers was undertaken in all quarters. From the east and west, from the north and south, the liberating warriors came forth. At the commencement of the revolution, Catherine of Russia had said, that the only way to prevent its principles spreading, and to save Europe from convulsions, was to engage in war, and cause the national to supersede the social passions. But now people were fighting, not against the revolution, but against the aggression, audacity, and ambition of one man. Europe felt as if it had a load weighing down its very life—choking its free utterance—impeding its civilisation—breaking its heart; and it made a convulsive effort to be relieved of this domineering oppressor—to get rid of Bonaparte, not of Bonapartism. This is what the war which culminated in the fall of the French emperor had come to be. "Securely cradled amidst the waves," writes Sir A. Alison, "England, like her immortal chief at Waterloo, calmly awaited the hour when she might be called on to take the lead in the terrible strife. Her energy, when it arrived, rivalled her former patience in privation, her fortitude in suffering; and the only one nation which, throughout the struggle, had been unconquered, at length stood foremost in the fight, and struck the final and decisive blow for the deliverance of the world. But the triumph of armies did not end the war of opinion: French principles were as potent, and persuasive, and all-permeating as ever."

The period of peace which followed is deeply interesting. The resumption of cash payments in 1819, was not, to outward appearance, so striking an event as the battle of Austerlitz; but it was followed by results of equal importance. The revolution of 1830 elevated the middle class in the direction of affairs; and the Reform Bill, in England, had a similar effect. Vast consequences followed this all-important change in both countries. For the first time in the history of mankind, the experiment was made of vesting the electoral franchise, not in a varied or limited class, as in England, or in the whole citizens, as in France or America, but in persons only of certain money qualifications. The franchise was not materially changed in France; but the general arming of the national guard, and the revolutionary nature of the new government, effectually secured attention to the wishes of the burgher aristocracy. In England they were at once invested with the command of the state; for the House of Commons was returned by a million of

electors, who voted for 658 members, of whom two-thirds were the representatives of boroughs, and two-thirds of their constituents shopkeepers, or persons whom they influenced. The first effect of this identity in feeling and interest in the class then, for the first time, invested with the practical direction of affairs, in both countries, was a close political alliance between their governments, and an entire change in the foreign policy of Great Britain. In the vehement hostility and rivalry of 400 years, there succeeded an alliance sincere and cordial at the time. The consequence was, that the czar, on his march to Paris, was arrested on the Vistula; and Austria and Prussia dared not to interfere, as England and France were united. Ancient alliances were broken, and long-established jealousies for a time laid aside. Negro emancipation followed. Canada shared in the moral earthquake which shook the globe, and was only preserved by the courage of its soldiers, and the loyalty of its English and Highland citizens. The monarchies of Spain and Portugal were overturned; while, in the east of Europe, the last remnants of Polish nationality were destroyed by Russian armies on the banks of the Vistula.

We pass on to years fraught with changes of the most momentous character to the future fortunes of Great Britain and the whole civilised world. We witness the second expedition into Affghanistan, and the capture of Cabul; the conclusion of a glorious peace with China, under the walls of Nankin; the conquest of Scinde, and desperate passage of armies on the Sutlej. Never did appear, in more striking colours, the superiority of the arms of civilisation over those of barbarism.

Pass we on from the overthrow of Louis Philippe, in 1848, to the seizure of supreme power by Louis Napoleon, in 1852—a period, beyond all example, rich in external and internal events of the very highest moment, and attended by lasting consequences in every part of the world. It witnessed the spread of revolution in Germany and Italy, and the desperate military struggle to which it gave rise; the brief, but memorable, campaign in Hungary; and the suppression of chartist physical-force demonstrations in England and Ireland, by the patriotism of the people, and the firmness of the government. Interesting, however, as these events are, they yield, in ultimate importance, to those which, at the same period, were in progress in the distant parts of the earth. The rich territories of the Punjaub were added to the British possessions in India. At the same time the aggressive and ever-moving Anglo-Saxon race overran Mexico, conquered California, and discovered gold mines of vast extent, and surpassing riches, hitherto unknown to man. The simultaneous discovery of mines of the same precious metal in Australia, acted as a magnet, which attracted the stream of migration and civilisation, for the first time in the history of mankind, to the Eastern world; and an annual emigration of 100,000 Anglo-Saxons, laid the foundation of another England in that vast tract of land. When, by the consequences of the French revolution, the discovery of steam-conveyance, the improvement of machinery, and the vast extension of European emigration, a still greater impulse was given to the human species in the nineteenth century, the gold mines of California and Australia were brought into

operation, and the increase in human numbers and transactions was even exceeded by the means provided for conducting them. "If ever," writes Sir A. Alison, an author with whom it is not possible often to agree—"if ever the benevolence of the Almighty was ever clearly revealed in human affairs, it was in these two decisive discoveries made at such periods; and he who is, on considering them, not persuaded of an ever-watchful Providence, would not be convinced though one rose from the dead." And subsequent years, have they not been as full of matters of breathless interest and wonder? The Crimean campaign; the fierce and terrible mutiny in India; the revival of the French émpire with a lustre and splendour of which Frenchmen never could have dreamt; the war in Italy, where France won the laurels of Magenta and Solferino; the dazzling and spotless romance of Garibaldi's career; the attempt of the slave-owners of South America to defeat and defy the energy, freedom, and wealth, as regards men or treasure, or public spirit and principle, of the free states of the North. Was ever a page of history more rich in noble endeavours? Nor would we omit the last faint effort of Polish nationality, or the gallant stand Denmark made fighting for her own. In all the details connected with these matters Lord Palmerston had much to do: in more stirring times, perhaps, an English statesman was never called upon to act. We must ask the reader, then, to accompany us into every corner of the globe—to watch the actors, and the results at which, successfully or not, with more or less of candour or wit, they aim. We shall find that, with the most accomplished of them, Lord Palmerston was ready to hold his own. Especially as regards this country, it will be clear, how, beginning with no pretence or affectation—not even appearing in any way ambitious, or desirous of fame, or public applause—holding, apparently, quite contentedly for years, a subordinate position—by no means going out of the way to call attention to himself or his doings—his lordship grew to be thought more of by parliament and the public; to become dearer and dearer to the national heart; till, for years, the nation felt him to be her only possible ruler; and, when he suddenly, but not unexpectedly passed away from us, mourned his death as an irretrievable loss.

Lord Palmerston's maiden speech, in the House of Commons, was in defence of the seizure, by the British, of the Danish fleet.

He became Secretary at War, under Perceval, and held his post twenty years.

Under Canning, Lord Palmerston became a cabinet minister.

His lordship joined the reform party, and, when they triumphed, was made Foreign Secretary. It was owing chiefly to him that Leopold became King of the Belgians. In his capacity of Foreign Minister, his lordship assisted to establish an independent kingdom in Greece, and to promote constitutional government in Spain and Portugal. Another question, dear to him, was the independence of Turkey: indeed, in this matter, we nearly went to war with France. It was only by rare dexterity that the evil was avoided.

When the Melbourne ministry went out of office, Lord Palmerston became one of the leaders of the opposition.

On his return to office, in 1846, Lord Palmerston again became Foreign Secretary. He was in office when the French revolution took place, and Louis Philippe was driven from France. In the various difficult questions of public interest which the revolutionary movements of the time originated, he exhibited his favourite policy of lending the moral weight of England's opinions to struggling nationalities.

In 1850, his policy in regard to Greece was condemned by a deliberate vote of the peers; but the vote of the House of Commons was in his favour.

In 1851, Lord Palmerston hastened to express to Louis Napoleon his approbation of the *coup-d'état*, and, in consequence, was dismissed from office.

In 1852, Lord Palmerston became Home Secretary, when the Aberdeen administration was formed.

In February, 1855, he was called upon to form the ministry by which the Russian war was brought to a close. It was during this administration that a Chinese war broke out, and that the Indian mutiny was suppressed.

Lord Palmerston's government was overthrown in February, 1858, for introducing the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, shortly after Orsini's attempt on the life of the French emperor.

In June of the succeeding year he formed an administration, which lasted up to the time of his death. At the general election, which had just been concluded, his lordship had secured, apparently, a larger majority than ever.

In 1861, he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle.

In 1862, his lordship was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow; and, in 1863, he was chosen Master of the Trinity House.

Lord Palmerston had sat in sixteen parliaments, and been elected to sit in the seventeenth. He served, in official positions, four monarchs—George III., George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

At the time of his decease, Lord Palmerston was the oldest member, or "Father," of the House of Commons, having held a seat in St. Stephen's since 1807, with the interruption of only three months in the winter of 1834-'35.

As a rule, he enjoyed superb bodily health; and one of the reasons was, that, be it late or early when he escaped from state affairs, he always insisted upon giving himself seven hours and a-half of good sleep. If he could not get away home till 4 A.M., he bade his servants leave him undisturbed till noon.

It must have been in Dugald Stewart's class-room that a phrase, which he often turned to good account in his speeches, and, on one memorable occasion, with most brilliant effect, first caught his fancy, and left upon it an indelible impression—"The fortuitous concourse of atoms."

He was much gratified, at the time, by something which reached him from Cobden's death-bed. The great free-trader was talking with his physicians a little while before he died, and said, in a low and gentle tone—"Ah, Palmerston was a very generous enemy!"

About the year 1820, Lord Palmerston was best known as the "Man of Fashion," in great repute at Almack's, and famous in the waltz. At this particular period, Lady Cowper, destined at a later period to become Lady Palmerston, was one of the leaders of fashion in that peculiarly exclusive temple of fame.

Almost all his political contemporaries who took a leading position, whether in the Whig or in the Tory ranks, were Cambridge men. If Byron, Coleridge, and Wordsworth are to be classed among our greatest poets, it would appear that, in other departments than that of politics, Cambridge had, at the beginning of the present century, a pre-eminence over the sister university of Oxford.

In his first twenty years of office, he probably did not rise to address the House of Commons on any subject beyond his own department more than a dozen times; and, curiously enough, on those rare occasions, it was not to questions of foreign policy, in which, as a War Minister, it might be supposed that he would be chiefly interested, that his attention was turned.

It is a curious fact, that, to the end of his days, Lord Palmerston was not a graceful public speaker. He wanted that fluency of speech which is often but the mask of a weak mind, but without which no man can be an orator. To the last there was an hesitancy about his address, a fastidious search after the felicitously exact word, which repaid the audience when it came, but which was often painful in the search, and was accompanied with an odd gesticulation, as if the minister was jerking the phrase out of himself.

Besides the toil of debate and incessant watching in the House of Commons, his office-work was enormous. His despatches, all written in that fine bold hand which he desired to engraft upon the Foreign Office, are innumerable. His minutes upon every conceivable subject of interest in the last fifty years would fill many volumes, and it is to be hoped that some of them will be published. Moreover, in private, he was always ready to write for the information of his friends, and he always wrote well. It is said by a writer in the *Times*, that generally he wrote standing.

With all his official labours, he kept his hold on society, and enjoyed life like a youth. Lord Palmerston—and in this Lady Palmerston resembles him—was, in his very nature, genial and social. They loved society. In the country, as in town, their hospitality was unbounded. A large family circle continually gathered about them, reinforced by whoever was remarkable for political, literary, or artistic eminence—for sport, for travel, for military or naval exploits. Yet the host and hostess were never rich until latterly; and, even at last, their means were as nothing when compared with the opulence of many who never open their doors except to the members of a coterie.

Such a career of perpetual activity is rarely vouchsafed to any man. Modern history may be said almost to commence with the French revolution; and with the actors in that drama, and its friends and foes, he must, more or less, have been in communication. He was brought up in the age of Pitt and Fox, of Sheridan

and Burke, of Wilberforce and Canning, of Castlereagh, Eldon, and Wellington. In all the great battles, by means of which the country has been saved from despotism, and the constitution strengthened, repaired, and made popular, Viscount Palmerston took no undistinguished part. Many years ago, Sir Archibald Alison, a political opponent, said of him—"If there is any British statesman of his age who has acquired a European reputation, it may safely be pronounced to be Lord Palmerston, whose name will be for ever associated with the great change in our foreign policy, and the substitution of Liberal for Conservative alliances. Foreign nations, not aware of the vital change which the Reform Bill made in our government, ascribe this change chiefly, if not entirely, to his individual influence; and according as their statesmen and historians belong to the democratic or monarchical party, he is the object either of vehement laudation or of impassioned hatred. In truth, however, he is not the fit object of the praise he has received, or the vituperation with which he has been encountered. In a despotic country, a minister may impress his own principles upon the measures of government; in a constitutional one he must receive it from the legislature. The Reform Bill having vested the government of England in the class of urban shopkeepers, the majority of whom are imbued with liberal principles, the carrying out of their wishes into our foreign policy became a matter of necessity, to which every minister, however otherwise inclined, must bend." Lord Palmerston lived in a transition state, and he reflected his age; and when he died he had outlived all party animosities. Never, perhaps, has a man, who in his time had created such a variety of feeling, and made for himself so many temporary enemies, been so generally mourned.

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

CHAPTER I.

THE PALMERSTONS.

When, in October, 1865, it was known to all England that her foremost man, Viscount Palmerston, had been struck down by death, in all circles of society, amongst all classes and conditions of men, everything respecting the career and early training of the deceased was assiduously sought after and greedily devoured. His lordship had reached such a ripe old age, had played so many parts, had acquired such popularity, had achieved such a world-wide fame, and, at the same time, till late in life, had so little put himself in public, that every one was anxious to learn something of him and his doings. Not merely did the nation lament the loss of a statesman who, by his masterly assiduity, had preserved England, politically and in other ways, in peace—who had lived in stirring times, and acquitted himself bravely in them all—who had not merely intrigued with Talleyrand, Metternich, and Nesselrode, but who had sided with Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington when Catholic emancipation had to be ceded; with Lord Russell, when reform had to be carried; with Cobden, when monopoly had to be destroyed; and whose years and services had been protracted to a length rare in the annals of our own or other lands—but it was known that the last of the Temples had left no successor behind him: and to all there was something very melancholy in the thought that one of the great governing families of England had become extinct, and that, from the roll of nobility, had been blotted out one of its most illustrious names.

Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury, M.P., K.G., G.C.B., P.C., was born in London, October 20, 1784. Of his mother's family we know but little: she was the only daughter of Benjamin Mee, Esq.

The family of Temple is an ancient one. It is said they are descended from the stout old Earl Leofric, of the Confessor's time, and his lady Godiva, who saved Coventry from a harsh impost by riding through the market-place clad only in her beautiful long hair. The tale is, let us hope, true; but the connection of it with the Palmerston pedigree is the work of later times. Dugdale knew nothing of it, though he gives a full account of the earl's real successors and family in his *Baronage*, and much information about him, his wife, and their pious and generous doings, in his *Warwickshire*. Burton, a Leicestershire squire, in his *Leicestershire*, knew nothing of it; and, in speaking of the lands of Temple in Sparkenhoe Hundred, near Bosworth, from which the whole family of Temple derived its name, tells us—"This land was granted by one of the old Earls of Leicester to the Knights Templars. This land was afterwards granted by the Templars to a family of the place, called Temple, being of great account in those

parts." Burton, then, knew nothing of the Saxon origin of the family; and it is certain that, in the famous Sir William's time, they looked upon themselves as having come in with the Conquest.

The first Temple, patent to history, is one Robertus de Temple Hall. A well-informed writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, says—"Robertus de Temple was succeeded by William, and by Henry, flourishing in the reign of Edward I., whose marriage with Matilda, daughter of John Ribbesford, is the first that we find upon record. The five generations which followed allied themselves with Langley, Barwell, Dubernon, Bracebridge, and Kingscott, and the family ranked among the oldest and most considerable of the Leicestershire gentry. By siding, however, with Richard III., they lost most of their estate. Soon after the Reformation, what was left came into the possession of some other Temples from Staffordshire, carrying different coat-armour. And at last, they, too, sold both the lands and the hall; and though some prosperous cadets of the house—such as the celebrated Sir William and his father—were anxious to recover it, they never could.

"We must now turn our attention to those cadets, for it was among them that appeared the eminent men to whom the name owes its modern celebrity. During the reign of Henry VI., a younger son of Temple, of Temple Hall, named Thomas, settled himself at Witney in Oxfordshire. In three generations his descendants had acquired land in Warwickshire; and in the sixteenth century his representative acquired Stowe in Buckinghamshire. This was Peter Temple, of Marston-Boteler in Warwickshire, and Stowe in Bucks, whose eldest son, John, was the ancestor of the Temples of Stowe, and his second, Anthony, of the Viscounts Palmerston. John lies buried at Derset, in Warwickshire, with the following quaint epitaph, testifying to his general felicity and opulence:—

"'Cur liberos hic plurimos,
Cur hic amicos plurimos,
Et plurimas pecunias,
Vis scire cur reliquerit?
TEMPELLUS ad plures abiit.'

"The son of this prosperous gentleman was Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe, the first baronet. The second and third baronets both sat for the town of Buckingham in the parliaments of the Charleses. The fourth—Sir Richard—fought under Marlborough, and was created Baron Cobham in 1714, and, in 1718, Viscount Cobham, with remainder to his sister Hester, wife of Richard Grenville, of Wooton. This is the Cobham of Pope's well-known lines:—

"'And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath,
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past,
Oh, save my country, Heaven! shall be your last.'

"Lord Cobham died without issue in 1749, when his barony and viscounty devolved on his sister, Hester Grenville, mother of the first Earl Temple, ancestress of the Dukes of Buckingham, and, what is of much more moral interest, grandmother of William Pitt. If, again, to quote Aristotle, 'the having had many illustrious persons in the family' is a necessary mark of nobility, then this is an honour in which the Temples excel houses of much higher pretension.

"While the Temple tree planted in Stowe was thus flourishing, the branch sprung from Anthony, younger son of Peter Temple, first of Stowe, had acquired a less splendid position, but a more brilliant name. Anthony's son William, bred at Eton, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, became, in the first half of Elizabeth's reign, master of the free school at Lincoln. A Latin essay on a philosophical subject, which he dedicated, in 1581, to Sir Philip Sydney, won the admiration of that last rose of the summer of chivalry, who took Temple into his employment as a secretary, and into his intimacy as a friend. Sir Philip died in his arms at Arnheim; and, dying, commended him to the Earl of Essex,

besides leaving him, by will, an annuity of thirty pounds. The friend of Sydney became the friend of Devereux; and having lost one patron on the field, lost another on the scaffold. After the death of Essex, Temple went to seek his fortunes in Ireland. He became Provost of Dublin College, which he represented in the Irish parliament in 1613. He was afterwards a Master in Chancery, and a knight, and he died at an advanced age in 1625. From this Sir William Temple, the first of the family connected with Ireland, the late Lord Palmerston was sixth in descent. By his wife, a Derbyshire woman, William left a son who became Sir John Temple, and who sustained the intellectual reputation which the family had begun to acquire. He was educated under his father at Dublin. He travelled in his youth. He had access to the Court of Charles I., and to the greatest personages of the time, and he continued the family friendship with the Sydneys. Sir Philip's nephew, Robert Sydney, was now second Earl of Leicester, 'a man of great parts,' says Lord Clarendon, 'very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics.' In the *Sydney Papers* we find the countess writing to her husband (A.D. 1636), of 'Sir John Temple, who *is inquisitive in all affairs*, and much your servant.' There were tender associations between Temple and the earl's family. Sir John had married Esther Hammond, a sister of Dr. Hammond, the celebrated divine. The doctor held the living of Penshurst; and at Penshurst Temple lost his wife. 'Your Penshurst,' Temple writes to the earl in 1638, 'was the place where God saw fit to take from me the desire of mine eyes, and the most sweet companion of my life; a place that must never be forgotten by me, not only in regard of those blessed ashes that lie now treasured up there, and my desire that by your lordship's favour, *cum fatalis et meus dies venerit*, I may return to that dust, but in respect also of the extraordinary civilities I then received from your incomparable lady.' He goes on to show how tenderly Lady Leicester (a Percy, and the mother of Algernon Sydney) had behaved at this great crisis, which all readers of her letters will readily believe. Sir John Temple also writes to the earl from Berwick, where he had accompanied the Court when the king was marching against, and negotiating with, the Scots; and, on another occasion, urges him to try for the Secretaryship of State, likely to be vacated by the resignation of Sir John Coke. 'And further give me leave,' writes he, 'to tell your lordship that I think this the proper time to move in, and that I find such stirring now at Court, as I apprehend him not long-lived in his place. So as if you neglect now to stir, *you will have some evil angel take the opportunity, while the waters are troubled, to help in some stigmatick or otherwise infirm person.*' There is a touch of the family wit as of the family shrewdness here; but Sir John Temple found an opportunity of showing still higher qualities. The Earl of Leicester went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, and appointed Temple (who was knighted in 1640) to an important post. A heavy responsibility, to which he was not unequal, fell upon him when the rebellion broke out. Afterwards, when Leicester was succeeded by Ormond, Temple was imprisoned for opposing the cessation which Ormond was commanded to make with the rebels. This attracted the favourable attention of the parliament to him, and in 1644 he was exchanged, and made a commissioner in Munster. Never an extreme man, however, he was dismissed for voting that the king's proposals from the Isle of Wight were sufficient grounds for peace. Later, he was both employed and rewarded by Cromwell; but that did not hinder him from prospering under the Restoration. He was Master of the Rolls, Privy Councillor, Treasurer, and enjoyed an opulent, and, we are expressly told, 'hospitable' old age. He died in 1677. Sir John Temple, besides being a politician, was the author of a *History of the Irish Rebellion*. It has always received the praise of veracity, and one cannot look into it without seeing that the writer was a scholar and a man of sense.

"The eldest son of Sir John Temple and Esther Hammond was the famous Sir William Temple, who continued to be the most widely-known man that ever bore the ancient name till the days of the third Lord Palmerston. Born in London in

1628, he was educated at Penshurst, at Bishop Stortford, and at Cambridge under Cudworth, and then set out to travel on the continent. In passing through the Isle of Wight, where the king was then imprisoned, he made the acquaintance of Dorothy Osborne, the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, governor of Guernsey for his majesty. The youth's father was in the Long Parliament; the young lady's father was a cavalier. Sir John desired a greater match for his son; Sir Peter desired a greater match for his daughter; and their engagement, opposed on both sides, lasted for seven years. During part of this time William Temple lived in France, where he mastered the French, and in the Low Countries and Germany, where he mastered the Spanish language. He was married at last in 1654, and took up his abode with his affectionate and sprightly Dorothy in Ireland. His head-quarters were in the county of Carlow, where he lived on a moderate income, and spent much of his time in reading, and doubtless in forming that graceful and pleasant style which entitles him to rank among the founders of polite English prose. Happy in his marriage, he was most unfortunate in the health of his children, five of whom died in as many years. The Restoration brought Temple into public life. When an Irish parliament was called, he was chosen, with his father, for the county of Carlow; and soon attracting the attention of the new Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, was introduced by him to the powerful minister, Lord Arlington. His first employment arose out of the first of the Dutch wars of this reign, when he was sent to negotiate with our ally the Bishop of Munster. His success brought him a baronetcy and the post of Resident at Brussels, in which city he was when, in 1667, the French invaded Flanders. The power of Louis now began to alarm Europe. Charles II. had not yet become quite his tool; and Temple was sent to the Hague, to conclude, with Sweden and Holland, the great negotiation known as the Triple Alliance, which gave a check to the French plans. He now became ambassador at the Hague, and made the friendship of De Witt and of the young Prince of Orange. He remained there till French intrigues had reversed the English policy, and driven us into a war with our recent and most natural ally. Temple at once retired to his house at Sheen, his gardens, and his books, and employed himself in writing his excellent *Observations on the United Provinces*, which the Dutch still cherish and make a student's text-book, after the author's countrymen have ceased to read it. From this retreat he was summoned, in the autumn of 1673, to conclude a peace with Holland; and, next year, went there again, as ambassador-extraordinary, to mediate for a general peace, which, after much delay, was brought about by the treaty of Nimeguen. It was at this period, too, that he took an important part in bringing about the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary, which had such vital consequences for Great Britain.

"Up to this time the public life of Sir William Temple had been, on the whole, eminently successful. He had conducted negotiations of the first consequence, which will always preserve his reputation in the highest rank of diplomatists. He had won the esteem and confidence of the greatest statesmen in Europe. His public character was not only lofty, but pure; his private character respectable. But he was unfitted for the stormy times which followed, and fled to his favourite retirement, Sheen Park. He died in 1698; and though he left issue, that line of the Temples failed, and he was represented by the late Lord Palmerston, a lineal descendant of his younger brother.

"His younger brother was Sir John Temple, known as the best lawyer in Ireland. He sat for Carlow; was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons before he was thirty, and was first Solicitor and then Attorney-general to the sister kingdom.

"To Sir John succeeded his son Henry, created Viscount Palmerston in 1772.

"His grandson, the second viscount, father to the late Prime Minister, seems to have been a true Temple. His lordship was in the Admiralty from 1766 to 1777. 'Lord Palmerston,' says Walpole, citing Tickell, 'finesses rebusses and charades with bits of poetry; and when Lord of the Admiralty, wrecked names with a song.'

Walpole, elsewhere, mentions him as a patron of art, a writer of verses—sometimes good, and sometimes bad; as a guest at Topham Beauclerk's, talking loud in the presence of Burke, Gibbon, and Garrick. Johnson, writing to Boswell in July, 1783, says, 'I took an airing to Hampstead, and dined with the club where Lord Palmerston was proposed, *and, against my advice, rejected.*' Afterwards, as Boswell tells, his lordship was elected. That he was a man of fine and delicate talent is evident from the following:—

INSCRIPTIVE VERSES WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN WHOSE LADY DIED AT BRISTOL WELLS.

"'Whoe'er, like me, with trembling anguish brings
His heart's whole treasure to fair Bristol's springs;
Whoe'er, like me, to soothe disease and pain,
Shall pour these salutary waves in vain;
Condemned, like me, to hear the faint reply,
To mark the fading cheek, the sinking eye;
From the chill brow to wipe the damp of death,
And watch with dumb despair the shortening breath;
If chance direct him to this artless line,
Let the sad mourner know his griefs were mine.
Ordained to lose the partner of my breast,
Whose beauty warmed me, and whose friendship blest;
Framed every tie that binds the soul to prove,
Her duty friendship, and her friendship love:
Yet soon remembering that the parting sigh,
Ordains the just to slumber, not to die,
The starting tear I checked, I kissed the rod,
And not to earth resigned her, but to God.'"

The second Viscount Palmerston was twice married. His first wife, a daughter of Sir Francis Poole, of Poole, in Cheshire, died, leaving no issue, in 1769. He married again at Bath, in 1783, Miss Mary Mee, described as daughter of Benjamin Mee, Esq., of that city, who was mother of our deceased statesman. It is said that the viscount, after his bereavement of his first wife, was riding on horseback through the streets of Dublin, and was thrown, and one of his limbs fractured. He was carried into an adjacent house, and, upon medical assistance being summoned, it was found that it would be dangerous or fatal to have him removed. The house was occupied by a respectable hatter in middling circumstances. The hatter's daughter undertook the task of nursing the injured peer. The consequence of her attentions was that they fell in love with each other, and the result was their marriage. This lady became the mother of the great English Premier. We repeat, we cannot at all vouch for the accuracy of this gossip; but, to say the least, a colourable possibility is lent to it by the fact, that in the *Peerages*, and in such temporary authorities and chroniclers of aristocratic doings as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, no further reference is made to the second wife of the second Viscount Palmerston, than that her name was Mary Mee, and that of her father, Benjamin Mee. In the absence of all allusion to her family connections, the inference is almost, if not quite, inevitable that the lady was of obscure birth. Mary Mee became a peeress in the right of her husband, by her marriage, on the 7th of January, 1783. The second viscount died in Hanover Square, in 1802, when little more than sixty years of age.

The deceased Premier was early sent to Harrow, where Dr. Drury was head master. Of his earlier education we know nothing. And of the years that he spent at Harrow, hardly anything more is known than this:—Captain Gronow, of the Guards—whose amusing reminiscences of his own family formed a very popular book just at the time when Palmerston, in his hale and hearty octogenarianism, was so admirably maintaining the neutrality of England amid the shoals and quicksands of the American civil war—records that, at Harrow, "Byron hated

Palmerston, but liked Peel." And the chatty captain innocently adds in the immediate context, a further sentence which entirely denudes Byron's "hatred" of Palmerston of the slightest disparaging weight:—"Byron thought that the whole world ought to be constantly engaged in admiring his poetry and himself."

The late Premier was among the young men of rank and talent who were attracted to Edinburgh, at the opening of the present century, by the fame of Dugald Stewart; and he spent three years under him before going to Cambridge. The pupil had more than usual opportunities of benefiting by intercourse with his master; for he not only attended his lectures, but was a resident in his house. Private intercourse deepened and cemented the impressions made in the class-room. Especially would it appear that, in the field of political economy, which was at that date somewhat arbitrarily united with ethics in the Edinburgh professorial system, Lord Palmerston benefited by Stewart's teaching. Dugald Stewart's lectures on political economy were never published until many years after his death, when they were included in the library edition of his complete works, which Sir William Hamilton edited, until his death prevented the completion of the task. The erudite editor had some difficulty in procuring an authentic manuscript transcript of the lectures, for Stewart had never written them completely out; depending rather on extemporaneous prelection, assisted by somewhat scanty notes. The copy from which Sir William Hamilton's edition was actually printed was made up of the notes taken in the class-room by various students; and by far the most valuable assistance that Sir William derived in his editorial task, was from the note-book of Lord Palmerston. He had taken down the lectures in shorthand, and then written them out in full. Indeed, we believe that the larger bulk of the lectures, as they are now published, were taken *verbatim* by the printers from manuscript in Lord Palmerston's handwriting. This one circumstance is proof enough at once of the high esteem in which Palmerston, when a young man at Edinburgh, held Stewart's lectures, and of the considerable influence which they must have exerted in the formation of his mental character. To Edinburgh his lordship always acknowledged himself under obligations. "I passed," said he, "three years of my youth in studying at the University of Edinburgh; and I will frankly own, without disparagement to any other seat of learning at which I had the fortune to reside, that I enjoyed greater advantages in the acquirement of useful knowledge and sound principles during the three years' residence, than I possessed at any other time." For a young man, perhaps, no better place of tuition could have been selected than Edinburgh when Lord Palmerston went there; when the Speculative Society was in full vigour; when, in his own station in life, he could associate with such men as the late Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Russell, Lord Seymour; and when his intellect would be sharpened and stimulated by such fellow-students as Jeffrey and Horner, Brougham and Sydney Smith. Certainly, at Cambridge, to which Lord Palmerston next turned his steps, there was no such brilliant society as at Edinburgh. Wilberforce, who was at Cambridge a little before Palmerston, gives us but a poor idea of the university. "Those" (the fellows) he writes, "with whom I was intimate did not act towards me the part of Christians, or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be to make and keep me idle. If I ever appeared studious, they said to me 'Why in the world should a man of your fortune trouble himself with fagging.'" It is clear, however, that Palmerston must have acquitted himself in a manner which secured for him respect, or he would not have been selected as the Tory candidate for the representation when Pitt died; in which contest he was beaten by his fellow-student, Lord Henry Petty, better known as Marquis of Lansdowne; nor would he have left the impression upon Milner, that he, Palmerston, was one of the most promising young men of his time. At Cambridge, as well as at Edinburgh, his lordship improved his time.

Lord Palmerston had one brother and two sisters, all of whom are dead. His brother, who died in 1856, was Sir William Temple, the well-known scholar,

antiquary, and connoisseur, who held for many years the position of English minister at the Court of the Neapolitan Bourbons.

Arrived at this point, we must for a short time ask our readers to take a hurried glance at the political events which preceded his lordship's political career, but which did, to a considerable extent, form his opinions, mould his conduct, and shape his destiny. On the throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was seated George III.—the first of the Georges who was truly popular, and a fair representative of his people. His reign was long and eventful.

The type of government established at the revolution may be said to have been definitely settled at the accession of the House of Hanover. The country was ruled by the revolutionary families coalesced into a dominant oligarchy, which procured a majority in the Commons—the real centre and source of authority. Opposed to these, however, was a minority composed of many discordant elements, but united generally in parliamentary antagonism, and forming a salutary check on the administration. The empire was extended to all parts of the world, and, in 1773, at the close of the great administration of Pitt, was decidedly the foremost power in the world.

In this period of aristocratic ascendency, the two representative men were Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Chatham.

To Walpole we owe a debt which must not be briefly passed over. Chatham could never have stood in Walpole's position, and done his work. George I. came over from Hanover with a hungry crew, who looked upon England as the promised land. "We have come, to your cost," exclaimed, on a certain occasion, one of the female harpies whom it was the fashion of the first of the Georges to patronise as mistresses: and they kept their word. To the interests of the Hanoverian junto of Bothmar, the Duchess of Kendal, and the Countess of Darlington, who unscrupulously sold themselves to do any dirty work by which money could be made, everything was to subserve; and their example was followed by all in place and power. We believe, not only that the administration of Walpole was attended with benefit, but that we are indebted to him for the preservation of our national liberties. That his majorities were acquired not merely by argument, or eloquence, or logic, is as much the fault of his time as his own. Even the grandson of Hampden could threaten, if Walpole did not grant him more perquisites or bribes, he would transfer his allegiance from the House of Hanover to that old hereditary one which had been so righteously expelled. Those were times of universal corruption and flagrant vice. Parker, who was compelled to resign the seals and retire into private life, merely did as his predecessors had done before him. If Walpole was the minister painted by party faction, it is strange that the charges against him were so few and ridiculous. After possessing office more than twenty years, all that could be said against him was—that he made an attempt upon the virtue of a mayor of Weymouth; that he had promised a place in the revenue to a retiring officer; and that he had dismissed some officers of excise who had acted against the government candidate. His expenses were enormous: it is not easy to understand how they could have been defrayed from his private fortune, which, when he first took office, was little more than £2,000 a year. He spent, in building and purchases, at Houghton, £200,000; in pictures, £40,000: his lodge, in Richmond, cost him £14,000. His annual summer meetings at Houghton, when he feasted his supporters, cost him £3,000 each. In one election alone he spent £6,000. This expenditure must have come from other than private sources, and must, of course, have been a fertile theme for the envious invective of his foes. Walpole, as we may well believe, had no exalted notions of virtue or honour in man. If he served his country, he was also not unmindful of himself. He gave his three sons places that were worth £14,000 a year: besides this, he and his son held the rangership of Richmond Park, with several thousands more. He felt no delicacy in making church property serve as endowments to his illegitimate

daughters. Horace Walpole complains of a clergyman who was mean enough to take the bishopric Sir Robert gave him under the idea that he was to marry one of them, and yet refused the lady. Walpole believed the House of Hanover essential to England, and himself essential to the House of Hanover. For principles and consistency he cared but little. His great maxim was, not to disturb things at rest. Fanaticism he dreaded—as well it might be dreaded by a manager of Secheverell's trial, and a Whig. At enthusiasm he laughed: for literature he cared but little. The wit of twenty years was always on the side of opposition in this respect—wiser, in their generation, than himself. History he deemed a fable: "fiddlers" was the contemptuous term he applied to the foreign artists of whom his memorable son was the patron and the friend. In his manners and conversation he was careless and loose. Swift, who met him at Lord Tyrconnel's, said his range of conversation was from obscenity to politics, and from politics to obscenity. (By-the-bye, the same remark might have been applied to Swift himself.) Walpole was not an ascetic; few persons in those days were. In his time there were many people more immoral, far more regardless of decency or shame; while, in good common sense, capacity, and public spirit, he was surpassed by none. Few had a more real nature, or a more honest laugh. In this respect even the opposition appears consistently to have opposed him. We all know Chesterfield considered laughing an unpardonable offence. "Sandys," said Earle, a wit of the time, "never laughed but once, and that was when his best friend broke his leg."

It was an unheroic time that in which Walpole lived and ruled. No age was ever more sunk in licentiousness, and no licentiousness was less redeemed by grace. Its ignorance almost surpasses belief. Upon the marriage of the Prince of Wales, Lord Baltimore said to him—"Your royal highness's marriage will be an *area* in our history." An earl's son, in sending invitations to a party, could find no better manner of expressing himself than by soliciting the pleasure of he's company and she's company, in defiance of those useful pronouns, his and her. Lady Pomfret indignantly repudiated the idea of Platonic love, and said she never had but one love—the lawful father of her children. One baronet left another a legacy under the impression, because his name was Matthew, that he was the author of the gospel of that name. Chesterfield was the Magnus Apollo of the world of fashion; and, in his celebrated work, as Dr. Johnson remarked, we have a combination of the manners of a dancing-master and the morals of a whore. Immorality deluged the land, and withered up man's honour and woman's love. To drink, to blaspheme, to intrigue, to break the seventh commandment, was not deemed disgraceful to married men of high standing and illustrious birth. More than one peer openly kept a harem. The novelist, when he would tell a tale of more than usual voluptuousness, had to borrow the pen of Lady Vane, and publish, in the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, her ladyship's gay career. The scandal of the times throws doubt on the paternity of Walpole's celebrated son. No wonder that, when one of the Prince of Wales's coachmen died, he left his son £300 a year, on condition that he should never marry a maid of honour. Since the day when Charles II. landed from the Hague, the nation had been retrograding step by step from the asceticism of Cromwell and his saints; and the national licentiousness had now reached its lowest depth. The consequent dislike to religion and religious men lasted long after. In Wilberforce's time the feeling had not died. In a conversation he had with Pitt, the former describes himself much shocked at finding Pitt had a very bad opinion of the serious clergy.

Lord Russell says Lord Chatham was the reverse of Walpole. Walpole lowered the tone of public men till it became more like that of pedlars than statesmen. Chatham raised his voice against selfishness and corruption, and his invectives, even now, make the cheek tingle with indignation. Walpole acted upon the love of ease, the prudence and the timidity of mankind. Chatham appealed to their energy, their integrity, and their love of freedom. It must be acknowledged that Walpole had some merits which Chatham wanted. He pursued, from the

beginning, one steady, and, upon the whole, useful line of state policy. Lord Chatham acted upon the impulse of the moment; and, if he followed the policy of the day, he little cared how inconsistent it might be with his former sentiments. Walpole seemed to aim at what was most expedient; Chatham at what was most striking. The former secured the guarantee of France to the Protestant succession; the latter attacked her possessions and humbled her name. Walpole looked to prosperity; Chatham to glory. The one carefully amassed the means which the other magnificently dissipated. Walpole was successful nearly to the end of his life. The cause of his long power is to be found both in the steadiness of his conduct, and his care to unite together a large and respected party in favour of his government. Lord Chatham succeeded in nothing after the reign of George III.

The accession of George III. was the commencement of an eventful reign. Two most momentous wars were waged. The first resulted in American independence; the second in the French revolution. At the time of the sudden death of his grandfather, George III. was in his twenty-second year. He was tall and well-built, with a countenance, if not handsome, yet at any rate good-natured, and a head with a retreating forehead, of the kind of which phrenologists despair. It was the head of an obstinate man; and for that obstinacy the nation had to pay dearly.

George III. heard the news of his new honour and responsibility as he was riding in the pleasant neighbourhood of Kew. When the messenger arrived, the new king immediately commanded the man to inform no one that he had brought the news: his next action was with Lord Bute, to hasten back, and secure his grandfather's money. That day, and the following night, were spent in secret arrangements; and, the next morning, George presented himself before his mother, the princess-dowager, at Carlton House, where he met his council, and was then formally proclaimed. This was on the 26th of October, 1760.

His conduct on his sudden elevation, was, considering his shyness and the defects of his education, calm, courteous, affable, and unembarrassed. Horace Walpole writes—"He behaved throughout with the greatest propriety, dignity, and decency." He dismissed his guards to attend on the body of his grandfather. But it was soon seen that there would be great changes in his government. Pitt waited on him with the sketch of an address to the council; but the king informed him that this had been thought of, and an address already prepared. Pitt felt that the new Premier would be, not himself, but Lord Bute, the favourite of mother and son, the Groom of the Stole, and inseparable companion. The great Pitt, with his commanding talents, was the man for that post. George III., however, with his retreating forehead, did not see that. A hand-bill soon appeared on the walls of the Royal Exchange, expressing the public apprehension:—"No petticoat government!—no Scotch favourite!—no Lord George Sackville!"

Lord Stanhope (better known as Lord Mahon) argues that George III. was by no means deficient in intellect. Certainly he had no lack of a homely sense and shrewdness, such as would have made him a good farmer; but he was deficient in all those properties which are necessary to kings in trying times. "He lacked," writes Mr. Howitt, "that grasp of intellect which takes in the whole horizon of causes and contingencies; and that sympathy with greatness which leads it to choose great instruments, and associate with master minds. To use the words of our greatest living poet, "his mind declined upon a lower range of minds; and to them he trusted the fate of his empire, without a suspicion that they were incapable of directing it." The same historian says—"His peculiarity of manner, his whats and whats? and heys? heys? which even his worshipper, Madame D'Arblay, has handed down to our notice, and which Walcot so continually played on, gave him an appearance of shallowness that was greater than it really was." But the tests of the mind of George III. are, that he lost a magnificent country, by not having sense to retain its affections, and nearly ruined this country in endeavouring to prop up imbecile government. It must be

remembered, that, for this, George III. is personally responsible. He was a real king. He did not take his policy from his ministers, but he imposed his policy on theirs. We know how he objected to Mr. Fox being in office; how he refused to listen to Catholic emancipation; how he drove his family into dissipation by his severe and narrow treatment of them; how the great Chatham humbled himself before him. He might have surrounded himself with wise councillors; he might have been open to argument and reason; but he went on in his own blundering, wrong-headed ways. Deeply, and for long, had the nation to deplore his narrow education operating on his limited capacity, and the obstinacy which resisted wise advice, and the signs of the times.

People also began to think that the new king was a little too penurious. The late king had left behind him £300,000 or £400,000; and after leaving to the Countess of Yarmouth a cabinet containing £10,000, he had made the Duke of Cumberland and his daughters, Amelia and Mary, heirs to the remainder: but this balance had become mysteriously reduced to about £90,000, which, after the payment of the legacy to Lady Yarmouth, was divided as the will of the late king directed.

Parliament, which had been prorogued for a few days on account of the demise of the crown, assembled on the 18th of November. The attendance was crowded, and the king was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. He delivered a speech, composed by Lord Hardwicke, and revised by Pitt, and containing a passage, said to be inserted by himself, as follows:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton!" This word he is said to have written "Englishman," but that Lord Bute altered it to "Briton;" which, if true, was one of the most sensible things he ever did; for though the term was criticised by those who were averse to the Scots, it was worthy of the King of Great Britain to make no distinctions, but to assume the broadest appellation. The sentence then continued—"And the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm attachment to me I consider the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." In the addresses these words produced the most enthusiastic responses. "What a lustre," exclaimed the lords, "doth it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories!" The Commons accepted, "with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, those most affecting and animating words." For the rest, the speech expressed the royal determination to prosecute the war with all vigour; praised the magnanimity and perseverance of his good brother, the King of Prussia; and recommended unanimity of action and opinion in parliament. Nothing could appear more unanimous or more liberal than parliament. It voted another subsidy to Prussia of £670,000; fixed the civil-list for the reign at £800,000; and granted the hitherto unexampled supplies of nearly £20,000,000. All parties and shades of opinion seemed obliterated. Tories and Jacobites flocked again to Court; and, through the influence of Bute, many of them received posts in the new household. When Bute retired from office, the general opinion was, that he had managed to take care of himself. "I dined," writes Wilberforce, "with Lord Camden. He is sure that Lord Bute got money for the peace of Paris. He can account for his sinking near £300,000 in land and houses; and his paternal estate in the island which bears his name, is not above £1,500 a year; and he is a life tenant only of Wortley, which may be £8,000 or £10,000."

In many respects the reign of George III. was remarkable. For the first time since the death of Queen Anne, the monarchical element began to revive—to interfere with the other elements that had been preponderating in the state; and even to aim at preponderating influence. The young king had a strong leaning to arbitrary power, and had resolved that he would be a king indeed. The Whigs had rendered themselves unpopular, and the Tories and the church took their natural position in the political arena as the allies of the crown.

The great calamity of this reign was that it lost us America.

George II. died in 1760. When George III. ascended the throne, as usual, a change of ministers took place. During the reign of George II. it had often been proposed to tax the Americans, but Sir Robert Walpole was too sensible of the importance of encouraging the colonists to do so foolish a thing. When Mr. Grenville became minister, in 1764, he brought forward a series of resolutions, as the precursor of a bill for imposing duties on imports into the colonies from the mother country, and for the introduction of stamp duties. The consideration of the subject was postponed until the following year. Mr. Grenville trusted, by so doing, he should be able to enforce the new revenue laws with the aid of the Admiralty Court in America, the judges of which had their appointments from the crown, and decided cases without the disagreeable intervention of a jury.

This time was not wasted by the people of Massachusetts and Virginia. They forwarded to the government at home protests and petitions against the measure; and took their ground on the grand principle that taxation and representation go together.

In 1765 Grenville brought forward his pet bill. In a house of pensioners and placemen he triumphed by a majority of 250 members. Only fifty men were found to stand by the rights and principles of English liberty. On the 1st of November the act was ordered to come into operation.

All was uproar in the colonies. Patrick Henry—young, ardent, and eloquent—thundered forth in opposition in the House of Burgesses, in Virginia. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other American towns, mobs were formed to attack the houses of those entrusted with carrying out the vexatious regulations of the detested measure. Conventions and associations were everywhere organised. In opposition to the act, the women of America were as united and decided as the men. In the face of this determined resistance, parliament, in 1766, repealed the Stamp Act, without relinquishing "its right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

The next attempt was to impose a duty on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours imported. To this a new opposition was effectually and speedily formed. Massachusetts, in 1767, led the way.

In 1770, Lord North had become Chancellor of the Exchequer; and one of his first acts was to repeal the port duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on tea. This was preserved as a practical assertion of the superiority of parliament.

In America the irritation continued. In Boston, in March 1770, soldiers had fired upon the inhabitants, and five had been killed. An event now occurred which greatly accelerated the revolution.

In the warehouses of the East India Tea Company, there were no less than 17,000,000 lbs. of tea, which had become unsaleable, in consequence of the refusal of the colonists to consume the productions of the mother country. The government permitted them to export their teas to America free of *export* duty; and cargoes were shipped to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. At the two first ports, it was not received at any price, and the ships were not suffered to land their freights. At Charleston the tea was landed and stored, but neither purchased nor used. At Boston, a public meeting was held, and the consignees were requested neither to contract or sell. They replied that they were bound by their instructions from home. The moment for action had now arrived. At night, fifty men, disguised as Indians, boarded the ship, took out the chests of tea, and then threw them overboard. The perpetrators of this act were never known.

Lord North now gladly seized the opportunity to punish the Bostonians for resistance to his authority. He got parliament to agree to the closing of the port of Boston, subverting the constitution and charter of Massachusetts, and placing all authority in the hands of the officers of the crown. At the same time the

military force was increased, and a wider latitude given to its commander, General Gage.

In September, 1774, the Americans met in solemn congress, in Philadelphia. They resolved that they were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and not only to abstain from commercial relations with Great Britain, but to prepare for resistance if unjust claims were enforced.

In April, 1775, one little circumstance fanned the spark of discontent into rebellion. At Concord, twenty miles from Boston, the Americans had stored a quantity of ammunition, and other military materials. General Gage resolved to seize and destroy these stores. On their way to execute the general's orders, the troops met, at Lexington, some Americans under arms. The British commander ordered them to disperse; they stood firm. The troops delivered a volley; the Americans retreated, and then fired. Our forces, after effecting their purpose, had to retreat with considerable loss of life.

The war—for such it had now become—spread all over the colonies. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken from the British. The latter were reinforced by the arrivals of Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. The next engagement was that of Bunker's Hill, June 17th, 1775. Three days previously the congress reassembled at Philadelphia, and appointed a commander-in-chief. Their choice fell upon the illustrious Washington, who lost no time in assuming the command. He determined to blockade the English; to improve the colonial force; and, if possible, to get the Canadians to join in the struggle.

The British were compelled to evacuate Boston. In Canada, the American forces were not successful.

In June, 1776, a fleet arrived from England under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and anchored in the harbour of Charleston. Lord Cornwallis was in command of the troops. Beaten off by the Virginians, the British fleet and troops now concentrated at New York. Washington had prepared for this event, and fortified Long Island accordingly. On the 4th of July, 1776, the declaration of independence was agreed to. The thirteen colonies had now virtually thrown off the authority of the mother country.

At the period when the Americans thus asserted their own independence, the population of the United States amounted, in round numbers, to 815,000. Massachusetts had 292,000; Connecticut, 197,856; New York, 68,000; Rhode Island, 59,678; New Hampshire, 52,000; South Carolina, 40,000; and Louisiana, 5,500. By 1776, the settlements in Vermont had extended in a northerly direction, and emigrants had begun to plant settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. A small beginning this for a great nation.

All this while the attention of the British parliament and people had not been occupied, exclusively, with American matters. Wilkes had fought the battle of liberty, and gained something for the constitution. For many years this Wilkes was the great champion of the people. He was a demagogue, with no principles; but with a certain amount of talent, and a good share of audacity, without which he could never have played his part. He was the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell: had received a classical education; and published editions of Theophrastus and Catullus, by which he acquired the acquaintance of Pitt, Lord Temple, and other persons of rank and distinction. At this time he was member for Aylesbury, and had but an indifferent character. Charles Churchill was one of his coadjutors—a rake and clergyman, endowed with great satirical power. Churchill, by the encouragement of Wilkes, published a Scottish pastoral—*The Prophecy of Famine.* In this satire he describes Scotland as the most barren and miserable of countries, and in terms which show that he had never been there, for he makes its rivers dull and stagnant.

> "Where, slowly winding, the dull waters creep,
> And seem themselves to own the power of sleep."

To "the poor, mean, despised race" who inhabit Scotland, Famine appears, and exhorts them to quit a country, where—

> "Far as the eye could reach no tree was seen;
> Earth, clad in russet, scorned the lively green;
> The plague of locusts certain to defy,
> For in three hours a grasshopper must die.
> No living thing, whate'er its food, feeds there
> But the chameleon, who can feast on air."

In England all this is reversed. There plenty and abundance reign. The example of Bute is held up approvingly. Famine bids the true Scots imitate his career, and cross the border, where, instead of—

> "A barren desert, we shall seize rich plains,
> Where milk, with honey, flows, and plenty reigns;
> With some few natives joined, some pliant few
> Who worship interest, and one track pursue,
> There shall we, though the wretched people grieve,
> Ravage at large, nor ask the owner's leave."

The slander of the time associated the king's mother and Lord Bute. They were compared to Queen Isabella and Mortimer; and Wilkes actually wrote an ironical dedication of Ben Jonson's play of *The Fall of Mortimer*, to him. Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, was a Scotchman. In his paper, the *North Briton*, Wilkes had abused Scotchmen in general, and Lord Bute in particular. A general warrant was issued, in which, whilst no person was named, any one obnoxious to the government could be prosecuted if they had been in any way connected with the seditious paper. Accordingly, Wilkes was committed and sent to the Tower, and received the harshest treatment. The Court of Queen's Bench decided against the legality of general warrants; and Wilkes, the demagogue, became a hero and a patriot. In many ways he took part against the Court, who opposed him in every possible manner. In vain a compliant House of Commons expelled Wilkes: he was immediately re-elected. The honour heaped upon Wilkes was significant of the temper of the public. His admirers paid his debts; and the week after his release from prison, he was admitted as alderman of Farringdon without. He then rose, at very short intervals, to the honours of Sheriff in 1771, and of Lord Mayor in 1775. He was then made Chamberlain of the city of London. In 1783, upon a total change of ministry, Wilkes succeeded in a motion for having all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the House of Commons, respecting his incapacity, and the decision in favour of Colonel Lutrell, expunged from the journals. Wilkes' career closed in a manner less flattering to his feelings. At the general election in 1790, he met with the most scornful and humiliating defeat at the hands of the very electors of Middlesex formerly so enthusiastic in his favour.

With France we were at peace; but we had a trifling quarrel with Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, which, however, had been amicably arranged.

Parliament also found time to pass a mischievous marriage act, to please the king, and to deny relief to religious people rather staggered by the thirty-nine articles. At that time, however, subscription to the thirty-nine articles was deemed the palladium of our constitution in church and state.

At this crisis appears upon the stage Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guildford—a man of a remarkably mild and pleasant temper, of sound sense, and honourable character. He was ungainly in his person, and plain; but he was well versed in the business of parliament, and particularly dexterous in tagging to a motion of the opposition, some paragraph or other which neutralised the whole, or even turned it against them. He was exceedingly near-sighted; so much so, that upon one occasion he carried off the wig of the Secretary of the Navy, who sat near him in the House. Burke thus burlesqued his style of speaking:—"The noble lord who spoke last, after extending his right leg a full yard before his left,

rolling his flaming eyes, and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his mouth." He was just the man for his post, as he was often seen nodding while opposition members were pouring out all the vials of their wrath on his head. His ministerial existence was a lengthy one; and it is to be feared, on the whole, a mischievous one. "Lord North," writes Mr. Romilly in 1782, to his brother-in-law, Roget, "has had two places, which he only held during pleasure, settled on him for life, so that you may judge he is not much chagrined at being displaced. In private company, the other day, he said that the opposition, who had always complained of his publishing lying *Gazettes*, were no sooner in office, than they set off with a *Gazette* more full of lies than any of his had been, for it contained a string of paragraphs, each beginning, 'His majesty has been pleased to appoint, &c.;' when it is certain that the king was not pleased at any one of these appointments."

The affairs of India were also brought before parliament. It had been connected with England since the days of Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign the English East India Company was formed. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Roe was appointed ambassador to the Great Mogul. Charles I. gave a licence to a Sir William Courtier, and certain merchant adventurers, to trade to India, to the detriment of the rights pertaining to the previously existing company. The new company caused a good deal of confusion, embarrassment, and loss to the older association; into which, however, after a time it ultimately merged.

In 1743 war broke out in Europe, and the French assumed a bold and dangerous attitude upon the coast of Coromandel. The French East India Company, anxious to avert the calamities of war in a region where the political merit of the Austrian succession had but little interest, proposed that, in the contest which had arisen, the Indian seas should be considered neutral. England refused the terms, and prepared for war. The French did the same. They took Madras from the English, and successfully defended Pondicherry. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle peace was restored, and the English recovered Madras.

The time had now come for a subaltern, named Clive, to distinguish himself. He had been sent out as a clerk, or writer, by the East India Company; and when the war broke out, he exchanged the pen for the sword.

The French passion for war took a wider scope, and, for a time, they were more successful than ourselves. One Dupleix, a man of great enterprise and determination of character, had conceived the idea of establishing a French empire in India. The power of the Great Mogul had been rudely shaken; the south of India was split into different little kingdoms and chieftainships, all rivalling each other. Why could not France take advantage of the idea, and, by allying herself with one or other of the contending parties, secure the country for herself? An opportunity soon offered itself for the operation of this grand policy. The Nizam of the Deccan suddenly died, and the successorship was disputed. Of the claimants, one appealed to the French for the aid they were eager to give. The allied forces were triumphant, and the French had a rich reward. Dupleix was declared governor of India, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin—a country almost as large as France. He ruled 30,000,000 of people with almost absolute power.

Clive saw the danger of our position. By a gallant *coup-de-main*, in thunder, lightning, and rain, he took Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic; from all of which, in time, he expelled the French and their allies.

In Bengal, in 1756, there was terrible consternation among the British. Suraj-u-Dowlah had advanced on Calcutta; shut up all the English he could find in the Black Hole. Clive hastened to take revenge, and then to war with the French, who had promised to assist Suraj-u-Dowlah in driving the English out of Bengal. The luck this time was on our side. The battle of Plassey, fought on the 22nd of June, 1757, made Bengal ours.

Clive returned to Calcutta a wealthy man. He had enriched the coffers of his masters and his own. To drive the French out of India was his next effort. At

this time the seven years' war was raging in Europe, and the opportunity was not to be lost. The Count de Lally came out from France with a large force of infantry and cavalry. At first the French were successful: then came reverses. Poor Lally, after witnessing the total annihilation of the French army in India, returned to Paris to be cast into the Bastille, tried by the parliament, and executed under circumstances of peculiar indignity. The French East India Company was soon after extinguished. This occurred in 1763.

Clive returned to India as governor-general, and established an effective internal and foreign policy. The task was an Herculean one. Having performed it satisfactorily, he set sail for Europe at the end of the year 1767.

A committee had been appointed, who had passed a vote of censure on Lord Clive. Heavy charges of cruelty and peculation had been brought against others of the company's servants. The chairman of the committee said, that, "throughout the whole investigation, he could not find a single sound spot whereon to lay a finger; it being all equally one mass of the most unheard-of villanies and the most notorious corruption." Poor Clive, in spite of his princely fortune, ultimately committed suicide.

Again we take up the story of the American war.

At this time, at least 30,000 men of all arms, English and Germans, were concentrated in the vicinity of New York. Washington's army was feeble, and poorly furnished. He had 27,000 men upon paper, and not more than 10,000 fit for duty. Congress was unaccustomed to war, and had made provision in a very penurious manner. They were afraid of a standing army and a dictatorship; but the spirit of the nation revived when Washington crossed the Delaware, and took a hundred Hessians prisoners, and then assailed Lord Cornwallis's troops at Princetown, in New Jersey, and drove them out of several other towns as well. In the north, however, the American armament, under General Arnold, was entirely destroyed.

In 1776, Benjamin Franklin and his colleagues arrived in Paris, to procure a loan, and naval and military aid from France. He had to wait a year before he was recognised by the French government. In spite of the enforced neutrality of the ruler of France, the American cause became very popular among the people, and many betook themselves to the United States, to offer their military services. Among them was the Marquis de Lafayette, afterwards a conspicuous actor in the French revolution. Lafayette was, at this time (1777), twenty years of age. He at once equipped a vessel at his own expense, and, in spite of the opposition of his family, and the prohibition of his government, he left for America, where he was appointed major-general.

Heavy fighting ensued in America. The object of the English was to unite the portion of the army at New York with that in Canada, under General Burgoyne. The latter was very unfortunate: he and his soldiers had to surrender.

The British government having manifested much displeasure at the conduct of the French in sympathising with the revolted colonies, war was declared against France; and, in 1778, the French threw off all disguise, and acknowledged the independence of America. When parliament met, the great Lord Chatham made his last and dying speech in favour of peace with America, and war with France. "I am not, I confess," said his lordship, "well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust, though I know them not, they are still sufficient to defend our rights. But, at all events, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one undaunted effort; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men." As the debate went on, his lordship would have replied; but, in the act of rising, he was struck down with mortal illness, and was carried home, where, in a month, he died. Chatham was buried in Westminster Abbey; and near his remains were placed those of a statesman equally popular—Viscount Palmerston.

In 1778, Keppel sailed out to cripple the French with a fleet of twenty-one

sail of the line and three frigates. He hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, 100 guns; but this cruise ended in an unsatisfactory manner.

The war was now prosecuted with increased vigour, and with varying success. Sometimes the Americans were successful; at others, the English. The employment of the Indians was attended with horrible barbarities. The flourishing little settlement of Wyoming was devastated by a band of these savages. Their course was marked by the most shocking cruelties. They were headed by one Brandt, whose atrocities form the subject of one of the most beautiful poems in the English language—Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*. An old man speaks—

> "The mammet comes—the foe—the monster Brandt,
> With all his howling, desolating band.
> These eyes have seen their blade and burning pine:
> Awake at once, and silence half your land.
> Red is the cup they drink; but not with wiue.
> Awake, and watch to-night; or see no morning shine.
>
> "Scorning to wield the hatchet for his tribe,
> 'Gainst Brandt himself, I went to battle forth.
> Accursed Brandt! he left, of all my tribe,
> No man nor child, nor thiug of living birth:
> No! nor the dog that watched my household hearth,
> Escaped that night of blood upon our plains.
> All perished!"

In 1778, Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon for America, with a formidable fleet. He had with him three ships of the line and twelve frigates: among the former one carried ninety guns, another eighty, and six seventy-four guns each; and their first object was the defeat of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; but they arrived too late. In naval history there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted of only six sixty-four-gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long in service, and were in a bad condition. Their capture by the French would have been certain had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware after a less tedious passage. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and in July appeared off Sandy Hook, New York.

The French fleet came to an anchor, and continued outside the Hook eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about twenty vessels under British colours. On the 22nd of July, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment for the British. They supposed that Count d'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing, for that reason, and with the advice of Washington, sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape; for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. Byron's squadron met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. Just as the French fleet left it arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged.

The next attempt of D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, which had been in possession of the British since 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Lord Howe followed D'Estaing, and came to Rhode Island just as the French had entered Newport harbour. On the appearance of Lord Howe the French admiral put to sea with his whole fleet; but a tempest intervened, and did great damage to the ships on both sides. The British retired to New York to refit, and the French fleet to Boston; and Rhode Island was saved for the present.

Deep was the disappointment of the Americans. Many censured Count D'Estaing; and the latter was not sorry to get away. Having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, on November 3, 1778, he sailed for the West Indies, and

the British possessions there. In his vain attempt to capture St. Lucia he lost 1,500 men. Reinforced by the division commanded by Lamotte Picquet and De Grasse, he reduced the island of St. Vincent, with scarcely any opposition. Granada next fell a prey, after a somewhat better defence; and all the while Admiral Byron remained inactive, not daring to risk his force, much inferior to the French. We next hear of D'Estaing, in concert with the Americans, laying siege to Georgia, a town of Savannah, then held by a small English garrison. In the assault D'Estaing was wounded, and the French met with a severe loss. It was no longer possible to continue the siege, and D'Estaing, having re-embarked his troops and artillery, sailed to the West Indies: here he left a part of his ships, and with the rest returned to France, where, in spite of public opinion in his favour, he was speedily disgraced by the Court, who were determined to humble England, as she had never yet been humbled, by sea and land. For this purpose Spain was drawn into the quarrel as an ally. The Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, now urged upon the Court of Spain that the time had come for recovering Gibraltar and Minorca, and conquering Florida; and, as a further inducement, it was agreed that Jamaica should be handed over to Spain. Accordingly, on the 3rd of June, 1779, D'Orvilliers sailed from Brest with thirty-two ships of the line; and, on the 25th of the same month, he joined the Spanish admiral, Luis de Cordova. The combined fleet consisted of sixty-six ships of the line, besides a great number of frigates and smaller vessels; while 300 transports were assembled at St. Malo and Havre, to carry over the army which, under Marshal de Broglie, was to invade our island-home. The intended enterprise was a failure: the combined fleets were attacked with scurvy, and heartbroken. D'Orvilliers retired into a monastery, to hide his disgrace and shame. It was at this time that the celebrated Paul Jones, greatly encouraged and aided by the French, infested the English coasts. On his way from the Scottish coasts to Holland, he fell-in with the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough;* captured them, and carried them into the Texel. The English government insisted that Jones should be given up by the Dutch as a pirate; and their refusal was one of the causes which led to a war with Holland.

Let us now make way for a real hero, Admiral Rodney, placed at this time at the head of a fleet destined for the West Indies, but also commissioned to convey a considerable fleet of transports, laden with provision and ammunition, to Gibraltar, then closely besieged by Spain. He began gloriously. First of all, a convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, protected by a ship of sixty-four guns and four frigates, fell into his hands. Soon after, off Cape St. Vincent, the Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line was encountered; and, after a spirited engagement, the Spanish admiral's ship of eighty guns, and three others of seventy each, were captured and carried into Gibraltar. This important fortress relieved, Rodney made his way to the West Indies. In April, 1780, he came up with the French fleet under Count de Guichen: an engagement took place, which was indecisive, in consequence, it is said, of the misconduct of many of Rodney's officers, among whom there existed, at that time, a bad spirit. It was in this expedition that Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV.) made his first trip in the *Prince George*, commanded by Rear-Admiral Digby. In capturing the vessels belonging to the Caraccas Company, Rodney took occasion to honour the royal midshipman, as appears by his letter dated January 9th, 1780. "Part of the convoy was laden with naval stores and provisions for the Spanish ships of war at Cadiz; the rest with bale goods belonging to the Caraccas Company. Those loaded with naval stores and naval goods I shall immediately despatch for England, under convoy of his majesty's ships, the *America* and *Pearl.* Those loaded with provisions I shall carry to Gibraltar, for which place I am now steering; and have not a doubt that the service I am sent upon will be speedily effected. As I thought it highly necessary to send a sixty-four-gun ship to protect so valuable a convoy, I have commissioned, officered, and manned the Spanish ship of war, of

the rate I have named as above; and out of respect to his royal highness, in whose presence she had the honour to be taken, I have named her the *Prince William*."

But we must return to England, where popular discontent had been gradually drawing to a head. There was murmuring, loud and deep, at the state of things in America, and at the manner in which the war was carried on. A court-martial was held on Admiral Keppel, respecting the engagement off Ushant. The officers warmly espoused the cause of Keppel; and Burke, who was on terms of intimacy with him, accompanied him to Portsmouth, where it was held; and assisted him in preparing his defence. The inquiry, which lasted thirty-four days, resulted in a full and honourable acquittal. London and Westminster were illuminated, and the mob took occasion to do a considerable amount of damage to the admiral's foes. The residence of Sir Hugh Palisser suffered considerable damage, as did also the windows of the Admiralty, and of Lords Germaine and North. Keppel was presented with the freedom of the city. Stimulated by success, the opposition renewed their attack; and Lord North was compelled to consent to an inquiry connected with military affairs, which resulted in showing that ministers were very imperfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in America; and that the people there were generally much more unfavourable to British annexation than had been imagined in this country. For the ministry the attack was anything but pleasant. Officers in the navy resigned; officers in the army did the same. One of the ablest members of the administration, Lord Barrington, had been allowed to withdraw, and the situation of Secretary of War was now filled by Mr. Jenkinson, who was subsequently raised to the peerage, and became known in history as Lord Liverpool. The people complained of the expense of the war; and the more so, as no brilliant successes were announced; nor did the news that the combined fleets of France and Spain were hovering round our coasts, tend to allay the uneasiness which had taken possession of the national mind. On more than one occasion we had been in jeopardy. In August, 1779, the French and Spanish approached Plymouth. A number of coasting-vessels had been taken in Cawsand Bay—nay, more, the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, had been captured, and that within sight of Plymouth. This important town, it appeared, had been left almost defenceless. The cannon-balls were found too large for the guns; there were no flints to the muskets; and no adequate provision had been made for resisting so formidable a foe. In January, 1781, came news of another French descent—that on Jersey. All London was alarmed. The despatch which brought news of the invasion arrived in London late on the Sunday night, after the invaders had retired, defeated. The Council were called out of their beds between four and five on Sunday morning. Marshal Conway, who was well rated by the press for being absent from his post, started immediately for the island, and the Channel fleet was hastily ordered to repair to the scene of action; but the tumult soon calmed down when victory was announced. Some of these things tended to enhance the popularity of the minister. His parliamentary supporters fell off. Thurlow had now gained the woolsack, and could no longer assist Lord North in the Commons. Wedderburn had become Attorney, and Wallace Solicitor-general. The Earl of Suffolk, Secretary of State for the northern department, had died; and his duties were discharged by Lord Weymouth, who, at the same time, presided over the southern department; but who now resigned to Lords Stormont and Hillsborough both offices. The situation of First Lord of the Board of Trade and Plantations was given to the Earl of Carlisle, the late commissioner of the king in America. Earl Gower resigned the office of Lord President of the Council, which was given to the Earl of Bathurst.

Turning to America, we find almost as much discontent as among ourselves. From the combination of France and Spain against England the Americans had expected much: they had anticipated that, to defend her shores from invasion, the

mother country would require all her ships and forces at home: they were, therefore, disappointed when they found that England still remained mistress of the seas. The Americans also differed amongst themselves. Some of the leaders even were more than suspected of being traitors to the common cause. The notorious Tom Paine, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stated that he was in a position to prove that Deane, then conducting American affairs in Paris, had fraudulently attempted to secure wealth for himself by betraying the interests of the nation. Paine was, in consequence, compelled to resign his office; but the charge he had made remained. An extract, about this time, from a letter by Mr. Lawrence, the president of congress, gained publicity; in which, confidently delivering himself to Governor Huiston, of Georgia, he declared, that "he could unfold such scenes of venality, peculation, and fraud, as would astonish his correspondent:" and he added, that "it was in his power to prove, that he must be a pitiful rogue who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their energies in the support of these friend-plundered, much injured, and, I was almost going to say, sinking states." This deplorable picture, the writer declared, was not too highly coloured. Undoubtedly it produced a great impression at the time.

In 1780, we find the English people troubling themselves very little about America; there were matters nearer and dearer to them to discuss at home. On the motion of Mr. Dunning, it was carried that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. Other equally spirited resolutions were carried. But an event took place which soon diverted the attention of parliament in another direction: we allude to the Lord George Gordon riots, as they are popularly termed. In Scotland, at this day, there is little real toleration; and at the time to which we refer, it had been repeatedly disgraced by popular demonstrations against the professors of the Roman Catholic faith. Those matters had been noticed in parliament; and in many parts of England a bitter anti-catholic feeling had been aroused. A half-crazed nobleman, Lord George Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, had become its exponent. In an instance where Burke had presented a petition in favour of the Catholics, his lordship had moved that it should be thrown over the table; and declared that, in consequence of the favour which had been shown to popery, every man in Scotland was prepared to join an insurrection. Out of doors, in a series of extravagant speeches, his lordship had stated it to be his determination to stand by the church, and to resist the pope, the devil, and the ministers.

Pretending vast anxiety for Protestantism—supposed to be endangered when any measure of persecution is repealed, or act of justice done—the members of a no-popery clique called a meeting on Monday, the 29th of May, 1780, to consider the propriety of petitioning for a repeal of the act which had already passed in favour of Roman Catholics. Lord George addressed the assembly, and, in inflammatory language, called on them to resist the measure by every means in their power. In a cause so glorious he was ready to march at their head: it was the cause of conscience and their country; and if, instead of taking the course he recommended, they were content to waste their time in empty words, he advised them to choose some other leader in his place. Accordingly it was resolved to hold an open-air meeting on the subject, in St. George's-in-the-Fields. The vast crowd assembled—consisting, as some report, of as many as 100,000—after an exciting harangue from his lordship, separated into several bodies, and proceeded by different routes to Westminster, and then re-united. It besieged parliament, and insulted obnoxious and liberal statesmen. Inside the scene was equally stormy. The petition presented by his lordship was rejected; and the mob, bent on mischief, commenced the work of plunder and devastation. The Bavarian ambassador's chapel, in Warwick Street, Golden Square, was destroyed; the Sardinian ambassador's chapel, in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, shared a similar fate. Nor did the disturbances end here: soon after, some Catholics, living near Moorfields, were

molested; and, on Sunday morning, it was thought necessary to send troops there. They endeavoured to seize the ringleaders, but in vain; and the mob, waxing defiant, insulted the military, and did further damage. The next day, Sir George Saville's house, Leicester Fields, was gutted; a bonfire was made of materials stolen from Catholic places of worship, by one crowd of rioters in Welbeck Street, before the house of Lord George Gordon; and, in the course of the same day, several Roman Catholic chapels in the neighbourhood of Wapping were destroyed, and the houses of one or two who had given evidence against the rioters, were plundered and set on fire. Newgate fell a prey to the mob, and 300 prisoners, four of whom were to have been executed on the following Thursday, were set free: the houses of Sir John Fielding, the police magistrate, and Lord Mansfield, were attacked and destroyed. In the course of the day, the King's Bench Prison, the Fleet, the New Gaol, the Clink, and the Surrey Bridewell, were all in flames: the Poultry Compter was the only prison spared in London. Next to hating prisons, a mob has another passion of almost equal intensity—a love for liquor. In Holborn there was an immense distillery, belonging to Mr. Langdale, a Roman Catholic. Accordingly the distillery was attacked, and became an easy prey. By this time, however, ministers and magistrates seemed to have recovered from their panic; and the rioting, which had long been disavowed by Lord George Gordon and the Protestant Association, ceased. It is impossible to estimate how many lives were lost in this disgraceful outbreak. The return made to the commander-in-chief, Lord Amherst, gave, as the result, 210 killed, and 258 wounded: but a still greater number perished from the wretched excesses committed with ardent spirits. The scenes are described in the *Annual Register* as mournful and distressing. "In the streets men were lying upon bulks and stalls, and at the doors of empty houses, drunk to a state of insensibility and contempt of danger; boys and women were in the same condition, and many of the latter with infants in their arms." Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower, and subsequently tried for high treason, but acquitted. His deluded followers did not fare so well: of them, fifty-nine were capitally convicted, and twenty or thirty executed. We may add here that Lord George Gordon ended his mad career in Newgate, 1792.

In the meanwhile the war in America dragged slowly on. The English commander, Clinton, occupied New York, and the places in its vicinity; the French were at Rhode Island; and Washington was at his old station. When parliament met in England, according to the opposition, the nation was in a melancholy state, in consequence of ministerial incapacity. At this period (1781) we meet with, for the first time, the name of William Pitt, the second son of the great Chatham, whose talents had already been magnified by fame. He now presented himself to the House as a reformer and economist: he spoke in reply to Lord Nugent, rising under the gallery on the opposition side. From the first he appears to have been perfectly at home in that assembly, in which he was destined to occupy so conspicuous a place. While he was upon his legs, Lord George Germaine thought it necessary to whisper to Mr. Ellis: and the whispering continuing, the youthful orator was annoyed; who suddenly stopped, after saying—"I shall wait for a time, till the Agamemnon of the present day has finished his conference with the Nestor of the Treasury." This silenced the whisperers, and the young Pitt was felt to have made a hit. When the affairs of America came under consideration, Pitt vindicated the conduct of his father, and declared the war, as carried on, barbarous, unjust, and diabolical; conceived in injustice, and nurtured in folly; and equally fatal to the interests of England and America. In England, much discontent was manifested at the continuance of the war. The West India interest was especially loud in its complaints. Some of our islands in that quarter had been lost; and the remaining islands were so weakly defended, that it was expected they would be shortly captured. The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, complained of the continuance of the "present unnatural and unfortunate contest," which was described as fatal to our

trade generally; as having annihilated private credit, and deteriorated all the property in the kingdom. Yet Arnold, the traitor, was a sad thorn in the side of the Americans; and Cornwallis was gaining successes—ultimately, however, of little avail, for his army was captured, and he retired in disgrace.

The time had come for England to relinquish claims she could not enforce. When the news of the surrender of Cornwallis's army reached London, great was the consternation in Downing Street. Lord North took it, said Lord Germaine, as he would have taken a ball in his breast: his wonted firmness, which had stood him in such good stead in many a fierce parliamentary contest, was over; and, throwing up his arms in wild dismay, he paced the apartment, ejaculating—"Oh, God! it is all over." In the mind of King George III., however, no thought of peace existed: the Americans were rebellious; and it was his duty, as an anointed king, at all events, to put rebellion down. Against the logic of events, and the shining talents opposed to them, ministers made but a poor defence. Minorca had been taken from us by the French; and it was feared Gibraltar would soon fall into the hands of Spain. The peace party in the House became omnipotent. In February, 1782, General Conway moved a resolution, which was carried, declaring it to be "the opinion of this House, that a further prosecution of offensive war against America, would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of the country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity, or fatal both to the interests of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing a happy reconciliation, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring the blessings of peace and tranquillity." In a little while, a still more spirited resolution was carried, to the effect, "that this House will consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who shall advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of America." The opposition grew strong, aided by the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.); and Lord North was compelled to resign.

A new cabinet was formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham as its apparent, but with Charles James Fox as its real head. Their measures were—peace with the Americans; a complete and searching reform in the civil list, on the plan recommended by Mr. Burke; and, thirdly, the diminution of the influence of the crown, by the exclusion of contractors from seats in parliament, and the disqualification of revenue officers from voting in the election of members. The ministers, as is often the case, quarrelled among themselves: the Rockinghamites abused Lord Shelburn for want of good faith; and the reply of the Shelburnites was, that they were in no way pledged to Lord Rockingham. Fox disliked Thurlow, and knew himself to be personally obnoxious to the king; and Burke, who had no seat in the cabinet, was discontented with his position. Nevertheless, according to general expectation, peace negotiations were commenced; but at first, apparently, with little success. The tone of England had been so greatly lowered that her enemies were rendered bolder and more exacting. Mr. Fox offered to the hostile confederacy, as a basis, the recognition of American independence, and the *status in quo*. Peace was not less necessary to France and Spain than to England; yet the proposals of the latter were haughtily rejected; and, in the meanwhile, events occurred which still further tended to delay peace negotiations. These were, the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the appointment of Lord Shelburn as his successor—a step which caused Fox to resign; and the news of Rodney's splendid victory over the French fleet, commanded by Count de Grasse, in the West Indies. The loss of the enemy in this great battle was enormous: they were deprived of eight ships, seven of which remained as prizes in the hands of the conquerors. Of these, the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, was one. She had cost, in building, £176,000, and had been presented to Louis XV. by the city of Paris. Three thousand men were slain in the fleet of the French, and double that number wounded. In the English fleet, 237 were killed, and 760 wounded. After the action Rodney repaired to Jamaica, where he

was received with transports of joy: he was rewarded with the thanks of parliament; a pension of £2,000 to himself and heirs; and was raised to the peerage, as was Sir Samuel Hood. The nation received the news with greater joy than did the ministers, who, from political and other motives, had despatched Admiral Pigott to the West Indies, with instructions from Admiral Keppel to supersede and send home the victorious Rodney. Arriving at his destination, the admiral took upon him the immediate command; and the amazed and insulted Rodney bade farewell to the fleet he had led on to victory, and returned home, never again to accept any command in the service of his country. This exploit had, however, so chained down the Gallic spirit, and destroyed or captured their first-rate ships, that the French were no longer able to stand out to sea with a complete armament. The Spanish and the Dutch were in a similar situation; and thus way was made for the general peace which took place shortly after. The defeat of Count de Grasse caused great consternation in America. The finances of the republicans were low; their spirits had proportionately declined; and this new disaster gave rise to the most dreary forebodings. Many who had been most sanguine, despaired of success, as, at this juncture, France could help them neither with money or men. In these circumstances Washington held himself calm, undismayed, and superior to misfortune: while he was anxious to see peace concluded, he had every reason to fear that it would come too late. His spirit seems to have almost sunk beneath the weight it had to bear; and the most disheartening anticipations mark his correspondence. The national bank, established by congress, had neither cash nor credit, and money could not be had under 60 per cent.

As regards ourselves, the most spirited episode in the war now happily drawing to a close, was the defence of Gibraltar, then under the charge of General Elliot. Spain, aided by France, was intent on the capture of this celebrated fortress. On every side, by land and sea, the rock was besieged. To enjoy the memorable triumph which the combined powers anticipated, many of the nobility from various courts repaired thither; and among them, Count Artois (afterwards Louis XVIII.), and his cousin the Duke de Bourbon. The eager anxiety of the Spanish monarch to learn that Gibraltar had fallen was extreme. At length the stupendous operations in connection with the siege were matured. De Crillon resolved, on the 1st of September, 1782, that no further delay should be interposed. On came the floating batteries till they got within gunshot, when 400 pieces of heavy artillery began to thunder on the foe. The sight was fearful. By midnight the attacking batteries were in a blaze; and when morning dawned, the defenders beheld their foes at their mercy, and shrieking for means of escape from the consuming fire. General Elliot, as merciful as he was brave, ceased firing; and his officers endeavoured to save and succour those who had come against them to conquer and destroy. De Crillon's memorable attack thus ended with the destruction of the floating batteries; the capture or loss of 150 brass cannons; and the wounding or death of 1,400 men. On the part of the English the casualties were but few, as there were no more than three officers and thirteen soldiers killed; with five officers and sixty-three soldiers wounded. Subsequently, Gibraltar was relieved by Lord Howe: and after this signal discomfiture of the French and Spaniards, and the sacrifices made in vain to recover a barren rock, Spain abandoned the idea of calling Gibraltar once more its own; and thus another obstacle which stood in the way of peace had been removed. France and Holland were anxious for peace, in consequence of the exhausted state of their finances. In the summer of 1782, the English minister at Brussels, Fitzherbert, had been appointed the plenipotentiary of Great Britain, to conclude a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and Holland. At the same time, a merchant named Oswald, known for his intimate acquaintance with American affairs, was commissioned to treat with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, as commissioners on the part of America. Provisional articles were signed by

the English and American commissioners on the 30th of November, which eventually concluded the war, and established American independence. It is said to have been the influence of Franklin which decided the Americans in not publishing this acknowledgment of their independence until the preliminaries of peace had been signed between England and France, though the definitive treaty only appeared in the month of January following. On this occasion Dr. Franklin is described to have assumed the dress which he wore when his conduct was so severely condemned by Wedderburne before the Privy Council. The treaty with Spain progressed hand-in-hand with that of France. England allowed the French to fish off the coast of Newfoundland, from Cape St. John, on the eastern side, round the mouth of the island, to Cape Ray, on the west; and restored, and ceded to France, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, St. Lucia, and Tobago; the river Senegal, and all its dependencies and forts, with the island of Goree in Africa; and all that the English had taken from the French in the East Indies. The articles of the treaty of Utrecht, relating to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, which had been especially galling to France, were now annulled. The latter restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies; and guaranteed to her, in Africa, the possession of Fort James and the river Gambia. Spain obtained the two Flanders, and the island of Minorca; and restored to Great Britain the Bahama islands. Never was a better day's work done than that which concluded this useless war, and established the republic of America—a republic founded on the political equality of man, and on the dignity of labour —a republic which has offered wealth and freedom to the outcast and oppressed of every nation and clime—a republic whose commerce is only second to that of England; and where every one is taught to read and write. The model republic has now been on its trial for nearly eighty years, and experienced a career of prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations; and has latterly given the world a convincing proof of its ability to crush all civil discord, and to preserve its integrity intact. Four years ago it seemed as if the north and south were arrayed in deadly hostility; and as if the confederacy would be divided into two or more separate republics. For a time, the south, with its better military organisation, prospered; and a republic, whose corner-stone was avowedly slavery, appeared to be on the point of being established, to the disgrace of our common humanity. It must be remembered that all this happened while Lord Palmerston was Premier—when Earl Russell had described the north as fighting for empire; and Mr. Gladstone had even so far committed himself as to declare that the south had established its right to existence; when the English aristocracy, and the leading newspapers, were anxious and clamorous for England to recognise the south; when, in many quarters, much misplaced sympathy was expressed for the latter; when any violation of neutrality, any favour shown to them, might have set England and America at war: and yet, never in any way, or by any act or word, did the English government, under Lord Palmerston's direction, swerve from the neutrality it unflinchingly maintained till the unhappy strife was over, the southern confederacy collapsed, and the United States once more answering to its name.

A modern statesman has declared that England does not love coalitions. This truth was realised by the celebrated coalition ministry formed by Fox and North, at the conclusion of the American war. Mr. Pitt, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburn, was succeeded by Lord John Cavendish; Burke became Paymaster of the Forces; and Sheridan was rewarded with the post of Secretary to the Treasury. For some time to come, the affairs of India occupy almost exclusive attention.

India was at this time a source of annoyance, and fear, and trouble to all parties at home. Hastings, the governor-general, was equal to the emergency.

"A crisis had now arrived," writes Lord Macaulay; "with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say, that if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as in America." In Hyder Ali the British encountered the most formidable foe which had hitherto impeded their progress in the East. The government of Madras had provoked his hostility, and was in no condition to defy his resentment. In the summer of 1780, he had left Seringaptam, with an army of 90,000 men: the presidency of Madras, weakened by divisions, and destitute of money, had but 6,000 men, occupying many different posts. On our ally, the Nabob of Arcot, no dependence could be placed. Onward, in irresistible strength, advanced this mighty host. In many British garrisons the sepoys threw away their arms, unable to withstand the terror of Hyder's name. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and others by despair. "The English inhabitants of Madras" (we quote Macaulay) "could already see, by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing habitations. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and trade, when the evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and near the gay verandahs. Even the town was not thought secure; and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George." The presidency of Madras was further disturbed by the reported approach of a powerful French armament, to co-operate with Hyder, and to recover Pondicherry. Colonel Baillie and his forces, near Conjeveram, in spite of a gallant defence, were surrounded, and cut in pieces. When the fate of Baillie and his troops was made known to Sir Hector Munro, who was at the head of the other division of the Madras army, he made a precipitate retreat. Hastings was equal to the emergency: he sent money to Madras, though he had none to spare: he recalled the governor of Madras, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, whose name was a tower of strength as the victor of Plassey, Wandewash, and Pondicherry. Peace was made with the Mahratta chiefs, and Popham was summoned from the Jumna. The English took a swift and sure revenge. Hyder Ali suffered a complete defeat, and saw all his fondest hopes destroyed. He is said to have rested on a stool, placed on an eminence near his army, and to have raved like a madman at witnessing Coote's success. In oriental fashion, the aged chief rent his clothes, and was reluctant to move from the spot till compelled by his attendants to mount his horse, and withdraw. His son, the far-famed Tippoo Saib, was ordered to raise the siege of Wandewash. The latter, reinforced by troops from France, met with some slight success. At this time the aged Hyder Ali died, and Tippoo immediately withdrew from the war, to secure his right to the vast riches his father had left behind. He cherished the wildest dreams—no less than the entire annihilation of British power in India. An army, 90,000 strong, moved at his command. His wealth was enormous; and besides, he had in France a powerful ally. At this juncture of affairs Mr. Fox brought in his India Bill. It was passed by the Commons, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Pitt; and it was thrown out by the Lords. Its failure was a death-blow to the government. Fox and North were compelled to resign. A new cabinet was formed; and Mr. Pitt, though not twenty-five, was gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The India Bill, by the cotemporary public, came to be regarded as a pernicious measure, which had its origin in the selfish ambition of the late minister. There is reason to believe that the feeling was not altogether just. Mr. Adolphus candidly remarks—"No plan for the government of India could be framed which was not liable to very great objection;" and he considers it impossible that the parliamentary rejection of Mr. Fox's measure "could have been attended with such signal effects, had not the popularity of the minister been annihilated by means of the accursed coalition."

A formidable opposition to the new minister was organised. His prospects were anything but cheering. He was sustained, however, by the consciousness of his own rectitude, and by the confidence of his king. The government now formed was destined long to conduct the affairs of the British empire, and to exercise vast influence over the fortunes of the globe. It was under its traditions that Lord Palmerston was trained to statesmanship and power; yet, in its origin, it put forth no pretensions, and was spoken of as a political absurdity—as the shadow of an administration; and "Master Billy's government," and "Master Billy's medicines," were the favourite themes of all the small wits of the day. Fox spoke of the cabinet with unsparing ridicule, and had no hesitation in declaring that it was impossible for the business of the country to be carried on by such an administration. In 1784, a new ministerial coalition was attempted, but failed. By this time a strong party, favourable to the existing government, had been formed in the city, and its freedom was presented to Mr. Pitt. On his way to Grocers' Hall to receive it, Pitt was cheered loudly and lustily by the mob. Arrived there, and taking the oath, he was addressed at great length by the celebrated John Wilkes. That remarkable person—no longer a demagogue—told the minister that he knew how high he stood in the confidence of the public; and remarked—"Much is to be done; but you have youth, capacity, and firmness; and it is the characteristic of a free people never to despair. Your noble father, sir, annihilated party; and I hope you, in the end, will bear down and conquer the hydra of faction which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his once saying, that, for the good of the people, he dared look the proudest connections of this country in the face. I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and as he has the same support of the crown and the people, I am fully persuaded that the same success must follow." Public feeling was rapidly turning in favour of Mr. Pitt: the satirists of the day unsparingly attacked the unfortunate coalition. The popularity of Fox was no more; and caricatures, exhibiting him in the most ridiculous colours, chiefly in connection with the East India question, were brought out in almost endless succession. One of them, entitled "The Triumphal Entrance of Carlo Khan into Delhi," is yet preserved by the curious in such matters. The chubby countenance of his new friend, Lord North, was attached to the form of an elephant, on which is seated Fox, arrayed in the gorgeous attire of the Great Mogul, preceded by Burke as his trumpeter.—The youth of Mr. Pitt was now one of his many claims to favour; and the effects of this impression were soon manifest, to the utter dismay of the opposition, of whom more than 150 lost their seats at the ensuing election. Pitt passed, when parliament met, his India Bill; and the measures he brought forward for improving the revenue, proved to be eminently successful. The bill for India introduced a Board of Control, and the system of double government.

By this time the disorders in India had forced themselves on the notice of parliament and the country; and in 1785, Warren Hastings came over to take his trial. This trial, which lasted for seven years, afforded opportunity for oratorical display to the most brilliant men of the day. Burke and Sheridan (especially the former, by his memorable speeches) obtained for themselves imperishable renown. It was a subject of national interest; it fixed attention, for the moment, upon the romance as well as the reality of Indian life; and it reduced its subject to poverty. But the acquittal of Hastings ensured him recompense: the Company bestowed on him a pension of £4,000 a year. In after-years, the House of Commons rose, and uncovered to receive him. George IV., as Prince Regent, paid him personal attention; and his statues and busts grace many a niche in public places of importance. The late Mr. Samuel Phillips admirably summarised his character. We reprint it here. "In his thirty-third year his reign ceased. What had it been? With a resolution which no dangers and no difficulties could daunt; with a genius for resource, fertile in proportion to the demand; with a sagacity that disabled opposition, and commanded success; with a self-possession calm in

every tempest, he had taken in hand a set of provinces imperilled by their disorganisation and by terrible enemies, and he left a constructed and fortified empire. What had been his means? Good and ill, he had stood between the rapacious rulers and the feeble ruled, and was alike beloved by both. As civilian, he held the heart and allegiance of the army. But in India he had used Indian powers. He had not amassed money corruptly; but he corrupted with it. He had extorted treasure; he had broken faith; he had authorised and instigated cruelty; he had violated justice to shed guilty blood; he had held the ordinary moral laws suspended, for the safety and the aggrandisement of the dominion committed to his sway." If it be true that Hastings had not, by corrupt means, acquired wealth for himself, it is to be feared that he was the exception rather than the rule. In the debates on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, the claims made on this chief were enormous, and many of them ill-founded. Against Dundas, Pitt's minister of the new Board of Indian Control, Burke was especially severe. One of the creatures of Dundas, Paul Benfield, was held up to public indignation and scorn. This Paul Benfield, the orator sarcastically remarked, "had been made the grand reformer of the day; the reformer before whom the whole choir of reformers must bow. In the cause of England he had, amidst his charitable toils, still been active, and had not forgotten the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her sake he had not disdained to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer to the House of Commons. He had furnished it, not with the faded figures of antiquated merit in tapestry, such as decorate and may reproach some other houses, but with real, solid, living patterns of true moral virtue. Paul Benfield made, not reckoning himself, no fewer than eight members during the last parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the present." In the same strain of irony Burke described Mr. Benfield, immediately after his election, to have shown that he considered the duties of a member of the British parliament might be as well pursued in India as in England; and, accordingly, had defrauded the longing eyes of parliament of the luxury of contemplating a visage which had long reflected the happiness of nations. "He had, however, left his exact resemblance behind, in the grand contractor, Mr. Richard Atkinson, who acted as attorney for Mr. Benfield; and they had all seen how that gentleman made Mr. Pitt's India Bill his own, by the ostentation and authority with which he had brought up clause after clause to stuff and fatten that corrupt measure, all of which had been received with dutiful submission." Burke's speech, with a copious appendix, was published, with immense effect. It shook the popularity of Pitt; and the imputations it threw on Dundas were remembered against him for many years to come. The debts of the nabob were long a bone of contention in parliament, as Burke and his party maintained that many of the claims were incapable of proof. In 1814, thirty years after, commissioners appointed to investigate the subject, decided, that out of debts claimed to the amount of £20,390,570, no more than £1,346,796 were proved to be just.

Mr. Pitt contented himself with proposing political and economical reforms. The latter he carried. The others did not fare so well. Yet had his scheme been successful, it would have postponed the grand struggle for reform which triumphed in 1831. His plan was of a mildly innovating character: he proposed to enact that thirty-six boroughs, each of which had sent two representatives to the House, should be disfranchised, and that number given to the counties and unrepresented towns. It also provided a compensation, in money, to the proprietors of the disfranchised boroughs, and granted the right of voting, in county elections, to copyholders. The scheme was rejected, and heard of no more. In 1786, Pitt established his celebrated sinking fund. The plan was, to set apart £1,000,000 for that purpose; to which was to be added the interest of £100,000, inalienably appropriated to the reduction of the debt. In the same year, also, a treaty of commerce was concluded with France, which was to last twelve years. Mr. Pitt's speech on the occasion contained precisely the same arguments as those used by Mr.

Cobden and Lord Palmerston to defend their treaty with France. "A commercial treaty like the one under consideration," Mr. Pitt observed, "would tend to render both nations anxious for the preservation of peace. For long," he said, "the fatal differences between the two nations had not only harassed them, but embroiled the rest of Europe in war." He trusted the time was come when they would show, that instead of seeking the destruction of each other, they would make it apparent that they had a higher and a better purpose—the cultivation of friendly intercourse, and the extension of universal benevolence. Another subject (in which Lord Palmerston was afterwards to take no common interest) came on for discussion at this time—that of the suppression of the slave-trade. The idea of stopping it was at first considered ridiculous and absurd by the statesmen of the day. The Society of Friends took the matter up; and Mr. Ramsey's *Essay on the Treatment and Traffic in Slaves*, and Mr. Clarkson's work, produced a great effect on the public mind. Mr. Wilberforce, the distinguished philanthropist, and intimate friend of Pitt, came to their aid. A society in London, of which Granville Sharp was president, was formed to forward the object in view; and Lady Middleton associated herself with other ladies to make converts to the cause. In 1788, certain members of the Privy Council were appointed to investigate the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. In the absence of Wilberforce, from ill health, Mr. Pitt submitted to the House of Commons a resolution, to the effect that "they would, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade, complained of in the petitions presented to the House, and what might be fit to be done thereupon." Liverpool and the African traders were on the alert; and, after all, little was done except passing Sir William Dolben's bill, insuring more humane treatment to the negroes on their passage from Africa. Pitt, for some time, moved no further in the matter; he had other things to attend to. One trouble was the conduct of the Prince of Wales, who, selfish and sensual, was over head and ears in debt, and gave all the support in his power to Fox and Sheridan, and the minister's political foes. Another difficulty was the king's insanity, which set all the elements of party warfare in motion. In their anxiety to please the prince, Fox and his friends asserted the right of the Prince of Wales to the regency. Pitt carried the day; and a commission, under the great seal, was appointed to open parliament in the name of his majesty; and, subsequently, to give the royal assent to such bills as the two Houses might approve. A restricted regency was proposed, which the prince, after (in a letter supposed to have been written by Burke) severely criticising, condescended to accept. The bill was, however, rendered unnecessary by the king's recovery. The excesses of the Prince of Wales, and his repeated applications for pecuniary aid, had not rendered him a favourite with the people; and the joy manifested when it was found that it was no longer necessary to pass a Regency Bill, was as great as it was unusual. The nation rallied round its king, whose plain, decent virtues appeared all the brighter when compared with the unprincipled and profligate character of his heir-apparent. The Whigs were in despair: all power seemed centred in Pitt, who, blind to the future, saw nought in the gigantic struggle which lay before him—a struggle of which he was to be the life and soul—a struggle which was, in time, and for a time, to be victorious—a struggle, nevertheless, which wore down his strength, and broke his heart. In every country on the continent there was restlessness and sullen discontent. The French revolution was at hand.

CHAPTER II.

THE FALL OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE.

FRANCE had long been in an unsatisfactory condition. The nation was in debt; the land was overrun with the poor; and the upper classes were frivolous to a degree which we can scarcely imagine in these hard and serious times in which we live. Property has its duties as well as its rights; and in France, it is very clear, the former half of this important maxim was altogether forgotten. In a book rarely read now, we get a picture of French society, perfectly appalling, illustrating the frivolity and the idleness of the privileged classes. We allude to the *Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis.* To get up masquerades—to take part in theatrical performances—to sing, and dance, and intrigue—to flatter their superiors, and to ignore the existence of all below them in the social scale, seems to have been the sole aim of existence. Her aunt and herself lived much in Court circles. "We owed the brilliant party which was then at Villers-Coterets to Madame de Montesson. For this reason, all the ladies wished that my aunt should succeed in inspiring the prince with a vivid passion. [Madame de Montesson, be it understood, was the aunt referred to.] It was far more desirable for them that the mistress of the prince should be a person of rank than a courtesan; for, in the former case, they could again enjoy his society." Pretty cool this, for a lady who became an instructor and guide of the young princes of the blood. Nor is this all. In order that the Duke of Orleans might be alone in the field, a rival was despatched on an embassy to the Court of Frederick the Great. Madame de Genlis saw the infamous Du Barry at Court; and her disgust at seeing a common prostitute pompously presented to the whole of the royal family, was unbounded. Upon which she remarks—"This and many other instances of unparalleled indecency, powerfully assisted in degrading royalty in France, and consequently contributed to bring about the revolution." Of the refined French noblemen of the period, we have a striking picture in the sketch of the Marechal de Biron:—"Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans; and the Marechal de Biron might be said to be the last fanatic of royalty; for he never gave a thought to politics or forms of government in the course of his life. His real vocation consisted in making a figure at Court; in speaking with grace aud dignity to a king; in being acquainted with, and in feeling the different degrees of respect to be paid to, the sovereign and the princes of the blood; and the attention due to a man of quality, as well as the dignified manner appropriate to a man of rank. All his fine taste, all his knowledge of etiquette, all his graces, would have been destroyed by a system of equality. He worshipped the king because he was king. He might have said what Montague said of his friend, La Boche—'I love him because I love him—because he is what he is, and I am what I am.' The Marechal, in different language, gave the same explanation of his strong attachment to the king. It was most amusing, even then, to hear him speaking of republics; for he considered republicans as a sort of barbarians." Writing of the Duke of Chartres, Madame de Genlis says—"When the young prince's education was completed, the first paternal care of the Duke of Orleans was to give him a mistress—a girl whom an abandoned wretch was bringing up as a courtesan, and sold to him as quite new. The Duke of Orleans boasted of this action as a very kind and prudent precaution." No wonder that Madame de Genlis could detect an under-current at work, fatal to the society and Court. "At this period," she writes, "grand recollections, and recent traditions, still maintained in France good principles, sound ideas, and national virtues, already somewhat weakened

by pernicious writings, and a reign full of faults. In a short time the influence of these feelings scarcely appeared, except in an elevated style, in a simple *theory* of delicate and generous conduct. Virtue was retained only from the remains of good taste, which still held in esteem its language and appearance. Every one, to conceal his own way of thinking, became stricter in observing the *bienséances;* the most refined ideas were sported in conversation concerning delicacy, greatness of mind, and the duties of friendship; and even chimerical virtues were fancied—which was easy enough, considering that the happy agreement of conversation and conduct did not exist. But tyranny always betrays itself by exaggeration, for it never knows where to stop: false sensibility has no shades; never employs any but the strongest colours; and heaps them on with the most ridiculous prodigality. There now appeared in society a very numerous party of both sexes, who declared themselves the partisans and depositaries of the old traditions respecting taste, etiquette, and morals, which they boasted of having brought to perfection. They declared themselves supreme *artistes* in all the proprieties of social life; and claimed for themselves, exclusively, the high-sounding appellation of good society." To be one of them, neither a spotless character nor eminent merit was necessary. Infidels, devotees, and prudes were indiscriminately admitted. "The only qualifications necessary, were *bon ton*, dignified manners, and a certain respect in society, acquired by birth, rank, and credit at Court; or by display, wealth, talent, and personal accomplishments. Alas! all this was nought but the external coat of ancient manners, preserved by habit and good taste, which always survive the principles that produced them; but which, having no longer any solid basis, gradually loses its original beauties, and is finally destroyed by the inroads of refinement and exaggeration." A false and conventional delicacy prevailed. For a lady to be on the sofa with her feet uncovered, was to be indelicate. It was indelicate to have her hair dressed by a barber. To appear in the presence of ladies in boots was bad taste. French society—unrivalled in frivolity—was untrue, and false as frivolous.

"For a long period," writes Madame de Genlis, mournfully, "the revolution had been preparing, and all respect for monarchy was now destroyed. It was become the fashion to defy the Court in everything, and to ridicule the monarchy. No one went to Versailles but with unwillingness and complaints; every one said that nothing was so tiresome as Versailles and the Court; and everything the Court approved, was disapproved by the public: even the theatrical pieces applauded at Versailles, were hissed at Paris. A disgraced minister was sure of the public favour; and if he was exiled, every one went eagerly to visit him, not through real greatness of soul, but merely to have the pleasure of blackening and condemning all that the Court did." The finances were in a very bad condition; and in order to remedy them, it was thought advisable to assemble the states-general. There is nothing so injudicious as asking at once for advice and money; for you always receive the latter, accompanied with very hard conditions. "The Duke of Orleans and M. Lauzun were one night at my house. The assembly of notables had already met. I said that I hoped these assemblies would reform many abuses. The Duke of Orleans replied, and maintained, that they would not even suppress the *lettres de cachet*. A bet was made between the Duke of Orleans and M. de Lauzun. They wrote it down, and gave it to me to keep." Madame showed the paper successively to more than fifty persons; and the opinion of the Duke of Orleans was precisely that of almost all the people of quality. A revolution was regarded as an impossible event. Rich people little knew what poor people think about. Some courtiers, kings and queens, never hear the harsh accents of truth. Men laughed at Noah when he prophesied the coming of the Deluge; and went feasting and dancing, and marrying, and giving in marriage, to the very last: and thus was it in France, where even society, rotten to its core—where even a noblesse, vain and frivolous—where even a Court, from which all virtue had gone forth—helped the avenging storm. Thinkers

saw that something was rotten in the state of Denmark — saw all — to the vain, and unreal, and conventional; and drew ideal pictures of a state of equal laws and rights. On the other side of the Atlantic the dream had been realised. Frenchmen had fought side by side with Washington and the soldiers of America for freedom; and they could not return to be serfs and slaves at home. America returned them to France as apostles and ministers of a new crusade. No tongue can tell the wretchedness of the peasantry of France before the revolution. Body and soul, he was the slave of his feudal lord. In the present day it fares but badly with an English agricultural labourer. The Irishman at home, in his mud-built hut, with his pig in one corner, and his straw bed in the other, is by no means to be envied; but they are better off than was the French peasant in the times of which we write. No taxes were paid by the *château;* on the poor they were imposed with terrible severity. All classes were longing for change. Peace had not brought prosperity; and when money was required, no one cared to give it.

Louis XVI. was unfit for the difficult part he had to play. He was without force of mind; assumed with difficulty the dignity of his position; was reserved and heavy in familiar society, with sudden fits of ill-humour, and possessing entirely different tastes and temper from his too fascinating and ill-fated queen. While she lived a very gay and careless life—a life which, at any rate, exposed her to scandal—he spent his time in hunting, or in manual labour, or in reckoning up his private expenses. The most decided taste of Louis XVI. was for the mechanical labours of the artisan; and he never felt so happy as when, having dismissed his Council, he could steal up to the little staircase which led to his forge. He was proud of showing his robust constitution, in carrying about, with his own arms, the anvil and other tools with which he worked; and in the queen's intimate circle, the traces which the king carried with him of his mechanical operations, his postures and heaviness, and even his great appetite, were the common objects of mockery and derision. In the queen's society the king went by the ordinary name of Vulcan; and this poor joke was often combined with allusions which were not quite respectful to Marie Antoinette. In fact, while Louis XVI. was working at his anvil, he neglected both his wife and his kingdom; though it may well be doubted if he possessed the capacity of mind to enable him to do anything towards saving the latter. It is told as an anecdote illustrating the extreme littleness of the king's mind, that one day Turgot found him busily engaged in drawing up the project of a new law, which he found, on examination, to be perfectly well compiled; but the object of legislation was—rabbits. Louis, indeed, loved hunting to excess; and he devoted much of his time to it. The king was accustomed to keep a diary of all he did, written in his own hand; which has been preserved and printed.* From this we learn that Louis often speculated in the lottery; and he carefully enters his gains. The day on which the king did not go to the chase is always marked by the word *rien* (nothing), as though it were a day lost; and it required very grave events to interrupt him in this practice. He killed a great quantity of game of all sorts, and made weekly and monthly reckonings of all he had slain. In one year this amounted to the number of 8,400 head. We may anticipate events for a moment in order to give an extract from this journal, in illustration of our remarks. During the memorable month of July, 1789, the days which were most eventful almost always began with the same significant word, "nothing." Thus—"Wednesday, 1st, nothing; deputation of the estates. Thursday, 9th, nothing; deputation of the estates. Friday, 10th, nothing; reply to the deputation of the estates. Saturday, 11th, nothing; departure of M. Necker. Tuesday, 14th, nothing." This last day was actually that of the capture of the Bastille by the people of Paris, in which others saw a very great deal. Again, in October, 1789, we find such entries as—"Monday, 5th, shooting at the gate of Chatillon; killed eighty-one head; interrupted by events; went and returned on horseback. Tues-

* *History of France;* by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A.

day, 6th, the departure for Paris at half-past twelve; visit to the Hôtel-de-Ville; supped and slept at the Tuileries." No wonder this poor, helpless king, when the storm came, lost his crown, and, under Calonne, went thoughtlessly the road to ruin. The extravagance of the latter was unbounded. Everybody had money: he used even to treat his mistresses with *bon bons* wrapped up in treasury bills. The bursting of the bubble, known as Law's Mississippi scheme, had impoverished many. The affair of Cardinal de Rohan and the diamond necklace—an affair, at this time, enveloped in mystery—did much to damage the popularity of the queen: and Calonne, in need of money, saw but one way to raise it—the assembly of the notables. The king accepted the scheme, as he saw no other alternative; and they assembled in 1787. How the assembly failed—how it became unruly and unmanageable, is matter of history. Calonne was dismissed, and the Archbishop of Toulouse was appointed, in consequence of the pressure of the queen, in his place. But he was not more fortunate than his predecessor; and the estates-general was demanded as the best means of devising a remedy for financial and other disasters. The parliament was banished; and the people and the king became yet more exasperated with each other. At length something was conceded; and, on the 8th of August, 1788, a decree appeared, announcing that the estates-general were to assemble on the 1st of May, 1789. Necker, who had been dismissed in despair, was sent for. On receiving the royal message, he was said to have exclaimed, "It is too late." Nevertheless, he was persuaded to undertake the direction of the government. His name restored public confidence to such a degree, that, on the day of his nomination to the ministry, the funds rose 30 per cent.; and he obtained, with wonderful ease, the money which was to relieve the state from its financial difficulties.

Necker's talents as a politician were much inferior to those which distinguished him as a financier; and the political state of France had now become more alarming than all her other difficulties. There was a fierce contention as to the manner in which the estates-general should be formed; and, as usual, the question was decided in opposition to the wishes of the Court. The seasons, also, fought against the government. There had been a deficient harvest, and the winter was unusually severe. Popular agitation increased; numerous clubs were formed, in which the sufferings of the people, the abuses of government, and even the necessity of a new constitution, were discussed in the most open manner. Publications of all kinds tended still more to excite and embitter contending parties. Such was the state of things when, on the 24th of January, 1789, the regulations for the convocation of the estates-general were published. The elections were not made at once, but followed one another during three months; and their forms were often regulated by the old provincial usages. In many parts they were attended with violent tumults: as, for instance, in Provence, where the Marquis of Mirabeau, a man remarkable for his talents and his immoralities, was rejected by the nobles from their chamber, and thrown into the rank of the third estate. However, the appointed day came, and May 5th, 1789, was the opening day. On the previous day, the king, with the three orders, and all the dignitaries of state, went, in solemn procession, from the church of Nôtre-Dame to that of St. Louis. The weather was fine, and immense multitudes had crowded into Versailles. First marched the clergy, dressed in cassock, mantle, and square cap, or in violet gown and in *rochet*, according to their grades. Next came the nobles in black habits, with vest and facings of cloth of gold, cravat of lace, and hat with white feathers, turned up in the style of the age of Henry IV. Last came the third estate, modestly clothed in black, with a short mantle, muslin cravat, and a plain hat without feathers. This description of costume had been prescribed by the king, and had already given great offence to that order which it concerned him most to conciliate. What, however, the third estate lost in show, was amply made up to them by the enthusiastic acclamations with which the populace received them—acclamations which were refused to the two privileged orders. The king, also, was received with fresh demonstrations of popular favour; for he had convoked the estates-

general; and people believed that now the salvation of the country was near at hand.

At length the deputies met in the great hall. The clergy were seated on the right of the throne; the nobles on the left; and the commons in front. After the deputies and ministers of state had taken their places, the king made his appearance, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant retinue. When the king had rested himself on the throne, and put on his hat, the third estate, contrary to ancient usage, imitated the two other orders in putting on their hats—an intimation that they were no longer disposed to submit to the humiliating distinction which had formerly separated them from the nobles and the clergy. The opening speech of the king was not a happy one; nor did his ministers much mend matters. Weeks were wasted in a struggle between the third estate and the other two as to verification; and out of this struggle grew the national assembly. The new council thus formed became omnipotent. In vain the king suspended them; they met elsewhere. Troops arrived in Versailles; the nobles withdrew from the assembly; the king remonstrated, and threw every obstacle in the way of the assembly. Necker was dismissed a second time; Paris was in a state of insurrection; and the Bastille, the standing menace of the people, was razed, by an infuriated mob, to the ground. The capture of the Bastille at this moment most probably saved the popular cause; for there can be no doubt that a well-concerted popular attack upon Paris was to have been carried into effect that night. When the news of the capture of the Bastille reached the Court, the king had retired to rest, and his council had decided to keep it from him. But the Duke of Liancourt, taking advantage of his office of grand master of the wardrobe, roused the king, and informed him of what had taken place. "It is a revolt," exclaimed the king, in surprise. "No," said the duke, "it is a revolution." The duke then pointed out to him the perils to which he exposed himself by adopting the violent projects of the Court; the exasperation of the people, and the disaffection of the troops; and the king resolved to present himself before the assembly next morning, and assure them of his good intentions. Meanwhile the queen had been surrounded with other councillors, who, still blind as to the real strength and resolution of the Parisians, had discussed projects of the most violent kind. Amidst the warmest expressions of applause, the king addressed the assembly, in fulfilment of his promise. Necker was recalled to office; and the king paid Paris a visit. The scene was an affecting one. Bailly was confirmed in his appointment of mayor, and Lafayette was made commander-in-chief of the militia of the capital. Still, France was not easy. Foulon and Berthier, ex-ministers, were massacred by an infuriated mob; and insurrections were announced in Normandy, Burgundy, and at Pontoise. Meanwhile the assembly hastened on its work, and in one night decreed the abolition of the quality of serf; the power of redeeming the seignorial rights; the abolition of seignorial jurisdictions; the suppression of all exclusive rights of chase, warren, &c.; the redemption of the tithes; the equalisation of taxes; the equal right of admission of all citizens to employment, whether civil or military; the entire abolition of venality of offices; the destruction of all privileges of towns and provinces; and several other abuses. On the 13th of August these articles were presented to the king, who confirmed them, and accepted the title of Restorer of French Liberty. A *Te Deum* was celebrated with great pomp, the king assisting in person; the president of the assembly walking at his right hand, and all the deputies following in succession. Thus was completed the first grand step in the formation of the constitution. A loan of 30,000,000 francs was then agreed to, and a declaration of rights was drawn up. The next difficulty was as to the veto to be allowed the king. Out of doors the word was a bugbear, which created a profound discontent in Paris. Other questions discussed were, the permanence of the assemblies and the two chambers.

But while these things were being debated October had arrived, and with it a rising more formidable than any which had hitherto taken place. On Sunday, the 4th,

the capital was greatly agitated. On the morrow mobs again assembled in different quarters, headed by infuriated women, demanding bread. To go to Versailles—to rescue the king from his evil councillors—to bring him back to Paris—and to give bread to all who needed it, were their aims. One deputation of them addressed the assembly; while another addressed the king. Lafayette arrived, in hot haste, from Paris; and it was hoped all would yet be well: but he and the Court were disappointed. The mobs of men and women spent all night round great fires, increasing their ferocity by drinking and uttering threats of vengeance against the body-guard and against the queen. Already some had lost their lives in collisions with the soldiers; and, on the next day, a still more terrible scene ensued. From his slumbers the king awoke to find himself almost a prisoner in their hands. They wanted him to go to Paris. Well, to Paris he would go. The national assembly passed a decree declaring itself inseparable from the king's person; and appointed a deputation of a hundred of its members to accompany him. Marie Antoinette, the dauphin, and the other members of the royal family formed part of the melancholy procession. The latter took up their residence at the Tuileries, the guard of which was entrusted to the Parisian militia, under Lafayette, who was thus made responsible to the nation for the safety of the king; who, for a time, believed himself almost popular again. Louis, now placed in a most critical condition, could not realise the dangerous nature of the crisis: he was cold and reserved to the popular deputies.

Mirabeau was not one of those who sought the entire destruction of the existing order of things; and he became sincerely anxious to preserve the crown from the ruin which threatened it. Confident of his own powers, he had resolved to place himself between the throne and those who were undermining it, and to consult his own interests as well. A negotiation was entered into, and Mirabeau was flattered and caressed by the queen: he was needy, and money was placed at his disposal. Bouillé was a man of talent and courage—an aristocrat, but sensible withal. He had withdrawn to Metz, where he had a great part of the army under his command; and he acknowledged, in his own memoirs, that he laboured to attach the soldiers to the Court, by exciting a feeling of rivalry between them and the national guard. Nevertheless, having once taken the civic oath, he showed a resolution not to act against the constitution; and, disgusted at the feeble and unwise policy of the Court, he only remained at his post at the earnest desire of the king. If the Court could have united in its interests Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Bouillé, it would have held in its hands the three great forces of the state—the national guard, the assembly, and the army; but a variety of circumstances stood in the way of any hearty union between these chiefs. Lafayette was the only one of the three who was ready to act cordially with any one who was willing to support the king and the constitution; but Mirabeau was jealous of Lafayette's influence, and, still more so, of his virtue; and Bouillé disliked him, because he looked upon him as an enthusiast: and thus the golden opportunity was lost. Meanwhile the national assembly went on reforming the constitution, considering the state of the finances, and the troubled condition of the country. At length the grand *féte* of the nation was celebrated in the Champ de Mars. The royal family were present; Talleyrand said mass: the king took the oath of the constitution; the queen, taking the young dauphin in her arms, showed him to the people and the army. All was enthusiasm and loyalty. Unhappily the clouds were soon overcast. The gleam of sunshine was short-lived as an April day. Towards the end of 1790, the king, resenting the charge of his ministers, and alarmed at the violent debates on ecclesiastical affairs (provoked by the intrigues of the clergy), began to think seriously of making his escape; and he wrote on the subject to Bouillé, who was strongly opposed to it, but yielded, in order to convince the king of his loyalty by his obedience. At this very moment Mirabeau also had formed a plan for the king's escape, but in a different direction. His plan was, to remove the king from Paris to Lyons, by which he would have been withdrawn from the despotism of the

Paris mob and the national assembly. From Lyons Louis would have proclaimed firmly his reasons for disapproving the new constitution, and also have promulgated, in its place, another which was already prepared. At the same time a new legislature would have been convoked. Bouillé was aware of these plans: they were concealed from Lafayette. There were plots of reaction on all sides—at Coblentz, at Lyons, at Turin, and elsewhere. Paris became alarmed. As regards their objects, these new plots were equally futile; but they kept all parties in a state of suspense; and the death of Mirabeau, in March, 1791, was for the royal family an untoward event. Louis, as we can easily imagine, became more anxious than ever to effect his escape. In certain quarters, great preparations had been made for his reception. The Austrian emperor had engaged to send 35,000 men into Flanders, and 15,000 into Alsace; and announced that armies of Swiss and Piedmontese were preparing to march upon Lyons, and into Dauphiné; and that the King of Spain was also assembling an army of 20,000 men. He assured Louis, further, of the co-operation of the King of Prussia, and of the neutrality of the King of England. A manifesto, in the name of the House of Bourbon, was to be signed by the kings of Naples and Spain, the Prince of Parma, and the emigrant princes. Poor Louis was too eager to escape, and fled before proper arrangements could be made; and he wrote to Bouillé, that it was his intention to proceed, without delay, to Montmedi, where he would be close on the frontier. Contrary, however, to the recommendations of that general, Louis chose the Chalons road, by way of Clermont and Varennes. The time fixed for the king's departure from Paris was the night of the 19th of June. Bouillé, on the pretence of some hostile movement of the enemies of France, which he pretended to have remarked, formed a camp at Montmedi, and assembled there some of the most trustworthy of his troops. He was, on the appointed day, on the pretence of escorting treasure for the payment of his troops, to send out numerous detachments of cavalry to different points on the road, to receive the king on his way: the queen undertook the direction of measures necessary for the securing his journey between Paris and Chalons. She had contrived a secret passage which led out of the palace; and a false passport was prepared, under which the royal travellers were to pass as ordinary persons. Everything was in readiness at the time appointed; but, unfortunately, the king and queen allowed some domestic arrangements to interfere. On the midnight of the 20th they started on their ill-fated journey. The delay was fatal. The soldiers who were to have met them had retired; and when, at one place, the king put his head out of the window while they waited to change horses, he was detected by the postmaster's son, who rode off to Varennes, and arrived before the royal family. The king was again there compelled to stop, on the pretence of examining his passport. In vain Bouillé's troops came up; the national guards poured into Varennes from the country round, and, joining with those of the town, they soon filled the place, and rendered any immediate attempt at escape impossible. The news of the flight of the royal family caused the greatest agitation in Paris. A deputation was sent to bring them back. Of that memorable return we need not give the particulars. From that time all popular respect for the person of the sovereign vanished; the link which united the king and the constitution was now rudely snapped asunder. Paris turned out to witness his return; but an ominous silence everywhere prevailed.

Events passed on rapidly, and, day by day, an angrier feeling existed on all sides. At length, on the 30th of September, 1791, the national assembly dissolved itself. "Thus," says one of the great historians of the French revolution, "the constituent assembly terminated its long and laborious career; and, in spite of its noble courage, its perfect equity, and its immense labours, it was hated—at Coblentz as revolutionary, and at Paris as aristocratic." When the new assembly met, Lafayette resigned his command of the national guards, and retired to seek temporary repose on his estates, after having not only merited well of his country, but having done services to the Court which had been repaid

with distrust. He represented that he had accepted the command only to protect the labours of the formation of the constitution; and that now that the constitution was completed, and the assembly which made it was dissolved, his term of office had terminated. He carried with him the love and respect of the national guard, of the constitutional party, and of all moderate patriots.

In the new assembly, the men who were for extreme measures, the Jacobin party, gained a preponderance, and passed a decisive act against the emigrants, who were to be deprived of their estates, and treated as enemies, if they did not return by the 1st of January, 1792. The nonjuring priests were next dealt with; and the church, of which Louis XVI. had ever been a devout son, was greatly alarmed. After he had resolved not to sanction the decree against the priests, he began to lend himself, with a greater appearance of cordiality, to the irritation of the assembly against the emigrants who were in arms, and against the foreign powers who recognised them. The year ended with another attack on the ceremonial usages of the Court—attacks which had been made before, but which now betokened how completely the divinity which doth hedge in a king had been broken down. In a letter written to Louis by the legislative body, the words *sire* and *majesty* were suppressed. All this while France was in a very melancholy condition. The laws were hardly enforced in the provinces, which were filled with every sort of turbulence and injustice; while all the effective power had fallen into the hands of the Jacobin club, who used it for their own purposes. The king, outwardly obliged to conform to the will of the assembly, was overcome with secret grief; and rumours of his discontent, which escaped on all sides, in spite of Louis's efforts to conceal it, increased the popular suspicion of his insincerity. The legislative assembly was in very little better condition; being under the dominion of the clubs and the mob, who occupied the galleries; and it was in this state of things—while the army and navy were in a state of insubordination; while lawless men filled the land; while property of all kinds was depreciated, and assignats circulated at a loss of 50 per cent.—that the assembly was insolently defying all the powers of Europe, and endeavouring to compel the king to declare war; and, accordingly, in April, 1792, war was declared against Francis I. The nation was pleased. Some saw in the fact that war was to be carried on, the end of the fears which had been caused by the proceedings of the emigrants, and by the uncertainty as to the king's sincerity; others hoped that the more turbulent part of the population would be carried off to the army, and perish on the field of battle. Yet war was only the introduction to new and still greater internal convulsions. The first hostilities were not fortunate. The minister, Dumouriez, had long had his eyes upon Belgium, recently engaged in rebellion against Austria; and which was suppressed with much difficulty. Belgium, it was expected, would look upon the French as liberators; and her union with France, then as now, in many men's minds, formed part of the plan for extending the French territory to its natural limits. The direction of the expedition against Belgium was given to Lafayette, as the man most fitted for the undertaking. Yet that officer was only entrusted with a limited command, because he was an object of suspicion to the republicans; and, perhaps, still more because Dumouriez was jealous of him.

The king distrusted and offended all who really endeavoured to save him from the abyss of ruin into which he was rapidly passing. The Girondists, Dumouriez, Lafayette, all would have befriended him if they could have been permitted to do so by Louis himself. At this time Lafayette was proclaimed by the clubs, and began to be looked upon by the populace as a traitor to the country; and the popular party, already alarmed by their suspicions at the designs of the Court, became doubly so at the threatening attitude which the general and his army appeared to be assuming. Under these feelings they seemed to have resolved to strike a blow at the Court before it could receive any assistance. In Paris and the provinces an insurrectionary agitation

prevailed. Pétion, the mayor, declared his belief that another revolution was necessary for the salvation of the country. It is said, that about the end of May, or beginning of June, Pétion had been present, with Robespierre and other of the republican leaders, at private meetings held at Santerre's, at which violent measures had been decided on. About this time, also, the people of the faubourgs began to talk of holding a festival on the 20th of June, to celebrate the anniversary of the oaths of the tennis-court. A fresh act of unpopularity on the part of the ill-fated king, added fuel to the flame. The night of the 19th of June was spent in active preparation for the insurrection of the morrow. To silence the scruples of his followers, Santerre said—"Why are you afraid? The national guards will have no orders to fire, and Pétion will be there." And when that morrow came Paris was in the hands of the mob. As soon as the doors of the national assembly were opened, a procession of at least 30,000 men entered. Six or seven musicians preceded, playing the popular *Ca Ira*. These men carried enormous tablets, on which were inscribed the rights of man; and around which women and children danced, brandishing pikes and branches of olive, as tokens of the alternative of war or peace. Then came labourers, all armed, more or less; and women as well as men followed, bearing designs and emblems, some of them actually atrocious—one man, for instance, carrying, on the point of a pike, a calf's head, with the inscription, "*Cœur d'Aristocratte*" (head of an aristocrat). Next the mob besieged the Tuileries. For a little time all went on well, as the gate of the garden was opened by the king's order; and the people rushing through it, defiled under the windows of the Tuileries, and in front of the national guard, shouting, "*A bas le veto! Vivent les sans culottes!*" but no hostile feeling was entertained. Santerre, the evil spirit of the mob, however, appeared upon the scene, and all was changed. The crowd became still more excited. The private apartments of the king were besieged, and entrance was gained. Louis was forced to wear the red cap, and to take wine from the hands of the half-drunken mob. The red cap was also placed on the head of the young dauphin. All the afternoon this terrible infliction existed. At length Pétion made his appearance, and the mob withdrew. At night, the royal family met together, and burst into tears. The king was then, for the first time, reminded that he had still the red cap on his head; and, seizing it with his hand, he threw it down with indignation. A deputation was announced from the assembly, and the queen conducted them round the palace; showed them the havoc committed by the mob; and did not conceal from them the grief she felt at the outrages to which the royal family had been exposed. One of these deputies was Merlin, of Thionville, one of the most violent of the republican party. The queen perceived tears in this man's eyes, and said to him—"You weep to see the king and his family treated so cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to render happy." "It is true, madame," Merlin replied, "that I weep over the misfortunes of a woman who is beautiful, sensitive, and the mother of a family; but do not mistake me in it—there is not one of my tears for the king or for the queen; I hate kings and queens." And such were the sentiments, on the eve of triumph, all over France.

Everything now seemed to conspire against the unfortunate king. Lafayette, full of devotion to the royal cause, presented himself at the palace. Instead of being welcomed, he was treated in an insulting manner by the courtiers; and was received with extreme coldness by the king and queen. Lafayette quitted the Tuileries in deep affliction; not so much at the reception he had encountered, as far as regarded himself, as at the hopelessness of the cause of Louis XVI. Just about this time, also, appeared a document, calculated, above all other things, to irritate the French patriots—the impolitic manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. Louis XVI. had secretly, by his agent, Mallet du Pau, suggested to the allies that a proclamation should be made to his subjects of a conciliatory nature; whereas, the Duke of Brunswick, under the influence of the emigrants, while adopting the suggestion, gave it a character which Louis never could have anticipated. This

ill-judged manifesto paralysed all that remained of the constitutional party in France, and led to the fatal catastrophe, which, under happier auspices, and wiser councils, might have been averted. One last effort was made to save him, and a plan of flight was fixed on, in which Lafayette and M. de Liancourt were to assist. Had the king remained firm in his resolution, he might, in all probability, have been saved; but next morning his resolution was entirely changed. To the consternation of all his friends, he declared that he would rather remain in Paris than provoke a civil war. It was the excuse he had made on several occasions: but the king's friends soon discovered that, this time at least, it was not true; and that the real cause of the change in Louis's mind, was the intelligence he had received, on the one hand, that the Duke of Brunswick hoped to reach Paris very rapidly; and, on the other, that the insurrection of the 10th of August had been adjourned. The queen had told him that it would be better to run any risk than to place himself under obligations to the friends of the constitution; and he was but too willing to listen to this counsel. At length the 10th of August came; and when daylight broke, the palace was already surrounded by insurgents, who had pointed their cannon against the building. The king and the royal family left it, never more to return. The loyal Swiss soldiers were massacred; and the assembly passed a decree for the deposition of their king. It ran thus:—"Louis XVI. is provisionally suspended from the royalty; a plan of education is ordained for the prince-royal; a national convention is convoked." The commune of Paris now gave terrible proof of its activity; for its committee of surveillance was composed of the most violent men of the revolutionary party; and its chief was the sanguinary Marat, who seemed to have devoted his whole existence to denouncing everybody to the knife or scaffold. To strike the royalists with fear, and thus to convince the emigrant and the foreigner how vain was all attempt to restore the king to his throne by reactionary armies, was their endeavour; and how they succeeded is now known too well. The memories of the hideous massacres of September can never pass away. Then came the political convention, and the triumph of Robespierre, and of the desperate men who supported him. This effectually destroyed all hopes of passing any moderate measures, and was the deathblow of the party of the Gironde. They had used their strength in an unprofitable struggle, and had only embittered and strengthened their enemies. The more violent party out of doors now only became more violent, and more clamorous in their demands for the trial and punishment of the deposed king.

The debate on the liability of the king to be tried, or of his personal inviolability, was long, and was frequently adjourned. France never had such a thing to do before. Altogether, the convention had its work; for, in addition, it was to consider the question of the recomposition of the armies, which the Jacobins aimed at filling entirely with men of their own faction; and it also undertook to regulate the commerce of provisions, and other necessary articles. On the 11th of December the trial of the king commenced. The royal family breakfasted together, as usual, in the Temple; but, after breakfast, the guards removed all but the king, who remained alone till near noon, when the mayor of Paris and the *procureur* of the commune arrived, and communicated to the prisoner the decree by which he was summoned to the bar of the convention, under the name of Louis Capet. Louis made a slight objection to the name, and then rose and accompanied the mayor to his carriage. In the midst of perfect silence, the king, with the mayor and Santerre, and Wittengoff at his side, entered the hall, and advanced to the bar; while the dignity of his manner, and the calmness of his countenance, combined with the knowledge of his misfortunes, touched the hearts of all the spectators, and even Marat, Robespierre, and St. Just, are said to have felt for a moment unnerved. At the bidding of the president, Louis seated himself, and listened to the act of accusation, in which all the faults of the Court were enumerated, and laid to his sole charge. Counsel was allowed him. Of the two men whom he had chosen for his defenders, Target refused the task. Meanwhile the venerable Malesherbes volun-

teered his services, which were accepted. The number of documents which it was necessary to examine for the king was so great, that the convention, fully aware that Malesherbes and Tronchet could not execute their task in time, gave them an assistant in the person of the young advocate Desère. They pleaded eloquently on behalf of the illustrious prisoner. The discussion lasted till the 7th of January, 1793, when it was closed; and the 14th was fixed as the day for the final decision. The excitement on that day was very great, and the convention was surrounded by an unusual number of spectators. At eight in the evening the call of votes began, and it lasted till the same hour of the evening of the following day. The sentence of the majority was for death. On the 20th, it was decided, by a majority of 380 votes against 310, that the sentence against Louis Capet should be executed without delay.

The 21st of January saw Louis die on the guillotine, in the Place de la Revolution, with the courage of a martyr, and the resignation of a saint. The king stepped firmly from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold, when three executioners presented themselves to undress him, but he refused their assistance. At first he was unwilling to submit to the indignity of having his hands bound; but, at the exhortation of the Abbé Edgeworth, he complied. Just as they were leading him to the fatal machine, he suddenly stepped forth, exclaiming—"Frenchmen! I die innocent of the crimes imputed to me. I pardon the authors of my death, and I pray that my blood may not fall upon France." Immediately the drums began beating, and all further speech was stopped. When the executioners had performed their task, some of the *canaille* dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victim, and paraded the streets, shouting furiously, "*Vive la Republique!*" "*Vive la Nation!*" The death of Louis sent a thrill of horror all through Europe. The English government had been alarmed at the decree passed by the convention on the 10th of November, which was considered a direct provocation to insurrection in foreign countries; and at the favour which had been shown to the representatives of sympathetic societies at home. Orders were immediately issued, and great exertions were made, to increase the force of the British navy; and other measures showed that England contemplated the idea of being drawn into the war. As soon as the news of the execution of Louis reached London, the French ambassador was ordered to quit England within eight days. France and England act and react on each other; and in England, as in all countries, there was, at first, a popular feeling in favour of the revolution, which even the excesses of its leaders did not destroy; but the execution of Louis had strengthened the hands of the reactionary party at home. It for ever separated Burke the philosopher, and Fox, the orator of the liberal politicians of that time. It at once threw back progress; and the ignorant mob, as at Birmingham, outraged law and order in the name of church and king. Mr. Burke published his celebrated work on the French revolution; to which Tom Paine replied, in his *Rights of Man.* Mr. Pitt ceased to be a reformer; and, instead, issued proclamations against seditious intrigues; instituted trials for high treason; and established a system of espionage, which was long the disgrace and terror of the land. The nation was, on the sudden, struck with alarm at the idea of political innovation of any kind; and the very name of reform became the subject of violent and indiscriminate reprobation. The press teemed with inflammatory productions; and the pulpit rang with anathemas against republicans and levellers. An association was formed in London, for the protection of property, liberty, and religion; and an innumerable multitude of pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues, and narratives, admirably fitted to inflame the passions, were by this means circulated through the length and breadth of the land, inculcating "the right divine of kings to govern wrong."

The rage of associating spread rapidly; and in every county, and in almost every town, resolutions were subscribed, savouring of loyalty and attachment to the powers that be; and thus, under the dangerous stimulus of fear and passion, the

nation was hurried into a destructive war. The Mountain party had now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the "Committee of Public Safety;" the other, the "Committee of General Safety." The prevailing faction now proceeded to atrocities unparalleled in history. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by decree, and a kind of metaphysical paganism was substituted in its place. Ecclesiastics publicly abjured their creed. The archbishop and clergy of Paris declared that they had no god but liberty, and no gospel but the constitution. The revolutionary tribunals condemned, without distinction and inquiry, all whom their masters marked out for death. It was never known how many persons perished in this reign of terror. The most distinguished victim was the ill-fated queen, Marie Antoinette. On the 1st of August, 1794, she was suddenly removed from the prison of the Conciergerie, where she had been treated as the meanest criminal; and, on the 15th of October, she appeared before the tribunal, to take her trial—or, to speak more correctly, to hear her doom. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the principal of which stated, that she had directed her views to a counter-revolution. One of the most singular of them was, that she, in conjunction with the Girondists, induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare. Another charge was so gross as to be incredible. The bloodthirsty and besotted audience misunderstood her heroic silence, and the president called upon her for an answer. She then said—"I held my peace because Nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge; but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether it be possible." Not one of the charges was proved; but, after consulting about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the whole. With an unchanged countenance she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without addressing her judge or the audience. How could she wish longer to live? Life had lost all its charms for her. On the succeeding day she was taken to execution, in the same manner as the other victims of this terrible tribunal. She ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step; and her behaviour, at the awful moment of dissolution, was decent and composed. Her body, like that of her husband, was interred in a grave filled with quick-lime.

Indignant monarchical Europe looked on, preparing to take its revenge. This, however, was found to be no easy matter. Frenchmen who had shaken off the bitter yoke of ages were not lightly to be made to wear their chains again. Had the institutions of monarchical Europe been just, and for the benefit of the masses, kings and rulers need not have trembled: but, alas! wherever the weary and the oppressed lived, and toiled, and moiled, there were those who hailed the French revolution as a gospel of peace and good tidings to such as they. France called on her sons to arm and defend her sacred soil from the foot of the invader; and right nobly did her poor, and ill-clad, and half-starved sons respond to the call. All Frenchmen were now declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country till her enemies should be chased from her territory. To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be raised from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended, but when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. All the necessaries of life appertaining to men in easy circumstances, were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops. Great cities were crowded with manufactures of saltpetre; towns were converted into garrisons; ancient palaces became arsenals. At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the Committee of Public Safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, to form a chain around the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males, from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent

requisition, and a draught of 300,000 made at one time. All round war was carried on. For a time fortune was, as usual, fickle. The allies—under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick; Mack, the Austrian general; our own Duke of York—on the whole, however, had the worst of it. They suffered from national jealousies and divided councils. The immense armies of France had, on the contrary, but one heart and mind.

On the sea, however, the meteor flag of England was a symbol of victory. Yet we were unable to keep possession of Toulon, which had been delivered up to the British admiral, Lord Hood (who then commanded in the Mediterranean), in trust for Louis XVII. In the subsequent siege, which ended in its evacuation by the British, first distinguished himself, Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery; but soon to be, for many years to come, the glory of France and the terror of Europe. On the 1st of June, 1793, Earl Howe won a glorious victory over the French fleet, commanded by Admiral Villaret Joyeuse. The fight lasted only an hour, but it was unusually fatal and severe. Two eighty, and five seventy-four-gun ships were the prizes of the victors. The slaughter on board the French fleet was so great, that, in the captured ships alone, it amounted to 1,270. The British total loss was 904. The French colonies in the West Indies fell an easy prey to our forces, under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

In France, at this time (1794), a new faction arose—the Cordeliers; at the head of which were Hebert, Anacharsis Cloots, and others, who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories; decried all religion; preached equality to the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This, of course, aroused the jealousy of Robespierre, and Hebert and his followers were condemned to the guillotine. The Princess Elizabeth, sister to Louis XVI., was charged with having conspired to restore royalty. Her accusers required no proof of her crime. With twenty-four of her reputed accomplices she was condemned to death.

At this time, also, a new religion was devised for France. Robespierre had never approved of Cloots' and Chaumette's religion of reason, otherwise atheism; and he undertook to be the teacher of a new and better creed. At his instigation, a decree was adopted by the convention, declaring—1. That the French people acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and, 2. That the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being was the practice of the duties of man. Other articles of this decree ordained the establishment of festivals calculated to remind men of God and their duties. The *décadis*, or tenth days, were dedicated through the year to various virtues and qualities, in place of the old popish system of saint-worship. These festive days had for their objects, successively, the Supreme Being, the human race, the French people, the benefactors of humanity, the martyrs of liberty and equality, the republic, the liberty of the world, the love of country, hatred of tyrants and traitors, truth, justice, modesty, glory, friendship, frugality, courage, good faith, heroism, disinterestedness, stoicism, love, conjugal faith, paternal love, motherly tenderness, filial piety, infancy, youth, virile age, old age, misfortune, agriculture, industry, our forefathers, posterity, happiness. France was grateful that the convention allowed her to believe in a God, and rejoiced accordingly. Yet all the while "Terror" reigned, and was kept up by a frightful destruction of human life.

Let us give an illustration. The city of Nantes, in the district where the royalist war of the Vendée had, for a time, been bravely carried on, was given up to the mad vengeance of a young member of the convention, named Carrier, who began by declaring that he had come to exterminate the whole population; and he caused those of the late insurgents who had submitted on the promise of safety for their persons, to be carried out and shot, in parties of 100 and 200 at a time.

There already existed a popular club in the town, which filled the place with terror; but Carrier, who presented himself before this club with his sword drawn, and uttering coarse imprecations, soon found it too lenient, and dissolved it. He employed troops of ruffians to visit the country round, where they plundered the houses of the royalists, whom they swept away in multitudes, and committed all sorts of atrocities. He formed a revolutionary tribunal for the hasty trial of the prisoners, by which the Vendeans were condemned to be shot, and the people of Nantes, accused of royalism, to be guillotined. Great numbers of children of the Vendean insurgents had found protection among the families in Nantes, and this inhuman monster caused them all to be imprisoned; and it is said, that, by his orders, no less than 500 children, under fourteen years of age, of both sexes, were, with musketry and grape, shot in one day. On another occasion, nearly a hundred women were similarly destroyed; and their naked bodies, left decomposing in the air, produced disease amongst the living. Carrier soon hit on a still more rapid mode of extermination. The river Loire runs through Nantes; and on it he embarked, under pretence of transporting them, seventy priests in a boat, which was sunk at a short distance from town. This drowning process saved so much time and trouble, that it was repeated many times on a still grander scale. Men, armed with axes and sabres, were stationed round to kill all who might escape by swimming. The new invention was soon improved upon, and boats were made for the purpose, which were placed in the middle of the river. The prisoners were conducted to them in a barge, and were forced into the holds of these boats, some of them tied two-and-two together. When the boats were thus filled, planks were nailed down over the entrance, and the boats then immediately scuttled and sunk. In this manner hardly less than 5,000 individuals, of all ages and both sexes, perished. The poor victims met with the most indecent treatment. Sometimes a party of the prisoners, consisting of men and women of different ages, belonging to the most respectable families in Nantes, were stripped quite naked, tied together in couples—a male with a female—and, after being exposed for some time in this manner to the insults of the mob, thrown into the river and drowned. These horrible exhibitions were called, in joke, republican marriages.

In times of intense excitement such as those of which we write, the popular mania is sure, in some minds, to take a religious turn. With the women of the revolution, the name of Robespierre was an object of adoration. Amongst them a religious sect had arisen, who had for their leader an old woman named Catherine Théot, whose mind had become deranged by a long imprisonment in the Bastille: she believed herself to be the mother of God; and announced the approaching advent of the Messiah. This event was to be prepared by two prophets, one of whom was an ecclesiastic, named Gerle, as mad as herself; and the other was Robespierre, who was talked of, in her circle, as the favourite child of the mother of God. Out of these absurdities grew an ill-feeling towards Robespierre, which in time was to undermine his power. Already individuals had attempted, towards Robespierre, to do what Charlotte Cordey had done to Marat. In May, two attempts had been made upon his life. Robespierre's vanity in consequence became inordinate; and, as we might expect, the jealousy of his colleagues was aroused. As president at the celebration of the festival of the Supreme Being, on the 8th of June, his elation was beyond belief. When, at length, he presented himself, he was dressed with extraordinary care: his head was covered with flowing feathers, and his sallow countenance lit up with unusual joy. An amphitheatre had been formed in the garden of the Tuileries, which was occupied by the convention: to the right and left of which, were groups representing the different ages and sexes of the people; and, in front, were raised three large images, representing Atheism, Discord, and Egotism. The ceremony opened with music; and then Robespierre, as president, made a short address on the object of the festival: at the close of which he seized a torch, and set fire to the three figures in front of the amphitheatre. As Atheism, Discord, and Egotism

dropped into ashes, the statue of Wisdom appeared standing out of the flames; but it was remarked that it was all black with smoke. Robespierre returned to his place, and pronounced a second discourse on the vices which were in league against the republic. The convention and the populace then went in procession to the Champ de Mars; and, in their progress, Robespierre's pride seems entirely to have got the mastery over him. He walked in advance of his colleagues; and, to their intense indignation, gave himself airs of superior importance. Next day the Committee of Public Safety presented rather a violent scene. Robespierre complained bitterly of the treatment he had received, and demanded speedier justice —in reality, more blood. To show the increased activity of "justice" at this period, it may be mentioned, that, from the commencement of the tribunal in March, 1793, to the month of June, 1794—that is, during about fifteen months—it had condemned 577 individuals; while only during six weeks, forming the second period—that is, from the 10th of June to the 27th of July, 1794—1,285 victims were sent to the guillotine. It was now a struggle of life between Robespierre and his foes. It was felt, that if they could not crush him, he could and would crush them.

At length the storm burst. Men had leagued together against the intolerable terror of Robespierre's power. Towards the end of July, he and his doings had been, in the convention, the subject of unusually fierce debate. The night of the 26th of July passed in plot and counter-plot. On the morrow every one felt that the decisive hour had arrived. In vain Robespierre essayed to speak. Cries of "Down with the tyrant!—down with the tyrant!" resounded on all sides of the hall. Tallien, amidst tumultuous applause, exhibited the poniard with which he was prepared to take Robespierre's life, if the convention lacked the courage to decree his accusation. After many exciting harangues the motion for his accusation was carried. Robespierre had, during this time, moved backward and forward between his place and the tribune; but now he again approached the president, and demanded a hearing. He looked first to the Mountain for sympathy; but, finding none there, turned to the Plain, and appealed to them. "It is to you," he said, "men of purity and virtue, that I appeal; and not to brigands." But all was in vain; and, turning again to the president, he exclaimed—"For the last time, president of assassins, I demand a hearing." His voice became thick, and almost stifled with rage. "It is the blood of Danton which is choking you," cried one deputy. Said another—"President, is that man much longer to be master of the assembly?" "Ah!" cried another, "how hard a tyrant is to throw down." Exclamations of "Vote! vote!" were now heard; and, in the midst of a great tumult, the arrest of Robespierre was decreed amidst shouts of "*Vive la Liberté!*" "*Vive la République!*" "The tyrants are no more!" A second decree ordered the arrest of St. Just and Couthon, and Lebas and Robespierre the younger were added, of their own accord. The scene was altogether so new and extraordinary, and the terror inspired by the triumvirs was still so great, that none of the officers of the convention dared approach them, to lead them to the bar; and it was only after repeated calls from the assembly that the five accused persons left their seats to proceed thither, from whence they were conducted to the committees, to undergo an examination prior to their being sent to prison. Robespierre was absolutely furious; but St. Just retained his ordinary look of calmness and disdain. The others were dejected, as they anticipated their speedy doom. The convention, overcome with fatigue, adjourned their sittings. Meanwhile, out of doors an armed insurrection raged; and when the convention assembled an hour or two afterwards, they found that their prisoners had been rescued, and carried in triumph to the mayoralty; and that they themselves were being rapidly put in a state of siege. Collet d'Herbois immediately placed himself in the presidential chair, which, by its position in the hall, must have been struck with the first discharge of artillery, and said—"Representatives, now is the moment to die at our posts." Immediately the deputies took their seats; and at length,

convinced that they were on the point of being massacred, passed a decree of outlawry against Herriot. This decree was directly placed outside the walls of the convention, where Herriot was at that moment endeavouring to persuade the cannoniers to fire. The deputies shouted—"Cannoniers! will you obey that brigand?—that man is an outlaw." The effect of this announcement was instantaneous; the cannoniers refused to fire, and the convention was saved.

Inspirited by success, the convention now assumed the offensive. Robespierre and his friends were at the Hôtel-de-Ville: thither the troops repaired. Despair seized on the inmates: Lebas drew out a pistol, and shot himself; the younger Robespierre jumped out of the window; St. Just alone remained calm. Robespierre, after some hesitation, summoned up courage to shoot himself; but, in his agitation, he only inflicted a wound on his cheek. The soldiers now broke open the door, and arrested the prisoners, who were ultimately conveyed to the hall of the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre was laid upon a table, dressed in the same blue coat which he had worn at the feast of the Supreme Being, with nankeen breeches and white stockings, the latter of which, in the confusion, having fallen, reached his heels. He remained in this condition unmoved, the blood flowing down his cheek. A surgeon was sent for; Robespierre was placed in a chair, and remained unmoved while his wound was dressed. He was afterwards conveyed, with his companions, to the Conciergerie. As they had all been outlawed by the convention, there was no necessity for subjecting them to a trial. The next morning they were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, merely to establish their identity; and were carried to execution the same afternoon. An immense crowd followed them, shouting dreadful exclamations, and manifesting the utmost joy at their downfall. Robespierre remained sullen and unmoved to the last.

All over France a change came sudden as the lightning's flash. The prison doors were burst; fear gave place to hope, and mourning to joy. From garrets and cellars where they had long lain hidden, men came forth, as the world's grey fathers might have done after the Deluge had passed away. For two or three days the convention was occupied, almost entirely, with addresses of congratulation on their triumph, which, it was said, had saved the republic. The revolutionary tribunal was suspended. Decrees of accusation were passed against Fouquier Tinville, the iniquitous public accuser; Lebon, one of the most sanguinary of the commissioners sent into the provinces under the influence of Robespierre; David; Héron, the chief of Robespierre's police; General Rossignol, and Hermann, another of Robespierre's tyrannical agents. These proceedings gave more confidence to the public. The work of restoration and reorganisation went on apace. The danger of leaving the whole power of the state in the hands of one committee was now generally felt; and the government was entrusted to sixteen separate and independent committees. These were—1. The Committee of Public Safety. 2. The Committee of General Surety. 3. The Committee of Finances. 4. The Committee of Legislation. 5. The Committee of Public Instruction. 6. The Committee of Agriculture and the Arts. 7. The Committee of Commerce and Victualling. 8. The Committee of Public Works. 9. The Committee of Transport by Post. 10. The Military Committee. 11. The Committee of the Marine and Colonies. 12. The Committee of Public Relief. 13. The Committee of Division. 14. The Committee of *Procés Verbaux* and Archives. 15. The Committee of Petitions, Correspondence, and Despatches. 16. The Committee of Inspectors of the National Palaces.

Of these, the Committee of Public Safety was composed of twelve members, and was charged with the superior direction of the military operations and diplomatic relations. The Committee of Public Surety, consisting of sixteen members, had the direction of the police. The functions of the other committees are sufficiently indicated by their names. Numerous changes were also made in all the subordinate departments of the public service. The number of revolutionary committees which had been distributed over the whole country, was greatly diminished; the powers

of those which remained were placed under limits, and their more violent members expelled. The assemblies of the sections in Paris were only allowed to be held once every *décadi;* and the practice of paying the lower orders for their attendance was abolished. All the municipalities and local bodies were, like the revolutionary committees, purged of the agents and partisans of the reign of terror. The revolutionary tribunal was restored to its functions, but in a much milder form, and under the direction of men who were not likely to abuse its powers. Finally, the liberty of the press was decreed.

Once more, also, in Paris began the reign of the *salon*. People lived no longer in solitude—dirty, suspicious, repulsive, and ill-dressed. It was not now considered high treason to be a gentleman, to wear a clean shirt, and be pleasant to one's neighbour. The parties given by Madame Tallien were the most splendid and the most frequented; and she did all that a woman could do to soften down the harshness of revolutionary manners. In many fashionable *réunions*, the young man who had signalised himself by his exploits against the Jacobins, was sure to be marked out for special favour. Towards the end of November the club of the Jacobins was suppressed. Some of its members joined the electoral club which had been driven from the Evéché; but the greater part, and the more violent, took refuge among the ultra-revolutionists of the Faubourg St. Antoine, where they continued to hold seditious meetings; to which the committees of the government, feeling their own strength, thought it most dignified to pay no regard. The sections of Paris, taking courage from the overthrow of the great popular club, and expelling from their ranks the declared Jacobins who still remained with them, sent congratulatory addresses to the assembly. Meanwhile the clamour for punishment against the terrorists increased, and it was found impossible to resist it. Among those who were especially marked out for vengeance by the public voice, were Lebon and David; Maignet, who had barbarously treated the town of Bédouin; Fouquier Tinville; Bouchotte, the ex-minister of war; and the three revolutionary chiefs, Billaud Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, and Barrère. These three latter were at length placed under accusation; and the infamous Carrier made some atonement to society for his misdeeds, by perishing, with his accomplices, on the guillotine.

Whilst these events were taking place, the armies of France had been remarkably successful. The defeat of the Prince of Coburg by Jourdain, and the capture of Ypres and Charleroi, had placed Belgium at the mercy of the French. Pichegru had driven back the Duke of York; and the flag of the republic was at length extended to the Rhine. On the frontier of the Alps, a plan had been proposed by General Bonaparte, and adopted, for recruiting the two armies of the Alps and Italy for the invasion of Piedmont; but the design was delayed by the events which led to the fall of Robespierre. In Holland the French were received with open arms; and our allies, such as Prussia, were already weary of the contest, and willing to make peace. In one corner of France the Bretons still struggled for the ancient constitution, the old laws, and the royal family of France. Assisted by England, hitherto the republic had been unable to crush them. In 1795 they were compelled to succumb. In the middle of June in that year, it was attempted, by the French royalists in England, to assist the Chouans, and take possession of the peninsula of Quiberon, which would serve them as a strong position from whence to threaten St. Malo, Brest, or L'Orient. Valuable time was lost; while the Bretons showed far less disposition to take up arms than was expected. Hoche displayed the utmost activity in his preparations for resistance. The attempt was a failure. If it had not been for the English fleet, under Admiral Warren, all would have perished: and thus ended this unfortunate expedition, which, perhaps, might have been successful had the royalists been united, and had one of the princes of the blood the courage to place himself at its head.

Insurrections still continued in Paris. As a defender of order, Bonaparte

appears upon the scene. A certain number of the sections, with that of Lepelletier at their head, proclaimed themselves in a state of insurrection, and called the citizens to arms. The defence of the convention was entrusted to Barras, who chose for his second in command the young Napoleon, who was then in Paris. His arrangements were skilfully made. Hostilities began on the side of the Rue St. Honore, which was at that time filled with the insurgents. They had taken possession of the steps of the church of St. Roch, when Bonaparte advanced his cannons, and soon dislodged them with grapeshot. In like manner he speedily cleared the Rue St. Honore. In a little while the assailants were beaten from the other posts. After a desperate struggle the tranquillity of the capital was entirely restored; and as the sections submitted without further resistance, the victorious party acted with great leniency. Barras was made commander-in-chief of the army of the interior, with Bonaparte for his second in command.

In October, 1795, the celebrated national convention of republican France ceased. It celebrated its last sitting by abolishing the punishment of death in the French republic. This was followed by a decree of general amnesty of political offenders: and then the Directory was formed. One of the first things done by the new government was the establishment of a military force, for its own protection and that of the legislative bodies, which was organised under the direction of Bonaparte, and which was sufficient to prevent a repetition of the popular tumults which had so often disturbed the peace of the capital.

CHAPTER III.

IRELAND.

Let us now return to English affairs. The condition of England was at this time peculiarly critical. Some of her allies had joined the enemy, and the others had proved unequal to resist him. In India, the most powerful of the native princes were preparing to subvert her authority; and England herself contained a strong party, who saw in the French revolution, in spite of its excesses, a gain for the freedom of humanity, and who were not slow to express their opinions. In these times all men think so. At that time, when the land was ruled by ignorant Tory squires, and church-and-king mobs paraded the country, it was a matter of some peril, and certainly ensured worldly loss, to be of such a way of thinking.

Ireland then, as now, was England's weak point. That island was in a state of revolt; and certainly had every reason to be so. Man was not made for political institutions, but political institutions were made for man; and, in Ireland, the political and religious institutions of the governing few were cordially abhorred by the governed many. It was right such should be the case. When man ceases to protest against wrong, his manhood has passed away, and he is a slave. Well has one of Scotland's purest poets written—

> "'Tis manhood makes the man
> A high-souled freeman or a fettered slave;
> The mind a temple fit for God to span,
> Or a dark dungeon grave."

We must go back a few years. In 1777, Britain was engaged in the American war. Despotic France, entering into alliance with America, sent her soldiers to fight the battle of republicanism. England, in want of troops, withdrew her garrisons from Ireland, in order to transport them over the Atlantic. Ireland then was left defenceless in case of a French invasion. England gave her to understand

that she must protect herself. The Irish flew to arms. In a short time, a great national force, self-raised, self-armed, and self-equipped, stood forward to meet the expected foe. The Irish volunteers were acknowledged by the legislature as "the saviour of their country." In order to become a volunteer, certain outlays, requiring considerable means, were required; hence the volunteer ranks consisted of the best men in the land. In this national band, church of England Protestants, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics stood side by side. Under the old penal code, then in almost full force, persons of the latter persuasion could not legally bear arms. In some instances, in the north, their offers of service were coldly or offensively repulsed. The force thus raised, as it had no enemy to contend with, became political. They found the legislature and the trade of their country grievously restricted: they demanded freedom for both. England, too weak to refuse, granted the request. Having thus secured the independence of their legislative body, next came up the question of its construction. A meeting of the representatives of all the corps of volunteers in Ireland was held in Dublin, to petition for reform in parliament. The prayer was rejected with disdain. A war of words ensued. The legislators were termed corrupt and odious. The petitioners, in turn, were pronounced disloyal, and classed with French anarchists. Perhaps both parties were right. Lord Cloncurry tells us, at that time the Irish legislature consisted of a House of Lords, of which fifty-three peers nominated 123 members of the other House. Of that assembly, consisting of 300, only one-third were fair representatives. Corruption, in such a constituted assembly, was sure to exist. An attorney-general asserted, that a single vote of address to Lord Townshend, had cost the Irish nation half a million of money. On one occasion Lord Strangford gave an independent vote. It cost his lordship £400 a year. "The concession," writes Lord Cloncurry, "of the forty-shilling franchise to the Catholics, had the immediate effect of stimulating, to an extraordinary degree, the progress of parliamentary corruption. A new trade sprung up in the country. Men speculated on the multiplication of forty-shilling freeholders as they ought to have done in the breeding of sheep. The minister opened the national purse wider and wider, and the Protestant squires strove for its contents, each backed by as large a band of servile voters as it was possible for his lands to maintain. In the prosecution of such a slave traffic the productive powers of the potato afforded invaluable aid. By the use of no other species of food could so large a number of human beings be raised upon so small an area of soil. This was the consummation to be desired when every adult reared was a unit in the price of a peerage or a baronetcy, or equally available towards the purchase of the more substantial benefits of a well-endowed sinecure." It is clear, then, that the friends of order were corrupt; and it is equally clear that republican principles had spread amongst the reforming party, whose ranks, having been deserted by many, now came to be known in history as "United Irishmen"—a title adopted in 1792. The declared objects of all were a full reform in parliament, and an entire emancipation of Roman Catholics. "It can scarce be doubted," writes Mr. Banim, in his introduction to the *Croppy*, "that their leaders contemplated, even in the outset, a separation from England. Many of them were republicans in principle. Late treatises serve to show that their alleged objects were advanced but as a false flag, under which to marshal the timid or wavering of their own sect; or, if possible, the neutral Catholics, who then formed three-fourths of the population of Ireland. As republican France triumphed, her friends in Ireland became more defiant in outward act, in eloquent speech, or defiant song."

The crisis came. Under the very eye of "the castle," appeared in Dublin an armed band, styling themselves, in almost republican phrase, Irish National Guards. They wore the national colour, green: their standard was a harp, without a crown. Upon a particular day they were to muster, as if to show their strength. The Lord-Lieutenant issued his proclamation against such a meeting: he invoked the aid of the garrison of Dublin, and no review took place. A

previous identity between this band and the United Irish clubs is not proved; but such identification seems to have soon taken place. Against the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation the Dublin club issued a counter-proclamation, approving and encouraging the national guards. The secretary who signed the paper was convicted of sedition. After the publication of another philippic against government, a meeting of the United Irish of Dublin was dismissed by the sheriff, as persons holding seditious and republican views. Thus, in 1794, terminated the legal existence of the last of the volunteers of 1782.

However, the spirit existed; and, in 1797, the Roman Catholic force in Ireland became revolutionary.

The Roman Catholics had contentedly admitted or acquiesced in their political and social inferiority till the upraising of the national voice in Ireland, in 1782, by the old volunteers. After that year they became bolder, and began to petition the legislature for relief. Although it was indignantly rejected, still, nearly at the same time, government introduced a bill repealing some of the most odious of the penal statutes. Their junction with the reformers was apprehended; and it was thought advisable, if possible, to keep them quiet.

The Protestant ascendancy party took the alarm. That party, which had made good government in Ireland almost an impossibility, was up in arms. At city and county meetings, convened by sheriffs at grand jury sittings and corporation meetings and guilds, not only were manifestos against Catholic freedom agreed to, but the tenets of Roman Catholics were abused as well. To the astonishment of their masters the Catholics rejoined. "Ascendancy" rejoinders followed, in which some individuals connected with government took a part. The Catholics saw that they could expect no favour from the party in power. Still, however, they remained unconnected, as a body, with the United Irishmen; and, in 1793, carried their grievances to the very foot of the throne. Some additional concessions were made. The ascendancy men became angrier and more determined. They declared no further concessions could be made. They took their stand upon finality, and then the Catholics joined the ranks of the reformers.

In 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam became chief governor of Ireland, upon the understanding, that while going certain lengths to satisfy the Protestant political reformers, he was to grant complete relief to the Catholics: they were allowed to believe that now, indeed, the day of grace was at hand. But as soon as the Irish parliament had voted the war supplies, Lord Fitzwilliam received a summons to return to England. The Catholic leaders were in despair, and felt, more than ever, that their resource was to join the Protestant liberal party.

The previous policy of the United Irish clubs must have produced, to a certain extent, this final result. Their very name was an invitation to the Catholics to join them. Catholic leaders were invited to Belfast, to witness a display of Protestant liberality towards them. The following year their deputations to the king were induced to make Belfast their route to England; and the Protestant population of that town drew them in their carriages through the streets.

In 1795, a new element of disturbance was introduced. For many years, the county of Armagh had been the arena of a petty though cruel warfare. Under the title of Peep-o'-day Boys, the lower order of Protestants scoured, in bands, the Catholic districts, and, sanctioned by the penal laws, appropriated all descriptions of Catholic fire-arms. Nor was this search conducted in the most peaceable manner. It was too often accompanied by insult and outrage of every kind. The Catholics combined, under the title of Defenders, and spread, as we might naturally expect, from one county to another.

Defenderism soon diverged from its original character. In a rough way, it sought the redress of real grievances. One band opposed the payment of tithes; others the militia ballot; and, in 1795, they proceeded to open insurrection; but were dealt with in a summary manner. Without trial, military commanders sent

hundreds of them to the fleets. About 1,400 were thus disposed of; and an Indemnity Bill soon screened the law-breakers. But the Irish peasant felt that he was dealt with cruelly, as well as illegally; and he was eager for revenge. The soldiery had been let loose among the people. To such an extent was their disorderly violence carried, that the veteran Abercrombie, after a tour of inspection, subsequently described them as in "a state of licentiousness, which must render them formidable to every one but the enemy." The peasant of the south of Ireland was, consequently, eager and ready to injure those who had injured him; and when agents of the United Irish conspiracy found it convenient to make the parish Defender a national revolutionist, he rushed madly into the field, rejoicing in any cause that offered an opportunity for retaliation, and but too well prepared by the example set before him to brutalise even civil war. Thus was brought about the rising of the Irish in revolt against British rule in 1798. But we have not yet described all the incentives to wild efforts of hate, and revenge, and despair.

Many of the Defenders of 1795 had been executed, according to the usual process. The Peep-o'-day Boys, deeming themselves strong in the support of government, with fresh zeal as Orangemen, reopened the campaign against their fellow-countrymen: they resolved to drive away from Ulster all the Catholics. Upon the dwellings of such they posted the following notice:—"To hell or Connaught, you —— Papist! If you are not gone by —— [a day specified], we will come back and reckon with you. We hate all Papists here." And they kept their word, these mild professors of Protestant faith! If the command was not obeyed, they returned—burnt the house or cabin of the disobedient party, and compelled him and his family to fly. Thus were hundreds driven from their homes, to spread among millions of their excitable co-religionists the story of their wrongs. What wonder that the idea was cherished, in many quarters, that French aid would end this intolerable state of suffering; and, by driving the Orangeman from the soil he cursed with his presence, set Ireland free. Emissaries were sent to France, who represented that nothing was wanting to secure the independence of Ireland but a regular army for a rallying-point; and France, hoping to give a fatal blow to her most formidable enemy, and to gain a valuable province for herself, readily promised the aid required; and, at the earliest opportunity, prepared to keep her word.

The auxiliary force which the Irish delegates deemed sufficient was 15,000 men; but an army of at least 18,000 was provided, commanded by General Hoche. The armament put to sea, and it arrived in Bantry Bay. There, however, it came to grief, without meeting any of the British fleet, which was on the look-out for it. The elements were on our side; and when the French fleet arrived at its destined port, half the ships were blown out to sea again before they could anchor, and the rest were driven from their anchors ere they could land any troops. In this expedition the French lost three ships of the line and three frigates by stress of weather: but they had the good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys; the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after the departure of the enemy.

Ireland remained rebellious, nevertheless: in all parts the standard of revolt was raised. Its most brilliant leader, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was captured, and died; but others succeeded in his place. At length, the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore. The insurrection was finally extinguished, and the work of trial and execution commenced. In the town of Wexford alone no fewer than sixty-five persons were executed. Ultimately the government listened to the promptings of mercy, and an act of amnesty was passed. Again the French essayed to help the insurrection; but by the time they arrived, all chance of resistance was in vain. An expedition, under General Humbert, consisting of about 1,100 men, embarked from Rochelle; and landing, in August, in the Bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. Few of the peasantry could be got to join the invaders. Having left a

small garrison there to keep up the communication and receive supplies, General Humbert marched towards Castlebar, experiencing no obstacle on his route. The army collected there, under General Lake, was put to flight; the loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, was 200; that of the British being considerably more. Proceeding further, the French were met by Lord Cornwallis, to whose superior force they capitulated. The little army landed at Killala had been intended, it appears, only as a vanguard to a much superior force. Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was equally unsuccessful. A squadron from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, with a strong reinforcement intended to co-operate with the force under General Humbert in Ireland, was fallen-in with, by Sir John Borlase Warren, off the north-west coast of that country. Confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down and formed a line of battle in close order, on which an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, when the enemy's three-decker, the *Hoche*, and three of the frigates, hauled down their colours, after a gallant resistance. Five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig escaped; but three of the former were afterwards captured. The whole of the squadron was, it appears, entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Amongst the prisoners taken in the *Hoche*, was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, long considered as the most able and active negotiator among the Irish fugitives in Paris, and as adviser of most of the revolutionary measures of his countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting to palliate or deny his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a citizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; and when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon. The court, however, did not think it proper to accede to his request; and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him, by cutting his throat in prison. The wound was, at first, not thought to be mortal, but after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. Holt, the last of the rebel chiefs, obtained the boon of his forfeited life by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the Irish insurrection, in which, it is estimated, not less than 30,000 lives were lost, and property sacrificed to an amount of which it is difficult to form an idea. Some clue to it, however, may be found in the conflagrations that took place in different towns, and from the amount of compensation claimed from one class of sufferers. The towns of Carnew, Tinehely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killedmard, were all destroyed by fire. At Ross, about 300 houses, chiefly those of the humbler classes, were consumed; the greater part of Enniscorthy was laid in ashes; and in the open country, a vast number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats were destroyed. By a message delivered to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being verified before the commissioners; and an act of parliament soon after passed, under which the claims of loyalists amounted to upwards of £1,000,000—a sum of great magnitude in those days; but, it is supposed, not equal to more than one-third of the actual property destroyed by a rebellion in support of which it is believed that there were, at one time, no less than 70,000 men in arms. Ireland was quiet for a time, and its truest friends had to wait a more convenient season. The Union Act, which took place in 1800, did much to mend matters. The union was rather an expensive act. O'Connell, in his speech before the Dublin corporation, in 1843, declared that he had it on the authority of Burke and Plunket, and on the report of the committee of the Irish House of Commons to inquire into that event, that not only had the great Irish rebellion been fomented by the English government, as preparatory to their plan

of urging a union; but the parliamentary papers published since then, he added, disclosed the astounding fact, that £1,275,000 had been paid in purchase of Irish boroughs, and more than £1,000,000 expended in mere bribes. Bribery was unconcealed. The terms of a purchase were quite familiar in those days. The price of a single vote was £8,000, or an appointment to an office of £2,000 a year, if the parties did not choose to take ready-money. Some got both for their votes; and no less than twenty peerages, ten bishoprics, one chief-justiceship, and six puisne judgeships, were the prices of votes for the union. Add to this officers who were appointed to the revenue, the army and navy, in recompense of union votes. At first Castlereagh failed; but he then bought up the seats in parliament, and so achieved a majority. The late Daniel O'Connell was not very careful, we admit, in the strict accuracy of his statements; but he spoke the truth as to the way in which the Irish parliament was dissolved, and its union with that of Great Britain effected; or else, how can we account for the fact, that the idea which was received with indignation in 1799, was carried, in 1800, by a majority of forty-one. The truth is, as Grattan said—"The peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption were everywhere—in the lobby, in the streets, on the steps and at the doors of every parliamentary leader: titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all."

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.

WILLIAM PITT, it must be remembered, began life as a reformer; and to the end of his career he never was a Pittite—a man opposed to all reform, and the avowed advocate of monopoly and wrong. He was driven into war, neither expecting its extent or duration. He relied mainly on our navy; and that was in a state of discontent, and not without cause. "Mutinies," writes the biographer of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, "were the natural results of the system which had prevailed in the navy; and it is only wonderful that obedience had been preserved so long. Everything was supplied by contract; and the check upon the contractor being generally inadequate, gross abuses prevailed. Officers living at that time could tell tales which may seem incredible now. The provisions were often utterly unfit for human food. Casks of meat, after having been on board some time, were loathsome to more senses than one. The biscuits, from inferior quality, and a bad system of storeage, were devoured by insects, and fell to pieces at a touch; and the provisions of a more perishable nature, such as cheese, butter, raisins, &c., were in a still worse condition. Among crews thus fed the scurvy made dreadful ravages. The *Princessa*, when she formed part of Rodney's fleet in the West Indies, sent 200 men to the hospital at one time. The purser received certain authorised perquisites instead of pay, and one-eighth of the seamen's allowance was his right, so that their pound was only fourteen ounces. Prize-money melted away as it passed through the courts and offices. Not even public charities could escape; and the noble establishment at Greenwich was disgraced by placing in it superannuated servants and other landsmen as worn-out sailors; and conferring the superior appointments, intended for deserving naval officers, upon political supporters and friends."

A gradual improvement, in all departments of the public service, commenced from the time of Mr. Pitt's accession to power; and the worst of these abuses had been corrected long before 1797. Still, so much remained, that the demands of the seamen, when they mutinied at Spithead, were not less due to themselves, than desirable for the general interests of the service. A moderate increase in their

pay and Greenwich pensions; an improvement in their provisions; the substitution of traders' for pursers' weight and measure; and an allowance of vegetables instead of flour with their fresh meat, when in port, were their chief claims. They did not resort to violent measures till petitions had been tried in vain. They urged their demands firmly, but most respectfully; and they always declared their intention to suspend the prosecution of them if the country should require their services to meet the enemy at sea. A committee of the Admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, immediately repaired to Portsmouth, to induce the refractory seamen to return to their duty. Offers were made; and it was thought the whole matter was amicably settled. However, a second mutiny arose, caused by a fear entertained by the seamen that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A collision occurred; five seamen were killed, and an admiral and a captain were taken into custody by the crew, and confined several hours in separate cabins. Shortly after, Lord Howe arrived from the Admiralty, with full power to settle all differences; and as his lordship was the bearer of an act of parliament which had been passed, granting an increase of pay, and also his majesty's pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy. The public, who had seen, with alarm, this dangerous state of things, felt relieved; but their apprehensions were again excited as they heard of a new mutiny in another quarter, which, for boldness and extent, is without a parallel in our naval history. We allude to the mutiny at the Nore.

Encouraged by the success of the mutineers at Spithead, the North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, mutinied under the leadership of Richard Parker a bold and determined man. On the 23rd of May, the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the *Sandwich*, and the red symbol of mutiny hoisted in its stead. Each man-of-war sent two delegates, and there was a committee of twelve in every ship. The delegates went on shore daily; and after holding their meetings, paraded the streets and ramparts with music and flags. It was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made, would be granted. Their indignation knew no bounds. Some of the more desperate of them were for carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding; alleging, that all they desired was a redress of grievances. For the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a passage to merchant ships up or down the river. To supply their wants, they took from one vessel 300 sacks of flour, to distribute through the fleet. At this time they were joined by four men-of-war and a sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth-roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a fleet under the command of a set of common sailors, sent terror through the land. Government was by no means inactive at this crisis. Pardon was offered to all the mutineers who would return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of parliament—one for more effectually restraining the intercourse of the ships with the shore; and another for punishing, with the utmost severity, any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices. The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made by the Earl of Northesk, the commander of the *Monmouth;* to whom the delegates communicated the terms on which alone they would give up their ships. The terms were rejected; and all hopes at reconciliation being thus at an end, steps were taken to reduce the mutineers by force. At the last moment this, however, was rendered unnecessary. Disunion appeared in the ranks of the mutineers. Many of the ships being destitute of provisions and water, struck the red flag. Some were returning to obedience, and sailed away, seeking protection under the guns of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain; and after a fruitless attempt to gain a general pardon, the crew of the *Sandwich* steered that ship into Sheerness, where Parker was arrested, and brought before a court-martial.

The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny, committed on board his majesty's ships at the Nore; of disobedience to orders, and of contempt of the authority of officers. The case was clear against him, and he was sentenced to death. He met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and several of the ringleaders were executed; but the far greater number, and in glorious victories, lived to wipe away the stain of mutiny.

Another trouble, at this time, was the state of the money-market. The funds went down; there was a run upon the banks; cash payments were suspended; and the credit of the nation was saved.

But England was still elate with hope. On the sea our successes were brilliant. Sir John Jervis, whose duty it was to watch the combined fleets of France and Spain, and Holland, gained a grand victory over them on the 14th of February, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent; in which fight, Nelson, then a commodore, greatly distinguished himself. Off Camperdown, also, another triumph was won over the Dutch fleet, by Admiral Duncan. Parliament and people were enthusiastic. Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage, under the title of Earl St. Vincent. Duncan was made a viscount, and Nelson was invested with the Order of the Bath. Pensions, gold medals, and chains were liberally voted at the same time. Altogether the nation was in good spirits, in spite of the income-tax, which Pitt introduced and carried. France was fast tending to a dictatorship when Lord Palmerston was a baby. In England, Mr. Pitt had become dictator. It fared well with pensioners and placemen in those days; and perhaps the British farmer was as well off then as he ever was. We get a vivid picture of him in a book now rarely read—the *Autobiography of Orator Hunt*. The days of Mr. Pitt were days of high prices, when, if the nation was going to the bad, it was not aware of the fact; and the old English farmer was living at a jolly rate. Hunt writes—"Those were glorious times for farmers. The price of corn, and all sorts of agricultural produce, was enormous; and, as I had grown most excellent crops that season (1800), my profits were most ample. My bailiff wrote me word that he continued to obtain the highest price in Devizes market for my corn, both for wheat and barley; and one week he sold wheat for £5 5*s*. a sack; and barley for £5 a quarter." Farmers, in those days, laughed to scorn the homely maxim of their fathers—

> "He that by the plough would thrive,
> Must either hold himself or drive."

Hunt says he never lived up to his income; yet his was the life of a nobleman rather than of an agriculturist. "My farming concerns," he writes, "were well attended to, though I spent a great portion of my time in fox-hunting and shooting, and likewise kept a great deal of company. Scarcely a day in the week passed that I was not out to a party, or had one at my own house; but much more frequently at home. I kept an excellent table, had a good cellar of wine; and there never was any lack of visitors to partake of it. My life was a constant scene of gaiety and dissipation—one continued round of pleasure. I had barely time to attend to my own personal concerns; for no sooner was one party of pleasure ended than another began. The hounds met at this cover to-day, at that to-morrow; and so on through the week. Dinners, balls, plays, hunting, shooting, fishing, and driving, in addition to my large farming concerns, which required my attendance at markets and fairs; and which business I never neglected, even in this hey-day of levity and vanity. All these things left me no leisure to think or reflect, and scarcely time to sleep; for no sooner was one pleasure or engagement ended, than I found I had engaged to participate in another; and I joined in them all with my usual enthusiasm." Money lightly came, and went as lightly in those days. Lord Warwick, in his place in parliament, speaking of the extravagance of farmers, said some of them had actually reached such a pitch of luxury that they actually drank

brandy with their wine. Mr. Hunt adds, in confirmation—"I, too, knew a very humorous farmer and worthy fellow, of the name of Mackerel, of Collingbourn, who frequently did the same thing at the principal market-room of the 'Bear,' at Devizes; at the head of which table I at that time used to preside every week. Mackerel used to call this liquor Lord Warwick; and another farmer used always to drink a knob of white sugar in each glass of claret; for, be it known to the reader, that I have repeatedly seen drank at that table, on a market-day, by twelve or fourteen farmers, two dozen of old port, and, as a finish, two dozen of claret. Then they would mount their chargers, and off they would go in a body, each of them with £200 or £300 in his pocket; and the Lord have mercy upon the poor fellow who interrupted them, or failed to get out of their way upon the road home! No set of men ever carried their heads higher than they did; no set of men were ever more inflated or purse-proud than were these farmers during these days of prosperity." Mr. Hunt gives us a still clearer view of farming profits. "In the year 1801," he writes, "I grew twelve quarters of best oats per acre upon eight acres of poor farm land at Widdington, the rent of which was ten shilllings per acre. It was the heaviest and finest crop of oats that I ever saw. It was very fine weather, and they were carried in, and made into a rick by themselves. In the spring they were thrashed out, and all sold for seed at £3 a quarter. Now, as they averaged twelve quarters an acre, the sale amounted to £36, far more than the value of the fee-simple of the land. There were also more than three tons of straw upon each acre; and as, during that season, straw sold at £6 per ton, the actual value of the produce, taking off £1 a ton for the carriage of the straw, was £50 per acre; while the fee-simple of the land would not have sold for £20 per acre." Again, in the same year, the average price of wheat, throughout England, was £6 a quarter. No wonder Hunt tells us this period was the zenith of the farmer's glory. If a farm was to be let, scores were riding and driving over each other ready to break their necks, or take it at any price. Not only farmers, but tailors, tinkers, grocers, linendrapers, and all sorts of tradesmen and shop-keepers were running, helter-skelter, to be farmers. Mr. Hunt's father used to class the whole of these under the denomination of "apron farmers;" and never, says his son, was there a more intelligible term applied to any set of men. In every parish you saw one of these apron farmers—gentlemen who knew very well how to handle a yard so as to make short measure in selling a piece of cloth; men who could acquit themselves well at a pestle and mortar; who could tie up a paper parcel, or split a fig; who could drive a goose-quill, or ogle the ladies from behind their counters very decently; but who knew no more about the management of a farm than they did about algebra, or the most intricate problem in Euclid. A pretty mess these gentry made of it. Every one who had saved four or five thousand pounds by his trade must now become a farmer. They all knew what profits the farmer was making; and they not only envied him, but they made a desperate plunge to become participators with him in the booty. There was scarcely an attorney in the whole district that did not carry on the double trade of quill-driving and clodhopping. Most of them purchased land, even if they borrowed the money to pay for it; and many of them, after having farmed and farmed till they had not a shilling to support their families, have been compelled to give up their estates to the mortgagees. Mr. Hunt mentions one gentleman whose ignorance of country affairs was such, that he did not know barley and wheat from grass, nor beans from oats, when growing; and who seriously proposed, as the best method of hatching ducks, placing them under rooks. Yet he must be a farmer, merely because he had married a lady with a little money. Such was farming when George III. was king, and when we were at war with France, by land and sea, in every quarter of the globe. It is to be feared that the poor came off badly: nor can we be surprised to hear, as we shall in time, of bread-riots, and breaking of machines, and rick-burning; but the old farmers drank good wine and brandy, like Mynheer Van Dunk, and feasted and married, and lived thoughtlessly, as in

the days before the flood. When peace came, and when high prices were gone, in spite of the passing of the corn laws to enable him to pay high rents, a sad change came over the spirit of his dream. He had to give up his feasting and riotous living; his hunting and fishing; his tandems and his pointers—to work hard—to study—to become a scientific, as well as a practical farmer. But we anticipate.

France, as we have seen, in 1795, was under the rule of the Directory, consisting of Barras, Rewbell, Sièyes, Larévellière, Lepaux, and Letournan. Sièyes, having declined the honourable office which was then offered him, was replaced by Carnot. Such were the men called to direct the government of the republic at a moment of extreme difficulty. The financial distress was very great, and the want of provisions was as pressing as ever. These embarrassments were increased by misfortunes on the frontier; for no sooner had news arrived that Jourdain had found it necessary to repass the Rhine, than intelligence was received that the Austrians had driven the French from Mayence, and that Wurmser had inflicted a defeat on Pichegru. At the same time the royalists were again in motion in the turbulent provinces of the west, where Hoche was now appointed commander-in-chief. Charette had quarrelled with the republicans, and again taken up arms; but Stofflet, and the other great Vendean chiefs, were not only cut off from acting with him, by the skilful manner in which Hoche placed his troops, but they were kept back by jealousy, excited by the partiality shown to Charette by the head of the Bourbons. An additional danger also arose from the fact that the coast was threatened by an English squadron, on which the Count of Artois had at length embarked. The Directory, however, proceeded in its labours with great courage and activity. A new military force, for the guard of the government and legislative bodies, was organised, under the direction of Bonaparte, which was sufficient to prevent a repetition of the popular tumults which had so often disturbed the peace of the capital.

Of course, in the unsettled state of France, it was not long before an opposition to the Directory was organised. The trading classes required peace. The royalists encouraged this feeling. The patriots, on the other hand, accused the government of yielding too much to the counter-revolutionists, and of desiring to undermine the republic. In a paper, called *Tribun du Peuple*, a furious Jacobin, named Babœuf, revived the principles of Marat. Plots of all kinds were formed; and a deputy, named Cochon, was appointed to the office of discovering them. The appointment was just made in time to save the Directory from a determined attempt organised by Babœuf and his friends to gain possession of the sovereign power.

The Directory, under the influence of Bonaparte, was warlike. An attempt which was made at this time, on the part of the English ministers, to treat for peace, was haughtily declined. A grand attack on Austria, through Italy, was resolved on. There revolutionary principles had been favourably received by an oppressed people; and there, as in most of the countries of Europe at that time, none could wonder that the contagion should spread, and that the chains of the oppressor should be broken, if only for a time. All virtue had been banished from the governing class. In Venice and Genoa an effete oligarchy, who thought war an ignoble art, had quite forgotten the glories of the past. The shadow of Austria hung over Florence, Milan, and Naples, without arousing a breath of remonstrance; and the pope and cardinals—tolerated, yet despised—reposed in easy despotism in Rome. Miss Knight, in her *Diary*, recently published, gives us unusually graphic pictures of this bland existence of the eighteenth century. She was often the guest of a singularly charming cardinal, De Bernis, who owed his elevation to poetry far too Anacreontic to be quoted here; and, at his palazzo, she had many opportunities for watching the flirtations of gay prelates, and of easy Helens, with their "cavalieri servanti." At Rome there was "much luxury, ignorance, and little religion." So said the Emperor Leopold; and Miss Knight fully illustrates the dictum by tales of entertainments worthy of Vitellius, by anecdotes

of the contempt felt for simple and earnest ministers of religion; and by curious stories about the czar's ignorance of the clergy. Everywhere the people trusted to the principles and armies of France; and powers and principalities tottered to their fall. Monarchs were in despair, and courtiers indignant. The King of Sardinia sued to the victorious Napoleon for peace. Genoa did the same. The Duke of Parma followed suit. In Paris there was great rejoicing, as Murat brought with him the standards taken from the enemy; or as pictures and statues were received from the Italian palaces and temples, where they had long been the delight and admiration of Europe; or as it was told how the French army was fed and paid with the money and stores levied on the foe. In May, Bonaparte entered Milan under a triumphal arch prepared for his reception. He proclaimed that his mission was to restore Italian independence by driving the Austrians out of Italy. He established a municipal government in Milan and decreed the formation of national guards through the duchy; but he levied a contribution of 20,000,000 of francs on the Milanese, for the support of his army. He received, while at Milan, a deputation from the Duke of Modena, who sought the same terms as the Duke of Parma; and Bonaparte granted them, on condition that he should contribute to the republic a contribution of 10,000,000 of francs, a supply of provisions and horses, and the surrender of a quantity of works of art. The republican general had now gathered so much money from the subdued provinces, that he was enabled to send a few millions home to the Directory, and a million to the army on the Rhine. Napoleon continued his triumphant career. Naples was humbled; and the pope had to sue for peace. Bonaparte exacted, as the price, the acknowledgment of the independence of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara; the occupation of Ancona by a French garrison; and a contribution of 21,000,000 of francs; of a large supply of provisions for the army; and of a hundred masterpieces of art for the museums of Paris.

All this time the position of the Directory became more and more embarrassing. The conduct of Bonaparte, who seemed to be aiming at the dictatorship, alarmed many. The financial difficulties of the government were also increasing. The mandates which had superseded the assignats, like them, had fallen in value. People in the service of government were in great poverty, as they were paid in paper-money, which had ceased to have any worth in commerce, where metal had again come into circulation. The armies in Italy and Germany were well off, because they exacted money and provisions from the countries they overran; but the army of the interior was in a miserable state of destitution. Hoche was obliged to keep the provinces of the west under military government, because it enabled him to levy contributions of provisions, to sustain his soldiers; but he himself, and his men, were almost without clothes. The military hospitals were abandoned, because money was wanting to procure medicines, and even food; and the recruits for the army in Italy were often stopped on their way by similar indigence. The *gendarmerie* fell into a state of complete disorganisation; and the public roads were infested by brigands. The "patriots" again sought the overthrow of the government, but in vain.

Further successes attended the French in Italy, where, in all quarters, Bonaparte was driving the Austrians back. In January, 1797, the sanguinary battle of Rivoli was fought, which ended in a complete victory for the French. Next the fate of Mantua was decided, and the Austrians capitulated. Bonaparte then hastened to Bologna to humble the pope, and to obtain from him the money necessary for organising and carrying into execution a decisive attack upon Austria. The pope, who was preparing to fly from Rome, was no sooner assured that no attack should be made on the Catholic faith, than he subscribed to any demands which were made upon him; and a treaty was signed, stipulating that the pope should abandon all treaties against France, and acknowledge the republic; that he should cede all his claims upon the Venaissin; and that he should give up to the Cisalpine republic the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and the province of Romagna. Ancona was

to be retained by France until a general peace; and the pope was to pay to France fifteen millions of francs, in addition to the fifteen which had been promised on a former occasion, and not yet paid. Large quantities of provisions and horses were also to be supplied to the army from the papal territory. Bonaparte then hastened away to cross the Alps, and march upon Vienna. Arrived within twenty five leagues of that city, a peace was concluded between the French and Austrians. The emperor gave up to France all his possessions in the Netherlands; and, as a member of the Germanic empire, agreed that the Rhine should be the boundary of France. He also surrendered Lombardy; and, in return, the Venetian territory on the continent—Illyria, Istria, and all Upper Italy as far as the Oglio—was to be given to the emperor. Venice was to remain independent. The emperor further agreed to acknowledge the republics which were to be formed in Italy, under the protection of the French republic. The French army was to withdraw from the Austrian territory, and take up its quarters on the borders of the Tyrol. It was agreed that two congresses should take place, and some minor arrangements were made. As soon as Bonaparte had signed the treaty, he despatched Massina with it to Paris; and, at the same time, he sent couriers, by the shortest routes, to put a stop to the hostilities of the French armies in Germany. The French people in general rejoiced at the conclusion of peace; but the French Directory, to whom Bonaparte had acted as a master rather than a servant, were not pleased, and the armies in Germany were deeply mortified by the intelligence. The army of the Sambre and the Meuse, recruited and supplied in a great measure from the Netherlands, and counting full 80,000 men, had been placed under the command of General Hoche, and was ready for marching early in the year. Hoche, jealous of the proceedings of Bonaparte, was ambitious of founding a republic in Germany, and waited patiently for orders to advance. The army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Moreau, was, on the contrary, unable to move, from the absolute want of provisions, munitions, and money. It was on the movements of these two generals that Bonaparte reckoned for support in his advance upon Vienna. It was long before either Hoche or Moreau could obtain from the Directory the order for marching; but after that order was given, Hoche, who was especially jealous of the glory obtained by Bonaparte, was advancing rapidly through the centre of Europe, and had already inflicted more than one severe defeat on the Austrians, when he was arrested in his progress by the unwelcome news of the armistice.

Bonaparte returned to Venice, which he severely punished for revolting while *en route* for Vienna. At Easter there was a violent outbreak at Venice, in which the French garrison cannonaded the city, and caused great devastation in it; and the peasants murdered all the French they found in the town or outposts. Detachments of the French army, under Vilimaine, soon marched upon Verona, took it from the insurgents, and committed cruel retaliations. These events furnished Bonaparte with an excuse for employing rigour against Venice. The terror he excited led to a forced revolution, by which the Venetian constitution was overthrown; a new republic, on the model of that of France, established; and a French garrison received into the town. At the same time Bonaparte caused the Ionian Islands to be taken possession of by French troops. The existing government of Genoa was also overthrown by the intervention of Bonaparte, and a republic, like that of France, established in its stead.

Serious political complications, in the meanwhile, prevailed in Paris. The five individuals who composed the executive government differed in manners, in character, and principle; and soon began to form into parties, which looked upon each other with no very friendly eye. Barras disgusted his colleagues, and drew disgrace on the government, by the extreme licentiousness of his life, and the offensive coarseness of his manners. When the time for the new elections arrived, a considerable gain ensued to the royalists. Pichegru had become one of them; the new director, Barthelemy, allied himself with Carnot; and the majority in the Directory, still remained united in resisting the counter-revolutionists, who, aided

by the support of the Clichyan members of the club of Clichy, were all-powerful in the councils. In the assembly of the Five Hundred the violent Clichyan, or royalist party, were predominant; but in the Council of the Ancients, what was termed the constitutional party, or the moderate opponents of revolutionary principles, were strong enough to throw their weight into the opposite scale, and turn it. The Clichyans, nevertheless, persisted in their violent hostility, and some of their proposals were directed against Bonaparte himself, and were calculated to alienate that general and the army from the counter-revolutionary party. Great dissatisfaction was expressed at the unjust interference of Bonaparte in the affairs of Venice and Genoa, and at the violent revolution he had effected in those states. The Directory, alarmed at the conduct of their opponents, began to believe in the existence of a great plot for the restoration of royalty, which seemed to be confirmed by the seizure, in Venice, of one of the principal agents of the Bourbons, who had given information of the secret treasons of Pichegru. In this dilemma, the three directors who formed the majority resolved to effect a political movement by means of the army, which was still strongly imbued with revolutionary ideas. This was especially the case with the army of Italy; and Bonaparte secretly assured the directors that he was ready to march to their assistance. But his ultimate designs began to be feared, and the directors fancied they saw a more faithful republican in Hoche, who had an army of 20,000 men; and who, in reply to a communication from Barras, made without the knowledge of his colleague, at once offered his assistance.

In July the directors were alarmed by the Clichyans, in the Council of the Five Hundred, bringing forward a plan to reorganise the national guard; and a commission, of which Pichegru was chosen president, was appointed to report on it. The directors immediately prepared to act. By ill-luck at this time, Hoche had halted his army within eleven leagues from Paris—a direct infringement of one of the articles of the constitution. In addition to this imprudence, Hoche's officers and soldiers had guessed his intentions, and boasted that they were on their way to Paris to put down the aristocrats. The alarm was now great among the members of the opposition. Hoche had, meanwhile, entered Paris, and presented himself before the directors. Carnot, who presided, addressed the general in a tone of severity, and demanded by whose orders he had acted. Barras was afraid to justify him by confessing his own act, and remained silent. As Barras had not told Reubell or Larévelliére the orders he had sent, they were unable to give any explanation; and the dispute became so embarrassing, that Larévelliére put an end to it by adjourning the meeting. Hoche then learned, with great indignation, that Barras had sent the orders unknown to his colleagues. The latter meant to have kept the means of executing this *coup-d'état* in his own hands; but as the directors were not yet ready for the execution of their project, the approach of the army had only uselessly compromised them. The Directory, therefore, abandoned the idea of employing one of the generals-in-chief, and resolved upon writing to Bonaparte, to send them one of his generals of division. But Bonaparte did not wait for their appeal; he had already taken the initiative. At a festival given to the armies in his honour, he had addressed the audience, in rather violent language, on the designs of the counter-revolutionists in France, and on the difficulties thrown in the way of the government, and encouraged them to draw up addresses to him on the subject, which soon received thousands and thousands of signatures; and he sent these addresses to the Directory, with a proclamation of his own, in order that they might be printed in the journals. At the same time he sent one of his most confidential aides-de-camp to Paris, to offer his aid to the Directory, and to keep him well-informed of political events. There was a new difficulty created for the Directory; as, to publish these addresses, was forbidden by the law. But the will of the army of Italy was too strong to be resisted, and the directors complied; at the same time they accepted the offer of money made by Bonaparte. The Clichyans were

alarmed: it was clear that they had offended Bonaparte, who, it was evident, was the coming man. Aided by him, the Directory made a sudden attack on the Clichyans, and triumphed. They were supported by the deputies. Their obnoxious colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemy, were sentenced to transportation. Pichegru, and many others, were treated in a similar manner.

Bonaparte, all this while, was biding his time.

After forming a republic in Italy, he had come to the determination that it was in Egypt that England was to be attacked. At this time (1797) peace was made with Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and the Directory made Bonaparte commander-in-chief of the army of England. They were anxious he should undertake the expedition at once; while Bonaparte himself was only anxious about his expedition to Egypt. In May, 1798, he started for the East. He first took possession of Malta, and then sailed for Egypt. The day following Nelson arrived, with the British fleet, in pursuit. Bonaparte landed without opposition, won the battle of the Pyramids, and became master of Lower Egypt. At the very moment of success he received a blow as unexpected as it was severe. Nelson had at length come up with the French fleet at Aboukir Bay, and had beaten them. The victory known in England as the battle of the Nile, was one of the most glorious in our naval history. The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon*, of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty-gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British admiral, that had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the bay would have shared a similar fate. The British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895. Of the French, 3,105, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and 5,225 perished.

On land Bonaparte was firmly established. The English ministry, fearing for the safety of our Indian territories, entered into a treaty with Turkey, by virtue of which she was to provide a large force to harass his rear. St. Jean d'Acre was selected as the Turkish rendezvous, and towards this Bonaparte hastened, with a view of at once crushing the Turkish contingent. Sir Sidney Smith, in order to check this movement, instantly set sail, for the relief of Acre, with a naval force under his command, and had the satisfaction of arriving there two days before the French. Then ensued a severe siege and an heroic resistance. Nine times the French attacked, and nine times they were repulsed with great slaughter. On the fiftieth day of the siege a squadron of English vessels hove in sight. The situation of Bonaparte now became desperate, and he determined to take the place before the reinforcement could have time to land. With a like spirit of resolve, Sir Sidney Smith left his ship, taking with him every man that could be spared. In vain Bonaparte continued the sanguinary struggle. He gave orders for a retreat: and thus closed one of the most humiliating and disastrous enterprises he had ever undertaken. The fates are retributive. At Jaffa, on his way to Acre, he had shot down 4,000 prisoners, to free himself of their incumbrance. For the same purpose, it is said, upwards of 500 of his own wounded and sick were poisoned by his orders. The next step was to return to France, where he was courted by all parties, and was invited by the Directory to a grand festival. Had the English cruisers done their duty, Bonaparte would have been captured on his return from Egypt, and modern history would have had to tell a very different tale. Alas! Samson slumbered in the arms of Delilah!

Bad news greeted the French hero on his return. The republic had been beaten in Italy by Suwarrow. No sooner did the French cease to be formidable, than the fatal effects of jealousy began to appear in the camps and councils of the allies. The success of the allied armies in Italy, nevertheless, served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had sustained in other quarters; but the defection of the Emperor of Russia damped the expectations of the cabinets of London and Vienna.

In the meanwhile let us see the last of the French republic. On all sides it

was felt that the Directory was doomed. The Abbé Sieyes, constantly intriguing, was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Bonaparte; and after disclosing to him certain projects which he entertained, solicited his aid. At five in the morning of the month of November, by a manœuvre of the conspirators in the Council of Ancients, it was proposed, without communicating with the Directory, that the assembly should return to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that, accordingly, he should have command of all the forces. Bonaparte instantly issued two proclamations, announcing his appointment to the command of the civic guard and the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore the blessings of peace, and victory, and freedom. He then marched 10,000 troops to the Tuileries, and guarded that place so effectually that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were, for the first time, acquainted with what had taken place, by the proclamation with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. Moreau, with 500 men, took charge of the Luxembourg, where he was to hold the directors as prisoners, and permit them to have no communication with the exterior. By an act of authority which the constitution allowed to the minister at that time, Fouché suspended all the municipalities in the capital, which at once deprived the patriots of their rallying-points; while he caused the town to be placarded with proclamations calling upon the people to be calm and confident. The three directors were astounded. Barras, who was in his bath, promised to unite with his two colleagues; but soon after he was visited by Bruix and Talleyrand, who easily persuaded him to give them his resignation in writing. Moulins and Gruher were thus deprived of all power of acting, as the directors could not form a deliberative meeting; and they obtained permission to go to the Tuileries to try to come to an understanding with their confederates Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ignorant as yet of their resignation. They met with a very rude reception from Bonaparte, and returned to the Luxembourg, where they were now confined in rooms separate from each other; while Barras was sent, under an escort of dragoons, to his country seat.

The whole of the executive power was now placed in the hands of Bonaparte, who held council in the hall of the commission of inspectors in the evening, to determine on the proceedings at St. Cloud next day. Some of the Ancients had had time to reflect, and became alarmed at the idea of giving up the republic to a military despotism. They were too late.

Next morning the scene opened in St. Cloud. The friends of the constitution, fearing it was to be sacrificed to the ambition of an individual, expostulated so warmly with the Ancients, that it became doubtful whether, at the last moment, Bonaparte's grand design would not be defeated. Napoleon became aware of this danger; and as he feared most that Jourdain, Augereau, and Bernadotte might gain over his troops, he gave out that any one who should attempt to address the soldiers, whether a member of the councils or a general, should be instantly massacred. At the sitting of the councils, in spite of every precaution to the contrary, Bonaparte's plans were again in danger of falling through. In this dilemma he resolved to address the two councils in person. On his way he was met by Augereau, who said, bantering—"You are in a fine position now." "Things were much worse at Arcola," replied Bonaparte.

In the council Bonaparte delivered a short, impassioned speech. A deputy cried out—"Speak of the constitution." "Constitution," said he, "you have none: it is you who have destroyed it, by attacking, on the 18th of Fructidor, the national representation; by annulling, on the 22nd of Floreal, the popular elections; and by attacking, on the 30th of Prairial, the independence of the government. All parties seek to destroy this constitution of which you speak; they have all sought me; made me the confidant of their projects, and invited me to second them. I refused: but if it were necessary I could mention the parties, and the men." Several voices cried—"Name them: let there be a secret committee."

A scene of violent confusion followed; but as soon as he could be heard, Bonaparte again talked of the danger of the country, and invited the Council of the Ancients to assist in saving it. "Surrounded," said he, "by my brothers in arms, I shall know how to second you. I call to witness those brave grenadiers, whose bayonets I see, and whom I have so often led against the enemy. I call their courage to witness, we will assist you in saving the country; and if an orator," he added, in a threatening tone and gesture, "should talk of outlawing me, I would then appeal to my companions in arms. Consider that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and the god of war." In a British senate such a speech would have been received with laughter; amongst the French it was a palpable hit. Overawed by such language, the Council of the Ancients listened, and trembled, and approved.

Bonaparte next made his way to the Council of Five Hundred, accompanied by a party of grenadiers. He left the latter at the door as he entered. He was received with cries of indignation, and with loud protests against the presence of soldiers, and the violence with which he seemed to threaten them. "Down with the dictator!—down with the tyrant!" were heard on all sides; while others called on him to quit the hall. The grenadiers, seeing him confounded in the midst of this uproar, rushed in and dragged him away, pretending that daggers had been raised to assassinate him. Bonaparte immediately mounted his horse and rode to his troops, telling them that an attempt had been made upon his life: to which they replied by cries of "*Vive Bonaparte!*" The tumult in the council, meanwhile, continued, and the anger of the patriots was now directed against Lucien, who still occupied the chair. He attempted to justify his brother. Instead of listening, they called for a resolution of outlawry. As such a resolution would have involved the general's plans in considerable extra danger, Lucien quitted the chair to prevent its being carried, whereupon the hubbub became greater than ever. Lucien's life was in danger, and he was saved by some grenadiers, sent for that purpose by his brother. Bonaparte now saw that his only hope of success lay in the employment of force; and accordingly he sent a battalion of grenadiers, under Murat and Le Clerc, who entered with fixed bayonets, and dispersed the deputies, many of whom were glad to make their escape through the windows. The Ancients, when they heard of these violent proceedings, were shocked; but acquiesced. After the hall had been cleared, some fifty deputies remained, and, under the inspiriting glitter of bayonets, passed the necessary decrees required by their new master. Towards midnight, all was calm.

Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos were appointed consuls, and invested with the whole executive power; they entered upon the discharge of their public functions the next day, in the palace of the Luxembourg. The legislative commissioners, at the same time, commenced their sittings.

In forming the new administration, Lucien Bonaparte was constituted Minister of the Interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of Minister of Foreign Affairs. A new constitution was shortly after submitted to the French nation, and almost unanimously approved of. It consisted of an executive, composed of three consuls; one bearing the title of chief, and, in fact, possessing all the authority; a conservative senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, and nominated by the consuls; and a legislative body of 300 members, with a tribunate of 100. Bonaparte was nominated first or chief consul for a term of years.

It is said Sieyes had hoped that Bonaparte would be satisfied with directing the military power of the state, leaving the civil power to him. He was soon undeceived. On the very first meeting of the three consuls, Ducos said—"General, the presidency belongs to you of right." Sieyes thought that Bonaparte would have insisted on his taking it; but the latter seated himself in it as a matter of course. On his return from the meeting, Sieyes said to Talleyrand and his brother conspirators—"Gentlemen, you have a master; give yourselves no

further trouble about the affairs of state. Bonaparte can and will manage them at his own pleasure." Sieyes retired into the senate, with a salary of 25,000 francs, and the estate of Crôsne, in the park of Versailles; whereupon some wag observed—

" Bonaparte to Sieyes has given du Crôsne;
But Sieyes to Bonaparte has given a throne."

Ducos also retired into the senate. The Abbé Sieyes was great at constitution-mongering, and, in his scheme, the first consul was to have very little to do. Bonaparte was not the sort of man to stand that—to be a sham—to have the appearance, but not the reality of power—to fatten like a pig, as he himself said of Abbé Sieyes' scheme—to fatten like a pig upon so many millions a year. The French revolution had made, and left, men terribly in earnest. We shall now hear of it no more. The Bourbons had gone, and a greater and more splendid power than that of theirs was to be built up. And thus the revolution passed away—a warning and an example to all coming time, and a blessing to all lands, in spite of its panics, bloodshed, and evil deeds. Our young poets welcomed it, such as Burns and Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge. What a light, glory, and fulness of promise it shed all over Europe for awhile! The darkness of feudalism, ignorance, and superstition had gone, and the light had come. How fair were Godwin's dreams of political justice! In his reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey, Cottle writes—"It may be proper to state that all three of my young friends, in that day of excitement, felt a detestation of the French war then raging, and a hearty sympathy with the efforts made in France to obtain political amelioration. Almost every young and unprejudiced mind participated in this feeling; and Muir, and Palmer, and Morgarot were regarded as martyrs in the holy cause of liberty." Wordsworth, who was in Paris at the birth of the revolution, returned, as his latest biographer, Mr. Palgrave, tells us, with a strong sympathy for what France had arrived at in 1790; and a great dissatisfaction with the policy towards her pursued by England in 1792. In the letters of Earl Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff, we have the testimony of an aristocrat, and a friend of Pitt, in favour of the benefits, visible even to himself, of the French revolution. We taught the French the art of revolution. Our English history was their model; but the original is pale and colourless, when compared with the copy. The difference is of race, rather than circumstantial.

Under the Stuarts we were fast sinking beneath the sway of priest and king; enslaved body and soul. As France was in a still more deplorable state, so, in like manner, she had a terrible baptism of blood to undergo. A silent, reserved, phlegmatic Prince of Orange would not have saved her as he saved us. As it is, in spite of her revolution, and notwithstanding the wrongs it redressed, and the rights it obtained for the masses, the boon of constitutional liberty is still denied to France. To such an extent, therefore, the French revolution was a failure. It is also charged with bloodshed and crime. Well, we must remember, as the late Mr. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, observed—"Crimes, no doubt, there were—sanguinary and enormous crimes—perpetrated during the course of the French revolution; but, be it remembered, these acts were done in self-defence. The revolution itself was completed peacefully; and no proof whatever is capable of being adduced, that a peaceably-accomplished event it would have remained had it been let alone. But the fact is, there was a ceaseless struggle for a counter-revolution—a struggle carried on continually within, and stimulated without. The revolution was never secure for a day: there were always persons in different ranks of society plotting: foreign gold was circulating there to bribe domestic treason: and all Europe in arms was thundering on the frontiers. Is it wonderful that crimes were committed in self-defence in the circumstances in which they were placed? Blockade a man in his own house—bribe his servants—put gunpowder

under his bed—set fire to his dwelling, already surrounded by banditti—and then you must not be surprised if his conduct be *rather* extravagant, and he becomes somewhat violent. Let there be no exaggeration here. In describing this event, we speak as though the streets of Paris had for years and years flowed with blood. Much there was, indeed, shed of real noble blood; many fell under the guillotine, who deserved statues raised to their honour, and a niche in history—many who, if they had lived in this country, at no great distance of time, would have had their chance of being hanged under the reign of terror of William Pitt: for, if the French literary, philosophic, and patriotic men suffered, we must not forget that our honest Hardy, and not only men of the shoemaking class, but that our Holcrofts, and Thelwalls, and Horne Tookes—our men of philosophy, literature, art, and genius—were also perilled; and it was by no virtue of the then ruling power that we did not commit some crimes as foul as any of those that stained the progress of the French revolution."

In another direction the French revolution was a sad stumbling-block. As regards England, it put political progress back half a generation. By our revolution in 1688, we had obtained the independence of the judges; the liberation of the press from the control of a censorship; and, in the third place, the great principle of religious liberty was proclaimed. Under the settlement thus effected, the nation enjoyed an amount of prosperity and repose which made it the envy of surrounding nations. But evils had grown up. Our Hanoverian kings were mere foreign doges, dependent upon the Whig party, and disliked by their natural allies, the Tories. The country was in the hands of the great revolutionary parties, and the power of the monarch was nothing; and thus abuses had crept into the heart of the body politic, and a cry for reform was raised. A character of selfishness, severity, and narrowness had stamped much of our legislation, especially as regards the poorer classes; and Sir Robert Walpole had lowered the tone of public men, till it became more like that of pedlars than statesmen. Pitt began life as a reformer. The Duke of Richmond, and the proudest noblemen in the land, were in favour of reform. The nation was on the side of reform. Burke, and Fox, and Pitt were all ready to carry a measure of reform. What was it altered this state of things? What was it drove the nation into the hands of the Tories? What made Pitt abandon the principles and pledges of his youth? The answer is—the French revolution.

By king and queen, by lords and ladies, by statesmen and officers, by rich merchants and country squires, by millionaires and beggars, by dignitaries in the church, and by pensioners on the state, reform came to be hated with a hatred of which we, in these latter and calmer times, can form no idea. This reaction lasted till the peace—lasted all the time Lord Palmerston was preparing to buckle on the armour, and take his stand as an athlete in the political arena. "The French revolution," wrote Lord John Russell, in his *History of the Constitution*, "is ascribed to everything, and everything to the French revolution. If a book is written containing new opinions on subjects of philosophy and literature, we are told to avoid them, for to Voltaire and Rousseau is to be attributed the French revolution. If an ignorant cobbler harangues a ragged mob in Smithfield, we are told that the state is in danger, for the fury of a mob was the beginning of the French revolution. If there is discontent in the manufacturing towns, we are told that the discontent of the manufacturing towns in France was the cause of the French revolution. Nay, even if it is proposed to allow a proprietor of land to shoot partridges and hares on his own ground, we are told that this would be to admit the doctrine of natural rights—the source of all the evils of the French revolution. The voice of reason is not listened to; the whole precedent is taken in the gross as a receipt in full for every bad law, for every ancient abuse for maintaining error and applauding incapacity. It is as if, when a patient were worn out with bad fare, and exhausted with debility, a physician should administer copious bleedings because his next-door neighbour was dying with pleurisy." This

was written many many, years after the French revolution: yet such was the mischievous effect, even then.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CONSUL AND WILLIAM PITT.

THE age makes the man. This is true of Bonaparte; and is equally true of his steadfast enemy, William Pitt. But "men make the age," is an axiom equally true; and equally true is it of Bonaparte and Pitt. Bonapartism is still a power—still forms and fashions a great nation. The Pittites have passed away, because they were fighting for a dead and rotten past. Pitt's name, however, was something more than a tradition in English statesmanship, up to the time of the struggle for reform. Let us look at these giants. We begin with the Corsican, who—

> "Left a name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral or adorn a tale."

In 1332, John Bonaparte was chief magistrate of Florence. In 1404, a descendant and namesake of the above was plenipotentiary from Florence at the Court of Gabriel Visconti, Duke of Milan; and he married a niece of Pope Nicholas VII. His son was ambassador from that pontiff to several foreign Courts. Gabriel Bonaparte established himself at Ajaccio, in Corsica, in 1567; and for several generations his descendants were successively head of the elders of that city. By intermarriages, the Bonapartes, on their emigration into Corsica, had become connected with some of the noblest in Italy.

Carlo Bonaparte studied law at Pisa; and when he returned to Corsica, became advocate in the Royal Court of Assize. He married Letitia Ramolino, at Ajaccio, in 1767. Both were born in that town; and the lady, who was of Neapolitan extraction, is said to have been well descended, remarkable for beauty, strong-minded and accomplished. Carlo had gone into the army, and served under Paoli in his defence of the island in 1768 and 1769, after the Genoese had sold their claim to France. The submission of the Corsicans to the French took place in 1769, in June. On August 15th, Napoleon was born. By birth, therefore, he was a subject of the Bourbons. His mother was seized with the pains of labour while attending mass at the solemnisation of some holiday. She speedily gained her home; and upon reaching her chamber, was delivered of a male child upon an old piece of tapestry, upon which was embroidered the heroes of Homer, and figures of the fabled warriors of antiquity. The child thus born was to outrival, in his career, "the Macedonian madman and the Swede." The month after his birth, Count Marbœuf, the French commissioner at Corsica, convoked the states of the island, comprised of the three orders—clergy, nobles, and commons. The Bonapartes were convoked with the nobility.

Bonaparte, the fighting over, returned to his profession as an advocate, and, soon after, he went to Paris at the head of a deputation of his order, to obtain an audience of Louis XVI., relative to differences which had arisen between the French commissioner, Count Marbœuf, and Count de Narbonne Peter, who had commanded in Corsica. His defence of Count Marbœuf led to a friendship between them. The count was grateful, and, in 1777, obtained for the young Napoleon admission to the military school of Brienne as a king's pensioner. At that time he had an Italian caste of features of a remarkably dark hue, bright piercing eyes, and a large head, quite disproportioned to his body. As a child he was studious; and he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of the

French language, history, and mathematics, in all of which, especially the latter, he made a great proficiency. In his leisure hours he cultivated a little plot of garden; as did all the other boys at Brienne.

At an early age his genius was remarkable. He was the second son of Carlo, Joseph being the oldest; but his uncle, Lucien, who was Archdeacon of Ajaccio, when on his death-bed, designated him, in the presence of his brothers, the chief of the family.

In 1784, in consequence of his proficiency in mathematics, he was selected for the military school in Paris, although he had not attained the age at which scholars are usually admitted to that establishment. The next year he passed his examination successfully, and obtained his first commission in the artillery regiment of La Fère, then forming part of the garrison at Grenoble: he was soon after promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. At Valence, where he was then stationed, he experienced his first attachment: he visited at the house of Madame Columbier, who had a beautiful daughter. They fell in love; but the prudent mother would not hear of marriage. They parted; and when they again met, the lady had become the wife of a private gentleman, and her first love was Emperor of France. Napoleon gave employment to the husband, and made the wife lady of honour to one of his sisters. At Valence Bonaparte also made the acquaintance of M. de Montlevet, who, years after, became his Minister of the Interior: and in that town Napoleon studied other than military questions. The Abbé Raynal proposed a question for discussion—"What are the principles and institutions by which mankind can obtain the greatest amount of happiness?" Napoleon's paper on the subject gained the prize offered by the Academy of France.

While at Valence the French revolution broke out, and Napoleon took the popular side. In Paris he witnessed the attack on the Tuileries, in 1792. On that occasion, he exclaimed—"How could they allow those despicable wretches to enter the palace? Why, a few discharges of grapeshot amongst them would make them all take to their heels: they would be running yet at this moment." Nor did he despise the unfortunate Louis. At a later period, when Sieyes, in conversation, spoke of Louis XVI. as a tyrant, he replied—"He was no tyrant, or I should have been a subaltern officer of artillery; and you, Monsieur l'Abbaye, would be saying mass."

After witnessing the scene of the 10th of August, Napoleon returned with his family to Corsica. Paoli, who had been appointed to the chief command of the island, gave him the captainship of a battalion of guards. When Paoli called upon his countrymen to place themselves under British rule, Napoleon joined the French. The English were for a time successful; and, in 1793, he left the island, taking his mother and sisters with him—his father being dead.

To a certain extent we have indicated his career. He had won his way to the first rank three months before he completed his thirtieth year. Aiming at universal empire, he was thwarted by William Pitt.

William Pitt, orator and statesman, the second son of the great Lord Chatham, was born in 1759. His mother was a Grenville. From his father he inherited a lofty, liberal, magnanimous nature, and commanding oratorical talent. From his mother he derived a methodical accuracy—a power of arranging masses of details which had distinguished two generations of Grenvilles. The child was educated by his father, who trained him for the assembly in which, in time, he was to fill the highest and most arduous post. From earliest boyhood he attended the debates in parliament; and at Cambridge, under the tuition of Tomline, he seems to have acquired most of the learning which he ever had the leisure to master. He became an extraordinary mathematician, for his years. He was also a good classic scholar; and, what was equally advantageous to him, he became a diligent student of political economy, as then expounded by Adam Smith.

Pitt was driven from office by the unnatural alliance formed between Fox and Lord North. Though his chance of office appeared but remote, and he was

actually meditating a return to the bar, to which he had been called, his attitude of proud self-confidence was unchanged. He continued, in haughty and telling language, to inveigh against the apostasy of the coalition; and the applause of the House was echoed by the nation, as, in a felicitous quotation, he contrasted the spotless purity of his political conduct, his "self-resignation to honest poverty," with the triumph of his foes, obtained by tergiversation.

And he was right. Such conduct raised him high in the respect of the nation and the king, and he was soon recalled to office. On the defeat of Fox's India Bill, Pitt was ordered to form an administration, with himself as First Lord of the Treasury; and he accepted the responsibility in the face of a furious and baffled opposition.

The general election of 1784 placed Pitt at the head of affairs, with ampler powers than had been wielded by any minister since the days of Walpole. From 1784 to 1806, with the exception of the brief interval when Addington filled the office of Premier, the government of England devolved upon Pitt.

Pitt's fame, in his earlier years of premiership, was enhanced by several accidental circumstances. Against the expectation of all who had prophesied the decline of England upon the loss of her American colonies, the nation grew in wealth and prosperity. The majority which Pitt commanded in parliament removed from George III. the temptation of governing by illegitimate means; and the factious and unprincipled conduct of the opposition, enhanced, by contrast, his dignified conduct, and reflected much discredit on their leaders. When we bear in mind that the French treaty, and the resolutions of free trade with Ireland, were denounced by Burke, who had spent years in inculcating an analogous policy, and that Fox, the representative of the Whigs of 1688, in his opposition to the Regency Bill, proclaimed theories of divine right, it is evident reflecting men must have preferred the principles and policy of Pitt.

Pitt's weak point—now that the passions of the day have passed away, and we can judge after the event—was his foreign policy. Like Fox, he was blind to the real nature of the French revolution, and its probable consequences. Even after 1793, when France was overrunning Europe with a propaganda of Jacobin crusaders, Pitt persisted in maintaining that its disruption as a nation, and its fall as a great European power, would be the result of the revolution: and the "same want of accurate perception and of keen sagacity," writes a recent reviewer in the British *Quarterly*, "may be traced in Pitt's subsequent conduct of the contest. Undoubtedly there was a grandeur of conception in his plan of banding all Europe against France, and of crushing her through successive coalitions; nor do we dispute that considerable energy, and an immense amount of British money, were employed in seeking the attainment of those objects. Undoubtedly, in this course of policy, Pitt was following out, on a larger scale, the examples set him by King William and Chatham, who, at different periods, had combined leagues for the purpose of resisting French ambition, in which England took, as a military power, but a secondary part as compared with her allies. Nor can we deny that the obstacles to success in the path of Pitt were infinitely greater than those which beset his illustrious predecessor, inasmuch as, for instance, Moreau and Napoleon were different far from Richelieu and Soubise; and the stern republicans of the army of Italy were very unlike the unwillingly impressed peasants who bled at the bidding of Villars and Luxembourg. But admitting all this, it is now evident that Pitt committed a terrible mistake in opposing mere dynastic coalitions to the energy of the French republic; and, at least, when he had become aware of the hollow support which Prussia and Austria were giving to the cause of the alliance, he should have brought more prominently forward the force of England as a military nation. It is impossible to doubt, that had he possessed the creative genius of a real war minister, he would, even from the outset of a strife which had little resemblance with previous wars, have made England as formidable on land as would have befitted her rank as a European power; and that when a succession of humiliating

reverses, or of selfish and timid traffickings with the enemy, had disclosed the moral impotence of the allies, he would have so augmented our armies as to render them able to cope with her antagonists. This, however, was not the course he pursued; and the result was, that though, at sea, the glory of England was fully sustained, her renown on land was made to depend on the feeble schemes of a timid coalition; that her army, though always giving proof of the true metal of British soldiers, was exposed to a series of petty reverses; and that, after a series of wonderful triumphs, Napoleon, at the head of the French revolution, became paramount in five-sixths of Europe. Add to this, that Pitt appears to have been unable to find out a single capable commander. He entrusted our forces to the Duke of York, long after his incompetence had been proved; and even his best selection, Lord Cornwallis, was not employed by him in active service."

Pitt and his government were popular all the while. There can be no mistake about that. He was hailed, in England and Europe, as the inflexible foe of the French revolution. A good deal of fault has been found with his mode of governing at this period; and he has been represented as carried away into wild excesses by his sharp mode of crushing free opinion. It cannot be denied that several acts of his government were infringements on our general liberties; that not a few of Lord Eldon's prosecutions were hardly creditable to British justice; and that some occurrences which took place in Scotland at the first outbreak of the French revolution, were marked with cruelty and contempt of right. We are disposed to admit that Pitt did show a blamable indifference to remonstrance on these subjects, and that he, in some cases, overrated the alleged Jacobin tendencies of the persons against whom he directed these severities. But when we bear in mind the insidious means employed by the French republicans to corrupt public opinion in this country; the indignation which was generally felt against what were called French principles; the pressure unquestionably put upon Pitt for harsher measures, we must mitigate the judgment which we should otherwise be ready to express. It is certain that, by the mass of the nation, he was considered rather lukewarm than otherwise in suppressing treason; that had he attempted to restrain their impulse in favour of strong measures, he would have been driven from office; and that at no time was he so well supported as when advocating the suppression of seditious tendencies.

The Irish policy of Pitt was inherited from his illustrious father. Before the close of the reign of George II., the attention of Chatham had been drawn to the wretched condition of the Irish nation, which, rent with hostile races and sects, divided by cruel legislation, was at once the scorn and the reproach of the empire. His object was to remove these evils by a thorough assimilation of England and Ireland, and by a union of their legislatures; but jealousy and faction prevented his carrying out the idea. Pitt the younger was enabled to effect it, though under circumstances unfavourable to the issue. His scheme was not merely a legislative union; but it was accompanied with a plan to admit the Roman Catholic Irish to the full rights of British citizenship, and to get rid of the numerous disabilities which kept them in a degrading state of humiliation. Unhappily, of this scheme Pitt carried but half. Owing to the obstinacy of George III. it was not attended by the religious emancipation which the Roman Catholics had been led to expect. A train of misfortunes and evils was the result, visible even at the present day. Pitt is responsible, to a great extent, for this; for although, doubtless, he resigned office in consequence of his failure on the Catholic question, he should, as he might very easily have done, compelled the king to consent to the measure, and not have supported the feeble ministry which was formed afterwards on opposite principles.

Pitt inherited from his father an unreasoning reverence for the caprices and personal wishes of his sovereign. It was not only on the Catholic question he displayed it. In excluding Fox from the cabinet, merely to please the king, the failing was manifest again. Such a course is in violation of the first duties

of a constitutional statesman. It is not clear that Pitt was the renegade some considered him; candour must own that his change of opinion was owing solely to a change of circumstances—a change which fully warranted resistance to any innovation in a time of revolution: and, rightly understood, the whole conduct of Pitt, however fluctuating and tortuous, was, throughout, consistent with his natural character. He distinctly perceived the perilous mischief of oligarchy in the state; more than once he endeavoured to change the representation in the House of Commons on the liberal and popular side. He was also strongly opposed to the relation then existing between the established and the nonconformist churches; and, impressed with the spirit of religious liberty, he contemplated not only Catholic emancipation, but complete relief to Protestant dissenters. The same wise and progressive spirit directed much of his earlier internal administration. He wished to make the action of parliament more generous to the humbler classes; and it is known that he disapproved extremely of our old, barbarous criminal law, of a vicious poor-law, and such like. As for external affairs, he was a genuine free-trader. He broke up a good deal of the monopoly by which our commerce had been afflicted; and it is certain that his object was to emancipate, gradually, our colonial system from strict dependence on the home government. Pitt will live in history, not as the bigot and terrorist his blind partisans endeavour to make him out to have been, but as a rare character, who, by genius and happy accidents, acquired the lead of the House of Commons, and kept the position for many years, in virtue of his lofty magnanimity, his consummate skill in parliamentary management, and his great capacity as a debater. Coleridge, who was in the House as a reporter when Pitt was leader there, describes his oratory as wonderfully effective. In this character (though we have few means of forming a judgment now), there cannot be a doubt that he was not surpassed, and hardly equalled, by any one of his contemporaries. If his reasoning was not always particularly cogent—if his declamation was not always weighty—if he had little of the gorgeous diction of Burke, or even of the manly logic of Fox—he was so skilled in luminous statements, his arguments were so admirably marshalled, and his language was so inspiring and sonorous, that nothing could exceed the effect he produced; while in all the artistic accessories of oratory, the modulation of voice, and dignity of manner, he was certainly unapproached in his generation.

Wilberforce was the friend, especially in early life, of Pitt. The testimony of Wilberforce to the character of Pitt may be relied on. In the life of the philanthropist we find the following:—"Though less famed for general popularity than Fox, Pitt, when free from shyness, and amongst his intimate companions, was the very soul of merriment and conversation. He was the wittiest man I ever knew; and, what was quite peculiar to himself, had at all times his wit under entire control: others appeared struck by the unwonted association of brilliant images; but every possible combination of ideas seemed present to his mind, and he could at once produce whatever he desired. I was one of those who met to spend an evening in memory of Shakespeare, at the 'Boar's Head,' Eastcheap. Many professed wits were present; but Pitt was the most amusing of the party, and the readiest and most apt in the required allusions. He entered with the same energy into all our different amusements. We played a good deal at Goosetrees; and I well remember the intense earnestness which he displayed when joining in those games of chance." Wilberforce mentions his liability to being deceived and led away by other people, as a weakness in Pitt's character. He placed too much reliance on the honesty and honour of those around him. Hence it was that his private affairs were in such a bad state, and that he died in debt. "I have heard, not without surprise," wrote Mr. Wilberforce, after Pitt's death, "that his debts are considerable: a sum was named as large as £40,000 or £50,000. This must have been roguery; for he really had not, for many years, lived at the rate of more than £5,000 or £6,000 per annum. I do

not say this lightly; and he has had an income, since he got the Cinque Ports, of £10,000 per annum." We know that Mr. Robert Smith, who was requested by Pitt to look into the state of his affairs in 1786 (which even then were somewhat embarrassed), was of a similar opinion. Pitt trusted too much to others. This was the cause of his poverty, and it was also the cause of a policy, as regards foreign affairs, which, it must be admitted by posterity, was the one great mistake of his life. "I am myself persuaded," writes Wilberforce, "that the war with France, which lasted so many years, and occasioned such an immense expense of blood and treasure, would never have taken place but for Mr. Dundas' influence with Mr. Pitt, and his persuasion that we should be able, and promptly, at a small expense of money and men, to take the French West India Islands, and to keep them when peace should be restored—in truth, but for the persuasion that the war would soon be over. Mr. Burke had formed a very different judgment; and when, being present with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, the latter exclaimed—'Well, Mr. Burke, we must go to war, for it will be a very short war;' Mr. Burke replied—'You must, indeed, go to war; but you are greatly mistaken in thinking it will be soon over; it will be a very long war, and a dangerous war, but it is unavoidable.' The British ministers," continues Mr. Wilberforce, "had no intention whatever, at this time, of dispossessing France of any of her continental dominions; and as for conquering France, Mr. Fox himself could not more consider it an utter impossibility than they did. They by no means shared in Mr. Burke's persuasions concerning the proper object and nature of the war." Mr. Pitt was, in reality, blind to the future when he plunged the nation into war. He was led away against his own better judgment. War with France was popular; and the son of the great Chatham, who had humbled the pride of France, had an hereditary feeling in favour of such a war. It required very little persuasion to get Mr. Pitt to engage in such a war; and as that war failed of its object—as it tended neither to secure France for the Bourbons, or define for the future the map of Europe—as it hindered, at home, all social, and moral, and political reform, as we have already indicated—as regards his external policy, and in his character of foreign minister, Mr. Pitt must be considered to have failed. It was not thought so at the time, but it will be in all time to come.

A few calm, clear-thinking, long-headed men, even then protested against the idolatry with which Pitt was regarded. On one occasion, Sir Samuel Romilly—to the great grief of Wilberforce—endeavoured to convince the House of Commons that it was requisite to find some stronger argument for a measure than the simple statement that a similar course had been sanctioned by Mr. Pitt. "Among the observations that I made," writes Sir Samuel, "I said it did not acquire additional authority with me from being a precedent established by Mr. Pitt; that I was not among the worshippers of Mr. Pitt's memory; that he was undoubtedly a man of the most splendid and extraordinary talents; but that much more was, in my opinion, necessary to entitle a minister to the character of a great man; and that, with all the talents Mr. Pitt possessed, and the great influence which he had so long enjoyed, I looked in vain for any acts of his administration by which he had increased the happiness, or improved the condition, of any portion of his fellow-subjects. These observations," adds Sir Samuel, "were very unpleasant to many of my political friends, as a sort of compact had been made by many persons never to say anything disrespectful of Mr. Pitt's memory."

Pitt's second in command was Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. Perhaps he had more influence over Pitt than any one else; and the latter was shocked, indeed, when his friend and companion was charged with peculation, by a report presented to the House of Commons. There was a loud outcry for the impeachment of Lord Melville. It was the fashion, in those days, for people in office to acquire great wealth. Fox's father, it was always considered, had managed to take care of himself in a manner which did not evince a very high sense of honour on his part. George Rose, who had begun life without a sixpence, but who, after attracting the atten-

tion of Pitt, had become very wealthy, confessed to Wilberforce that some strange job had come under his notice; and people were quite ready to believe all that, in the heat of passion, was urged against Henry Dundas. It was moved in the House of Commons that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying him to remove for ever Lord Melville from his councils and presence: but, in the meantime, he had wisely resigned. Melville subsequently was impeached, and acquitted by the Lords. He denied having embezzled any of the public money, but refused to give any account as to the way in which secret service money had been applied. As Melville had the management of Scotch elections for Mr. Pitt, the public were not slow in forming conclusions. "Melville," writes Wilberforce, "had not mentioned the matter to Pitt, Huskisson, or any human being till the report was printed." No one wished for it more anxiously than Mr. Pitt. Wilberforce was with the latter when the report came out. "I shall never forget the way in which he seized it, and how eagerly he looked into the leaves, without waiting even to cut them open." The report in question distinctly convicted Mr. Trotter, Lord Melville's deputy-paymaster, of a misapplication of the public money, and warranted a strong conviction that he had acted with the connivance of his principal. Public character evidently required that such officers should be dealt with on the strictest rules of justice. But party spirit thrust itself upon the seat of judgment; opposition seized eagerly so fair an opportunity for unseating government; and Mr. Pitt was tempted to act the part of an advocate rather than a judge. Mr. Wilberforce vainly pressed upon him a more becoming line of conduct. "Bankes and I saw him on Melville's business; we talked with him above an hour. Bankes very frank, and Pitt very good-natured. It is melancholy to see Pitt's excellent understanding so befooled by less worthy associates. He evidently thinks that it may shake the government; thinks gaining time, for men's minds to cool, may do much." And Pitt was right. By delay an official is sure ultimately to be acquitted. The public becomes weary, and the accused has every chance in his favour. The charges against Dundas were made in the Commons. He was acquitted by the peers.

The leader of the opposition was Charles James Fox. "Fox," said old Sam Johnson, "is a most extraordinary man. Here is a man [describing him in terms which Boswell was afraid to give] who has divided the kingdom with Cæsar; so that it was a doubt whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George III. or the tongue of Fox." Gibbon says Fox discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies dreaded. His force as a professed orator was conspicuously displayed in Westminster Hall, on the trial of Warren Hastings; but the triumph of his talents is to be found in those masterly replies to his antagonists, in which cutting sarcasm, logical acuteness, and metaphysical subtlety, were so combined as to surpass all that modern experience had witnessed. Johnson was his bitter foe; and yet Johnson was compelled to speak of him in the terms we have quoted. We next give the testimony of a friend. "Fox, as an orator," said Godwin, "seemed to come immediately from the forming hand of nature. His eloquence was as impetuous as the current of the river Rhone. Nothing could arrest its course. Though, on all great occasions, he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart, and shot through the blood of his hearers. I have seen his countenance brighten up with more than mortal ardour and goodness. I have been present when his voice has been suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a flood of tears." The following anecdote will set the intuitive quickness of Mr. Fox's parts in a strong light. On the day of the debate on the Test and Corporation Acts, Dr. Rees waited on Mr. Fox with a deputation, to engage his support in their cause. He received them courteously; but though a friend to religious liberty, was evidently unacquainted with the strong points and principal bearings of their peculiar case. He listened attentively to their exposition; and, with an eye that looked them *through and through*, put four or five searching questions. They

withdrew, after a short conference; and as they walked up St. James's Street, Mr. Fox passed them, booted, as if going to take air and exercise. From the gallery they saw him enter the House with whip in hand, as if just dismounted. When he rose to speak, he displayed such a mastery of his subject, his arguments and illustrations were so various, his views so profound and statesman-like, that a stranger must have imagined the question at issue, between the high church party and the dissenters, to have been the main subject of his study. Fox's test of a speech was, "Does it read well ?" If so, it was a bad speech. Unfortunately, this is the case; and, unhappily, no man suffered in this respect more than Fox himself. We have his speeches to read; they seem to us, comparatively speaking, poor. We are not fascinated with them as we are with those of Burke. We miss all that made those speeches a terror to his foes, when they were delivered in a crowded and admiring House. "To speak of him justly as an orator," says Sir James Mackintosh, "would require a long essay. Everywhere natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself and everything around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and convictions. He certainly possessed, above all moderns, that union of reason, simplicity, and vehemence, which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenian speaker since the days of Demosthenes." "I knew him," says Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet, written after their unhappy difference, "when he was nineteen, since which time he has risen, by slow degrees, to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw."

If Pitt was a contrast to the first consul of France, our George III. was a still greater one. While Bonaparte was attitudinising before all Europe, our "Farmer George" rode about the country (as Charles Knight tells us in his *Memoirs*, and as Peter Pindar satirically described in verse), peering into all the cottages, gossiping with labourers, catechising ploughboys, or lecturing housewives. Hundreds of stories were written about him, and his simple, thrifty ways. As we read, and perhaps laugh at them, we cannot help feeling, that although his demeanour was undignified, and his temper stubborn, he was an Englishman in his homely kindness and downright honesty. The nation loved to hear how he once turned a bit of meat in an old woman's cottage with a string, and left behind him five guineas to buy a jack; how he patted a little boy who refused to kneel to the queen, lest he should spoil his new breeches; how he blew out the candles at the card-tables to save the ends; how, one morning, he walked to Gloucester new bridge, with a crowd of country bumpkins at his heels, and had a "hurray" there; how he loved to show himself to his people at Windsor terrace on Sunday afternoons; how he had a kindly word for all there—high or low—bishops and deans—lawyers and statesmen, and the hungry mob of pensioners and placemen. What a pleasant picture is that Miss Burney gives of the royal family making their after-dinner progress round the terrace. "It was really a mighty pretty procession. The little Princess Amelia, just turned of three years old, in a robed coat covered with fine muslin, a dressed close cap, with gloves and fan, walked on alone, and first, highly delighted with the parade, and turning from side to side, to see everybody as she passed; for all the terracers stand up against the walls, to make a clear passage for the royal family the moment they come in sight. Then followed the king and queen, no less delighted with the joy of their little darling; the princess-royal leaning on Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave; the Princess Augusta holding by the Duchess of Ancaster: the Princess Elizabeth, led by Lady Charlotte Bertie, followed in sight of Mrs. Delany. The king instantly stopped to speak to her; the queen, of course,

and the little princesses, and all the rest, stood still. They talked a good while with the sweet old lady; during which time the king, once or twice, addressed me. I caught the queen's eye, and saw in it a little surprise, but by no means any displeasure, to see me of the party. The little princess went up to Mrs. Delany, of whom she is very fond, and behaved like a little angel to her. She then, with a look of inquiry and recollection, came behind Mrs. Delany, to look at me. 'I am afraid,' said I, in a whisper, 'your royal highness does not remember me.' Her answer was an arch little smile, and a nearer approach, with her lips pouted out, to kiss me." Is not this a pretty picture. No wonder Farmer George was popular. What a pity that he did not bring up his sons a little better!

The best explanation of his popularity is that given by Sir Samuel Romilly. He evidently thought posterity would be puzzled to find much virtue in the man whom his people learned so much to admire. Sir Samuel, writing in 1809, says—"From the beginning of his reign, to the close of the American war, he was one of the most unpopular princes that ever sat upon the throne; and now he is one of the most popular; and yet in nothing is the character or spirit of his government altered. When the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox took place, the tide turned in his favour. A very general and very just indignation was excited in the public when they saw those two statesmen renouncing all their inveterate political animosities, and forming what seemed a confederacy against the nation, and when they saw them supported in this, against the people, by their own representatives in parliament. The fatal effects of that measure have been long, and are still felt. The king's joining the people on so important an occasion, against his ministers and against the parliament, laid the foundation of his popularity. Then followed an attempt upon his life by a maniac; then the irregularities and dissipation of the prince destined to be his successor; next, his own unfortunate derangement of mind, and the dread which the public entertained of the government which they saw about to take place, with the prince for regent, and for his ministers, the heads of the coalition, who had already claimed for him the regency upon grounds the most unconstitutional; then his joyful recovery when it was least expected, which dispelled, in a moment, the gloom which hung over the country; and, last of all—but which added to every motive of endearment to the king—the horrors of the French revolution; the sufferings of the royal family; the debasement of the nobles; the confiscation of the property of the rich; the persecution of the clergy; the national bankruptcy, and all those various evils which it produced, and which gave almost every description of persons who have any influence on public opinion, an interest to adhere to, and maintain inviolably, our established constitution, and, above all, the monarchy, as inseparably connected with, and maintaining, everything valuable in the state.

In 1800, Fox would have made peace with France; but the opposition were neither popular with parliament, king, nor people.

We now return to France.

At the period of which we write, Russia formed nominally a part of the triple alliance established against France; the other powers being Austria and England. Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey had also joined the league; and on the 16th of March, Bavaria entered into the alliance, by means of a treaty concluded with Mr. Wickham, our envoy to the German states. By this treaty the Elector agreed to furnish 12,000 troops, in addition to the contingent which he was bound to supply as member of the Germanic empire. Similar treaties were concluded, by the same minister, with the Duke of Würtemberg on the 12th, and with the Elector of Mayence on the 30th of April; each agreeing to furnish 6,000 troops to join the army employed against France. The expense of the recruiting, equipment, and maintenance of these troops was to be borne by England; and whilst their dominions were guaranteed, the princes were bound not to enter into any separate treaty. Baron de Kray, commander of the Austrian forces, had 150,000 men under

his command: his second was Archduke Ferdinand. In Italy the Austrians had at least 120,000 men, under General Baron de Milas, an officer of high reputation. This army was supported by an English fleet, under Lord Keith; an auxiliary corps of 20,000 English troops was encamped at Minorca, under General Abercromby; and we also blockaded Malta. The plan of the campaign, on the part of the allies, was for the army under Marshal Kray to watch Switzerland, whilst General Milas blockaded Genoa, and captured it, if it were possible; then to cross the Apennines and Var, and march upon Toulon, where it was expected a body of royalists would join them. As the allies advanced on the Var, it was hoped that the French would be drawn from the Rhine.

The position of the French army was apparently critical; but the first consul was equal to the emergency. To divert attention from himself, he removed Berthier from his post of Minister of War; nominated him commander-in-chief of the army of reserve at Dijon, and put Carnot in his place. The latter part of the month of March, and all April, were employed in recruiting the army, and in planning where it would be required. On the 1st of May, the first consul informed his colleagues that he was going to Dijon to inspect the army of reserve, but that he would not be long absent. Napoleon only stayed at Dijon one night; the next day he was travelling rapidly to Geneva. Arrived at Lausanne, Carnot joined the first consul, and brought intelligence of the successes obtained by Moreau in Germany, and the information that he would detach 15,000 or 20,000 to descend on Italy by Mount St. Gothard, in order to form the left wing of the first consul's army. This was what was wanted. Forward! was the word, and soon all were in motion for the Alps.

On the nights of the 14th and 15th of May, the advance guard, under General Lannes, commenced the passage of the Great St. Bernard, one of the chief mountain passes on the Pennine Alps, between the Swiss Valois and Piedmont. On the 16th, the main army was at the foot of the mountain, and the first consul slept that night at the convent of St. Maurice. The following day the march began, and continued till the 20th—one division crossing each day. Some part of the ascent was exceedingly laborious and difficult; but the men sang warlike songs, and encouraged each other. The band of each regiment played at the head. When any particularly steep part was encountered, a charge was sounded, and thus the martial spirit of the troops was not suffered to give way. The cannon were dragged up the ascent by the men of the different corps—a hundred being attached to each gun—who were relieved every half mile. On reaching the hospital St. Bernard, there was an hour's halt, and the benevolent monks doled out to each soldier a ration of bread and cheese and wine: then they passed on, the most toilsome part of the passage being over. From town, fort, and plain, the French drove the Austrians away. They were only just in time—Genoa had succumbed to the allies.

On the 29th of July the first consul entered Milan, and soon after was fought the battle of Marengo. This was one of the most important victories Bonaparte had ever gained: if he had lost it, he would have lost France. When the Austrian commander, Baron de Milas, retired to his quarters and considered the position of his army, he found that the losses he had sustained were irreparable, and he solicited an armistice, which was agreed to by Bonaparte, whose position was not much more favourable. The negotiations for peace, which ensued, fell through.

An armed neutrality was the device of Bonaparte at this period. The interests of the northern powers—Russia, Sweden and Denmark—were directly opposed to the maritime code which England maintained as part of the law of nations. They contended that trade should be as free in war as in peace, except for articles technically termed contraband of war—that is, such as are actually used in warlike operations; and that flags should cover the goods—that is, merchandise of belligerents may be conveyed from place to place in neutral ships. These demands England would not

yield. She claimed the right of search with respect to neutral vessels, to enable her cruisers to ascertain whether those vessels had merchandise belonging to belligerents on board; and if that were the case, then she claimed the right of confiscation. During the American war in 1780, Catherine II., of Russia, formed a northern league to resist the claims and practice of England; and, in 1800, the Emperor Paul, greatly pleased with Bonaparte for sending home the Russian prisoners at the instigation of France, suggested the league known as the Armed Neutrality; and although Denmark was obliged, by the presence of an English force, to sign a convention on the 24th of August, by which the right of search was for the time conceded, she ultimately joined the league, which was not formally organised till the 16th of December. In the meantime Paul refused to listen to the entreaties of Austria to aid her in resisting the progress of a power which threatened to annihilate the independence of Europe; and Frederick William of Prussia also persisted in his system of neutrality, till, in December, he joined the league of the armed neutrality. The formation of this league in Europe was preceded by the signing of preliminaries for a treaty between the first consul and the United States of America. The terms were, that the alliance should continue eight years, during which time certain modifications were to be made in the right of search; commerce was to be free between the two countries; and the captures that had, up to that time, been made on either side were to be restored, except such as were contraband.

France rejoiced at the resumption of war. Since the overthrow of the Directory her condition had been one of great improvement. The first consul had given every one liberty to observe what holidays he pleased, and Sunday came to be again generally regarded. Trade was brisk, and, for the first time since 1790, the fund-holders received a dividend. Bonaparte had also rendered himself still more popular by removing to the Invalides, with much pomp and ceremony, the body of the great Turenne.

The campaign commenced in the north, where the battle of Hohenlinden was won by the French under Moreau: the result was an armistice. In Italy, also, the French were successful. The Austrians gave up Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, Ancona, and Ferrara, but retained Mantua, much to the displeasure of Bonaparte.

On the 15th of September Malta surrendered to the British blockading force.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal proclamation was published in the *London Gazette*, announcing the future style and title of the sovereign, as George III. by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith; the title of King of France being laid aside. No disposition was, however, shown by the English government to waver in its opposition to the aggressive policy of the first consul; which, at this time, was peculiarly threatening. Against us were allied the fleets of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and France; the Dutch and Spanish fleets were also at the disposal of the first consul, who, in three weeks after the league of the armed neutrality was signed, obtained the control also of the Neapolitan ships of war.

Mr. Pitt was prepared for the emergency. A fleet was collected at Yarmouth, to proceed to the Baltic, and crush the league before the various fleets of the enemy could be collected together. This fleet consisted of seventeen sail of the line, carrying seventy-four and fifty guns; four frigates, four sloops, two fire-ships, and seven bombs. The command was given to Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson being the second in command. On the 2nd of April, all attempts at negotiation having failed, an attack was made on Copenhagen. The command of the attacking squadron was given to Nelson. It consisted of twelve out of the seventeen ships of the line, and all the frigates, fire-ships and bomb-vessels that accompanied the squadron. The attack was successful. After fighting four hours the fire of the batteries was silenced, and seventeen ships struck their colours. Negotiations

were then resumed; a suspension of hostilities followed, and the armed neutrality was virtually dissolved.

The very day that the conditions of the armistice were agreed on, intelligence reached Copenhagen of the assassination of Paul, the Emperor of Russia. The blow fell heavily on Bonaparte. His cherished scheme was to attack the British possessions in India. Twenty-five thousand Russian troops, and 50,000 Cossacks, were to have joined the French army, and a passage through Persia had been secured.

In another quarter, also, calamity fell upon the French. Bonaparte had left behind him a large army in Egypt. An expedition had been sent by Mr. Pitt to capture it: the expedition was completely successful. On the 21st of March the decisive battle of Alexandria was fought: other successes were gained by the British, and the French generals had to capitulate. Junot affirms that the first consul's design was to have made that country the point from which the thunderbolt should issue which was to overwhelm the British empire. When the news of the capitulation reached him, he exclaimed—"Junot, we have lost Egypt. My projects and my dreams have alike been destroyed by England." Junot remained with him two hours after the intelligence arrived; and the Duchess d'Abrantes informs us that he wept like a child whenever he recounted what passed during the time.

Another piece of unwelcome news for the first consul, was the fact that the new Emperor of Russia had been persuaded to sign a treaty with England, by which all the principles of the armed neutrality were abandoned.

In England a new administration had been formed. "The king and his cabinet," writes Wilberforce in February, 1801, "have quarrelled concerning the emancipation, as it is called, of the Roman Catholics. The king had been very poorly, and much agitated. At the *levée* in January, the king said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?' (Lord C. came over with the plan in September). 'I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of.' 'You'll find,' replied Dundas, 'among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed your enemies.'" Pitt gave way, and was succeeded by Addington. More peaceful counsels were expected from the new administration. On the 21st of March, soon after his accession to office, Lord Hawkesbury, who had succeeded Lord Grenville as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated to M. Otto the desire of England to terminate the war; and, as the first consul professed to be equally anxious for that event, an interchange of terms took place, which at that time led to no result. For several months couriers passed backwards and forwards; but neither party were inclined to recede from the terms that had been offered; and in the midst of his negotiations, Bonaparte commenced arrangements to invade England. His preparations of gun-boats, artillery, and men, had been made on the most extensive scale. Of course they attracted the attention of our government, and Nelson made a vain attempt to capture the invading flotilla. A fair wind for thirty-six hours was what Bonaparte required: that was not granted him. Whilst he was waiting for it, Robert Fulton made his appearance at Paris, and offered to the government the means of transporting its fleet across the channel, in the face of wind and tide, by means of steam. The plan was rejected by the *savans*, to whom Bonaparte referred it, as visionary and impracticable.

In October, the preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed. England agreed to give back to France Spain, and Holland all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. Egypt was to be evacuated by the British and French forces, and restored to the Porte. The island of Malta was also to be evacuated by the English troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The integrity of the Porte was guaranteed. France agreed to evacuate the harbours of Rome and Naples, and England to give up Porta Ferrajo. A com-

pensation was provided for the House of Nassau. A new republic was created of the seven Ionian Islands, and the fisheries of Newfoundland were restored to the situation in which they were before the war. Amiens was selected by the two governments as the place where the terms of the definitive treaty should be considered. Lord Cornwallis was appointed plenipotentiary for England, and Joseph Bonaparte for France. On the 27th of March, 1802, the terms were finally agreed on, and the definitive treaty signed. The English ministry got no little credit by it. Wilberforce writes—"Opposition is melting away manifestly; Grey gone out of town; Tierney has declared himself friendly; Erskine and Lord Moira ditto. Only Fox and Sheridan still where they were, probably because Addington could not receive them. Pitt supports most magnanimously, and assists in every way. Addington goes on well; is honest and respectable, and improves in speaking." Nevertheless, an angry debate took place in parliament on the subject of the peace; but the government was supported in the Lords by 122 to 16, and in the Commons by 276 to 20. The London mob rejoiced, and windows were illuminated. Cobbett would not light up, and "the good-natured mob," as Wilberforce termed it, broke his windows. "The poor Porcupine's windows have been smashed for not rejoicing as you and I do," writes Mr. Bankes; "people are shocked by a want of sympathy—*ridentibus arrident.* However, he was not bound to rejoice, but he should have illuminated."

Let us note briefly a few items of social improvement. The sum of £10,500 was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate the small-pox. The controversy on that subject is now exhausted; but, while it raged, no terms of reproach and abuse were too strong to be employed against the humane doctor. Medical men and clergymen were very severe against the absurdity and impiety of the new scheme; and such conduct as theirs must have taught Lord Palmerston—we must remember he became Lord Palmerston this year, by the death of his father—the importance of looking at all questions, not with the eyes of interested parties, or timid defenders of things as they are, but from a broad, elevated, and rational point of view. We may be sure that the lesson was not lost upon his lordship. At this time, also, a reward of £1,200 was voted to Henry Greathead for the invention of the life-boat; and £5,000 to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation for preventing the progress of contagious disorders. The discovery was brought under the notice of Mr. Wilberforce, who thought it worthy of a parliamentary reward. "He had transferred," says his son, "to other hands the conduct of Dr. Jenner's application, because he was a common hack in such matters; but for Dr. Smyth he could find no other patron; and he therefore undertook the task himself, and devoted to it many hours in every week throughout the session." About this time, also, people began legislating for the factory children. Sir Robert Peel did not go far enough. Wilberforce writes—"I have received a letter from a poor, but honest and hard-working couple, whose child was barbarously torn from them, and sent down to a distant cotton-mill. I have since conversed with these people, and seldom have heard a more artless, affecting tale than that they related." This was another question which the future statesman would have to consider. We shall find, in later times, a considerable amount of dissatisfaction and agitation relative to factory manners, morals, and health.

Very short-lived was this peace. Visitors returning from Paris, describe the state of affairs there as warlike. Wilberforce writes in his diary—"In spite of so much bitter experience, there is still a proneness in statesmen to form grand schemes of continental policy; and there is, in the people of every country, a fatal facility of entering into wars, though they so soon tire of them." "I own," he writes to Mr. Babington, "that I more and more think that it is our true policy to cultivate our internal resources—to gain the hearts of our people—to economise our expenditure, while we lighten the pressure of taxes on the lower orders, and lay them, if

needful, even more heavily on the higher. Endeavours should also be used to revive and excite public spirit; for in this, as in many other cases, it is dangerous to have people in a state of cold neutrality. They must be warmly your friends, or they will be your enemies. Above all, the interval of peace should be used as a golden period, to be diligently improved for the reformation of our morals, by training up the children of the lower orders in virtuous habits, and in dispositions friendly to the peace of society, and to the maintenance of civil and religious institutions. *Hæ tibi erunt artes.*"

We know now that the peace of Amiens was intended for little more than an armed truce. In his instructions to Talleyrand, Bonaparte confessed as much. He spoke of it as a measure only necessary that he might restore and recruit his navy. He intimated that his hope was, to be enabled so to concentrate the naval powers of Europe, that they might all be brought to bear upon this country, whose power and influence he trusted then to destroy by another battle of Actium. In all his relations with the British cabinet, Bonaparte displayed an intense and insupportable pride. First to Otto, and afterwards to General Andreossi, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of those animadversions which the public writers of Great Britain passed on his character and conduct; and those complaints were reiterated, as well by Talleyrand as by the first consul himself, to Lord Whitworth, who, in November, 1802, repaired to Paris as ambassador to the French Court. He could not be persuaded that the British government was unable to exercise, over the press, the same boundless tyranny which he himself exercised over every public writer. It seemed impossible to make him understand that, in England, the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm; that they could proceed only according to the forms of law; and that if what the law deemed a libel should be uttered or written against the first potentate in Europe, he must, in order to punish the offender, have recourse to the same modes of proceeding as those prescribed to Englishmen themselves. In the autumn of 1802, he directed his agent, Otto, to prefer charges against certain English public writers, and against Peltier, a refugee, who conducted a journal published in this country, entitled *L'Ambigu.* Although, as Lord Hawkesbury, in his instructions to Mr. Merry (who was then at Paris), observed, the French press poured forth constant libels against the English government—libels, too, authorised by the French cabinet; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Bonaparte at Hamburg, had violated the neutrality of the senate, and had compelled them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government in the Hamburg paper; and although, to use the words of Lord Hawkesbury, it might, indeed, with truth be asserted that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty had been marked with one continued series of aggression, insolence, and insult on the part of the French government—so averse were the British ministers from any conduct which could even have a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities, that they instructed the Attorney-general to institute a prosecution against Peltier. The cause was tried on the 23rd of February, 1803, and the defendant was convicted; but the renewal of hostilities was allowed to secure him from punishment. At the very time when this trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities almost unavoidable. At the latter end of February Lord Whitworth had an interview with Bonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself as personally to insult the British ambassador, and to threaten his government in the presence of the whole diplomatic circle. On this occasion he openly avowed his ambitious designs, and clearly developed his views upon Egypt, whither he had despatched Sebastiani, a Corsican officer, in the ostensible character of a commercial agent, to seize every opportunity for promoting French interests in the Levant. He boldly justified his usurpations in Switzerland, Italy, and Piedmont; and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta as a *sine qua non* of continued peace. By the treaty of Amiens, England had stipulated to restore the island,

within a given time, to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence. Circumstances, however, had arisen tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides that, stipulation had been made with reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had acquired a material change by the fresh acquisition of territory which Bonaparte had afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured.

In England, the preparations made in France excited extraordinary zeal. In a very brief interval, upwards of 400,000 volunteers came forward to defend their native coasts.

Ireland made another attempt at revolt, at the instigation of a band of political enthusiasts, at the head of whom was Robert Emmett, a young man of talent. From the first it was a very insignificant affair: yet Emmett and his associates thought that, at the first intimation from them, the whole kingdom would rise. Towards the evening of Saturday, the 23rd of July, the populace of Dublin began to assemble in large numbers, in St. James's Street and its neighbourhood. About nine o'clock men began riding furiously about the streets; a small piece of ordnance was discharged, and a rocket let off. Emmett and his chosen band now sallied forth from their head-quarters, and one of the party shot at, and unhappily killed, a Colonel Browne, who was passing at the time. Lord Viscount Kinwarden, the Irish chief justice, was also assassinated by the mob. In an hour's time the rebellion was put down by 120 soldiers. Emmett and his colleagues were tried, found guilty, and executed.

In France, the Legion of Honour was established; and, at the same time, the return of the French people to the Christian faith was solemnly celebrated. The re-establishment of religion was followed by an attempt, on the part of the first consul, to restore all the inalienated national property to the original proprietors, in which he was only partially successful; but on the 29th of April, 1802, he published a general amnesty, which permitted all exiled Frenchmen to return to their native country, with the exception of the members of the royal family, and a few others. Above 100,000 emigrants, in consequence, returned to France, and to each was restored such parts of his former property as had not been alienated by the state.

Napoleon all the while was preparing the way for an imperial throne. The question was put to the people—"Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" To this interrogatory, 3,368,259 affirmative, and 189,626 negative replies were received. On the 2nd of August he was declared, accordingly, consul for life.

One grand social experiment, instituted by Bonaparte at this time, has done much for the elevation of the poor in France. He destroyed the right of primogeniture. From that time, with an exception subsequently made for those on whom he bestowed hereditary estates, every description of landed property has been equally divided amongst his children at the death of a proprietor. If we are to believe Mr. Kay and Mr. J. Mill—and their arguments seem unanswerable—the gain for France has been immense.

On the 18th of May, General Andreossi, the French ambassador, left England, and war was declared; the declaration being followed, on the 22nd, by a decree from Bonaparte, ordering all British subjects who had visited France on business or pleasure to be detained. In consequence of this decree, between 10,000 and 11,000 men, women, and children were restrained from departure, and lodged in the various prisons of France; and between 1,200 and 1,300 in those of Holland. This last act was a violation of international law and practice, and tended not a little to strengthen the animosity entertained by Englishmen towards the first consul.

It was during this period that one of those acts was committed which stamp Bonaparte's character with ineffable disgrace. The negroes in St. Domingo, availing themselves of the principles of the French revolution, had thrown off the yoke

of slavery, and proclaimed the advent of liberty and equality in that island. Terrible scenes of retribution had taken place. For the cruelties of ages the blacks exacted a fierce and wild revenge. The aid of the English had been called in; but the climate destroyed the troops so fast, that, in 1798, the English abandoned the island, and the blacks again became masters. In the succeeding confusion one man arose who reduced the island to order—Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had ideas of generosity superior to his race. Napoleon was indignant that Toussaint should call himself first consul of St. Domingo, and despatched an armament to put him down. By means of fair promises, Toussaint was induced to place himself within the power of the French, who basely sent him and his family to France, loaded with chains. The blacks were enraged, and, under Christophe, waged a destructive war with the French, who were reinforced by more troops from France, under General Rochambeau. They were all, however, compelled to capitulate. War having again broken out between France and England, Rochambeau and all his squadrons were captured, and carried prisoners to England. In this disastrous and unnecessary expedition, it is supposed that not less than 40,000 French perished in the course of two years. This failure seems to have demonized Bonaparte. The noble but unfortunate Toussaint, on his arrival in France, was thrown into the Temple; while his family were confined in another prison. Toussaint was reserved for a terrible fate. Bonaparte sent him to the castle of Joux, in the highest and coldest region of the Jura Alps. There he was thrown into a dungeon, where, according to the personal inspection of Miss Martineau, who visited it in 1839, the water continually dropped from above, and stood in a pool below; whilst in winter, not mere snow, but flakes of ice penetrated between the bars of the window. The fate of the illustrious captive is involved in secrecy; but it is said that he was furnished only with a litter of straw for his bed, and was found frozen to death in his cell during the winter of 1803. While history records the merits and sufferings of those who deserve well of mankind, the sad tale of Toussaint will be remembered; as Wordsworth, in one of his magnificent odes, writes—

> "Thou hast left behind
> Powers that will work for thee—air, earth, and skies;
> There's not a breathing of the common wind
> That will forget thee: thou hast great allies;
> Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
> And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

Another terrible stain was, about this time, inflicted on Bonaparte's character. In 1804, a plot had been discovered, in which Bonaparte saw, or wished to see, a royalist conspiracy against his life. Could he have taken his revenge on Louis, then living at Warsaw, under the protection of the Emperor of Russia; or on the Count d'Artois, or on the Duke de Berri, all safe in London—undoubtedly he would have done so. Fortunately they were safe out of the reach of Bonaparte; but there was another member of the family (though furthest off from the succession), living not far from the French frontiers, and his life Bonaparte determined to take. His victim was Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, at this time nearly in his thirty-second year. He was an amiable and witty Frenchman, of a fine person, and great bravery. When the emigrant army had disbanded, he retired to Ettenheim, in Baden, drawn there by the attractions of the Princess Charlotte de Rohan; and passed his time in her society, in hunting, shooting, &c.

In the middle of the night of the 15th of March, the duke was aroused by finding his *chateau* surrounded by French troops. At first he summoned his servants to resist, and placed himself at their head. Finding this useless, he desisted. He was taken to Strasbourg, and detained till the 18th, when he was hurriedly removed to the fortress of Vincennes.

The next step taken by Bonaparte was an order to Murat, the military governor of Paris, to deliver the duke over to a military tribunal, to consist of seven members, on the charge of being in the pay of England, and engaged in plots against

the republic. Murat said afterwards, that both he and his wife (Bonaparte's sister) were horrified at the charge, and implored the first consul not to incur the crime and odium of the duke's death. This had already been attempted by Josephine, who had, on her knees, implored the first consul to abstain from shedding the duke's blood, which would cause all the world to exclaim against him, and bring down on him the sure judgments of heaven. Their prayers and entreaties were in vain. So determined was Bonaparte to have the murder committed quickly, and without remonstrance from any quarter, that the commission was assembled immediately. The president, Hullin, is said to have gone with a sentence of death ready written in his pocket, and the grave was already dug in the castle ditch.

Awoke from sleep, and hurried before his murderers, the duke acquitted himself nobly. He denied the charge of conspiring to assassinate the first consul. He said he was a Condé by birth, by feeling; by opinion, the eternal enemy of the present government; that no Condé could enter France except with arms in his hands; but that a Condé could never stoop to assassinate, or be the companion of assassins. He said he had not fixed his residence at Ettenheim on account of its vicinity to France; also that he was on the point of removing to Poland when he was thus seized, contrary to the law of nations, Baden being at profound peace with France. He denied, in any way whatever, having any knowledge of, or connection with, Pichegru; or that he had ever been in England; but admitted having received an allowance from that country, as he had nothing else left him. He was then led away; and had so little an idea of the fate that awaited him that he presently fell asleep.

The duke's sleep was not of long duration. The *gens-d'armes* hurried him away. As he felt the cold air, the duke asked Harel, who walked by his side with a lantern, whether they were going to immure him in an *oubliette?*—that is, one of those dungeons in all such old fortresses, into which certain prisoners were thrown, never to come out alive again, but to remain forgotten. On arriving at the ditch, the duke must have at once perceived his doom; for there he saw a grave, and a file of *gens-d'armes*, with their muskets ready to fire.

On the sentence being read, the duke asked for a confessor. "Would you die like a monk?" was the reply. Taking no notice of the insult, he knelt down, and seemed absorbed in devotion. He then rose, cut off a lock of his hair, and handing it, with a gold ring, to an officer, requested that they might be conveyed to the Princess de Rohan. Then, turning to the soldiers, he exclaimed—"I die for my king and France!" and, as they fired, he fell dead, pierced by seven bullets. He was immediately flung into the grave, dressed as he was. A little dog belonging to the duke, which had been allowed to accompany him in the carriage from Germany, laid himself down on the grave when filled in, and remained there, whining for its master. It was carried away, lest it should excite the imagination of the public by the story of its attachment; and, being sold, was for many years preserved by the gentleman who purchased it, in memory of the unhappy victim. A small cross afterwards marked the site of the grave; but the body itself was removed on the restoration of the Bourbons, and deposited, with funeral rites, in the chapel of the castle.

In France, this atrocious murder was hushed up as much as possible; but it filled Europe with horror, and left a stain of disgrace on Bonaparte which can never be washed away. Many were the excuses which he invented—all equally false. At one time he affected to believe that the duke had been in Paris; and then to have discovered, too late, that this was Pichegru: at another time he pretended to believe that the duke had written him a letter from Strasbourg, which Talleyrand, who had been kept ignorant of the whole affair, had wilfully detained from him. It has been fully shown that his victim was not the man to write to Bonaparte for his life. Indeed, all these excuses were rendered impossible by the written orders issued by Bonaparte himself for the duke's arrest, the arrangements for the journey, and the warrant, issued for immediate execution. When, in his last

days, Bonaparte felt that none of these miserable excuses availed him anything, he boldly avowed the deed, and justified it on the ground of state policy. "I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and judged, because it was necessary to the security, the honour, and the interest of the French people. In the same circumstances I would act in a similar manner." On another occasion, he said he had only acted on the law of nature. The Bourbons aimed at his existence, and he, in return, at theirs. He forgot that, while they confined themselves to legitimate warfare, he condescended to kidnapping and assassination.

Other horrors followed soon after. Pichegru was found strangled in his prison. The probability is that the act was not suicide, as Pichegru had much to utter if he could have had a chance of a trial. Bonaparte professed to believe his death was the result of suicide. "Pichegru," he said, "saw that his situation was desperate; his daring mind could not endure the infamy of punishment; he despaired of my clemency, or despised it, and put himself to death. Had I been inclined to commit a crime, it is not Pichegru, but Moreau I would have struck." Another murder, or suicide, was committed about this time. Captain Wright, implicated in Pichegru's plot, was found dead in the Temple with his throat cut. What took place there can never be known; but, from words which fell from Captain Wright on his only public examination, and from admissions by Bonaparte himself, there is every reason to believe that he underwent severe treatment. Captain Wright had served under Sir Sidney Smith at Acre—a circumstance sufficient to envenom, as many writers think, the mind of Bonaparte to the utmost against him. Bonaparte, in after-years, speaking of Wright, admitted that he had been threatened with death to extort confessions from him; and Wright, when he was examined on the 2nd of June, on the trial of Georges Cadoudal, had not only refused to answer any interrogations, on the ground that he was a British officer, a prisoner of war, and only answerable to his own government; but when the examinations by the police were read over to him, he said that they had omitted to state their threat to have him shot by a military commission if he did not betray the secrets of his country.

Moreau, Georges Cadoudal, and their fellow-conspirators, were still to be tried. Cadoudal was guillotined, and died as he lived, defying the usurper to the last. With Moreau, Bonaparte did not know what to do. His trial had resulted, in reality, in an acquittal. Bonaparte was equally afraid of keeping a general so beloved and popular in prison, or setting him at liberty. He said that he had long before told him that he would some day run his head against the pillars of the Tuileries; and that now he had done it, it was no fault of Bonaparte's. "Let him sell his property and quit France; that will be the best for all of us," said the first consul. And Moreau took the hint. The government purchased his house and grounds, and he was escorted, by Savory's *gens-d'armes*, to Cadiz, where he was joined by his wife and family, and embarked for the United States, to reappear and aid in the final fall of Bonaparte.

All this while, Bonaparte, by means of his agents, was exciting sympathetic addresses from every part of France, especially from the army. The *Moniteur* was kept actively employed in spreading alarm, and in expressing the unspeakable calamities which would befal France if the great hero and first magistrate of the country was cut off by assassins. These assassins were represented as the hired agents of England; and thus the odium due to himself was diverted in another direction, and fell upon the country which, from the first, had regarded his career with a suspicion and aversion fully justified by events.

There is not the slightest evidence for the charge, made by some French writers, as to the implication of the English government in the plot against the life of Bonaparte. Bourienne, who was secretary to the first consul, positively affirms—and he had all the sources of information at his command—that, "neither in his public character nor private relations, had he ever discovered that the English government was ever engaged in any plots of a dishonourable character."

Elsewhere he says, "that he could affirm, with perfect confidence, that the British government had constantly rejected with indignation—not, indeed, the proposals made to them for overturning the consular or imperial government, but all designs of assassination or personal violence against the first consul or emperor." It is also greatly to the credit of the Bourbons, that, on all occasions, they resisted every offer made to them of taking off those opposed to them in any unfair manner. Many attempts had been made by Napoleon and his agents to involve them in such schemes, but in vain.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANCE UNDER THE EMPIRE.

WAR had been declared against England, and the French had already taken possession of Hanover. Their spirit for military glory was again in a fair way of being gratified. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien had intimidated the royalists, and the republicans had lost their leader, Moreau. To be not merely king, but emperor, was the next attempt of the first consul—an attempt, of course, in which he succeeded. On the 21st of April, 1804, a motion to that effect was made in the tribunate; on the 18th of May was passed a *senatus consultum*, conferring the crown on Napoleon and his family for ever. The nation was appealed to; and the result was, 3,572,329 votes in the affirmative; the negatives only amounting to 2,569. Paris was especially delighted with the pomp and ceremony of royalty. The coronation, which took place in Nôtre-Dame on the 2nd of December, was a gorgeous spectacle, the officiating priest being no other than the pope himself, who came to Paris for that very purpose.

At this time Spain heartily joined France; and by a treaty with the Ligurian republic, concluded in October, all the resources of Genoa, the finest naval harbour in the Mediterranean, were placed at the disposal of France. Prussia and Austria viewed the empire with coolness; the czar was unfriendly; and, under his influence, Turkey refused to recognise the emperor. Sweden continued an alliance with England; the latter being allowed to establish a depôt for her German legion, either at Stralsund or on the isle of Rugen.

Bonaparte, as emperor, lost none of his restless activity. A new constitution was given to Holland, which was no longer to be republican: next, he had to make himself King of Italy, and to be invested at Milan with the iron crown; and then there was the grand blow to be struck at England, for which purpose he had collected, at Boulogne, 145,000 men, with 432 pieces of cannon. In the harbour were 1,329 gun-boats, and 954 transport vessels, on board which were 6,000 horses and 3,500 guns. The Toulon squadron, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, put to sea: made first for Carthagena, where he found the Spanish fleet blockaded by the English, and unable to join him; and then to Cadiz, whence, reinforced with five Spanish ships, he sailed for the West Indies. There he received instructions from Bonaparte to return to Europe, raise the siege of Ferrol, where there were fifteen ships of the line, and, having effected a junction with them, to go to Rochefort, and join Admiral Missiessy with his five ships of the line; from thence he was to proceed to Brest, where Admiral Gantheaume had twenty-one ships, and, with the combined fleet clear the channel while the invasion of Britain was accomplished. The scheme failed, because, says Napoleon, Villeneuve disobeyed orders; because, say other writers, a continental coalition had been formed against him, and he dared not leave France undefended. The allies were to commence

active operations in four different quarters: the attacks were to be made by English, Russians, and Swedes, from Pomerania, upon Hanover and Holland; by the Austrians and Russians, united, in the valley of the Danube; by the Austrians in Italy; and by the English, Russians, and Neapolitans in Naples.

And all this while, if we may believe Wilberforce, very little attention was paid to the defence of our coast. He writes to Lord Muncaster from Eastbourne—"Yet, warned as we are, two or three little shabby privateers, who, as far as we know, had not one cannon between them, came off the coast about a week ago, took four or five vessels close to the land—so near, that when one was captured, even musketry would have reached them; and hovered, for ten or twelve hours, so near as would have forfeited them to the crown under the smuggling acts; yet, though we have above 1,500 troops, a corps of engineers, a fort which must have cost £200,000 or £300,000, flying artillery, &c.; not the hair of the head of a Frenchman was injured, or a feather in his wing disturbed. Where there was a cannon there was no ammunition; where a favourable situation, no cannon: the officers were all out of the way, though the affair lasted so long; and, as for a ship of war, it was a nondescript. I must say, I seldom have been more provoked, than to have thirty or forty poor fellows carried off into a French goal, when the slightest preparation for resistance, by those who are paid and maintained for the sole purpose of resistance, would have prevented all the mischief." Again, writing from Sandgate, he says—"About a mile from us begins a canal, which was begun when the alarm concerning invasion was most generally prevalent: it runs parallel with the shore about twenty-five miles; but I never yet talked with any military man who conceived that it would oppose any serious obstacle to an enemy, who, besides the ease with which it might be crossed by portable bridges, might tap it without difficulty: certainly its merits are far too deep to be discerned by unmilitary eyes. Seriously, I am told that £2,000,000 sterling must have been expended in fortifying this part of the coast. * * * The number of martello towers is very great; but unfortunately, instead of being composed of such massive blocks of stone or marble as defied our attack, and returned the fire of our ships with interest, at Corsica—for that was our model—they are built of brick; and I am assured the first cannon-shot would beat a hole in them; and the centre being broken down or weakened, the twenty-four-pounder would fall through with its own weight, and bury itself in the ruins." On another occasion, Wilberforce indignantly describes the disgraceful capture of an English vessel while he was staying at Sandgate. "A merchant vessel lying just under the signal-post, in perfect security, because no indication was given of an enemy being at sea, was boarded without resistance, and carried into Calais by a privateer, which had been in sight for full four hours, and was known all the time to be an enemy—because the commanding officer at the signal-post was absent partridge-shooting. He would not have been so much to blame, but that he knew, what all hereabouts know, that when the wind blows strong from the south-west, the ships of war that protect that part of the channel are forced to bear away for the next bay, between Dungeness and Beachy Head. Really it is too bad to think of several of our poor fellows—or even if they were not English, which we know not—being carried to prison, &c., &c., through the scandalous negligence of the officer, at the very time when he must have known he was bound to be peculiarly vigilant. It struck me immediately that the underwriters should have been set on government. When the merchant vessel was boarded, a gentleman—who, with two or three hundred, was on Folkestone pier, witnessing the whole—told me that there was an indignant groan. Also the officers who had charge of the guns, and had all ready for firing (and, if the merchant vessel had been alarmed, she certainly would have got away), would not fire, alleging, from what passed on a former occasion, that if they fired without orders from the proper authority, they would be reprimanded, if not worse."

Bourienne was of opinion, that at no time did the emperor seriously contem-

plate the invasion of England. The emperor himself, when at St. Helena, frequently conversed on the subject with Las Casas and O'Meara. He spoke as if he had fully intended carrying out his plans, and believed in their ultimate success. He intended to have proclaimed to the English, that "the French came as friends, to relieve them from an obnoxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to enrich themselves and their families through the blood of the people." The establishment of a republic, the abolition of the monarchy and of the nobility, and the forfeiture of the property of such of the latter as should resist, would, he told O'Meara, have gained him "the support of the *canaille*, and all the idle, profligate, and disaffected in the kingdom."

The English were dissatisfied with the lukewarmness and inefficient preparations of government, and Pitt was reinstated in office.

As we have intimated, the new coalition put a stop to the invasion of England. The battle of Trafalgar, fought on the 21st of October, by the destruction of the combined fleets of France and Spain, put an end to all Bonaparte's hopes in that quarter. On that day Nelson gained one of the greatest naval victories ever won; and Bonaparte was never able to collect another fleet to replace that which was thus destroyed. The loss of the English in this battle, is stated by Thiers to have been more than 3,000 men; it really amounted to 1,587 killed and wounded, in addition to Nelson, in himself a host.

From the pleasant heights of Boulogne—where, like an angry lion, Bonaparte had lain, glaring at England—he hastened away to meet the new movements of his foes. As usual, Bonaparte was too quick for them. In the first week in October the French crossed the Danube; and, on the 8th, the first passage of arms took place at Wertengen, between some French cavalry under Murat, and an Austrian division under General Auffenburg. In this action the Austrians were repulsed, and many prisoners taken. Other successes followed. Mack, the Austrian general, became so alarmed, that at Ulm, in a fortnight after, he signed a capitulation, by which 50,000 prisoners, 200 pieces of cannon, several thousand horses, and eighty standards, fell into the hands of the French. In another fortnight the emperor was in possession of Vienna, where immense stores, 100,000 muskets, 2,000 pieces of cannon, and corresponding quantities of ammunition, fell into his hands.

In Italy, Massena compelled the Archduke Charles to retreat; and, in Switzerland, Marshal Ney was similarly successful. The archdukes retreated on parallel lines, to meet at Laybach on the 15th of November. To beat the Russians before the archdukes could join them, was the next attempt of Bonaparte, who planted his head-quarters at Brunn, the capital of Moravia. On came the Russians and the Austrians. The opposing armies met at Austerlitz, a plain, the stratagetic advantages of which had struck the emperor a few days previously, and where he resolved to fight; and from the heights of which, the Russian czar and the Austrian emperor saw their troops, their bravest and best, defeated, slaughtered, fugitive. The battle was fought on the 2nd of December. It has been rightly termed "the most glorious of all the victories of Napoleon." The allies lost at least 30,000 men, in killed, wounded, or prisoners; 180 guns, 500 caissons, and forty-five standards.

The defeated emperors sued for peace, and it was granted, on condition that Austria should cede Venice and Venetia to the kingdom of Italy; Dalmatia and Albania; the principality of Eichstadt; part of the archbishopric of Passau; the city of Augsburg; the Tyrol, and Austrian Swabia. The Brisgau and the Ortenan were also given up. Austria, besides, had to pay to France 44,000,000 francs, and to let the latter retain all the military stores, &c., which had fallen into her hands. On the same day Bonaparte issued a decree, deposing the King of Naples, and placing his brother Joseph on the throne instead. At the same time, also, he made a treaty with Prussia, by which he agreed to give up to that power Hanover, on condition that the Weser and the Elbe were closed against the English.

The death of Mr. Pitt, on the 23rd of January, 1806—Austerlitz had killed

him—led to the accession of Mr. Fox to power. He was personally known to, and respected by, Napoleon ; and the offer of a scoundrel, soon after he had taken office, to assassinate the French emperor, led to a communication to M. Talleyrand, which caused a diplomatic intercourse to be opened, extending over many months. It failed of its object—that of restoring peace; but it had one good effect. The English government sent home many French officers who were prisoners of war, and Napoleon liberated the English families whom he had detained in France at the commencement of hostilities.

This short interval of peace was employed by Bonaparte in strengthening his power and rewarding his friends. The Venetian states were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, and Louis Napoleon was made King of Holland; Talleyrand, was created Prince of Benevento; and Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo. Some of his generals were made dukes. Other family and personal arrangements were made. Nor was internal legislation overlooked. The code Napoleon was improved; the *conseils des prud'hommes* were established. At the same time, to encourage French, and injure British manufactures, the importation of muslin and all other cotton goods was prohibited. Napoleon also introduced the system of sending only half their pay to the French troops which still remained in Germany and other countries, and he required those countries to supply them with food: as that food was never paid for, the inhabitants of the countries thus afflicted, as we may very naturally expect, became more and more averse to France.

On the 12th of July the confederacy of the Rhine was formed. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the Elector of Baden, were active agents in this. They were joined by the Elector of Mayence, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilburg, and other of the smaller potentates then abounding in Germany. The object of this alliance (the idea of which originated with Napoleon) was stated to be—the maintenance of internal and external peace, by an alliance with each other and with France; the obligation of that alliance to be, mutual assistance for defence if any one of the states were attacked. The common interests of the federal states were to be discussed in a diet, to assemble at Frankfort. This diet was to be composed of two colleges—a college of kings and a college of princes. The federal army was to consist of 263,000 men, France furnishing 200,000; and to Napoleon was given the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

We refer to this subject, as it gives us another illustration of the intense and arbitrary cruelty of Napoleon. Amongst the people of Germany this new confederation was anything but popular. By means of the press it was bitterly attacked. Several booksellers were arrested, and illegally sent before courts-martial; and one man was actually shot—Julius Joseph Palm, a citizen and bookseller of Nuremberg, who had published a pamphlet entitled *Germany in her Deepest Humiliation*. For issuing this pamphlet Palm was arrested, though Nuremberg was a free city, and he was not a subject of France or of the confederation. Shortly after he was removed to Brennau, where he was tried before a court-martial, found guilty of the offence Napoleon laid to his charge, and condemned to be shot. The sentence was carried into execution on the 25th of August. For such disgraceful tyranny there can be no excuse. The act was as mean and paltry as it was sanguinary and odious. Subscriptions were opened, throughout Germany and England, for the widow and children of the murdered man, for whom the greatest sympathy was expressed.

In this year the British government instructed their commanders to make descents on Naples, the legitimate sovereign of which, with the queen (a bold, bad woman) was still in Sicily, whither he had fled before the French. At the end of June Sir Sidney Smith took possession of the island of Capri, and an expedition sailed from Palermo, under Sir John Stuart, which landed on the west coast of Calabria with 5,000 men. There was no response to his call to the people to rise; but hearing that Regnier, with a French force, was encamped at Maida, Sir John

repaired thither. After a gallant struggle, the French, who had a superior force, were defeated. The effects in Calabria seemed at first likely to be fatal to the authority of Joseph. Regnier, and the remains of his force, retreated to the north; the people of the south rose *en masse* against the French; and the British took possession of all the towns and forts on the coast. The aspect of affairs soon changed. When Massena came up with 15,000 men, Sir John had to retire: the French advance was bravely resisted; but they ultimately established their authority.

At sea the French were unfortunate: the Rochefort and Brest squadrons were sent out to attack remote and ill-defended British colonies. Leissegues, on his return from St. Domingo, was met by Admiral Duckworth with a much superior force, and severely beaten. Admiral Villaumez was not much more fortunate. The Rochefort fleet, under Lallemande, took several merchant vessels, and the *Calcutta*, a fifty-gun frigate, and returned in safety to Rochefort. There was one other French squadron—that of Admiral Linois—in the Indian Ocean, which, after inflicting much damage on British commerce, was met by Sir J. B. Warren's fleet, which captured a part of it, with the admiral on board. Thus the fleets of France and Spain were driven from the ocean, and Britannia ruled the waves.

On the continent, at the head of his armies, Napoleon remained irresistible. The King of Prussia, ashamed of being the dupe of Napoleon, proclaimed war with France; and the latter took a terrible revenge. The Duke of Brunswick, who was at the head of the Prussian armies, was no match for Bonaparte. The Prussian declaration of war was made on the 9th of October: on the 10th fighting commenced; 1,000 Prussians were taken, and the young Prince Louis of Prussia was slain. The battles of Jena and Auerstadt were both fought on the 14th. At the former Davoust had but 30,000 men, while the king and the Duke of Brunswick had 70,000. After four hours' fighting, the king had to retreat on Weimar, and the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded.

The battle of Jena was fought in less time. Lannes and Lefebvre supported Ney's division. The Prussians made repeated charges with cavalry on the squares of the French infantry. At length Lannes attacked the centre of the Prussian line, and compelled the enemy to change their front. The French had to do the same; and for a time the issue was doubtful; but the arrival of Augereau with several regiments from Mayence, decided it in favour of the French. When Napoleon saw the enemy wavering, he ordered the imperial guards and cavalry to charge: the rout was complete, and the remnants fled to Weimar. In these two battles the Prussians lost, in killed and wounded, more than 45,000 men; and 160 pieces of cannon, with immense magazines of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 15th the French advanced to Weimar, which they occupied, and partially sacked. Napoleon then pushed on to Berlin; a complete panic took possession of the Prussian army. On the 15th, Kalkreuth surrendered to Soult, with all his troops. On the 17th, Bernadotte defeated the Prince Eugéne of Würtemberg, whom he encountered at Halle, with 16,000 men of the reserve. On the 18th, Erfurth surrendered to Murat with 14,000 men, 120 pieces of cannon, and numerous magazines. Spandau, Magdeburg, Glogau, and all the other fortresses of Prussia, fell into the hands of the French. Prince Hohenlohe, after finding his army of 50,000 reduced, by successive conflicts with the enemy, to 20,000, was compelled to capitulate to Murat; Blucher, with the rear-guard, retreated to Lubeck, which, after a severe resistance, was stormed by the French, and Blucher, 518 officers, and 20,000 men, were obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners of war.

The Berlin decrees were promulgated at this time. By means of them Bonaparte expected to annihilate British trade, and completely to isolate the British isles from the continent. By these decrees, first, those islands were declared to be in a state of blockade: the second of them prohibited all intercourse with England, and ordered all packets or letters addressed to this country, or written in the English language, to be seized. The third declared every native of

England, whatever his rank or condition, found in the countries occupied by French troops, or by those of their allies, to be prisoners of war. By the fourth, all English merchandise, or property of any description, was declared to be good prize, &c. The fifth prohibited trade with England. The sixth appropriated one-half of the merchandise or property seized as prize, to the indemnification of merchants whose vessels might be captured by English cruisers. The seventh decreed, that vessels coming from England, or her colonies, should not be received in any ports; and the eighth provided, that any vessel contravening the last article by a false declaration, should be seized and confiscated. In accordance with this decree, many Englishmen were unjustly imprisoned, and all English merchandise and other property confiscated, at Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Travemünde, and other places. The injury occasioned by this decree did Bonaparte as much mischief as it did us. It was always liable to evasion; and by its oppressive restrictions it alienated many of his allies. Napoleon endeavoured, in every way, to enforce his measures. He wrote to Junot immediately after he had published his decree, enjoining him to take especial care that the ladies of his family used Swiss tea and chicory; and that no part of their dress was composed of English merchandise; for, "if the wives of his chief officers did not set the example, whom could he expect to follow it. It was a contest for life or death between England and France; and he must look for cordial support from all those by whom he was surrounded."

In November, Alexander, the Russian czar, declared war against the emperor; and the latter again put his army in motion. At this period he had all Northern Germany, except Konigsberg, and the fortresses of Strasburg and Colberg, directly or indirectly under his power. Several engagements took place between the Russians and the French, in which the latter were, as usual, successful. In his winter quarters at Warsaw, the emperor and his army were very comfortable. The old city assumed an appearance of business and gaiety. The foreign ambassadors repaired thither; and the emperor introduced many of the customs and manners of the Tuileries. He gave two concerts every week, holding a *levée* at their conclusion; and long did those who were present remember the beauty and the fascination of the Polish ladies: nor was the emperor himself insensible to their charms.

The drawn battle of Eylau was fought in February, 1807. The slaughter was great on both sides. The Russian general, who had 70,000 men, exclusive of the Prussians, in the morning, returned his loss at 7,900 killed and 12,000 wounded. Napoleon gave his as 1,900 killed, and 5,700 wounded. This return is evidently untrue; indeed, it was thought the French loss was quite as large as the Russian one. It is certain that sixteen generals were killed, and twelve imperial eagles taken. In that bleak, inclement season, the sufferings of the wounded were intense. Two days subsequently, we are told that 5,000 Russians still lay upon the ground. Bread and spirits were carried to them from time to time; and all that survived were transported to the hospitals, where every provision that had been so elaborately made was brought into requisition. The burial of the dead was a long and arduous task. And all this is the more melancholy, when we remember that such waste of life was to obtain power and influence in a country, all of which, Marshal Lannes told the emperor, "was not worth the loss of the humblest corporal in the army."

In May, Dantzic, with 800 pieces of cannon, fell into Bonaparte's hands.

In June he won the victory of Friedland. The Russian loss was immense. Nearly 17,000 men were killed, drowned, or wounded. Almost as many were made prisoners. Seventy stands of colours, and eighty pieces of cannon, became the property of the French.

Such crushing defeats made Alexander sue for peace. The result was the treaty of Tilsit. The King of Prussia accepted humiliating terms. Alexander fared better. He was to extend the continental system of Bonaparte throughout his empire; England was to be humbled; and Russia was to extend her power in

the East; while the French emperor was to bring Portugal and Spain under his rule. By this treaty all Europe was under Napoleon's influence, with but two exceptions, Sweden and Portugal. Denmark was more with France than with us; and the former had a fleet, which, in pursuance of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, would inevitably come into the hands of France, and be employed by her against England. This the English government determined to prevent. A fleet of twenty ships of the line, and a land force of 20,000 men, were despatched to Copenhagen, under the command of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart. On the arrival of this armament, a demand was made on the Danish government to send their fleet to England till the conclusion of the war with France, when it would be restored; England, all the while, promising to protect the neutrality of Denmark. The proposal was refused, and Copenhagen was, in consequence, bombarded on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September. On the 10th the fleet was given up, and taken to England; and in October, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Denmark and France; the former, of course, declaring war against England, and giving her open adhesion to the continental system.

In justification of this act, strongly condemned by many, did Lord Palmerston, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, deliver his first speech in parliament. Canning had ably defended ministers against the attacks of Ponsonby and the opposition. Lord Palmerston's speech was as follows:—

"I object, sir, to the motion of the honourable gentleman, because, in this peculiar case, his majesty's ministers are pledged to secrecy; but I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information. With respect to the present expedition, it is defensible on the ground that the enormous power of France enables her to coerce the weaker state to become an enemy of England. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) has urged that we have been guilty of a violation of the law of nations. Sir, no man could be more ready than I to respect the law of nations; but the question in this case is, how to apply the admitted principle, that the law of nations is sacred. It is one thing to admit the rights of nations, another to succumb to the policy which may for the time govern them. A nation coerced by a superior power loses that independence which is the plea for its rights, and the guarantee of their maintenance by mankind.

"In the case now before the House the law of nature is stronger than even the law of nations. It is to the law of self-preservation that England appeals for the justification of her proceedings. It is admitted by the honourable gentleman and his supporters, that if Denmark had evidenced any hostility towards this country, then we should have been justified in measures of retaliation. How, then, is the case altered, when we find Denmark acting under the coercion of a power notoriously hostile to us. Knowing, as we do, that Denmark is under the influence of France, can there be the shadow of a doubt that the object of our enemy would have been accomplished? Denmark coerced into hostility stands in the same position as Denmark voluntarily hostile, when the law of self-preservation comes into play. *We* must remember what has been the conduct of France towards other countries; and, if we would preserve the blessings of a free constitution, we must not judge this government by a barren and abstract rule of justice, but by those large and more free principles which regulate the conduct of nations in great emergencies.

"Does any one believe that Bonaparte will be restrained by any considerations of justice from acting towards Denmark as he has done towards other countries? Is it at the very moment when his legions are returning triumphant to France, that Denmark can hope for an exemption from the calamities of war, if she refuses to comply with the hostile intentions of France? Or can it be doubted that this would be the season when he would more especially seek to carry out his gigantic designs against us? England, according to that law of preservation which is a

fundamental principle of the law of nations, is justified in securing, and therefore enforcing, from Denmark a neutrality, which France would, by compulsion, have converted into an active hostility."

Of course, ministers carried the House with them; and the rising statesman's speech, no doubt, aided to secure their triumph.

Wilberforce's opinion on this matter may be quoted as that of most impartial observers. He writes to his friend, Mr. Hey—"I have been deeply impressed by accounts I have received of the sufferings of the inhabitants, both of Copenhagen and of Buenos Ayres. I wish you had hinted to me your opinion of the former measure. Religious people, I understand, condemn it strongly, as utterly unjust and indefensible. For my own part, after much, I trust, impartial reflection, I am convinced that, under the circumstances of the case, the Danish expedition was just. But it has grieved me exceedingly to hear lately that our government intend to confiscate, for our own benefit, all the ships and stores which have been brought away. Surely it would be both right and politic to confine ourselves within the strictest limits which are compatible with our essential safety. It was absolutely essential to deprive the Danes of a fleet which, combined with that of Russia, would otherwise have soon conveyed a French army to Ireland or Scotland, or have forced us to detach to the north so large a proportion of our naval strength as would have left us open to attack in the south and west of the two islands."

It must here be observed, that Mr. Fox, who joined the new cabinet formed on Pitt's death, had followed his great rival to the tomb. The succeeding ministry did not last long; and, on the 23rd of March, the Duke of Portland became Premier. Lord Eldon was his Chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, Privy Seal; Earl Camden, President of the Council; Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Chatham, Master of the Ordnance; Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary for the Home Department; Canning, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for the Department of War and Colonies; and Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Palmerston, after unsuccessfully contesting Cambridge University against Lord Petty, was returned for Blechingley, and entered on official life. His speech was not a long one. It must be remembered that, in those days, parliamentary reporting had not been advanced to its present state of perfection. The defenders of the expedition to Denmark were the members of the British administration, who only knew the causes which led to it, and justified it. The government was compelled to do it in self-defence. Its best vindication, however, is the effect produced on Bonaparte. Fouché says the success of this attack was the first derangement of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in virtue of which the navy of Denmark was to have been put at the disposal of France. "Since the catastrophe of Paul," he adds, "I have never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which struck him most in this ingenious *coup-de-main* was the promptitude and resolution of the English ministers."

No wonder Bonaparte was angry. This new scheme for crushing England was checked at its birth. "After Russia had joined my alliance," he told Jomini, "Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example. Portugal, Sweden, and the pope alone required to be gained over; for we were well aware that Denmark would hasten to throw itself into our arms. If England refused the mediation of Russia, the whole maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against her; and they could muster—Spanish, French, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and Portuguese—180 ships of the line. In a few years this force could be raised to 250. With the aid of such a fleet, and my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to lead a European army to London. One hundred ships of the line employed against her colonies in the two hemispheres, would have sufficed to draw off a large portion of the British navy; while eighty more, assembled in the channel, would have sufficed to ensure the passage of the flotilla, and avenge the outraged rights of nations. Such was, at bottom, my plan, which only failed of success from the faults committed in the Spanish war." By his own confession,

then, the British ministers were justified in their capture of the Danish fleet.

Napoleon lost no time in acting upon the secret articles of the treaty. A summons was sent to Sweden to join the leagues of France and Russia; and on the refusal of the king to do so, Alexander ordered an army into Finland, which took possession of the country in the winter of 1807. In August, a note was delivered to the Prince-Regent of Portugal, by the French ambassador; in which the following demands were made upon his royal highness:—1. That the English ambassador should be dismissed, and the Portuguese ambassador recalled from London. 2. That all the English residing in Portugal should be detained. 3. That all English merchandise in Portuguese ports or warehouses should be confiscated. 5. That his fleet should be united to those of France and the other continental powers, to act against England. The prince-regent had a fortnight allowed him for reflection. The Court temporised; the French army advanced; and the prince-regent became more compliant; but it was too late.

On the 1st of November, Junot, at the head of his troops (chiefly raw recruits), crossed the frontiers of Portugal, and marched into the interior. Before they reached Abrantes they were so demoralised that they might easily have been destroyed. In four days, Junot wrote that he would be in Lisbon. The Court became alarmed; the royal family embarked, with their suite, members of the nobility, and others (in all, 15,000 persons), for Brazil, taking with them, it was computed, about half the current coin of the realm. The embarkation took place under the protection of an English squadron; one part escorted the royal family to Brazil, the other blockaded the Tagus. The emigrants were conveyed across the Atlantic in eight large vessels of war, three frigates, and a great many merchant ships. This fleet left the river on the 29th of November; and on the 30th, Junot, with his advanced guard of 1,500 men, entered Lisbon. The *Moniteur* then announced that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.

The time had now come for making a king of another of the Bonaparte family. Jerome, the youngest brother, then a mere youth, was made King of Westphalia.

The Milan decree came forth at this time. It appears the English government considered that some more decided steps should be taken against the powers which had adopted the "continental system." An order in council had been issued on the 7th of January, 1807, prohibiting the vessels of neutral powers from trading between ports from which the British flag was excluded; and decreeing that vessels persisting in such traffic after being warned, should be declared good prize. After the further accessions to the continental system, on the 11th of November another order in council was issued, declaring France, and all the countries under her influence, in a state of blockade. All ships and vessels trading between neutral and hostile ports, were declared liable to seizure; and his majesty's cruisers were instructed to carry out this order in its fullest sense, without respect to persons. When the order in council appeared, Napoleon was in Italy; and he met it by the Milan decree of the 17th of December. "The right of search," for the purpose of ascertaining whether belligerent property, or contraband of war, was on board neutral ships, had never been departed from by England. The Milan decree condemned the exercise of this right; and declared that every vessel, whatever nation it belonged to, which had been searched by an English cruiser, or had performed a voyage to England, or paid a duty to that government, was thereby denationalised; lost the protection of its flag; and was to be considered as English property: that all such vessels were good and lawful prizes: that the British islands were in a state of blockade by sea and land; and that any vessel clearing out from, or attempting to enter the ports of, England, might be lawfully captured.

But a grander scheme was revolving in the mind of the French emperor. This was the placing of a brother on the throne of Spain. Lucien declined to be made

a king on the conditions offered him by his brother. Joseph, consequently, was made King of Spain; and Murat was placed on Joseph's throne. The dissensions which prevailed in the Spanish royal family, aided the designs of Bonaparte. King Charles IV. was a king only in name; all real power was in the hands of the queen and her favourite, Don Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the body-guard of the king. As might be expected, there was no great friendship between Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias (the heir-apparent to the Spanish throne), and Godoy, the Prince of Peace. Napoleon was called in to heal the dissensions. As he saw how opposed the father and son were to each other, he conceived the idea, as he told O'Meara, of deriving advantages to himself from these differences, and of dispossessing the king and his son. It is clear that Napoleon had his eye on the Spanish throne before this; but the father and son equally played into his hands. The king abdicated his throne; the Prince of Asturias attempted to take the vacant seat; Murat refused to acknowledge the new sovereign; the population of Madrid, in their irritation at Murat and his licentious soldiery, rose *en masse* against the French; a collision took place, and hundreds of lives were lost. At length peace was restored, and an amnesty concluded, on the faith that it would be observed. The Spaniards came out into the streets. Murat had numbers of them seized, on the charge of being concerned in the insurrection. These men were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. This event inspired the Spanish people with a spirit of revenge, and gave rise to those guerilla movements in the provinces, which proved, ultimately, fatal to the French themselves.

Bonaparte was much annoyed by these events. After some negotiation, he got the King of Spain to resign his crown in favour of the former, on condition that he (the King of Spain) should have a palace assigned him at Compiègne, for the residence of himself and queen, and Godoy; and an annuity of £40,000. Ferdinand, alarmed, by the anger of Napoleon, for the safety of himself and his relatives, declared his concurrence in his father's resignation; he acquiring the title of Most Serene Highness, with the palace, parks, and farms at Navarre; and an annuity of 600,000 francs, to be paid from the French treasury. The new king was sent for from Italy. Against him the people rose all over Spain. The Asturians were the first to hoist the national banner. They were followed by the people of Aragon, Galicia, and several other provinces. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed on the 2nd of June, at Saragossa. Juntas were formed in the various provinces; and that which met at Oviedo, for Asturias, on the 6th of June, declared war against France; appointed the Marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the Spanish troops; sent deputations to London, to solicit the assistance of England; and, on the 14th of June, hostilities commenced by the Spanish garrison of Cadiz opening a fire upon five French ships of the line and one frigate in that harbour, which were compelled to surrender. Hard fighting, under Lord Wellesley, which we shall have to record, freed the peninsula from the tyranny of France.

The withdrawal of the most distinguished of Bonaparte's regiments, induced the Emperor of Austria to consider that the time was favourable for throwing off the yoke. Immense preparations were made. As usual, Bonaparte was ready before his enemies. In the first battle the Austrians retreated, leaving 9,000 prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, 600 ammunition waggons, and 3,000 vehicles of various divisions, in the hands of the French. At Echmuhl a terrific encounter took place. For his services on that occasion Davoust received the title of Duke of Echmuhl. In five days the Austrian army had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, between 50,000 and 60,000 men. Vienna was open to the victors, guarded only by about 36,000 men, disheartened by defeat. A desperate effort was made to defend it. At Ebersberg, after the loss of not less than 6,000 men on each side, the Austrians were obliged to retire, and the passage to Vienna was left open. The city capitulated on the 12th of May; the battle of Aspern was fought

immediately after. The loss was immense. Thiers says that it may be estimated to have been, on the side of the Austrians, 26,000 or 27,000; and 15,000 or 16,000 on the part of the French. The Austrian accounts make the loss of the former far greater. Wagram was the next well-fought field. At this battle the French confess that they had between 6,000 and 7,000 killed, and about 15,000 wounded. No wonder that all should get weary of this wild fighting, or that again Austria should sue for peace.

Bonaparte had now made up his mind for another attack on Russia. In vain Alexander tried to evade it, and, for that purpose, despatched M. Nesselrode, then a young man of great promise, to Paris, with a view to remove the existing causes of difference and disunion between the rival powers. It is not for us to chronicle the Russian campaign, which robbed France of her choicest troops, her ablest generals, her *prestige*, and her fame; and left her weak and defenceless in the midst of an angry world. All sorts of artifices were designed to hide from Russia the views of France. Napoleon was anxious to gain time. He had collected an enormous army of nearly 490,000: besides, Prussia and Austria promised to supply, between them, from 45,000 to 50,000 men. Napoleon put his forces in motion in June, 1812. In the *Memoires* of his own reign, dictated at St. Helena by Napoleon, to the generals who shared his captivity, he declared that the Russian expedition was undertaken from the consideration that the French empire, which he had created by so many victories, would certainly be dismembered at his death, and the sceptre of Europe would pass into the hands of the czar, unless he drove the Russians back beyond the Borysthenes, and raised up the throne of Poland, the natural barrier of the empire. The war became necessary after the violation of the treaty of Tilsit by the Emperor Alexander; but it was the before-mentioned consideration which induced him (Napoleon) to commence it. Austria, Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, then marched under the French eagles; and he asked—Was it not natural he should think of consolidating the vast empire he had raised?—but, on the summit of which, Russia would bear with the whole weight of her power, as long as she was able to send her numerous armies at pleasure on the Oder. This, he asserted, was the entire secret of that war, with which no personal feelings were mixed up. The plan of the czar was a simple one: it was to retreat before the ruthless and relentless invader, who had determined to plant his victorious standard at Moscow. It was in vain that the French won a battle, when their wisest course was to retreat. Napoleon entered Moscow in September, and planted himself in the Kremlin. The city was soon in flames. In a day or two he had to move his head-quarters. Early on the morning of the 17th he was abroad and gazing on the burning city. After watching the flames for some time, he exclaimed—"This sad event is the presage of a long train of disasters." Never did he utter truer words. In that fire he might see predicted the fall of the French empire—the empire he had built up at such a costly expenditure of crime and treasure, brain and blood. The Russians estimate that the French lost 125,000 in the different engagements, and 100,000 by cold, disease, and hunger. They took forty-eight generals, 3,000 officers, and 190,000 privates prisoners, and captured seventy-five eagles or stand of colours, and 929 cannons, exclusive of those which were thrown into the river or buried. These totals very nearly assimilate with those given by Bouterlin: and certainly there never was a more complete wreck than that of the grand army of France in this Russian campaign. While in Russia, the conspiracy of Malet filled the emperor with alarm, as it taught him how slight a hold he and his held on the affections of the French people. It was on account of this that he hurried back to Paris, while his once brilliant army was suffering the most extreme privations, and dying, as fast as it could, from exhaustion and fatigue, rather than from injuries inflicted by the enemy. Deep and painful must have been his feelings at this moment; but they were all concealed under a cold exterior.

The empire, however, was not yet exhausted. The ambition of the emperor

required yet more victories. Prussia and Austria, and indeed all Germany, were desirous of being emancipated from French domination; and to secure that, Bonaparte resolved to strike another blow. At Lutzen, where Gustavus Adolphus fell in 1632, there was a terrific contest between the forces of Bonaparte and those of the allies. Different estimates have been given of the number of men engaged —some giving the French, others the allies, the superiority. The most precise accounts, and those which appear to be founded on official details, state that the French had 115,000 in the battle; the Russians and the Prussians, 71,925—giving the French the advantage in force. The loss on their side was enormous. Jomini says that Ney's corps alone had 12,000 privates, and 500 officers, killed and wounded. He adds—"The number of wounded was so great that the generals accused the young conscripts of having injured themselves to escape the fatigues and dangers of the campaign." The allies carried off 900 prisoners; and the entire number lost in active service was not less than 18,000. The loss of the allies was also very considerable, but not so great as that of the French.

Another great battle, that of Bautzen, was fought soon after. For some time the French were kept at bay, and then the allies made an orderly retreat. In the engagement, which lasted two days, the loss on both sides was great. That of the allies was 15,000 men killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners. The French had 5,000 killed, and 20,000 wounded.

Of course there was an armistice. Shortly after it was signed, under the pretence that it did not extend to irregulars, General Fournier, with 3,000 men, attacked a corps of partisans known as Lutrow's corps, which, only 500 strong, was retiring to Silesia. The poet Körner, at that time the Tyrtæus of Germany, was among them, and severely wounded. This act of treachery would have justified the allied sovereigns in breaking the armistice. They did not do so; but the people of Germany took the outrage to heart, and their universal cry was —"Armistice be it; but no peace. Revenge for Körner first!" "In signing this armistice," says Thiers, "Napoleon's only intention was to gain two months' time, in which to complete his armaments, and then to raise them to a strength sufficient to meet the new enemies he was about to create; *but he had never for a moment entertained the idea of peace.*"

We are now getting nearer the end of the extravagant expenditure of money and blood, which forms the history of the empire under Napoleon the great. On the 27th of August, 1813, the battle of Dresden was fought. It was one of the most remarkable ever gained by him; and it was the last pitched battle he won. Its results threatened at first great disasters to the allies, whose losses were tremendous. The number of killed and wounded was 12,000; of prisoners, 13,000. Before they got clear of the mountains, 2,000 more were taken. They also lost twenty-six cannons, eighteen standards, 130 caissons, and a great number of baggage waggons. Amongst the killed was the poet Körner. The loss of the French was about 7,000 killed and wounded.

And now fortune began to change, and to side with the allies, who were fighting for simple existence. Disaster upon disaster came upon the French; and the independence of Germany was achieved. Of the possessions of France beyond the Rhine, Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Wittenburg, on the Elbe; Custrin and Glogau, on the Oder; and the citadels of Wurzburg and Erfurth alone remained. The confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; and the domination of Napoleon beyond that river was at end. More than 300,000 men had been lost to the empire; and of 1,200 cannons, 1,000 remained in the enemy's hands.

Napoleon returned to Paris a sadder man. Misfortunes came heavy on him. He had used up his resources, and there was none to turn to for sympathy and aid. Bernadotte, one of his own generals, placed on the throne of Sweden, was against him. Murat, another of them, King of Italy, had also deserted him; and, in the legislative body, a report of a decidedly hostile character, by a majority of 223 votes to 31, had been adopted and ordered to be printed. About the same time,

the Crown Prince of Denmark signed a treaty with Austria and Prussia; and Napoleon was left without an ally. Even Prince Eugéne Beauharnais entertained overtures from the allies. It was in vain, even, that Napoleon won victories: he had lost his hold on France; and, in many quarters, even the Bourbons were wished back again.

Guizot, in his *Memoires*, gives us a true picture of the state of feeling in Paris. "I have," he writes, "still before my eyes the aspect of Paris, particularly of the Rue de Rivoli, then in course of construction, as I passed along on the morning of my departure. There were no workmen, and no activity; materials heaped together without being used; deserted scaffoldings; buildings abandoned for want of money, hands, or confidence, and in ruins before completion. Everywhere among the people a discontented air of uneasy idleness, as if they were equally in want of labour and repose. Throughout my journey, in the highways, in the towns and fields, I noticed the same appearance of inactivity and agitation. There were more women and children than men; many young conscripts marching mournfully to their battalions; sick and wounded soldiers returning to the interior; in fact, a mutilated and exhausted nation. Side by side with this physical suffering, I also remarked a great moral perplexity; the uneasiness of opposing sentiments; an ardent longing for peace; a deadly hatred of foreign invaders; with alternate feelings, as regarded Bonaparte, of anger and sympathy. By some he was denounced as the author of all their calamities; by others he was lauded as the bulwark of their country, and the avenger of her injuries. What struck me as a serious evil, although I was then far from able to estimate its full extent, was the marked inequality of those different expressions among the divided classes of the population. With the affluent and educated the prominent feeling was evidently a strong desire for peace; a dislike of the exigencies and hazards of the imperial system; a calculated foreshadowing of its fall; and the dawning perspective of another system of government. The lower orders, on the contrary, only roused themselves up from lassitude to give way to a momentary burst of patriotic rage, or to their reminiscences of the revolution. The imperial rule had given them discipline without reform. Appearances were tranquil; but, in truth, it might be said of the masses of the people, as of the emigrants, that they had forgotten nothing, and learnt nothing. There was no moral unity throughout the land; no common thought or passion, notwithstanding the common misfortunes and experience. The nation was almost as completely divided in its apathy as it had been lately in its excitement."

Soon there came the end—when Paris was in possession of the allies, and Napoleon an exile. Not even in his solitude was he blessed with the society of a wife. The Empress Louisa, with the young Napoleon, left for Vienna. Josephine, who was residing at Navarre when the treaty was signed, was seriously affected by the change in the fortunes of one she had never ceased to love. She went to Malmaison, at the request of the Emperor of Russia, who treated her with the greatest respect. But she was melancholy and depressed; she never rallied—expiring on the 29th of May, with the words, "Island of Elba" on her lips. She evidently did not exult at, but mourned over the disappointment and mortification of the man whose ambition drove him from her side for a wife of grander fortunes and regal birth.

"For me," writes M. Guizot, "under the empire, there was too much of the arrogance of power, too much contempt of right, and too little liberty." Briefly, we have here the faults of the empire as regards France. The vanity of the French nation was flattered by military glory; but something more was required; and that "something more" was what Guizot has thus indicated. Liberty, under the empire, there was none. Napoleon was not an atheist. In religion he saw a power that might be used against him; and to make sure that its action should be in his favour, he took it into his own hands. The result was, his *concordat* with Rome. In this adjustment with the papacy, Napoleon conceded as little as possible to the pope, and secured as much as possible to himself. The prejudice of the emperor against the Jews was ineradicable; but the Catholic and the Pro-

testant worship was to be recognised and established, and the ministers of each persuasion were to be salaried by the state. These state pastors were expected to do something for their money. In 1806, the council instituted two feast days—one in honour of the emperor's birthday; the other on the anniversary of his coronation and the battle of Austerlitz. "There shall be delivered," said this proclamation, "in the churches and temples, and by a minister of the respective creeds, a sermon on the glory of the French armies; and on the extent of the duty imposed on each citizen to consecrate his life to his prince and his country." Louis XIV. never exacted greater servility from his clergy. But this was only in harmony with the tone of the imperial catechism issued, to be taught in all schools.

"*Question.*—What are the duties of Christians towards the princes who govern them [we read in page 55]; and what are our duties, in particular, towards Napoleon I., our emperor? *Answer.*—Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we, in particular, owe to Napoleon I., our emperor, affection, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the ordinary tributes for the preservation and expense of the empire, and of his throne. * * * To honour and serve our emperor, is then to honour and serve God himself.

"*Question.*—Are there not some special motives which should bind us more strongly to Napoleon I., our emperor? *Answer.*—Yes; for it is he whom God has raised up, amid trying circumstances, to re-establish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers, and to be its protector. He has regained and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom. He defends the state with his powerful arm. He is become the helper of the Lord by the consecration received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the universal church.

"*Question.*—What should be thought of those who fail in their duty towards our emperor? *Answer.*—According to the apostle Paul, they resist the established order of God himself; they render themselves deserving of eternal damnation."

Such was the rule to which Frenchmen were required to submit as the price of the military glory which so much fascinated them in that day; and of which they are still disposed to think so much.

Napoleon never lost sight of the measures he deemed necessary to control public opinion. While busy with the arrangements connected with his marriage, he was also occupied with the laws connected with the press; and in February, 1810, he issued a decree, establishing a director-general of the book-trade, subjecting all books to a rigorous censorship, and obliging all publishers and printers to take out licences, and take an oath to obey all his restrictive obligations. As this decree placed the command of the press in his hands, so the imperial university, which he established, gave him the control of the education of his subjects; for all its arrangements were entirely in his hands. He nominated the chancellor, or grand-master, with his salary of 150,000 francs per annum; the treasurer; the ten councillors and the fifty inspectors; who had under their surveillance all the educational establishments in the empire. This university has been, not inaptly, termed a vast system of instructing police; diffused all over the country, in connexion with, and dependent on, the central government: and, under its influence, the communal and voluntary schools died out, or were suppressed; and all academies and seminaries became connected with, and under the control of the university. In these institutions, where politics was entirely banished, and religion and morality little thought of, the physical sciences, geography, and everything relating to the art of war, were taught by able masters; and in these pursuits, no one can deny that immense progress was made.

The clergy were, as we have intimated, under the imperial thumb. When the emperor quarrelled with the pope, they preferred to side with Cæsar. When Cardinal Maury was made Archbishop of Paris, the pope wrote to him—"Is this the way, after having defended so eloquently the cause of the Catholic church, in the most stormy times, that you now abandon the same church? Now that you are

loaded with its favours and dignities, you do not blush to take part against us in the cause that we maintain in defence of the dignity of the church." At the time of the marriage of the emperor with his Austrian bride, there were twenty-eight cardinals, who had been brought to Paris. They were all ordered to attend the marriage of the emperor; but thirteen of them refused. The next day, Napoleon ordered Fouché to arrest these refractory priests, strip them of their purple, and scatter them through the provinces, that they might be under the surveillance of the police. Of course, the clergy at large little entered into his quarrel. They are described as being "united, tranquil, submissive." They ignored the bull of excommunication; and, though they regarded the seizure of the pope, and his imprisonment, as unjustifiable measures, they were not disposed to make them a cause of quarrel with the government. The bishops were quiescent, or favourable to the emperor; and the Bishop of Orleans addressed a letter to his clergy, in which he maintained that the pope was a spiritual priest, and had no claim to temporal authority. This conduct on the part of the clergy, caused Napoleon, though he made many attempts to conciliate the pope, to care little about what was termed the inveterate obstinacy of the pontiff, with whom he thought he should yet come to an understanding. By abolishing all the sees in the Roman states; suppressing the religious orders in Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and sequestrating all the ecclesiastical property of the papacy, the emperor obtained 250,000,000 francs; 150,000,000 of which he appropriated to the state property of France.

In his diary, Romilly gives us an idea of the arrogance and contempt for the people, cherished by the first consul. Romilly was in Paris when Bonaparte took possession of St. Cloud for himself. "Into this place," Romilly writes, "so difficult of access, have been transported some of the finest pictures of which the gallery of the Louvre has been despoiled. The public property is thus appropriated to adorn the private residence of the first consul, into which the unhallowed feet of the Parisian mob are not suffered to penetrate. This, more than anything else I have met with, proves to me in what scorn Bonaparte holds the opinions of the people. He seems to despise their favour; and if he supplies them with frequent festivals, it is less to gain popularity than to occupy and amuse them."

Romilly might well wonder what the French had been fighting for. Louis XIV. was never so independent of public opinion as Bonaparte: nor were the police of the former ever so vigilant, or so well organised, as those of the latter. There was no freedom of discussion. "Among other restraints," writes Romilly, "all English newspapers are prohibited; and it is said that even the foreign ministers are not permitted to receive them by the post. An opinion is entertained—whether with or without foundation I do not know—that persons of character, and who mix in good society, are spies employed by the police; and, consequently, that a man is hardly safe anywhere in uttering his sentiments on public affairs." Romilly's doubts, in our time have been cleared up, and we know the extent of the espionage which, under the empire, existed in every circle of society, and found victims and instruments everywhere. Fouché, the head spy, when at Nantes, was one of the most violent revolutionists—in the very spirit, it is said, of Carrier. It is reported of him, that he used at one time to wear in his hat the ear of an aristocrat, in the manner of a national cockade.

Under the empire enormous expenditure was the rule. "If," on one occasion, said M. Montalivet—"if a man of the age of the Medici, or of Louis XIV., were to revisit the earth, and, at the sight of so many marvels, were to ask how many years of peace and glorious reigns had been required to produce them, he would be answered—twelve years of war, and a single man." In twelve years, 1,005,000,000 francs had been expended on public works, all of them of utility or ornament, and many combining both qualities; but we must remember that it was the forced contributions, exacted from the countries overrun by the French armies, that enabled Napoleon to do so much to attract the notice and win the applause of the French people. The budget for the year 1810 comprised an item of no less than

750,000,000 francs, made from the *domaine extraordinaire:* which consisted of contributions levied on foreign countries, or paid under treaties; of the produce of movables confiscated or seized; and of the public lands of France. Well might an historian observe—"Never, since the time of the Roman dominions, had conquered states furnished such resources to a foreign treasury."

In one respect France was a great gainer by the empire. Previously to the time of Bonaparte, the state of the law in that country was as bad as it is with us. There were two systems of law—the written and the unwritten, each branching out into almost innumerable divisions; there were, besides, local customs; and, to make the confusion worse, there were the commentators. Voltaire writes—"Besides the 40,000 Roman laws, of which some one is always quoted at random, we have 500 different customs, reckoning the small towns and boroughs, which derogate from the usages of the principal jurisdiction; so that a person travelling post in France, changes laws oftener than he changes horses; and an advocate who is very learned in one city, is no better than an ignoramus in the next." Napoleon was a law reformer, and he went the right way to work. A commission was appointed to reduce these numerous and complex laws into one code. To the result of their labours was given the title of the *Code Napoleon*. It comprised, in fact, five codes. 1st. The *Code Civil*, which defines the rights and the relations of persons, and of property. 2nd. The *Code de Procedure Civil*, by which all judicial proceedings are regulated. 3rd. The *Code Commerce*, defining the duties and relations of principals, agents, and purchasers in commercial and trading transactions. 4th. The *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*, by which the duties of municipal and police officers, as well as those of the people in their social relations, are prescribed, and the mode of proceeding in all courts of justice in criminal matters. 5th. The *Code Penal*, which defines the punishment awarded for offences. In France the *Code Napoleon* still exists. It has been found to work so well, that Belgium, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and Italy have adopted it; and, with some amendments and additions, it remains, and long will remain, as the most beneficial memento of him whose name it bears.

Lavishly were pensions and places given under the empire. In vain the few republicans who were left murmured. Every man had his price; and the emperor was willing to pay it. He created the hereditary titles of prince, duke, baron, and chevalier; and, as most of his new nobility were soldiers of fortune, and destitute of property, rich endowments were attached to the titles, drawn from the revenues of those countries which had been conquered by French arms, and occupied by French troops. On Hanover alone, no less than sixty-six of his soldiers were quartered. Even the old *noblesse* joined in the general scramble for place and emolument. Some of the most furious of the Jacobins became the supporters of the empire. Sir James Mackintosh remarks, that "all the terrorists took refuge under Napoleon's authority; the more base accepted clandestine pensions, or insignificant places. Barrière wrote slavish paragraphs at Paris. Tallien was provided for by an obscure consulship in Spain. Fouché, one of the most atrocious of the terrorists, had been gradually formed into a good administrator, under a civilised despotism." When the old set the example, no wonder, as Sir A. Alison observes, that "the young men who had grown up to manhood amid the blaze of Napoleon's glory; the immense mass who looked to advancement in life, and saw no hope of attaining it but in the favour of government, rushed into the same career." Napoleon himself, in whose hands all superior appointments—naval, military, legal, or civil—were vested, and who, therefore, well knew how general was the desire to hold them, excused that mania for becoming *employés* which possessed all classes from the misfortunes and convulsions of the revolution. "Every one," he said to Las Casas, "was displaced; every one felt the necessity of seating himself again; and it was in order to aid that feeling, and give way to that universal necessity, that I felt the propriety of endowing all the principal officers with so much riches, power, and consideration."

It was in 1810 that the glory of the empire culminated, when Josephine, fainting and weeping, was cast aside, and a young Austrian princess placed upon the imperial throne. Napoleon himself assumed, as Cambacérès remarks, a more important and dignified air; and, for Maria Louisa, a household was formed, composed of members of the ancient *noblesse*, in which the pomp and ceremony of the old *régime* was revived, but on a grander scale.

All this was changed when the empire was over; when the victorious eagles of Napoleon had retired from the world they had troubled with their presence—never, perhaps, so humiliated, as when Louis, the long-desired, had come back in the train of an insolent invading army; and when the works of art the emperor had collected from all quarters of Europe were removed by English soldiers, and in the way most calculated to create offence. Sir Samuel Romilly, who was in Paris at this very time, writes—"It is hardly to be conceived by any one who had not been an eye-witness of it, what a degree of importance the French, or, at least, the inhabitants of Paris, attached to this. A woman of very mean condition, who was lamenting over this spoliation, was asked by a friend of mine why she took such an interest in the matter, and what she knew of statues and pictures. Her answer was—'I understand nothing about them; but I know that they have attracted strangers from all parts of Europe; that they have excited the admiration and envy of other nations; and that they were purchased with the blood of our sons and brothers.' This seems to be the general feeling of the people."

And thus passed away the empire. Napoleon had been a prodigal, and lived too fast. He had used up France and Europe; had poured out the best blood of his empire; and there were none to fight for him. When the hour of his decline and fall arrived, he had taught all Europe to hate his name, and tremble at his power; and hence a European coalition, against which it was vain for him to contend.

The emperor's portrait has been painted by many hands. We cannot forget that his armies were a terrible scourge wherever they appeared; nor can impartial observers blot out the memory of that galling yoke; of that universal system of military despotism which weighed equally upon every country on the continent. Romilly tells us how, from Leith-hill, he and his family admired the illuminations by which London expressed its joy when the fall of Napoleon was announced. Nor was it London alone that rejoiced: from capital to capital, from Madrid to Petersburg, sped the glad tidings; and there was joy and rejoicing everywhere. Yet we must not do the emperor injustice, nor ignore the glory of the greatest military general of his age. "He was endowed," writes Guizot, "with a genius incomparably active and powerful; much to be admired for his antipathy to disorder, for his profound instinct in ruling, and for his energetic rapidity in reconstructing the social framework; but his genius had no check, acknowledged no limits to its desires or will (either emanating from heaven or man), and thus remained revolutionary while combating revolution; thoroughly acquainted with the general conditions of society, but imperfectly, or rather coarsely, understanding the moral necessities of human nature; sometimes satisfying them with the soundest judgment; at other times depreciating and insulting them with impious pride. Who could have believed that the same man who had established the *concordat*, and reopened the churches in France, would have carried off the pope from Rome, and left him a prisoner at Fontainbleau? It is going too far to apply the same ill-treatment to philosophers and Christians—to reason and faith. Amongst the greatest men of his class, Napoleon was by far the most necessary for his time. None but himself could so quickly and effectually have substituted order in place of anarchy; but no one was so chimerical as to the future; for, having been master of France and Europe, he suffered Europe to drive him even from France. His name is greater and more enduring than his actions; the most brilliant of which—his conquests—disappeared, suddenly and for ever, with himself. In rendering homage to his exalted qualities, I feel no regret at not having appreciated them till after his death."

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, MANNERS, AND MORALS IN ENGLAND, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

MAN does not live by bread alone; ideas must exist and regulate his conduct; and of all ideas, those connected with religion are the most permanent and universal. A nation's religion reflects, and creates its better life. When Palmerston was young; when he was studying mental philosophy with Stewart, or gaining a wider insight into society at Cambridge, there was none of the religious life and activity which is the characteristic of the present age. In England, more especially since the Restoration, irreligion had come to be considered the mark of a fine gentleman. "The clergy," wrote Bishop Burnet, "were under more contempt than those of any other church in the empire." Archbishop Secker bewailed the profligacy of all ranks as something frightful. In his preface to his great work, the bishop wrote—"It has come to be considered that Christianity is no longer a subject of inquiry; but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious." The celebrated jurist, Blackburn, had the curiosity, early in the reign of George III., to go from church to church, to hear every clergyman of note in London. He assures us that he heard not a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero; and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, Mohammed, or Christ. In a biography just published, a lady tells us that her friends remonstrated with her on the earnest manner in which she repeated the church service, as a breach of good manners and etiquette; and in a similar spirit, religious questions were discussed in the House of Commons. Sir W. Forbes tells us, Boswell (Johnson's biographer) was a man of fervent devotion. On one occasion Wilberforce vindicated the character of the despised missionary and oriental scholar, Dr. Carey. "I do not know," he said, "a finer instance of the moral sublime than that a poor cobbler, working in his stall, should conceive the idea of converting the Hindoos to Christianity; yet such was Dr. Carey. Why, Milton planning his *Paradise Lost*, in his old age and blindness, was nothing to it! And then, when he had gone to India, and was appointed, by Lord Wellesley, to a lucrative and honourable station in the college of Fort William, with equal nobleness of mind he made over all his salary—between £1,000 and £1,500 per annum—to the general object of the mission. By the way," adds Wilberforce, "nothing ever gave me a more lively sense of the low and mercenary standard of your men of honour, than the manifest effect produced upon the House of Commons by my stating this last circumstance. It seemed to be the only thing which moved them." Religious questions were discussed very unsatisfactorily. Little relief was given to clergymen of tender consciences. "They have the goose," said Fox, on one occasion, "and they shall have the sauce too." No wonder that Wilberforce in vain tried to get the bishops to oppose Sunday drillings. One of his correspondents defines a Methodist as a person who says his prayers; and the old Duke of Bridgewater never could mention Porteus, the Bishop of London, without terming him "that confounded Presbyterian." When the disgraceful affair of Mrs. Clarke and the Duke of York came up, Wilberforce writes—"No apparent sense, in the House, of the guilt of adultery, only of the political offence." Romilly, also, in a note, gives a curious illustration of the feelings of the upper classes. Speaking of a noted duellist, who had been attacked with alarming illness, he tells us, Macnamara added, "but I was prepared to meet the event like *a man of honour*."

Perhaps the best preacher, in the church or out of it, at that time, was Robert Hall; at any rate, Hannah More says so, and she was a competent authority. Dissenters and churchmen were not roused to activity then. Mr. Hughes, a leading London dissenting minister, dines with Wilberforce, and confesses—"Not one in twenty of Doddridge's pupils but turned Socinian, or tending that way;" and he said, "that all the old Presbyterian places of worship were becoming Socinian congregations." Yet, in those days, a religious revival had begun in the land, almost equalling that produced by that poor young German monk, who, walking the streets of Rome, with his soul grieved by the display of her pomp and corruption, heard a voice exclaiming, "The just shall live by faith."

Wilberforce was at the head of that practical philanthropy which has abolished slavery, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and relieved the poor, and conferred on England a greater glory than her Wellingtons and Nelsons have won by their arms. Wilberforce came of a Methodist family. Methodism is one of the greatest facts of modern history. Church and dissent were alike evangelised by men who, born churchmen, died dissenters; who were driven out of the church, and yet to whom the church is indebted for the hold it has upon the public mind in our day. The Puseyites may be right; but it is clear that, if left to them, the church of England would be torn up by its roots to-morrow. Broad churchmen must always be, more or less, latitudinarian; and latitudinarianism and religious zeal never exist long together. The Evangelicals may be wrong; but it is clear that it is they who have won for the church its influence and power: and that they are what they are, humanly speaking, is due to Whitfield and Wesley.

Down in an obscure village, named Epworth, in the county of Leicestershire, was born a baby, on the 17th of June, 1703 (old style): the child, afterwards John Wesley, had a narrow chance of not being born at all. His father, the rector of the parish, was a strong-minded man. As a woman, the wife was equally strong-minded. At the close of family prayer, one evening, the rector observing that his wife did not respond "amen" to his prayer for the king, asked her the reason. She replied that she did not believe in the title of the Prince of Orange to the throne. "If that be the case," rejoined the rector, "we must part; for if we must have two kings, we must have two beds." The lady was inflexible, and the husband left home for a twelvemonth.

John Wesley was the first child born after conjugal harmony had been restored. The family circle was a strictly religious one; and John and his elder brother, Charles, at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford, retained the impressions of home. At the latter place Whitfield joined them in 1736; and about this time they seem to have been known as Methodists. In that same year the two Wesleys sailed with General Oglethorpe, as missionaries to Georgia; some German Moravians were on board. These Moravians taught them a piety of which, till then, they had no idea, and their missionary experiences led them beyond the narrow circle of Oxford thought. In the meanwhile Whitfield had become ordained, and had commenced preaching with remarkable power in Bristol and London: he was on his way to America, in consequence of an invitation he had received from the Wesleys, just as they were coming home.

In England, the brothers Wesley renewed their intimacy with the Moravians. Charles first, and then John, found among them rest for their souls; and John paid Herrnhut, the original Moravian settlement, a visit. Methodism owes to Moravianism special obligations. "First," says Dr. Stevens, "it introduced Wesley into that regenerated spiritual life, the supremacy of which over all ecclesiasticism and dogmatism it was the appointed mission of Methodism to reassert and promote in the Protestant world. Secondly—Wesley derived from it some of his clearest conceptions of the theological ideas which he was to propagate, as essentially related to his spiritual life; and he returned from Herrnhut not only confirmed in his new religious experience, but in those most important doctrinal views. Thirdly—Zindendorf's communities were based upon the plan of reforming the established

churches, by forming little churches within them, in despair of maintaining spiritual life among them otherwise. Wesley thus organised Methodism within the Anglican church; and besides, in many details of his discipline, he was indebted to the Moravians."

When Wesley returned from Germany, Whitfield had come home from America: Charles had been preaching and making converts among the clergy; and the hour had come, unconsciously, to lay the foundation of true Methodism. It is true, on Sunday Wesley preached in the churches; on the week-days he addressed the small assemblies the Moravians had collected in London: but in time the city churches were denied to him and his brother; and then Whitfield boldly turned field preacher. John Wesley soon followed his example; Charles followed suit, and was threatened by the archbishop with excommunication. He was somewhat intimidated by the menace; but Whitfield was at hand for his rescue, and he soon was proclaiming the gospel to thousands in Moorfields and Kennington Common. Thus were church rulers, in their blindness, driving away Methodists; and dissent and Methodism flourished, and grew up, while the church stood upon its dignity, and slept. In another quarter, also, the Wesleys were urged on to a separate organisation, as Wesley withdrew from the Moravians on account of errors, as he deemed them, springing up in their midst.

Wesley had by this time secured the Foundry, in Moorfields—a building which the government had used for the casting of cannon, but which was deserted and dilapidated. This place was opened in 1739, as the head-quarters of Wesleyan Methodism. Thence he itinerated all over the land. Mobs assailed him and his travelling evangelists; but neither he nor they feared the face of man. In the midst of these trials and successes, Whitfield returned from America, whither he had gone a second time; and the great separation took place, which has lasted until our day. The old question between fate and free-will—a question which has puzzled metaphysicians and divines since time was young, was revived in a new form, and, for a time, with considerable bitterness and animosity.

Wesley was, it seems, forced into the controversy, and repeatedly made proposals of peace. Whitfield, however, felt that he must declare his Calvinistic views, and relinquish fellowship with the Arminians, and their leader Wesley. Neither party, it is clear, as yet thought of forming a distinct ecclesiastical organisation from that of the mother church; but Whitfield was soon, by the force of circumstances, compelled to do this. A lady of quality, Lady Betty Hastings, had patronised the little band of Methodists at Oxford; Lady Margaret had been led by her to join them. Her influence over her sister-in-law, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, led the latter, during a serious illness, to become a Methodist herself. Her Calvinistic opinions led her to patronise Whitfield when he separated from Wesley. On the death of her husband, her ladyship devoted her life actively to religious labours. She purchased theatres, halls, and dilapidated chapels in London and elsewhere, and fitted them up for public worship. New chapels were also erected by her aid in many places in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Distinguished Calvinistic clergymen, as well as dissenters, co-operated in her plans; and, more or less, were under her direction. Romaine, Penn, Malan, Berridge, Toplady, Shirley, Fletcher, Benson, and a host of others, shared her beneficent labours. In a romantic and dilapidated castle in South Wales, the birth-place of Howell Harris, the Welsh evangelist, she established a college for the purpose of educating her preachers. In order to protect the chapels from suppression, or appropriation by the established church, the Countess of Huntingdon had to register them in 1779, according to the provisions of the Toleration Act. After that period, the regular clergy of the establishment ceased to occupy her pulpits; and, in time, her places of worship became absorbed, or nearly so, in the Independent denomination, with the exception of Wales, where, to this day, the Calvinistic Methodists are a numerous band.

In the meanwhile Wesleyanism was gradually settling down into shape and

form. Hitherto Wesley's lay helpers had been but "exhorters," and "readers," and "expounders" of the Scriptures; but now "lay preaching" was formally begun. Wesley, when he first heard of it, was shocked, and hastened to London to put it down; but he relented. The next thing was to form general rules, defining the terms of membership of the united societies. Members were to be divided into classes, under a leader; all who were convinced about the salvation of their souls were to be admitted to membership; no creed or dogma was required, but a life in accordance with Christian precepts and profession. In 1744, the first Wesleyan conference was held: the relations of the Methodist societies to the church of England were considered; secession from the establishment was discountenanced. But it is manifest that, at this time, Wesley's opinions on church order had been considerably relaxed. At the second conference, held in Bristol in 1746, a still further modification of high church views became apparent. Even then, however, he still believed in apostolical succession; in the priestly character of the Christian ministry, and the essential distinction of its three orders. When the third conference met, Wesley had come to see that his lay-assistants were "called of God," and were as legitimate preachers as any priest or bishop in the land. At the fifth conference, Wesley got so far as to declare, that the term "church" means, in the New Testament, "a single congregation;" and a "national church" is pronounced merely a "political institution." In a little while a new difficulty occurred. Some of the ablest of the preachers were unable to resist the reasonable demands of the people for the sacrament from their own pastors. Charles Wesley became alarmed, and much anxiety was felt when the conference met in 1755. The main question proposed was, whether they ought to separate from the establishment? After three days' discussion, the conference arrived at the conclusion that it was inexpedient to do so; and the preachers ceased, for the sake of peace, to administer the sacrament.

In 1770, appeared the Minute on Calvinism, which led to a controversy that raged fiercely for six years; and, by the time it was over, the virtual unity of Calvinistic and Arminian Methodism was at an end. Let us add, that to Calvinistic Methodism we are under lasting obligations. In literature, we are indebted to it for the Olney *Hymns*, and Cowper's *Task*. In the Clapham sect may be traced the influences of Methodism. At the house of Henry Thornton, in Clapham, there met William Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, Barclay, Macaulay, Henry Martyn, Stephen, and others. The Bible, the Tract, and the Missionary Societies; negro emancipation and Sunday-schools; and, yet later, humanitarian and religious movements may be traced to the members of the Clapham sect. Such were some of the results of Methodism almost at its birth.

But we must hasten on: 1784 is termed the grand climacteric year of Methodism. Wesley gave to the conference a legal settlement, and ordained for the American societies, with his own hands, a bishop and two presbyters in that year. The acts were momentous; but neither of them were taken a day too soon. Shortly after, we find him entering in his diary—"I am growing old." He has now completed his organisation, and his time is chiefly spent in itinerating. He hastens over England, Scotland, Ireland, for he feels that the grasshopper has become a burden, and that the time is short. His brother Charles had already departed this life. A churchman to the last, he refused to be buried in his brother's chapel in the City Road, because it was not consecrated ground. About this time Wesley ceases to record his receipts and expenditure in his cash-book. His last signature to the minutes of the conference shows that his hand had forgot its cunning: the final letter is nearly two inches above the first; the *w* is placed over the *n*; and the last syllable of his surname over the first. The end soon came: in 1791 he died.

Southey, as is clear from this hasty sketch, has done much injustice to the character of Wesley. Step by step he was forced out of the church, and made the founder of a new sect—a post for which his mental qualities pre-eminently

fitted him. Of his own labours, and trials, sufferings—of the terrible persecutions he and his fellow-labourers had to undergo, we can here give no idea. Whitfield preached 18,000 sermons—more than ten a week—for his thirty-four years of ministerial life. Wesley preached 42,400 after his return from Georgia—more than fifteen a week. His physical strength, his temperate habits, his force of comprehending and managing at once the outlines and details of his plans; his attention to small things as well as large, fitted him for his post, and maintained him in it. Our modern Spurgeons effect but little, compared with such a man. He travelled, annually, 4,500 miles on horseback, preaching two, three, and sometimes four sermons a day, commencing at five in the morning. As a preacher he remains a problem to us; and most probably, in this respect, he was surpassed by Whitfield, whose oratorical capacity was very great. Cyrus Redding tells us he heard Wesley in his old age, and that he was monotonous and unimpressive. Dr. Stephens has, however, collected testimony of a more flattering character. Dr. Beattie, who heard Wesley preach at Aberdeen, said—"It was not a masterly sermon; but none but a master could have preached it." His ready humour was great. "Sir," said a blustering, low-bred man, who attempted to push him down—"Sir, I never make way for a fool." "I always do," replied Wesley, stepping aside, and calmly passing on. Michael Fenwick, who travelled with Wesley as groom, valet, and nurse, one day complained to his master that he never mentioned him. In the next number of the *Journal*, Fenwick found his egotism effectually rebuked. "I left Epworth," wrote Wesley, "with great satisfaction, and, about one, preached at Clayworth. I think none were unmoved but Michael Fenwick, who fell fast asleep under an adjoining hay-rick." As a married man Wesley was not happy: his wife, who appears to have been a shrew, left him. Perhaps, had he possessed a different partner, the character of modern England might have altogether changed. It is doubtful whether Howard would have written his great work on prisons had his home been a happier and more congenial one. It is certain Milton would never have written his treatise on Divorce, had he and Mistress Powell been on better terms. As it is, the world was the gainer in all these cases; and the consequence, as regards Wesley, was, that he became, as Buckle terms him, the first of theological statesmen. Privately Southey expressed a better opinion of Wesley than he did publicly. In the *Wilberforce Correspondence*, the poet writes—"I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effect, centuries, or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of man will continue so long." Surely Wesley's course was almost marvellous. When he died he saw his system sustained by 550 itinerant, and thousands of local preachers; and numbering more than 150,000 members. People who laughed at Methodism little estimated its true power or enduring influences. At first slowly affecting the mind or manners of the nation, soon it permeated the land, and, in the hearts of some of the ablest of the last generation, produced a deeper religious feeling, and a higher political and social life.

In those times, in the upper circles of society, there was much of coarseness, profanity, and ill-breeding. Lord Eldon loved his port; and Porson drank like a fish. Many a tale is told indicating the fact that often a speech was delivered in the House of Commons, by Sheridan and others, even by Pitt and Dundas, when they were the reverse of sober. "It is but a few nights ago," writes Sir Samuel Romilly, "that, while I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons, a young man, the brother of a peer, whose name is not worth mentioning, came up to me, and, breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, 'I am against your bill; I am for hanging all.' I was confounded; and endeavouring to find out some excuse for him, I observed that I supposed he meant the certainty of punishment affording the only prospect of suppressing crimes: the laws, whatever they were, ought to be executed. 'No, no,' he said, 'it is not that; there is no good done by mercy: they only get worse. I would hang them all up at once.'"

Galt, in his *Life of Lord Byron*, refers to a serious quarrel between Lady Carlisle—" Carlisle, recluse, in pride and rags"—and Charles James Fox.

It seems that they had quarrelled; and, on leaving her in the drawing-room, she called out after him, "that he might go about his business, for she did not care two skips of a louse for him." Fox, on coming to the hall, finding paper and ink on the table, wrote two lines in answer, and sent it up to her ladyship, to the effect, "that she always spoke of what was running in her head." Of the example of licentious extravagance set by the branches of the royal family, we must speak further on.

The fault of that age was unbounded extravagance and sensual indulgence: open and unblushing depravity, like that of the late Duke of Queensbury and the Marquis of Hertford, was rare; but to live beyond one's income, and to have to outrun the constable, was not. According to the fiat of a noble outlaw, who had to disappear from his place in society, it was impossible to live in England under £40,000 a year. His assertion is of the same stamp as the reply Brummell had the credit of giving, seriously, to a widow lady of fashion, who asked him what sum her son would require to enable him to dress like the rest of the world? "My dear madam, with strict economy, it might be done for £800 a year." This mention of Beau Brummell reminds us that, from his *Memoirs*, we get a more characteristic glimpse of high life at this period than from any other quarter. Writing about this time, Lord Byron declared there were three great men in Europe—himself, Napoleon Bonaparte, and George Brummell. We will devote a short space to the latter.

Brummell's grandfather was the faithful and confidential servant to Charles Monson, brother of the first lord of that name.

The Beau's father early attracted the notice of Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool. We next find him patronised by Lord North. In the service of his not ungrateful country Brummell acquired considerable wealth. He gave his son a fashionable education, and left him a third of £65,000. The Beau went to Eton and Cambridge; and as the companion of the Prince of Wales, and the leader of *ton*, got rid of all his money, and died in debt, forsaken and imbecile, at Caen. We may mention here, that the suppression of the consulship in Caen, by Lord Palmerston, in 1832, gave the finishing-stroke to poor Brummell. Captain Jesse, in his *Memoirs* of the latter, says—" I received the following account of a conversation that took place between Brummell and one of his friends on this subject. My correspondent was at Caen at the time, and knew him intimately. 'Brummell,' observes this gentleman, 'told me that his communication to Lord P——n was voluntary on his part, and was inspired by his desire to obtain Mr. Gordon's situation at Havre, or the consulship at Leghorn. In both of these he failed, and thus fell a sacrifice to his apparently disinterested love of country. He also read me an extract from his letter to Lord P——n, which I remember *verbatim*. It was as follows:—'Your lordship must be aware that, by informing the government of the inutility of a consul at Caen, I am actuated by purely disinterested motives. Your lordship will also bear in mind that my bread depends upon the trifling emoluments which I receive as consul at Caen. Should your lordship, therefore, on my suggestion, think fit to abolish the office, I trust some means of subsistence will be provided for me by government.' Lord P——n thanked Brummell for the information; abolished the consulate; made great promises, and left the poor Beau to expire, a driveller and a sham—something between

"A moping idiot and a madman gray."

Of this man's boundless impudence the most astonishing tales are told, and all the while the utmost scarcity prevailed in the land. In 1800, the consumption of flour for pastry was prohibited in the royal household, rice being used instead. The distillers left off malting. Hackney-coach fares were raised 25 per cent.; and Wedgwood made dishes to represent pie-crust.

But to return. When Lord Palmerston and Beau Brummell were young men, the dandies were the fashion. "I liked the dandies," wrote Byron; "they were all kind to me. I had a tinge of dandyism in my minority; and, probably, retained enough of it to conciliate the great ones at five-and-twenty. I knew them all, more or less; and they made me a member of Watier's, a superb club at that time."

Brummell is represented, by a journalist, to have worn a dove-coloured coat, and white satin inexpressibles. "This, the early period of his life," says the *Reveu de Paris*, "was signalised by the famous pair of gloves; to ensure the perfection of which two glovers were employed, one being charged exclusively with the making of the thumbs, the other the fingers and the rest of the hand. At this time," says the reviewer, "three hair-dressers were engaged to dress his hair; one for the temples, one for the front, and the third for his occiput. His boots were *cireés au vin de champagne*, and the ties of his cravats designed by the first portrait-painter in London." In sober truth, Brummell dressed as a gentleman of that period. The Prince of Wales would go of a morning to Chesterfield Street, to watch the progress of his friend's toilet, and remain till so late an hour that he sometimes sent away his horses, and insisted on Brummell's giving him a quiet dinner, which generally ended in a deep potation. The latter was a severe critic of dress. A nobleman, a good deal patronised by him, was one day walking with him in St. James's Street, when Brummell suddenly stopped, and asked Lord —— what he called those things on his feet? "Why, shoes," he replied. "Shoes, are they?" said Brummell, doubtfully, and, stooping to look at them—"I thought they were slippers." On another occasion, the late Duke of Bedford asked him for an opinion on his new coat. Brummell examined him from head to foot. "Turn round," said the Beau: his grace did so, and the examination was continued in front. When it was concluded, Brummell stepped forward, and feeling the lappet delicately with his finger and thumb, said, in the most earnest and amusing manner, "Bedford, do you call this thing a coat?" Dress, in those days, was rather an expensive affair. When the wardrobe of George IV. was put up for sale, it realised the sum of £15,000. Lord Chesterfield, on that occasion, bought a cloak, the sable lining of which, alone, cost £800.

It is said that Brummell objected to country gentlemen being admitted to Watier's; assigning, as a sufficient reason for their exclusion, that their boots stunk of horse-dung and bad blacking. In his Melton days the Beau rarely hunted, as "he could not bear to have his tops and leathers splashed by the greasy, galloping farmers."

Once, while staying at the Duke of Rutland's, the Beau's sleeping apartment was in the gallery; and close to the door hung the rope of the great bell, which was never tolled except in case of fire. One night, after the Beau and a numerous company had retired to rest, the iron tongue of the great bell was heard wildly pealing. The effect, as may be imagined, was electrical, and the hall below, and the galleries above, were, in a few seconds, crowded—masters and mistresses, and servants in every variety of male and female costume. Of course no smoke or symptoms of fire could be perceived, and they were all wondering who could have tolled the bell, when the Beau came forward to the edge of the gallery, and said, with one of his blandest tones—"My good people, I really was sorry to disturb you, but I had no hot water." This man was at the head of the aristocracy. "I can stand," he said, "in the middle of the pit at the opera, and beckon to Lorne (sixth Duke of Argyle) on one side, and Villiers (Lord Jersey) on the other, and *see them come to me*." How well he succeeded in making his opinion valued or dreaded, the following anecdote will give an idea:—"Do you see that gentleman near the door?" said an experienced *chaperon* to her daughter, whom she had brought, for the first time, into the arena of Almack's; "he is now speaking to Lord ——." "Yes, I see him," replied the young Lady Louisa, the daughter of a duke; "who is he?" "A person, my dear, who will probably

come and speak to us; and if he enters into conversation, be careful to give him a favourable impression of yourself, for"—and she sank her voice to a whisper —"he is the celebrated Mr. Brummell." On one occasion, in reply to a nobleman of the highest rank, who accused him of inveigling his son into a disreputable gambling transaction, the Beau exclaimed—"Really, I did my best for the young man. I once gave him my arm all the way from White's to Watier's."

His impertinence was unrivalled. When dining at a gentleman's house in Hampshire, where the champagne was far from being good, he waited for a pause in the conversation, and then raising his glass, and speaking in a voice to be heard by every one at the table, said—"John, give me some more of that cider." "Brummell," said one of his club friends, "you were not here yesterday; where did you dine?" "Dine, why with a person of the name of R——s; I believe he wishes me to notice him—hence the dinner; but to give him his due, he desired that I would make up the party myself, so I asked Alvanley, Mills, Pierrepoint, and a few others; and I assure you the affair turned out quite unique; there was every delicacy in and out of season; the Sillery was perfect, and not a wish remained ungratified; but, my dear fellow, conceive my astonishment when I tell you that Mr. R——s had the assurance to sit down and dine with us." On another occasion, a wealthy young gentleman, then commencing life, being very anxious to be well placed in Brummell's world, asked him, and a large party, to dine. The Beau went; and a few minutes before they separated, requested to know who was to have the honour of taking him to Lady Jersey's that evening? "I will," said his host, delighted at the prospect of being seen to enter her ladyship's drawing-room in his company; "wait till my guests are gone, and my carriage is quite at your service." "Thank you, exceedingly," replied Brummell, pretending to take the offer in a literal sense; "very kind of you, indeed; but ——" and he assumed an air of great gravity— "how are you to go? You surely would not like to get up behind?" "No, that would not be right; and yet it will scarcely do for me to be seen in the same carriage with you."

The following are some of the Beau's witticisms, that were, at one time, in general circulation.

An acquaintance having, on a morning call, bored him dreadfully about some tour he had made in the north of England, inquired of his impatient listener, which of the lakes he preferred?—when Brummell, quite tired of the man's tedious importunity, turned his head inquiringly towards his valet, who was arranging something in the room, and said—"Robinson, which of the lakes do I admire?" "Windermere, sir," replied the distinguished individual. "Ah! yes, Windermere!" repeated Brummell, "so it is, Windermere!" A lady at dinner, observing that he did not take any vegetables, asked him whether such was his general habit? He replied—"Yes, madam, I once ate a pea." At another time, when invited to a merchant's house in the city, after keeping the guests waiting an hour, he entered the dining-room; as his glance fell on the table, he seemed suddenly transfixed, and exclaiming with uplifted hands, as in a tone of alarm and displeasure, "Good heavens!—ox!" he disappeared: there was a baron of beef on the table. One day, a friend meeting him limping in Bond Street, asked him what was the matter? He replied—"He had hurt his leg; and the worst of it was, it was his favourite leg." Having been asked by a sympathising friend, "how he happened to get such a severe cold?" his reply was, "Why, do you know I left my carriage yesterday evening, on my way to town from the Pavilion, and the infidel of a landlord put me into a room with a damp stranger." At an Ascot meeting, and early in the day, Brummell walked his horse up to Lady ——'s carriage, when she expressed her surprise at his throwing away his time on her, or thinking of running the risk of being seen talking to such a very quiet and unfashionable person. "My dear Lady ——," he replied, "pray

don't mention it, there is no one near us." It is said that when a friend rallied him, in his want of success in a matrimonial speculation, and pressed him for the reason of his failure, Brummell replied, with a smile—"Why, what could I do, my good fellow, but cut the connection? I discovered that Lady Mary actually ate cabbage!" And this was the man who gave the tone to high life, and was the companion of nobles and princes, and the proudest and fairest of England's daughters. If the justification adduced by Lady Hester Stanhope be true, it only reflects a still greater disgrace upon his age. Lady Stanhope said, she once inquired of Brummell why he did not devote his talents to a higher purpose than he did? The answer was a melancholy one. He said, "that he knew human nature well, and that he had adopted the only course which could place him in a prominent light, and enable him to separate himself from the society of the ordinary herd of men, whom he held in considerable contempt."

We learn from Moore, that when Sheridan came to town, it was a matter of anxious debate whether the son of a player could be received at Devonshire House. An excuse is suggested by Miss Berry, when she remarks—"Authors, actors, composers, singers, and musicians, were all considered as profligate vagabonds. Those whose good taste, or greater knowledge of the world, led them to make some exceptions, were implicated in the same moral category." She adds, in the next page—"It was not till late in the reign of George III. that sculptors, architects, and painters, with the single exception of Sir J. Reynolds, were received, and formed a part of the best and most chosen society of London."

Captain Gronow, in his very entertaining *Anecdotes and Reminiscences*, writing of this period, says—"The members of clubs in London, many years since, were persons, almost without exception, belonging exclusively to the aristocratic world. My tradesmen, as King Allen used to call the bankers and merchants, had not then invaded White's, Boodle's, Brookes', or Watier's, in Bolton Street, Piccadilly, which, with the Guards', Arthur's, and Graham's, were the only clubs at the west end of the town. White's was decidedly the most difficult of entry; its list of members composed nearly all the noble names of Great Britain.

"The politics of White's club was then decidedly Tory. It was here that play was carried on to such an extent that made many ravages in large fortunes, the traces of which have not disappeared at the present day. General Scott, the father-in-law of George Canning and the Duke of Portland, was known to have won, at White's, £200,000—thanks to his coolness, sobriety, and knowledge of the game of whist. The general possessed a great advantage over his companions, by avoiding those indulgences at the table which used to muddle other men's brains. At Brookes', for nearly half a century, the play was of a more gambling character than at White's. On one occasion, Lord Robert Spencer contrived to lose the last shilling of his considerable fortune, given him by his brother, the Duke of Marlborough. General Fitzpatrick being in the same condition, they agreed to raise a sum of money in order that they might keep a faro bank. The members of the club made no objection, and, ere long, they carried out their design. As is generally the case, the bank was a winner, and Lord Robert bagged, as his share of the proceeds, £100,000. He retired, strange to say, from the fetid atmosphere, and never again gambled. George Harley Drummond, of the famous banking-house, Charing-cross, only played once in his life, at White's club, at whist, on which occasion he lost £20,000. This event caused him to retire from the banking-house, of which he was a partner. Arthur's and Graham's were less aristocratic than the clubs I have mentioned."

Of the gambling mania of that period, a few anecdotes will suffice. George III. invariably evinced a strong aversion to Charles Fox; the secret of which, independently of political considerations, it is quite easy to understand. His son, the Prince of Wales, was far too intimate with Fox; and the latter was by no means a desirable mentor for ingenuous youth. Fox lodged in St. James's

Street; and as soon as he rose, which was very late, had a *levée* of his followers, and of the members of the gaming-club at Brookes'. His bristly, black person, and his shaggy breast, quite open, and rarely purified by any ablution, was wrapped in a foul linen night-gown, and his bushy hair dishevelled. In these cynic weeds, and with epicurean good-humour, did he dictate his politics; and in this school did the heir of the crown attend his lessons, and imbibe them. The ruling passion of Fox was partly owing to the lax training of his father, who, by his lavish allowance, fostered his propensity for play. According to Lord Chesterfield, the first Lord Holland had no fixed principles in religion or morality; and he censures him to his son as being too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them. At his death he left him £154,000 to pay his debts. It was all bespoke, and Fox soon became as deeply pledged as before. Amidst the wildest excesses of his youth, even while the victim of his passion for play, Fox eagerly cultivated, at intervals, his taste for letters, especially the Greek and Roman historians and poets; and he found resources in their works, under the most severe depressions occasioned by ill-luck at the gaming-table. One morning, after Fox had passed the whole night in company with Topham Beauclerk, at faro, the two friends were about to separate. Fox had lost throughout the night, and was in a frame of mind approaching desperation. Beauclerk's anxiety led him to be early at Fox's lodgings, and he inquired, not without apprehension, whether he had risen. The servant replied, that Mr. Fox was in the drawing-room; when Beauclerk walked up stairs, and cautiously opened the door, expecting to behold a frantic gamester stretched on the floor, bewailing his losses, or plunged in moody despair; but he was astonished to find him reading a Greek Herodotus. "What would you have me do?" asked Fox; "I have lost my last shilling." Upon other occasions, after staking and losing all that he could raise, at faro, instead of exclaiming against fortune, or manifesting the agitation natural under such circumstances, he would lay his head upon the table, and retain his place; but, exhausted by mental and bodily fatigue, almost immediately fell into a profound sleep. Such was society in Lord Palmerston's young days. With none of the excesses of that age is his name ever mixed up. That is presumptive evidence in his favour.

Dr. Knox remarks—"I venture to pronounce George III. a patriot king. When I see the chief magistrate a good son, a good husband, I think it a favourable presage for all that is amiable and useful to society." The same author, then, we may presume, will be inclined to judge leniently of the nobles and courtiers of the Georgian era. In many of his writings, indications abound that he is by no means inclined to Puritanical asceticism; yet the pen that could describe the king as a patriot, has drawn, in the darkest colours, the nobles that surrounded the throne. "When," he exclaims, "we read the list of dukes, marquises, and earls, viscounts and barons, exhibited in the *Court Calendar*, we cannot help wondering at the great number of those who are sunk in obscurity, or branded with infamy; and at the extreme paucity of the characters, to which may be applied, with justice, the epithet of decent, virtuous, learned, and devout. Here we see a long list of titled shadows, whose names are seldom heard, and whose persons are seldom seen, but at Newmarket and the Chocolate-house; there we mark a tribe whom fame has celebrated for those feats of gallantry, called, in an old-fashioned book, adultery. Here we point out a wretch stigmatised for unnatural crimes; there a bloodthirsty duellist. Debauchees, drunkards, spendthrifts, gamesters, tyrannical neighbours, and bad masters of families, occur to the mind of the reader so frequently, that they almost cease, by familiarity, to excite his animadversion. All this may be true, it will be said; but will it not be true of any other equal number of men? I venture to affirm it will not. The power, rank, and opulence of the nobility, added to bad company, and often to a bad education, lead them beyond the common line of depravity. There is this also which distinguishes their errors from the usual errors of human infirmity. They often boast of their enormities, and glory in their disgrace. Exorbitant profligacy is considered

as a mark of manly spirit; and all who are decent and regular, are ridiculed by the majority as tame, pusillanimous, hypocritical, superstitious, methodistical, prejudiced, or narrow-minded." The picture drawn is not pleasant to contemplate, even if we admit, with Burn's high-bred and fashionable dog—

> "There's some exceptions—man or woman;
> But this is gentry's life in common."

We cannot resist the conclusion forced upon us—the nobles of George III. were little better than those of George II. and Walpole.

A tale is told of a lady, who, with her daughters, patronised a fashionable place of worship, at a fashionable watering-place. Her ladyship's intentions were excellent. She really did intend to worship, but the place was full, and her ladyship had to depart. Turning to her daughters, she exclaimed—"Well, my dears, at any rate we have done the genteel thing." If we are to believe the essayists and moralists of this time, church-going seems to have been hardly considered as even the genteel thing. Here is a picture from a writer to whom we have already referred:—"We must have a fast-day soon," says the statesman, "for the Americans have had one already." "It is unnecessary," replies the privy councillor in the jockey-dress, aiming at a wretched pun; "it is all a farce." "Between friends," subjoins the statesman, "I am not fonder of such formalities than you are; but you know it is decent, and we must conform, at least externally, to the prejudices of the mob." "It is decent, my lord," re-echoes the bench of bishops. "There is a sermon preached to-day before the House of Lords," says a member. "True," says another, "but I vote it a bore; and besides, I am engaged to see a fine bitch pointer that I think of buying." "Well," resumes the other, "but let us make a party of two or three to church, because it is decent." "We beg, my lords," softly whispers an episcopal voice, "you would not put yourselves to the smallest inconvenience, for half-a-dozen of us have determined, though we have a thousand engagements, to put them off an hour or two, for the sake of decency. Decency, my lords, must supersede every consideration." "Will you go to church, my lord duke?" says one, lowly bowing to his patron. "No; I think it decent, but you will be there on that account; and as I am engaged to day at billiards, I must beg to be excused; but I hope there will be enough there to make a gay appearance." "Among the gay senators," adds the author from whom this account is taken, "very few of late have displayed even that subordinate virtue of which we speak—a regard to external decency. Westminster Abbey, indeed, is not a place to be frequented for pleasure by those who chiefly shine at the stand of a horse-race. One or two officers, however, do attend at a sermon officially, and a few others for the sake of decency; but the knowing-ones consider the whole business, to express their own ideas in their own language, as a 'cursed lounge.'" In these church and chapel-going times, we can scarcely realise the state of things described by the essayist. We may ask—what was the state of morals in low life when vice and extravagance were thus cultivated by their betters? In Knox's *Essays*—very popular at the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century—the question is partly answered. The essayist complains, that wherever the servants of the rich go, they diffuse among the lower orders a spirit of debauchery, impudence, extravagance, and discontent; and are everywhere a nuisance. Much of the corruption of the common people is caused by their example. The following is a case, the essayist tells us, too common in the country village:—"A young man, with all the happy simplicity of honesty and innocence, is engaged, in consequence of the good character which he bears, in the service of a neighbouring lord. He goes to the metropolis, and spends a winter in the lowest haunts of the lowest debauchery and vice. While his master is engaged in the scenes of polite amusement, the poor menial, who waits for him during the tedious watches of the night, solaces himself in the ale-house or the night-cellar, amidst all that can corrupt by examples of fraud, excess, ill language,

and every vice which debases humanity. At the return of summer, the poor fellow retires, with his master, into the country. He is finely dressed, and naturally excites the admiration of the village, and of his own family. What he says comes from him with the authority of an oracle. He considers himself, indeed, as greatly enlightened, and undertakes to communicate the illumination. In the first place, he ridicules the rusticity of his friends and neighbours, and laughs at their awkward dress and behaviour; their patient submission to their masters, he calls plodding and slavery; their sobriety and temperance, covetousness and meanness; their conjugal affection and regard to decency, ignorance of the world; and their religion, superstition; he commonly confirms his opinion by quoting the example of his lord." Mr. Knox makes him thus address the rustics around:—

"My lord, I would have you know, is a great man, and a very great man. He is concerned in governing the nation; making laws; and is in great favour both with prince and people. His patronage is courted, not only by clergymen such as our vicar, but by bishops and archbishops; therefore, you may depend upon it, whatever your godly books may teach you to the contrary, that his manner of acting and thinking is right, and such as is most conducive to happiness and enjoyment. Now this is my lord's plan. He drinks, games, swears, runs in debt, and never thinks of paying his bill at the shop; though, to do him justice, if he loses at cards, he always pays ready-money. My lord, likewise, keeps two or three mistresses, besides his wife, with whom indeed he never sleeps; but then he lets her go very grand; and though two or three of our mercers have broke since they have served us, he spares no cost in supporting her appearance. My lord never goes to church, but calls the parsons a pack of hypocrites; and employs his Sunday either in travelling or in cards, dice, drinking, and visiting the ladies. I usually stand behind my master's chair at dinner, and attend very closely to all the conversation, so that I often pick up a great deal of improvement; and, from all I have been able to collect, I am led to conclude that what we hear in sermons, and read in the Bible, is all nonsense; and that the true wisdom is to gratify one's senses and passions as much as one can; get money safely, in any manner, provided it can be gotten safely; and live jollily. So keep it up, my lords, and follow mine and my lord's example."

The essayist to whom we refer was a doctor of divinity, a master of Tunbridge school, and late fellow of St. John's, Oxford. The volume from which we extract is marked "fourteenth edition." We may assume, then, that he was not likely to draw an over-strained picture of high life; that he was in a position to be a judge of it; and that his account was considered by a large section of society to be correct. The reader will agree with us in thinking, that not only does the doctor reveal a state of morals most deplorable in the upper ranks; but the conclusion is inevitable, that those beneath must have deteriorated in consequence of the abandoned example set them by their superiors. And such, undoubtedly, was the case. Dr. Knox, after giving the imaginary harangue just quoted, adds—"The lads and lasses of the village listen to his lesson with open mouths, and hearts which pant to imitate their kind instructor. Many immediately relinquish the plough and the dairy, and hasten up to London in pursuit of fine clothes, money, and pleasure. They who remain behind endeavour not to be outdone in drunkenness, gaming, and debauchery, by a lord and his footman; and the village, from being the seat of peace, industry, and contentment, becomes the sink of misery and sin. Many soon emigrate from it to supply the Strand and the new colony. This," the doctor repeats, "is no exaggerated representation; there are few country gentlemen who do not consider the summer residence of a rich or titled man of fashion in their neighbourhood as a serious evil, because of the corruption of morals which his corrupted servants introduce. There are not many villages where some Mr. John, or Mrs. Abigail, does not endeavour to turn the country-people from the error of their ways, by teaching them that virtue is ignorance, and religion superstition. The example of rank and riches adds a weight to these arguments which nothing but woeful experience can counterpoise. So extensive

has the contagion been considered, that I have seen it mentioned in advertisements of houses on sale, as a very great recommendation, that there was no nobleman's seat within nine miles of the situation."

Nor, as regards the middle classes in London, do we have, from the same authority, a much more flattering picture. The extremes of irreligion and enthusiasm mark the manners of the capital. Sunday is considered, by the thrifty trader, as a holiday on which he may indulge without imprudence. It is therefore distinguished from the rest of the week, solely by excess and vicious indulgences. The parish churches are neglected; nor is there any great concourse to any place of worship, except where some enthusiast or hypocrite has opened a receptacle for those who labour under the symptoms of idiotism or insanity. We are told that "the churches are left to curates, or poor incumbents, who, in a place where riches are idolised, rank scarcely equal to the keeper of an ale-house or oil-shop." The justices of Middlesex are described as the standing objects of hatred and derision. Dr. Knox concludes with a picture of the physical and mental state of the cockney, by no means to be admired. "Luxury," he writes, "want of air, want of sleep, excess in food and in sensual indulgence, have a natural tendency to debilitate; and if there were not continual supplies from the north, I know not whether the city would not exhibit the human race in a most lamentable condition of imbecility, folly, and distortion. Compare the limbs of the volunteer soldiers in the metropolis with those of the rustic militia or regulars. Compare the understanding and conduct of him who was born within the sound of Bow bells, with those of the hardy natives of Yorkshire and Scotland." Well might the poet lament the absence of—

> "Those healthful sports that graced the peaceful scene,
> Lived in each look, and brightened all the green;
> These, far departing, seek a kinder shore,
> And rural mirth and manners are no more."

The condition of the labouring classes, at this period of our history, was not very prosperous. In the preceding century there had been a great addition to their comforts and well-being. All writers agree in speaking of the interval between 1715 and 1765 as a period of general prosperity, notwithstanding the occasional complaints of the landed interest, on account of the cheapness of farm produce, and the dearness of labour. Mr. Hallam, in his *Constitutional History*, describes the reign of George II., which comprehended the greater portion of the time to which we refer, as "the most prosperous period that England has ever experienced." The author of the *Wealth of Nations*, frequently refers to the very remarkable advance which had taken place in the price of labour during that half-century, while the price of corn had fallen; and Mr. Malthus also speaks of the increase which then took place in the rate of wages, as a well-known fact. Adverting to the previous dearness and general distress, he says—"During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, and the first twenty years of the eighteenth, the average price of corn was such as, compared with the wages of labour, would enable the labourer to purchase, with a day's earnings, two-thirds of a peck of wheat. From 1720 to 1750, the price of wheat had so fallen, while wages had risen, that instead of two-thirds, the labourer could purchase the whole of a peck with the day's labour." Up to 1765, the average earnings of the agricultural labourer were equal to very nearly a peck of wheat; and as beef, mutton, butter, cheese, milk, malt, and many other commodities, were only about one-half of the price they now cost, he was able to live very comfortably. "This," says a well-informed writer, in the British *Quarterly Review*, "was the real golden age of the day-labourers of England, who then formed about two-thirds of the entire working class."

The half-century which followed was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity to the owners of the soil; the rental of the land having doubled, and, in many in-

stances, tripled; while complaints of want of employment, dearness of food, and consequent distress among the agricultural population, became more and more frequent every year. In 1766, the price of the quartern loaf rose to 1*s.* 6*d.*, while wages remained the same as they had been when it was less than half that price. The ministry, alarmed at the threatening prospect of affairs, issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of corn; and summoned parliament to meet in November. The royal speech referred to the prevailing scarcity as the cause of this early meeting of the legislature, which would be called upon to advise what should be done on "a matter of so much importance, and so particularly affecting the working classes." The high price of food continued throughout the following year, and led to serious disturbances, attended with much loss of life in various parts of the kingdom. A year or two of moderate prices followed, but only to be succeeded by a longer interval of dearth, and increasing want of employment, which soon became the rule, and not the exception.

In 1770, the *Deserted Village* appeared. Goldsmith looked upon the decay of the peasantry with a poet's eye, and mourned it with a poet's heart. He writes—

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.
> A time there was ere England's grief began,
> When every rood of ground maintained its man;
> For him light labour spread her wholesome store,
> Just gave what life required, but gave no more;
> His best companions innocence and health,
> And his best riches, ignorance of wealth:
> But times are altered; trades' unfeeling train
> Usurp the land, and dispossess the swain."

In 1795, the Rev. David Davies, rector of Barkham, Herts, published his *Case of the Labourers in Husbandry, Stated and Considered*, in which he gives the result of his inquiry into the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of England. He had been induced to look into the question so far back as 1787. In his customary visits to the labourers in his parish, he had found them, in general, indifferently fed and badly clothed; many of the children without shoes and stockings; very few of them at school; and most of the families in debt to the neighbouring shopkeepers. On inquiry, he found that this wretched condition was not owing either to sloth or wastefulness. "I know," he says, "that the farmers were careful that the men should not want employment; and had the men been given to drinking, I am sure I should have heard of it. I commonly found the women, when not working in the fields, well occupied at home —seldom, indeed, earning money, but baking their bread, washing, and mending their garments, and rocking the cradle." On asking what they themselves considered the cause of all this misery, they agreed in ascribing it to the dearness of food. "Everything," they said, "is so dear, that we can scarcely live." The benevolent rector inquired into the particulars of their earnings and expenses, with a view to ascertain what grounds there were for this complaint. These inquiries were subsequently extended to many other counties; and the information thus obtained formed the main portion of his work on the condition of the agricultural population. The conclusion to which he came was, that the price of food had nearly doubled in Berkshire, while the wages of the labourer had only increased about 20 per cent.; and even this small advance he declared to be more apparent than real; "for the additional shilling a week is not equivalent to certain advantages which labouring people formerly enjoyed; but of which they have been gradually deprived. Many writers take it for granted, that, while this reduction of

wages was going on throughout the purely agricultural districts, the condition of the people was not much worse than when food was cheap, because wages were now made up out of the poor-rates. This, however, is a great mistake. Even if the additional amount of rates expended had been fairly distributed amongst the whole labouring population, instead of being given to the most clamorous and improvident, that extra sum would not have made up one-fourth part of the real fall which had taken place in wages through the dearness of food. Taking the number of labourers at 1,000,000—which is not far beyond the mark—and assuming that their wages had risen in proportion to the price of food, or about 4*s.* 6*d.*, this would have given an additional sum of £11,700,000; whereas the actual increase in the amount expended for the relief of the poor, did not exceed £2,000,000, according to the most authentic estimates."

In this brief glance at the condition of the people, we have confined our remarks chiefly to the state of the agricultural population; because, up to the time of which we write, there was no such great disparity as now exists between the wages of artisans and those of day-labourers. At the present day, a mason, bricklayer, or carpenter receives double, and, in some cases, treble the amount of wages that a labourer receives.

The magistrates looked very sharp after skilled labourers, such as joiners, carpenters, masons, &c.; and, in many parts of the country, issued a regular tariff of wages, to which they were to submit. "As to artificers," on one occasion decree the Manchester magistrates—"as to artificers, workmen, and labourers, that conspire together concerning their work or wages, every one of them so conspiring shall forfeit, for the first offence, £10 to the king; and if he pay it not within six days after conviction by witness, confession, or otherwise, shall suffer twenty days' imprisonment, and, during that time, shall have no sustenance but bread and water. For the second offence he shall forfeit £20; and that not paid within six days as aforesaid, shall suffer the pillory: and, for the third offence, shall forfeit £40; and that not paid within the said time, shall again suffer the pillory, lose one of his ears, and be for ever taken as a man infamous, and not to be credited."

According to the Manchester magistrates, there was no difference between the best husbandry labourer and the best mason. Even the master workman, who superintended the labours of a number of skilled labourers, was only paid twopence a day above the man who merely guided the plough, or handled the spade; and the hours were protracted from five in the morning till half-past seven in the evening, with two-and-a-half hours for meals and rest.

According to Mr. Senior, the produce of the land has certainly tripled, probably quadrupled, during a period in which the population of England was doubled. How is it, then, that while the masons and builders had their wages raised, no improvement appears to have taken place in the lot of the agricultural labourer?

Mr. Arthur Young, in his *Farmer's Letters to the People of England*, describes the method by which the county gentlemen of this period kept down the rural population. "How often," he writes, "do gentlemen who have possessions in a parish, when cottages come to a sale, purchase them, and immediately raze them to the foundation, that they may not become the nests, as they are called, of beggars' brats, by which means their tenants are not burdened in their rates, and their farms let better, for the rates are considered as much as the rent. In this matter cottages are the perpetual objects of jealousy; the young inhabitants are prevented from marrying, and population is obstructed." In some instances a landowner has been so successful in pulling down cottages, and in hunting the poor labourers out of his parish, as to have reduced the poor-rates to almost nothing; and the result has been, that the town population has unnaturally increased; and in the dirt, filth, and negligence of the town, the labourer has come to be unhappy and discontented himself, and the cause of unhappiness and discontent in

others. Dr. Arnold, by birth and breeding a Tory, could not shut his eyes to this. "I have long had a suspicion," he writes from France, so late as 1825, "that Cobbett's complaints of the degradation and sufferings of the poor in England contained much truth. It is certain that the peasantry here are much more generally proprietors of their own land than with us. A revolution would benefit the lawyers, &c.; but I do not see what the labouring classes would gain by it. For them the work has been done already, in the destruction of the feudal tyranny of the nobility and great men; and, in my opinion, this blessing is enough to compensate the evils of the French revolution: for the good endures, while the effect of the massacres and devastations are passing away. It is my delight everywhere to see the feudal castle in ruins, never, I trust, to be rebuilt or reoccupied; and, in this respect, the watchword, *Guerre aux chateaux paix aux chaumieres*, was prophetic of the actual result of the French revolution." Again he writes—"I wish you could read Arthur Young's *Travels in France in* 1787 *and* 1790, and see what he says of the general condition of the peasantry there, and then compare the condition of the French populace now. It speaks well for small sub-divided properties, general intelligence, and an absence of aristocratical manners and distinctions."

If we are asked what were the laws of this period, we get no favourable idea of the wisdom of our ancestors. Harsh laws create rather than repress crime; and at this period the laws were of a Draconian severity. In vain do we search the statute-book, during the eighteenth century, for enactments to improve the social or moral condition of the people. The general penal code of the empire had become the most severe in Europe; and one writer assures us that there were more criminals executed annually in the British empire in any given year after the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne, than in almost all the continent, or, at any rate, all portions of it professing to be civilised. According to the calculation of Blackstone, there were not less than 160 offences, upon the conviction of any of which the judge was bound to pronounce the sentence of death. In this dreadful category are to be found, together with murder, burglary, highway robbery, such crimes as breaking down the head of a fish-pond, cutting down trees of an avenue or garden, cutting hop-bines, perjury in cases of insolvency, and some others equally frivolous. "First and foremost amongst the causes of crime in the rural districts, stand the game-laws, against which even Blackstone protested. Even at that time Dr. Knox could describe them as a disgrace to the noble fabric of our free constitution." They are illiberal in their nature; they originated in slavery; and they lead to tyranny. It is remarked by Burn, and the great commentator on our legal system, that in one statute only, for the preservation of game, there are not less than six blunders in grammar, besides other mistakes; so that one is led to believe that this part of our boasted code was drawn up by a committee of boorish country squires and stupid fox-hunters. Indeed, the whole body of the game-laws, at that time, was replete with absurdity, perplexity, and contradiction. What could be more ridiculous than that the legislature of a mighty empire should require £100 a year as a qualification to shoot a partridge, and only forty shillings to vote for a senator! Yet such actually was the case. The gamekeeper, usually "one of the greatest scoundrels in the parish, sallies forth under the protection of the lord or lady of the manor; and if he meet a curate, or even an apothecary, or a respectable tradesman, or even a neighbouring lord of the manor, boldly insults them; threatens to shoot their dogs or seize their fowling-pieces, and justifies all he does by the plea that he is acting in accordance with his master's orders."

A few facts and figures will enable us better to realise the condition of England at this time. In 1800, the population of Great Britain was 10,680,000.

Hard times for the working classes came. Between 1800 and 1810, 1,550,000 acres of common land were enclosed, not for the benefit of the poor, but for that of the landlord. The very extensive introduction of mechanical as a substitute for manual labour, tended still further, at first, to increase the difficulties by which

the workman earned his daily bread. However great the benefits ultimately conferred upon the nation by that memorable change, there can be no doubt that its immediate effect upon a class—and that class the largest and most helpless—was severely disastrous. "Under a proper system," writes Mr. Doubleday, in his *Financial, Monetary, and Statistical History of England*, "the employment of machinery cannot be an evil; but where the value of everything is measured, as in England, by money, and by money alone; where the consequences of things, as respects national morality or national happiness, are put aside as unworthy of notice amidst the calculations of profits, and the summing up of pounds sterling, these inventions may, and do, bring with them many evils." So it was in this instance. No one deemed the labourers, who were thus deprived of employment, worth a thought. Instead of being cared for, they were left to the comfort of a metaphor, and told to open out new channels of industry.

In 1800, Pitt, in detailing the means of raising the supply, estimated the income-tax at £5,300,000, exclusive of £1,700,000, appropriated to the payment of interest for £32,500,000. For the year, he required, and expected to gain, from various sources, £39,500,000. These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Tierney, were ultimately carried.

To the revenue and debt a common remark is applicable—namely, that, enormously large as was their real amount, the nominal was much exaggerated: the paper-money issued by the Bank of England, and country banks, was, in reality, far below its legal value. Its depreciation below the coined standard is evidently proved by the fact, that the exportation of gold and silver was severely prohibited; and at the same time that the one pound note could be bought for sixteen silver shillings, the golden guinea would readily fetch a one pound note and seven shillings. One consequence of that depreciation of money, which went on unchecked from 1797 to 1815, was a great change in the sober habits of the nation. Before this period, men, whether engaged in agriculture or commerce, were accustomed to moderate prices, free from violent fluctuations, and a good, but steady, rate of profit. All this, the continued depreciation of money, joined to the war monopolies, totally altered. As commodities of all descriptions rose in price, speculation grew; and the profits of these adventures were sometimes so enormous, that men of all grades frequently made rapid and sudden fortunes. Farmers and graziers, who had long leases, seemed to prosper beyond hope. The gains of those who lent money to government were also enormous; and the influence which this torrent of prosperity (in part it was only apparent), joined to the profuse national expenditure, gave the party in power, was irresistible. The bubble burst at the time of the peace; it had very nearly done so before. Lord King, one of the "convertible economists," attempted to bring the question to an issue by giving notice to his tenants, in 1810, that he would receive his rents only in gold; and he was met by parliament declaring Bank of England notes a legal tender. As the paper-money was thrown upon the market, general prices, of course, rose. Every one had notes, and was ready to part with them for more substantial commodities; the latter rising, naturally, in value as paper became more plentiful. How huge a robbery was inflicted on the nation when the loans thus borrowed in depreciated paper were acknowledged, and saddled on future generations at standard money value, may easily be calculated. We have paid dearly for the ignorance of political economy of those days ever since.

Turning in another direction, we see, amid the darkness and the storm of this period, the light of genius shining more and more unto the perfect day. In poetry especially this was the case. The French revolution gave a stimulus to the mind of nations; and in. England, as in Europe, there was an awakening. No longer were Mason and Hayley, and Warton and West looked on as models of perfection. Prose had sunk into the art of writing correctly, and expressing nothing all the while. Verse, while it showed that the writer was a tolerable grammarian, knew something of geography and history; had the names of the three graces and

nine muses by heart, yet wanted "the vision and the faculty divine—the light which never shone on sea or shore." Henceforth genius aimed to touch the heart, and to stir the chords of human feeling and passion. "Burns, who drove immodesty from love, and coarseness from humour," as his latest biographer, Alexander Smith, remarks—"Burns the peasant, who walked in glory on the mountain side," led the way. He was followed by Cowper and Crabbe, by Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey; by Scott, Campbell, Byron, Shelley, and Moore. The *Edinburgh Review* originated with men of another class of mind. It was in November, 1802, that the first number of that celebrated journal appeared, written by Jeffrey, Horner, Sidney Smith, and Dr. Thomas Browne. It was a success of the most magnificent description. John Foster speaks of it as a terrible *Review;* a work, probably, superior to everything of the kind for the last century—everything since Bayle's time. "I read it," he remarks, in a letter to Mr. Hughes, "with abhorrence of its tendency as to religion, but with admiration of everything else. It cannot fail to have a very great effect on the literary world, by imperiously requiring a high style of intellectual performance, and setting the example. It is most wonderful how a parcel of young men have acquired such extensive and accurate knowledge, and such a firm, disciplined, and unjuvenile habit of thinking and composing." It was in this *Review* that Brougham and Mackintosh were also soon to write. In reply to it, the Tories were compelled to issue the *Quarterly.*

Among political writers, Malthus, Bentham, and Cobbett claim mention here. The first, at the beginning of the century, published that far-famed book which, in spite of its errors and drawbacks, was a most important contribution to political science. Bentham originated a school in political and moral philosophy, which has formed some of the greatest thinkers of our age; and the beneficial effects of which are yet visible all over the land. Cobbett, though now little read, did much in his time, by his energy, perseverance, clear style, and vigorous thought, to educate that mass of English radicalism which was to save the country when the glare of martial glory had passed away, and men had to grapple with the stern realities of political corruption and national poverty, ignorance, and discontent; and last, though not least, Wilberforce was redeeming England from the curse of the slave-trade, and inaugurating that era of philanthropy which will give lustre to the name of Britain when the fame of her warrior sons will be no more.

At this time, also, the arts and sciences, which humanise and bless mankind, begin to shed their benignant light upon the land. Accessions to physical knowledge are being made, which, we shall see, will result in—to quote the Benthamian phrase—"the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Sir Humphrey Davy, by the invention of the safety-lamp, is teaching science how to fulfil her true mission by labouring for all classes and conditions of men. Pretentious art had been abandoned; and Wilkie, who had found love—

> "In huts where poor men lie,
> Whose daily teachers had been woods and rills,
> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills,"

had found his subject in the sorrows and joys of common life and common people. It will be remembered that, in the earlier years of the present century, the world witnessed the control and application of steam by Watt, Symintron, and Trevethic; the great discoveries in physics, by Dalton, Cavendish, Woollaston, and Davy; and, in astronomy, by Herschel, Maskelyne, and Bailey; the invention of the power-loom and the spinning-mule, by Crampton and Cartwright; the introduction of machinery into the manufacture of paper, by Bryan Donkin, and others; the improvements in the printing-press, and invention of stereotype printing, by Charles, Earl Stanhope; the introduction of gas into general use, by Murdoch; and the construction, in a great measure, of the present system of canal communication, by Jessop, Chapman, Telford, and Rennie. During the same period of time, were

likewise living, Count Rumford; Robert Brown, the botanist; William Smith, the father of English geology; Thomas Young, the natural philosopher; Brunel; Sir Samuel Bentham; and Francis Ronalds, who, by securing perfect insulation, was the first to demonstrate the practicability of passing an electric message through a lengthened space; together with many others, the fruits of whose labours we are now reaping. To Sir Joseph Banks, at this time the president of the Royal Society, we are indebted, amongst other things, for the beautiful plants with which we adorn our gardens. Nash, the architect, was also making London pleasant to the eye.

CHAPTER VIII.

PALMERSTON IN PARLIAMENT.

On the death of Pitt, Fox became Prime Minister, and young Henry Petty, the late Marquis of Lansdowne, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The parliamentary representation of the university of Cambridge was also vacant; and Lord Henry became the popular candidate. The Tories set up Lord Palmerston, a still younger man, as an opposition candidate, but in vain. Indeed, Lord Palmerston's attempts to enter the House, to which he afterwards became so attached, were unfortunate. He was returned to the new parliament that met in December, 1806, as member for Horsham; but by a double return, and an opposition, was unseated. He again started for Cambridge University, at the election of 1807; and was defeated, together with his former antagonist, Lord Henry Petty. He did, however, obtain a seat that year, and commenced his long career as a member of the House of Commons, by representing the borough of Newport, Isle of Wight, which was then under the influence of the Newport family.

Parliament in those days was, of course, unreformed. A few facts and figures will show the reader what the representation really was until the Reform Act, in 1832, came into operation. The House of Commons consisted of 658 members, of whom 513 were returned by England and Wales, one hundred by Ireland, and forty-five by Scotland. Of the members returned by England and Wales, ninety-four were the representatives of counties. Of the remaining members, four were returned by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; so that 415 M.P.'s represented cities and boroughs. In the distribution of seats, however, there was gross injustice. Weymouth sent four members to parliament; the Cornish boroughs no less than forty-five; while the great cities and commercial towns of the north were altogether ignored.

It is impossible to give accurate details respecting the amount of the constituencies in all the cities and boroughs. Beer-Alston, Gatton, and Old Sarum had none whatever. There were twenty-eight boroughs, the electors of which did not amount, in the whole, to 1,000; and yet these boroughs sent fifty members to parliament. Also ninety-seven boroughs, in each of which the electors did not exceed 100. There were nine, in each of which the electors were under ten; and twenty-seven in which the numbers were between ten and twenty-five. Of all the boroughs possessing the franchise, there were 115, in none of which the electors exceeded 200. Out of 221 borough members, 127 were nominated by 111 peers and commoners; 143 peers and commoners returned, either directly or indirectly, 193 members; and sixteen peers returned seventy-six members.

Of the Irish members, sixty-four were returned by the counties. The con-

stituents were freeholders, having what was called a beneficial interest of £10 at the least in lands within the county; and of the remaining thirty-six, the university of Edinburgh returned one, and the cities and boroughs thirty-five. In some of these latter places, the electors were merely nominal; the right to return the representatives being vested in the corporations, which, in the greater number of boroughs, consisted of only thirteen or fourteen persons, who almost invariably left the choice of the representative to some influential member; and he usually exercised his power in consideration of a sum of money, or the enjoyment of some official patronage. For example, Sir Robert Peel, immediately after he attained the age of twenty-one, was returned for Cashel, to the inhabitants of which he was an utter stranger; nor was it necessary that he should seek their confidence, as he did not profess to represent their political opinions.

All the Scotch members were returned by constituencies which did not pretend to be popular, and were as scanty as they were corrupt.

How things worked we get a good idea in the biographies of the statesmen of that time. At the election in which Lord Palmerston appeared as a candidate, Sir Samuel Romilly complains of the exorbitant prices asked by proprietors of boroughs. He says—"After a parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them, would be very cheap. They are, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney (the manager for the friends of the late administration) tells me that he offered £10,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors; and has met with a refusal: £6,000, and £5,500 have been given for seats, and with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the king's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to ministers. With what money all this is done I know not; but it is supposed that the king, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration—the favourite objects of his choice—has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse." With such corruption, it is really to be wondered at that we got any kind of decent government at all.

In the counties the contest was fairer between the people and the friends of the party in power. In them, popular opinion, to a certain extent, could make itself heard; but then the expense of a county election was enormous, and the money squandered in those days in such matters almost surpasses belief. Wilberforce, in 1807, had to stand a contested election for Yorkshire: £64,455 were subscribed by his friends and admirers from all parts of the country, for the purpose of returning him. The joint expenses of his two opponents amounted to £200,000. The poll was kept open for fifteen days; and, all that time, rioting and speech-making, and eating and drinking, were the rule. An entry in Wilberforce's diary is characteristic:—"Then the mob-directing system; twenty bruisers sent for—Firby, the young ruffian; Gully, and others." Members who thus spent their money, expected, of course, to get it back again. Some deemed an official appointment an adequate reward; others a step in the peerage, or a good berth for younger sons. For them there was the church, the army, and the navy; and thus the poor public had ultimately to pay for the expenditure, which, at the time of a general election, the thoughtless rejoiced at, and considered such a good thing for trade. It was thus the nation was plunged into war, and that we built up the national debt.

Such was the constitution of the House of Commons when Lord Palmerston took his seat on the ministerial benches. The leader, nominally, was Spencer Perceval, born in 1792, the second son of the Earl of Egremont, the landless scion of a poor but noble house. He betook himself, with great industry, to the bar, and was so fortunate as to attract, by a pamphlet on the Warren Hastings question,

the attention of Mr. Pitt. Wilberforce constantly speaks of him in the highest terms. "Perceval," he says, in his private diary, "had the sweetest of all possible tempers, and was one of the most conscientious men I ever knew; the most instinctively obedient to the dictates of conscience; the least disposed to give pain to others; the most charitable, and truly kind and generous creature." The sketch is a little too favourable. It is clear Perceval had, in the Commons, to do or defend many a dirty job, of which a very high-minded man would have washed his hands. The ministry, of which he was the head, was fulsome and slavish to the king, whose prejudices had grown and strengthened, as they are apt to do, with age. Perceval was a rigid Conservative: of all government abuses he was the advocate; of all reforms in every way he was the foe. In 1810, Sir Samuel Romilly brought in a bill to repeal the act which made it a capital offence to steal to the amount of forty shillings in a house. Perceval opposed the bill. Surely a less objectionable measure was never proposed in the House of Commons. Well, Perceval was well paid. In the first place, when he gave up his practice at the bar for politics, he was offered the perpetual Chancellorship of Lancaster. Having been Solicitor and Attorney-general under Pitt and Addington, he became, on the death of the former, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And, when he died, besides erecting a public monument to his memory, the parliament voted his widow a pension; his eldest son a pension; and £50,000 to the children. It was not for nothing that men were found willing to serve the king in these golden days, before parliament was reformed, and the British constitution destroyed. "As a private man, I had a very great regard for Perceval," writes Romilly. "We went the same circuit together; and, for many years, I lived with him in a very delightful intimacy. No man could be more generous, more kind, or more friendly than he was; no man ever, in private life, had a nicer sense of honour. Never was there, I believe, a more affectionate husband, or a more tender parent; but I could not endure the idea of living privately in intimacy with a man whose public conduct I, in the highest degree, disapproved."

Lord Castlereagh, another of Viscount Palmerston's colleagues, was an Irish nobleman, patriotic in his youth, when he sat in the Irish Commons for the county of Down. Converted by government influence, he was transferred to the British parliament; but sent back to Ireland, as chief secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, to effect the union. He retained office with Perceval, under Addington. He was then Secretary for the department of War and Colonies. Wilberforce terms him, "a cold-blooded creature." He will live in Tom Moore's bitter squib:—

> "*Question.*—Why is a pump like V–sc–nt C–stl–r–gh?
> "*Answer.*—Because it is a slender thing of wood,
> That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,
> And coldly spouts, and spouts, and spouts away,
> In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

Sir Thomas Buxton writes—"I was several years in parliament with Lord Castlereagh. He had some excellent qualities for a leader, and some very much the reverse. His temper was admirable; but then, in speaking, he was strangely obscure, and sometimes made the most queer blunders: so that, occasionally, in the midst of a pathetic speech, he would say something which would make the whole House burst out laughing." No wonder, when we remember Castlereagh was in the habit of speaking of "a man turning his back upon himself." Viscount Palmerston could have had no very cordial feeling towards his leader. Huskisson's account of Castlereagh's last days seems to imply this. The latter had taken up the idea that none of his colleagues would speak to him. It made him miserable; and nothing could drive it from his mind. At length he was obliged to give a cabinet dinner; but he was confident none of the ministers would come. Huskisson was the first to arrive; and he was received with such extravagant warmth and cordiality as was quite incomprehensible to him. The rest came, and everything went on smoothly,

till, at last, he counted them, and said—"Palmerston is not here; the others are all my friends; but, you see, Palmerston won't come." Insanity, however, was at work in that overburdened brain; and the result was suicide.

The Speaker of the House of Commons was the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester. Not much is known of him beyond the ridicule of Moore, who held him up as the little man who had a little soul.

> "And he said, little soul, let us try, try, try,
> Whether its within our reach
> To make up a little speech,
> Just between little you, and little I, I, I,
> Just between little you and little I."

Lord Hawkesbury, the younger son of the Earl of Liverpool, who gained some distinction in the lower house, was another of Lord Palmerston's colleagues.

But the main bulwark of ministers was George Canning, the son of a poor barrister, who died young; and of a mother who took to the stage for the support of herself and her fatherless son. Canning was befriended by a relative, and sent to Eton, where he outstripped all his competitors, and edited the *Microcosm*. From Eton he passed to Cambridge, and quickly thence to Lincoln's Inn. It was expected he would have joined the Whigs when he took his seat in the House of Commons; but he was laid hold of by Pitt, and enlisted on the Tory side. As an orator he was unequalled. "His reasoning," says Sir Thomas F. Buxton, "is seldom above mediocrity; but then it is recommended by language so wonderfully happy, by a manner so exquisitely elegant, and by wit so clear, so pungent, and unpremeditated, that he contrives to beguile the House of its austerity." Canning's humour was irresistible. If not the first of statesmen, he was the first of wits; and if he was not the first statesman of his age, it was difficult, in the House of Commons, to point out his superior. If he was a Tory, he was not one of the old school; and the nation advanced under him in a liberal direction. Wilberforce never seems to have given Canning the hearty admiration he gave to Pitt; yet he felt the charm of a wit such as rarely illustrates and adorns our parliamentary annals. Wilberforce went home crying with laughter after listening to Canning's description of Lord Nugent's journey to Spain, to lend to the constitutional party there (his lordship was not a light weight) his invaluable assistance. As the passage is a capital specimen of good-natured political raillery, we give it entire. "It was about the middle of last June that the heavy Falmouth coach was observed travelling to its destination through the roads of Cornwall, with more than usual gravity. There were, according to the best advice, two inside passengers: one a lady of no considerable dimensions; the other a gentleman who, as it has been since ascertained, was conveying the succour of his person to Spain. I am informed—and, having no reason to doubt my informant, I firmly believe it—that in the van belonging to the coach (gentlemen must know the nature and uses of that auxiliary to the stage-coaches) was a box more bulky than ordinary, and of most portentous contents. It was observed that, after their arrival, the box and the passenger before-mentioned became inseparable. The box was known to have contained the uniform of a Spanish general of cavalry; and it was said of the helmet (which was beyond the usual size), that it exceeded all other helmets spoken of in history, not excepting the celebrated helmet in the *Castle of Otranto*. The idea of going to the relief of a fortress blockaded by sea and besieged by land, with the uniform of a light cavalry officer, was new, to say the least of it. About this time, the force officered by the honourable gentleman (which had never existed but on paper), was, in all probability, expected. I will not stay to determine whether it was to have consisted of 10,000 or 5,000 men. No doubt, upon the arrival of the general and his uniform, the Cortes must have rubbed their hands with satisfaction, and concluded that, now the promised force was come, they would have little more to fear. It did come—as much of it as ever would have been seen by

the Cortes or the king; but it came in that sense, and no other, which was described by a witty nobleman, George, Duke of Buckingham, whom the noble lord opposite (Lord Nugent) reckons among his lineal ancestors. In the play of *The Rehearsal*, there was a scene occupied with the designs of two usurpers, to one of whom their party, entering, says—

> "'Sirs,
> The army at the door, but in disguise,
> Entreats a word with both your majesties.'

(Very loud and continued laughter). Such must have been the effect of the arrival of the noble lord. How he was received, or with what effect he operated on the councils and affairs of the Cortes by his arrival, I do not know. Things were, at that juncture, moving too rapidly to their final issue. How far the noble lord had conduced to the termination, by plumping his weight into the sinking scale of the Cortes, is too nice a question for me just now to settle." Loud cheers and laughter greeted this conclusion. Yet Canning's wit, while it sparkled and amused, seldom offended. Lord Nugent was long afterwards one of his warmest supporters. "Canning's drollery of voice and manner were," says Mr. Wilberforce, "inimitable. There is a lighting up of his features, and a comic play about the mouth, when the full force of the approaching witticism strikes his own mind, which prepares you for the burst which is to follow." Neither Pitt nor Fox had this quality of humour. Mackintosh said of Canning, that he incorporated in his mind all the eloquence and wisdom of ancient literature. He thought Canning and Plunkett the finest orators of their time, and that Canning especially excelled in language.

"Canning's speech on the South American provinces was an era in the senate," wrote a M.P., applying what was said of the eloquence of Chatham—"It was an epoch in a man's life to have heard him. I shall never forget the deep moral earnestness of his tone, and the blaze of glory that seemed to light up his features." That fine sentence, in which Canning spoke of the part he had acted, must be familiar to our readers—"I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the old." Canning took his stand not only between contending nations, but contending principles, in that marvellous speech. "In its delivery," we are told, "his chest heaved and expanded; his nostrils dilated; a noble pride slightly curled his lip; and age and sickness were forgotten in the ardour of youthful genius." "All the while," says an observer, "serenity sat upon his brow, that pointed to deeds of glory." Yet this man was slandered, abused, and spoken evil of. He was too liberal for the old Tories; and at one time was sent away from the legitimate scene of his labours, triumph, and ambition, into a sort of honourable exile. His noble vindication of himself, after the Liverpool election in 1816, ought never to be forgotten. "There is," said Mr. Canning, "a heavier charge than either of those that I have stated to you. It is, gentlemen, that I am an adventurer. To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of those people, and I present myself to those who choose me only with the claims of character, be they what they may, unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. Nor is it in this free country, where, in every walk of life, the road of honourable success is open to every individual—I am sure it is not in this place—that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign and to influence the people, and that this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the crown. To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly on the people as their representative in parliament; if, as a servant of the crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence—if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the

charge; and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations." "Canning rose," wrote Eliot, the Corn-law Rhymer—

"A veteran proud of honest scars;
He stood—a bard with lightning in his look;
He spoke—Apollo had the voice of Mars;
His form all hope from phalanx'd faction took,
While flashed his satire like a falchion bared
On all who meanly thought or basely dared."

Windham was another of the leading men of that day. "He was a man," writes Sir James Mackintosh, "of a very high order, spoiled by faults apparently small. [Wilberforce tells us he was a wretched man of business.] He had acuteness, wit, variety of knowledge, and fertility of illustration, in a degree probably superior to any man now alive. He had not the least approach to meanness: on the contrary, he was distinguished by honour and loftiness of sentiment. But he was an indiscreet debater, who sacrificed his interest as a statesman to his momentary feelings as an orator. For the sake of a new subtlety or a forcible phrase, he was content to utter what loaded him with permanent unpopularity. This logical propensity always led him to extreme consequences; and he expressed his opinions so strongly, that they seemed to furnish the most striking examples of political inconsistency; though if prudence had limited his logic, and mitigated his expressions, they would have been acknowledged to be no more than those views of different sides of an object which, in the changes of politics, may present themselves to the mind of a statesman. Singular as it may sound, he often opposed statesmen from a love of paradox. These novelties had long been established opinions among men of speculation; and this sort of establishment had roused his mind to resist them before they were prepared to be reduced to practice. The mitigation of the penal law had, for instance, been the system of every philosopher in Europe, for the last half-century, but Paley. The principles generally received by enlightened men on that subject, had long almost disgusted him as commonplaces: and he was opposing the established creed of minds of his own class, when he appeared to be supporting an established creed of law. But he was a scholar, a man of genius, and a gentleman of high spirit and dignified manners."

Wilberforce is a name often mentioned in the history of this period. Pitt said—"Of all the men I ever heard, Wilberforce has the greatest natural eloquence." In the opinion of Buxton, he had more wit than either Canning or Tierney: "but he takes no pains, and allows himself to wander from his subject." The truth was, Wilberforce was more ambitious of doing good, than of achieving parliamentary fame. He had early renounced the world and fashionable life, and the allurements of rank and power, and devoted his time, wealth, and brains to the annihilation of the slave-trade. He succeeded at last; and Lord Palmerston entered parliament just in time to hear Sir Samuel Romilly, amidst echoing cheers, congratulate Mr. Wilberforce on his success. Sir Samuel tells us how he entreated young members of parliament to let this day's event be a lesson to them; he asked them to remember how much the rewards of virtue exceeded those of ambition; and then contrasted the feelings of the French emperor, in all his greatness, encircled with kings, with those of the honoured individual who would that day lay his head upon his pillow, and remember that the slave-trade was no more. "They had seen," writes Bishop Porteus, "the unwearied assiduity with which, during twenty years, he had vainly exhausted all the expedients of wisdom; and when they saw him entering, with a prosperous gale, the port whither he had been so often driven, they welcomed him with applause such as was scarcely ever before given to any man sitting in his place in either House of parliament." Well might Wilberforce be, as he tells us he was, quite overcome.

On the opposition benches we find Tierney, of whom Buxton tells us, that "his talents were surpassing. He had the most delicate wit. Everybody we heard was [this was written in 1836] coarse, blunt, and gross compared to him."

Clearly ministers have it all their own way. Yet we must not omit, that, opposed to them, are Samuel Romilly—"feeling, moral, and elevated" (we quote Wilberforce)—and Whitbread, who tried to get the House to agree to the education of the children of the poor, and was a stout opponent of abuse of every kind. "He was," writes Sir Samuel Romilly, "the promoter of every liberal scheme for improving the condition of mankind; the warm and zealous advocate of the oppressed in every part of the world; and the undaunted opposer of every species of corruption and ill administration. The only faults he had proceeded from an excess of his virtues. His anxious desire to do justice impartially to all men, certainly made him, upon some occasions, unjust to his friends, and induced him to give credit, and bestow praises on his political enemies, to which they were in no respect entitled." Wilberforce even confesses, that Whitbread, with all his coarseness, had an Anglicism that rendered him a valuable ingredient in a British House of Commons.

Mr. Ponsonby deserves notice here, not merely as being in opposition, and as the proposer of the motion which forced from Lord Palmerston his maiden speech, but as the occasion of his lordship's figuring as a writer. There is a collection of fugitive pieces still extant, entitled the *New Whig Guide.* It consists of satirical and humorous effusions, which appeared in ministerial prints during the first twenty years of this century, and which were afterwards republished in a volume. From it we extract the following sketch of Ponsonby, supposed to be the handiwork of the late Premier:—"They call a short and squattish gentleman of the name of Ponsonby their leader; but my mind misgives me if there be not more than one-half who are loth to follow him. The leader is verily, as he ought to be, a very cautious guide, and rarely propoundeth he anything which can be contradicted or objected to. There is so much sameness and discretion in his style, that I can enable thee to judge of any quantity of it by a small sample. Discoursing of a treaty of peace, quoth the leader, 'I cannot pronounce an opinion upon this treaty, Mr. Speaker, until I have read it. No one has a right, Mr. Speaker, to call upon me for an opinion upon this treaty until I have read it. This treaty cannot be printed and in the hands of members before Tuesday next at noon; and then, and not till then, Mr. Speaker, will I for one form my opinion upon this treaty. I am not such a fool as I am generally supposed to be.' Here he pauseth, and raising his spectacles with his hand, and poising them dexterously on his forehead, he looketh steadfastly at the Speaker for some moments."

Nor must we forget Sheridan, who, when tipsy, according to Wilberforce, was infinitely amusing; but of whom it must be confessed that he languished beneath the cold shade of aristocracy. Sheridan's *débût* in the House was unsuccessful. "It is in me, and by —— it shall come out," said he to Woodfall; and for once he spoke the truth. He took pains; he altered his style; he dropped the tawdry rhetoric with which he commenced, and became flippant and smart. One of his best encounters was that with Mr. Pitt, in which the young and audacious minister for once got the worst. Mr. Pitt (says the parliamentary report) was pointedly severe on the gentleman who had spoken against the address, and particularly on Mr. Sheridan. "No man admired more than he did the abilities of that right honourable gentleman—the elegant sallies of his thought, the gay effusions of his fancy, his dramatic turns, and his epigrammatic point; and if they were reserved for the proper stage, they would no doubt receive, what the honourable gentleman's abilities always did receive, the plaudits of his audience, and it would be his fortune *sibi plausu gaudere theatri.* But this was not the proper scene for the exhibition of those elegancies." Mr. Sheridan, in rising to explain, said, that "on the particular sort of personality which the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to make use of, he need not make any comment. The

propriety, the taste, the gentlemanly spirit of it, must have been obvious to the House. But," says Mr. Sheridan, "let me assure the right honourable gentleman, that I do now, and will at any time he chooses to repeat this sort of allusion, meet it with the most sincere good humour. Nay, I will say more. Flattered and encouraged by the right honourable gentleman's panegyrics on my talents, if ever I again engage in the compositions he alludes to, I may be tempted to an act of presumption—to attempt an improvement on one of Ben Jonson's best characters, the character of the Angry Boy in *The Alchemist*." Sheridan's crowning effort was that celebrated Begum speech, whose effect upon its hearers has no parallel in the annals of ancient or modern eloquence. Mr. Burke declared it to be the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there was any record or tradition. Mr. Fox said, all he had ever heard, or that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun; and Mr. Pitt acknowledged that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient and modern times, and possessed everything that art or genius could furnish to agitate and control the human mind. Tributes of a less distinguished character are common enough. Sir William Dolben immediately moved the adjournment of the House, confessing that, in the state of mind in which Mr. Sheridan's speech had left him, it was impossible for him to give a determinate opinion. Mr. Stanhope seconded the motion. When he entered the House he was not ashamed to acknowledge that his opinion inclined to the side of Mr. Hastings; but such had been the wonderful efficacy of Mr. Sheridan's convincing detail of facts, and irresistible eloquence, that he could but say that his sentiments were materially changed. Mr. Montague confessed that he had felt a similar revolution of sentiment. Sheridan is now in his decline. In a short time the fire of his genius will cease to burn; and, when he dies, we shall see, as his biographer, Thomas Moore, says—

> "How proud they can press to the funeral array
> Of him whom they shunned in sickness and sorrow;
> How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,
> Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow."

Another Irishman is also in the House, and in opposition—Henry Grattan, whose eloquence is described, by John Foster, as "distinguished by fire, sublimity, and an immense reach of thought."

In entering the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston evinced no little judgment in quietly biding his time, and feeling his way. The House does not, and never did, like to be taken by storm. Sir Fowell Buxton writes—"Perhaps you will like to hear the impression the House makes on me. I do not wonder that so many distinguished men have failed in it; the speaking required is of a very peculiar kind. The House loves *good sense and joking*—nothing else; and the object of its utter aversion is that species of eloquence which may be called Philippian. There are not three men from whom a fine simile or sentiment would be tolerated: all attempts of the kind are punished with general laughter." In truth, what is called eloquence is rarely heard in the House of Commons—an assembly chiefly of men of business, anxious to get through their labours as quickly as possible. It is not clear that oratory in the House of Commons is less effective than formerly. We are told that a lower style of speaking has been adopted since the House was popularised; but we have no evidence of that; or rather we have evidence pointing in quite an opposite direction. Dr. Knox, writing in 1795, tells us that it would be difficult to name a single peer who has attracted notice or admiration for the classical elegance of his matter or language. The law lords, relying on their professional knowledge, do, indeed, frequently make long and bold speeches. Accustomed to browbeat the evidence at the bar, and dictate on the bench, some of them have retained their insolence and effrontery when advanced to the woolsack. The doctor admits that the House of Commons

has always been esteemed a very distinguished theatre of modern eloquence; and there are "many splendid examples:" but he intimates, that the bravado, or desperate declaimer, is the chief orator; and the good, the wise, and the judicious observer, pities and despises him as an unprincipled brawler, with as little taste in eloquence as oratory, and as the mere rival of the noisy spouters at the forum or "Robinhood." Young as Palmerston was, he adopted the House of Commons' style of speaking; and, while he made no attempt at oratorical display, acquired the habit and the character of a man of business; and when, in 1809, a new ministry was formed, and Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled, fought a duel, and resigned, Palmerston became Secretary of War—a post which he retained for twenty years. Very little do we hear of him at that time. It is, indeed, singular how rarely we find the name of the future Prime Minister in the many volumes of gossiping correspondence that have been published to illustrate the time of the regency, and the reign of George IV. Once he is mentioned as an intimate friend of that monarch's unfortunate consort, Caroline of Brunswick, whom he used to visit and play chess with, when, as Princess of Wales, she resided at Kensington. The description is interesting to us now. The writer says—"Lord Palmerston pays the princess great court: he is not a man to despise any person or thing by which he can hope to gain power: he has set his heart thereon, and most likely he will succeed in his ambition, like all those who fix their minds steadily to the pursuit of one object; though, except a pleasing address, it does not appear that he has any great claim to distinction. There is one strange circumstance connected with him—namely, that though he is *suave* and pleasant in his manner, he is unpopular. The princess is not really partial to him, but conciliates his favour." This passage reveals the wary politician. His hope to gain power was long deferred; but the delay did not make his heart sick. For twenty years he submitted patiently to the yoke of men whom, possibly, he deemed his inferiors; but that patience and endurance met, as they always do, with a rich reward. He was learning his trade—learning to be adroit in fencing off troublesome questions—learning the art of winning friends—of putting a good face on things—of making the worse appear the better argument.

In Canning's time, the oratorical and debating powers of Lord Palmerston were dormant. The Prime Minister once even spoke with regret of the loss he sustained through his Secretary at War. "What would I give," he exclaimed, when wearied with assaults from the opposition benches—"what would I give to get that three-decker, Palmerston, to bear down upon them!"

We may presume the cabinet had the benefit of his votes; and they required them. Up to this time the ministry had been very unfortunate. The convention of Cintra drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of our army in Spain; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were summoned to England, in consequence of the inquiry which was instituted into that proceeding, and of which the result was a formal declaration, communicated officially to Sir Hugh Dalrymple, strongly disapproving the terms both of the armistice and the convention.

Another disaster, at this time, was the retreat of the British from Spain, and the death of Sir John Moore at Corunna. In this ill-advised expedition—the blame of which rests on the Spanish junta and Mr. Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid—our brave army lost its ammunition, all its magazines, above 5,000 horses, and 5,000 or 6,000 men. It is true we gained the victory; and Soult, who attacked our forces at Corunna, as feeble, dispirited, and demoralised (they were on the point of embarkation), was driven back with a loss of about 2,000 men. It is also true that the expedition drew Bonaparte from the south, which, at that time, lay entirely at his mercy, and afforded time to the Spaniards to recover, in some degree, from the terrors of their enemy: but, nevertheless, the nation mourned the loss of an able general and his soldiers, who had been compelled thus needlessly to throw their lives away. Sir John Moore, immortalised by Wolfe's ode, had

distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt; and had recently returned from Sweden, where he had been sent, at the head of 10,000 men, to assist the king, against whom war had been declared by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark; but, owing to the capricious conduct of that monarch, he had been constrained to bring back his troops without landing them.

Another failure also occurred at this time, for which Palmerston was not responsible. We refer to the Walcheren expedition. After the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the English government made preparations for a formidable expedition; and 40,000 troops were assembled, with thirty-five sail of the line, and about 200 sail of smaller vessels. It was the intention of government to have kept its destination secret; but long before its departure, the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French journals. The command of the army was placed in the Earl of Chatham, a man, unfortunately, proverbial for indolence and inactivity. The naval part was under Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. The armament sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July; and, on the 1st of August, 1809, Flushing was invested. The place surrendered, and 5,000 troops were made prisoners of war. Lord Chatham then remained idle, while the French were recruiting their forces, and preparing every obstacle in case the British attempted further proceedings. The earl, however, with a great proportion of the troops, returned to England; and the rest found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the island of Walcheren. This unhealthy spot it was, after much indecision, resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our shippers to introduce British merchandise into Holland. But, from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven away by an enemy more fatal and cruel even than Bonaparte. A malady of the most fatal kind soon appeared among the troops, and showed the necessity of their immediate recall; but it was not till the 13th of November, when a great proportion had either died or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications were ordered to be destroyed; and, on the 23rd of December, the island was evacuated, in the sight of an enemy who, aware that the ravages of sickness would render attack unnecessary, had taken no measures to expel them. In the House of Commons, a vote of censure was proposed on the ministers, and nearly carried. In a crowded House they only gained a majority of twenty-one. Out of the failure of this expedition arose the duel between Canning and Castlereagh, and the downfall of the Portland administration. In the new cabinet, of which the Marquis of Wellesley is the head, Palmerston occupies Castlereagh's place.

Ministers had unpleasant work to do. On the 27th of January, 1809, Colonel Wardle stated in the Commons, that the power of disposing of commissions in the army had been exercised for the worst purposes—though it had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth and extensive influence—for the sake of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; but he could bring positive evidence that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different objects. He then proceeded to state, that Mary Anne Clarke, who had lived under "the protection" of the Duke of York, with a splendid establishment, had been permitted by his royal highness to traffic in commissions—that she, in fact, possessed the power of military promotion, and that the duke participated in the profits. In support of this charge Mary Anne herself was examined, and created much amusement by her unblushing effrontery, and the smartness of her answers. Wilberforce describes her as "fascinating the House;" as "elegantly dressed, consummately impudent, and very clever." The ministry made a great mistake in insisting, contrary to Wardle's wishes, that the matter should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The mere exposing to the public, as Sir Samuel Romilly says—that he who was mistakenly supposed to be leading a

moral, decent, and domestic life, was maintaining, at a great expense, a courtesan (the wife, too, of another man), and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, could not fail to do him irreparable mischief in the public estimation. More than this came out. It was shown that the duke had been influenced by Mrs. Clarke in granting promotions; and that she had taken money for her services. However, the duke was exculpated by the House of Commons. The king had exerted himself in his favour; the Prince of Wales also intimated that he should consider any attack upon him as an attack upon himself; and only two lawyers had the courage to speak against the duke—Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Martin. The storm blew over; and the duke resigned. He was, however, again appointed commander-in-chief by the prince-regent, in 1811. It was hard work in those days to uproot abuses in high quarters. About the same time, an attempt was made, in the House of Commons, to bring home to Lord Castlereagh an improper traffic in Indian appointments, and corrupt and criminal practices to procure the return of members to parliament. We need not add that the attempt broke down.

Sir Francis Burdett was also committed to the Tower, and Gale Jones to Newgate, by a parliament far more disposed to protect its privileges, than to avenge the aggressions of arbitrary power. It appears that when, in 1810, the Walcheren expedition came to be discussed, the galleries were closed to the public. Whigs and Radicals alike protested against this; and Yorke, who moved the resolution, and Windham, who defended it (and who, in doing so, made an attack on the press worthy of the dark ages), were severely censured in one of the political spouting-clubs of the time, of which Gale Jones was president. Mr. Yorke complained to the House of the breach of privilege; and Mr. Gale Jones was, as we have seen, committed to Newgate for this on the 12th of March. Sir Francis Burdett complained, denying the right of the House, and the legality of the commitment. This speech was published in Cobbett's *Weekly Register;* and it was carried, on the motion of Mr. Lethbridge, that the paper was a gross and scandalous libel, reflecting on the just rights and privileges of the House. Of course the motion was successful; and next it was resolved, that Sir Francis Burdett, who was then immensely popular, should be committed to the Tower. The latter maintained his denial of the power of parliament by refusing to surrender to its warrant—barricading his house in Piccadilly, and actually holding its messengers at bay. He wrote to the sheriffs of Middlesex, appealing to them to protect his person and property from the violence of a military force: to which Mr. Matthew Wood, who happened to be sheriff of the city of London, responded by spending a night in the beleaguered dwelling, and threatening the magistrates with prosecution if any lives were lost by the weapons of the soldiers, of whom there was a considerable force present. The mob, of course, was active, and the windows of the speakers who took part in the debate—especially those of Perceval and Sir J. Anstruthers, where Mr. Lethbridge lived—were broken. The next night there was a collision with the military; the riot act was read; and several persons wounded. Sir Samuel Romilly writes—"Ministers have sent for troops from all parts of the country within 100 miles of London. At length the ministry seem determined to act. Sir Francis Burdett's house was broken open, and he was conveyed to the Tower under a strong military escort of cavalry and infantry. The soldiers were grossly insulted on their return: they fired upon the people," adds Sir Samuel, "and several persons have been killed." Sir Francis, from the Tower, served the Speaker with notice of action; and great meetings were held of the electors of Westminster and Middlesex in his support; who, with the livery of London, sent up petitions, that were rejected as libellous. The trial came on in the Court of Queen's Bench in the following February, and established the supreme authority of the Commons. Sir Francis had to remain in prison till parliament was prorogued.

Lord Palmerston is still almost a silent member of the British senate. The following sentences are extracted from his first speech, delivered in his official

capacity of Secretary at War. After going through the routine pecuniary details of his duty, he concluded his speech with some general remarks on the military aspect of England:—"Our military force is at this moment as efficient in discipline as it is in numbers; and this not only in the regular army, but in the militia, volunteers, and other descriptions of force. We have 600,000 men in arms, besides a navy of 200,000. The masculine energies of the nation were never more conspicuous, and the country never, at any period of its history, stood in so proud and glorious a position as at present. After a conflict, for fifteen years, against an enemy whose power has been progressively increasing, we are still able to maintain the war with augmented force, and a population, by the pressure of external circumstances, consolidated into an impregnable military mass. Our physical strength has risen when it has been called for; and if we do not present the opposition of numerous fortresses to the invaders as the continent does, we present the more inseparable barrier of a high-spirited, patriotic, and enthusiastic people."

In the following May, we find Palmerston making, in his official capacity, a short speech against a proposal to relieve officers in the army from the payment of the property tax, which had been proposed by parliament for the purposes of the war. And we find no further trace of him in the parliamentary debates during this year.

Lord Palmerston, in 1811, succeeded in attaining the height of his first ambition. He was returned for the university of Cambridge.

In these times ministers did not always have their own way. In matters of religion, where conscience is appealed to—where the passions and rivalries of contending sects are aroused—it is always perilous to interfere. Lord Sidmouth found this to be the case when, in 1811, he brought forward a measure for the regulation of the licences of Protestant dissenting ministers. Wilberforce was much troubled about it; and the Methodists resisted it as one man. In forty-eight hours 368 petitions were presented against it in the House of Lords; and when the bill came to be read a second time, on the 21st of May, it was encountered by 500 more. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted. Ministers themselves, and even dignitaries of the church, opposed the further progress of the measure. On introducing the bill, Lord Sidmouth stated, that till within the last thirty or forty years, the Toleration Act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified by the want of the requisite talent and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the profligacy of their character, from exercising the influence of ministers of religion; but since that time, all who offered themselves at the quarter sessions, provided they took the oaths, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. To remedy this evil, his lordship proposed, that in order to entitle any man to obtain a licence as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that such congregation should be actually willing to listen to such instruction. Those who were itinerants were to bring a testimonial, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with the belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. Surely such a measure was uncalled for. The right of a man to hold religious opinions, and to express them, cannot, in a free country, be safely impugned or denied. If one thing be clearer than another—if history teach any one truth at all, it is this—that legislation, in matters of religion, is a difficult and dangerous task. When the state interferes to protect religion, it does more harm than good. Religion is the result of convictions created by influences which the state cannot wield or touch. The relationship sustained by man to God, does not come within the province of the secular legislator.

CHAPTER IX.

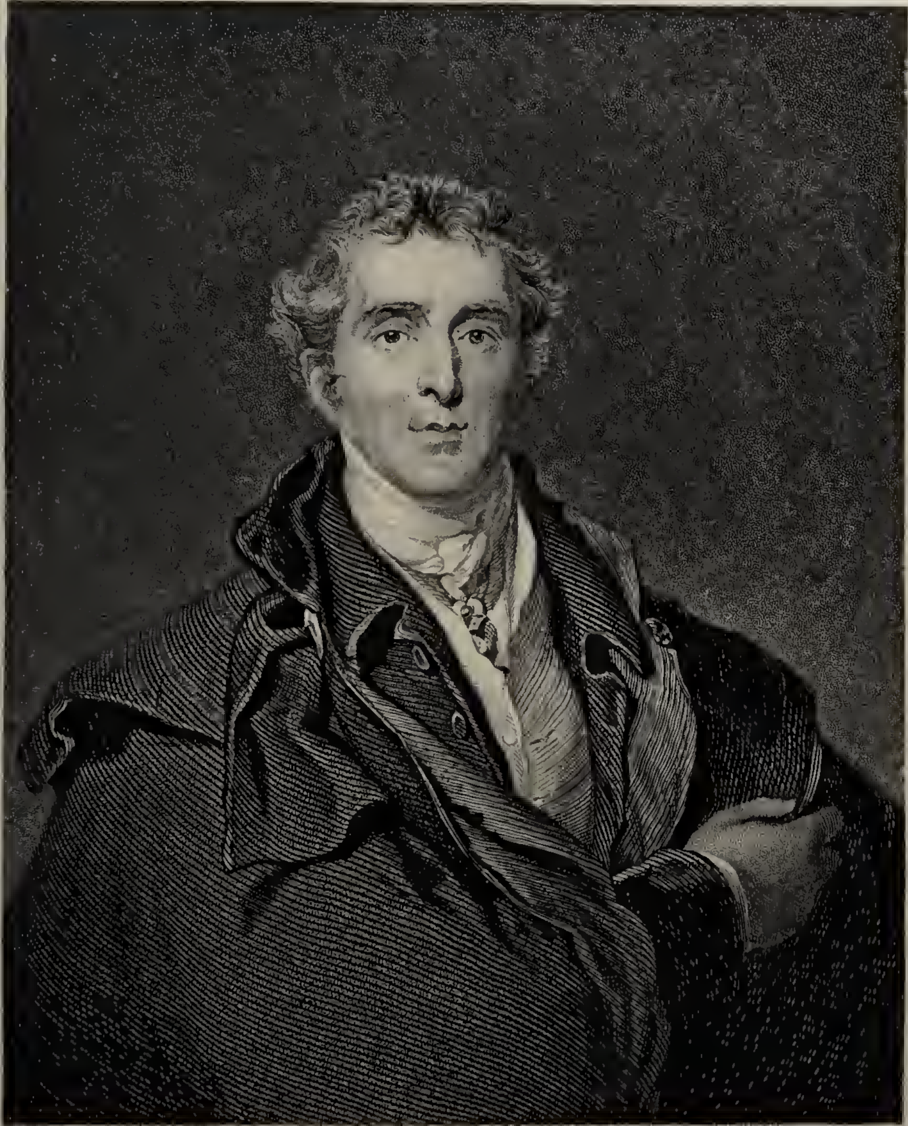
THE PENINSULAR WAR.

WE have already referred to the French invasion of the Spanish peninsula. We return to it again, as, on the whole, it was most flattering to our vanity, most creditable to our soldiers, and most fatal to the continuance of Bonaparte's imperial sway. It is the one bright spot in that fearful struggle into which the nation had been so recklessly plunged. As we already have intimated, England responded to the appeal of the Spanish people to deliver them from a power they hated, and had every reason to hate. As Southey, the poet-laureate of the period, writes—

> "First from his trance the heroic Spaniard woke,
> His chains he broke;
> And casting off his neck the treacherous yoke,
> He called on England—on his generous foe;
> For well he knew that whereso'er
> Wise policy prevailed, or bold despair,
> Thither would Britain's succours flow—
> Her arm be present there."

It must be remembered, that while our gallant soldiers were gathering deathless laurels on the battle-fields of Spain, Viscount Palmerston was Secretary of War. "To a very large extent, the life of Lord Palmerston, for the next six years," says one of his biographers, "is identical with the history of the Peninsular war." We admit it, though we cannot go so far as the same writer, and add—"He was its controlling inspirer and guide. Wellington was the right arm of the nation to a large extent: Palmerston was its head." The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal, and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country in an extraordinary degree. As far back as 1809, Canning, in reply to Sheridan, had stated in parliament, that "his majesty's ministers saw, with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country:" and assured the House that there existed the strongest disposition, on the part of the government, to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. When, in the same year, parliament was prorogued, the commissioners declared, in his majesty's name, that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause. And Sir Arthur Wellesley, as commander of the British forces in Spain, had recovered Oporto from Soult, and won the battle of Talavera, for which victory he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington. According to the French, Talavera was not a victory. It was Wellesley's opinion, that if the Spaniards had made one forward movement, the French would have been entirely destroyed. As it was, the assailants were driven back from every point, and had to retrace their steps. Their loss amounted to 9,000 killed and wounded, twenty guns, and several hundred prisoners. The British had thirty-six officers, and 767 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, killed, and 3,718 rank and file wounded. The missing were ninety officers and 644 rank and file. The Spanish loss was 1,250 killed and wounded.

Arrived at this point, it becomes us to notice the career of Wellington, destined to be, for many years, England's greatest captain and most distinguished statesman. He was the fifth son of the Earl of Mornington, and was born in



Wellington

Dublin, in 1769. He was, at an early age, intended for the military profession, having been, for that purpose, educated in France. He had obtained the rank of a field officer before an opportunity occurred of distinguishing himself, which was not till the year 1794, when he displayed military talents in conducting the retreat of three British battalions, part of the army under the command of the Duke of York. As Sir Arthur Wellesley, and lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd regiment, he accompanied that corps to India, soon after his eldest brother, then Earl of Mornington, had been appointed Governor-general of Bengal. In the Madras army destined against Tippoo Sultan, Sir Arthur commanded the subsidiary forces of the Nizam; and, at the storming of Seringapatam, he had charge of the reserve. Soon after, he was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Dhoondia Waugh, a freebooter, who, with a large force, had committed many excesses on the British possessions. Having succeeded in his object, and the Mahratta war breaking out, Wellesley, then a major-general, was appointed to command a body of troops which was destined to defend Poonah against Scindia and Holkar. By a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, in a difficult country, he saved Poonah from destruction. After taking the fortress of Arvednaygar, Sir Arthur attacked the Mahratta army, and, with a force of only 4,500 men, of whom but 2,000 were Europeans, won the glorious victory of Assaye. The enemy consisted of 50,000 men; 1,200 of them were killed: the wounded covered the country for many miles round; and ninety-eight pieces of cannon, all the camp equipage, bullocks and camels, with a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor.

General Wellesley then pursued, overtook, and defeated the army of the rajah on the plain of Agram; and having taken his only remaining, but almost impregnable fortress, Gawilghur, by escalade, both the Rajah of Berar and Scindia sued for peace, which was concluded by Sir Arthur with a celerity and skill that proved he possessed talents for the cabinet as well as for the field. Having returned to Europe, he took part in the attack on Copenhagen. We next find him in the Spanish peninsula, which he left, after winning the brilliant victory of Vimiera, in high dudgeon, on the occasion of the convention of Cintra.

After the battle of Talavera, Lord Wellesley determined to confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise; and, as the force which this country could send into the field was small, and as the Portuguese troops, at first, could not be expected to rival the British, it was expedient to act where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where he would possess the best means of supplying and increasing his force. Accordingly, he determined to make his stand at Torres Vedras, a position lying near the Tagus, and whence his army could readily receive reinforcements and supplies from England. To give time for improving his lines, Lord Wellington determined, with the force under his command—30,000 British, and 60,000 Spanish and Portuguese—to retard the progress of the enemy as much as possible.

Onward came the French, believing themselves irresistible. First Ciudad Rodrigo, and then Almeida fell into their hands. Massena still pressed after the wisely retreating Wellington. On the Sierra Busaco, a lofty, mountainous range, the latter took his stand. When daybreak arose, on the 27th of September, the battle was begun. Attacks were made at different points by Regnier, Ney, Marchand, and Simon; and very desperate was the fighting on both sides: the British, under Hill, Leith, Picton, Cole, and Craufurd, gallantly holding their ground. Regiment after regiment charged with the bayonet; and the French were driven down the steep with great slaughter. The loss of the British was 107 killed, 493 wounded, and thirty-one prisoners. The Portuguese, who fought gallantly, had ninety killed, 572 wounded, and twenty missing. Of the French—one general, three colonels, thirty-three officers, and 250 privates were made prisoners; 2,000 were left dead on the field; and the wounded are said to have

amounted to 6,000. The next morning, Massena, still greatly superior in numbers, made a flank movement with a view of turning the British left. Lord Wellington, in consequence, quitted the heights; and having issued a proclamation to the Portuguese, calling on them to retire, carrying off or destroying their provisions, cattle, &c.—all of which, like good patriots, they did—he conducted his army to the position which, with that stratagetic skill and admirable forethought which so greatly distinguished him, he had prepared for the defence of Lisbon.

The allies established themselves in the lines of Torres Vedras in the first week of October. On the 10th Massena arrived in their front. His rear had been much harassed, as he advanced, by bodies of militia and peasantry, who took possession of every town as the French moved out. Massena, however, pushed on, feeling convinced that the English were going to their ships, and that he should fulfil his promise to the emperor, of planting the tricolour on the walls of Lisbon. When, therefore, he came in front of the formidable works (the lines extended thirty-one miles) which barred his progress, he was surprised at the scene which awaited him. He and Junot spent three days in examining the works and their defences, and were compelled to pronounce them impregnable. The marshal, therefore, withdrew his troops to a position between Santarem and Thomar, fifty miles to the north-east of Lisbon. There the army was established in the middle of November. Having made all his arrangements, he awaited reinforcements; and despatched General Foy to Paris, to inform the emperor of the exact state of affairs. In these positions the British and French continued for the remainder of the year.

In Spain the French had more success. Their armies there were numerous and well-appointed. Soult had 75,000 men in Andalusia; Bessières, 60,000 at Valladolid, in Biscay, and Leon; Macdonald had 45,000 at Gerona and Hostalrich; Suchet, besides his garrisons, had 30,000 troops in the field; Joseph had 20,000 men at Madrid; and Regnier had 15,000 in Estremadura. The Spanish forces of 80,000 or 90,000 men were alike badly disciplined and officered.

Lord Wellington's expectations were realised. Massena suffered more and more from deficiency of reinforcements and supplies. At length, on the 11th of March he gave orders to retreat. The next day Wellington pursued. On reaching Santarem, it was discovered that the French had used every means to cover their retreat. Sentinels appeared to be still at their posts, but they were men of straw; and all the baggage had been removed. An officer thus described the state of affairs when the allies entered Santarem:—"Smoking ruins everywhere met the eye, with the accumulated filth of months, and the putrified remains of horses and human bodies. The houses had scarcely a vestige of wood; doors, windows, ceilings, roofs, all were burnt; and where the sick had expired they were left to decay. The numbers thus abandoned were very great. Every church was demolished; the tombs opened in searching after hidden plate; every altar-piece destroyed; and the effluvia was so oppressive as to defy description."

On the 5th of April the enemy recrossed the frontier; and the British having blockaded Almeida, where alone a French soldier remained in Portugal except as a prisoner, established themselves in pleasant quarters at Villa Formosa. Quickly Massena returned. In the first week of May the battle of Fuentes d'Onore was fought. The loss of both parties was considerable. The British had 200 killed, 1,028 wounded, and 294 missing. It is estimated that not fewer than 5,000 French soldiers were put *hors de combat*. Massena, in his despatches, claimed a victory, though his right to do so is by no means clear. He came to relieve Almeida; but he abandoned that object, and left the British in possession of the ground from which he had attempted to drive them. After the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, Massena resigned the command of the army of Portugal, and was succeeded by Marmont.

A harder-fought battle was that of Albuera, on the 16th of May, when Soult came up with a force superior to the allies in numbers, but inferior in discipline and daring. Had they been other than British soldiers opposed to him, his victory

would have been complete. As it was, they kept pressing and firing as they advanced, and cheering as only British soldiers can cheer, till they drove the French to the furthest edge of the hill. "In vain," says Sir W. Napier, "did their reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight: their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion; and the mighty mass at length giving way, like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after, in streams discoloured with blood; and 1,800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill."

Wellington had many difficulties to encounter; but he never despaired of ultimate success. The corruption which pervaded every part of the Portuguese administration for some time, paralysed the efforts of Marshal Beresford to recruit and discipline the Portuguese army, and prevented Wellington from receiving the supplies of money and men of which he stood in need. As to the Spaniards, there was not an army in the field worthy of the name. Nor were the British government exempt from blame. The reinforcements in men, sent to Wellington, were very limited; and his lordship says, in one of his despatches—"The miserable and pitiful want of money prevents me from doing many things which might and ought to be done for the safety of the country." However, his career was one of victory. The capture of Valencia, January 9th, 1812, by Suchet, was the last of the French successes in the Peninsula: and Ney, with 35,000 troops, had to leave to fight the battles of Napoleon elsewhere.

With the obstinate tenacity and pluck of an Englishman, Wellington continued his career. On the 19th, Ciudad Rodrigo was captured. Badajos had next to be taken; for his plan was to cross Spain, driving the French before him into their own country; and it was necessary that he should not leave the means of annoyance in his rear. In his dispositions for the siege, by sending the battering train and engineers from Lisbon by sea, as if they were going to Oporto, and making arrangements, apparently, preliminary to the establishment of a magazine beyond the Douro, he concealed the real end of his movements. His preparations were completed by the beginning of March; and, on the 9th, the various divisions under his command commenced their advance, all converging on Badajos. To cover the siege, General Hill was posted at Almendralejo with 30,000 men; and Wellington himself commanded the besieging force of 22,000. The investment was not begun till the 17th; it was completed on the 24th. The bombardment continued till the 5th of April; and, on the 6th, the assault took place. By daylight, after frightful slaughter, the fort was in the hands of the British. In the siege and assault the allies lost 5,000 men; 317 British officers, and 3,344 non-commissioned officers and privates, having perished in the assault. The French had 1,300 killed or wounded, and 3,800 were made prisoners. Large quantities of stores, 170 heavy guns, 5,000 muskets, and 80,000 shot, were found in the various forts and redoubts. The news of the capture alarmed Soult; "for the sole trophy of his Andalusian campaign had thus escaped him: and should Lord Wellington choose to carry forward his operations by Estremadura or Andalusia, all the routes were open to him." Napoleon blamed both Soult and Marmont for permitting the capture of the fortress.

The battle of Salamanca, the commencement, as Thiers confesses, of the ruin of French affairs in Spain, was the next victory of Wellington. The loss of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 7,264 men; that of the French must have been as great. On the 12th of August the allies entered Madrid, where Wellington had a perfect ovation. At that city, however, they were not destined to stay long, as the French troops, who outnumbered the English five to one, were marching on the capital; and as Wellington found the Spanish government there quite unable to provide any resources for the campaign, Madrid was evacuated on the 2nd of November, amidst, we are told, the frequent tears and mournful silence of the inhabitants—a dense mass of whom, men, women, and children, followed

the troops for miles, bewailing their departure. On the same day, Joseph and Marshal Jourdain re-entered the capital. In his retreat, Wellington's forces suffered much: they had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of Soult; and were not sorry to be safe in quarters again. Meanwhile the fame of the British army and its general resounded all through Europe. The effect in Germany was electric. It revived, in connection with the events in the north, both hope and courage. Men began to believe that the star of Napoleon had set.

In May, 1813, Wellington, as commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, had nearly 200,000 men under his command. On June 3rd, the allied armies were united on the banks of the Douro; and Wellington, as he crossed it, felt that he had now left Portugal for ever. Simultaneously with the advance of the British, the Spaniards, under the Duke del Pasque, advanced from the Sierra Morena into La Mancha; and the Andalusian reserve marched to the bridge of Almaraz, in order to threaten Madrid. Thus the attention of the French was divided; and that concentration of their forces, which alone could have prevented Wellington's strategy from being carried out, was rendered impossible. Valladolid was immediately evacuated; and then the battle of Vittoria was fought, the French sustaining a crushing defeat. Joseph himself had a narrow escape from being captured: and never did victors gain a richer booty in money and pictures, jewellery and plate—to say nothing of implements and munition of war. The battle of Vittoria entirely put an end to any hopes that Joseph might have entertained of establishing himself on the throne of Spain. Six days after the battle, on the 27th of June, Madrid was finally evacuated by the French; and all the authorities of the nation, with those few Spaniards who had become Joseph's partisans, abandoned Old and New Castile, transporting themselves on the other side of the Ebro with the least possible delay.

One more struggle, and the Peninsula was free. Indomitable in spirit, Soult raised another army, again to try the fortune of war. On the ridges of the Pyrenees he came up with the British forces, in numbers very much inferior to his own. Daily there was hard fighting. At length Soult extended and weakened his positions so much, that Wellington attacked the French along their entire line, and completely defeated them. From that day Soult made no further attempt to drive the British from the Pyrenees. He even failed to relieve the fortress of Pampeluna, which fell into Wellington's hands; who now, in his turn, became the assailant. Soult had occupied the delay he gained by the long defence made by the garrison of Pampeluna, in reinforcing his army, and fortifying his position on the northern bank of the Bidassoa, which by nature was well calculated for defence. To the astonishment of the French, the lines were forced, when Soult had to retire into an intrenched camp in front of Bayonne; and for two months the armies of Soult and Wellington lay facing each other. During this period the English and French officers became intimate, and used to meet at a narrow part of the Adour, to talk over the campaign: the men also, in their way, exchanged frequent courtesies with each other.

On the 14th of February, 1814, the allies began their advance into France. At Orthes, where Soult made a stand, the British gained the day. Other engagements followed; Soult retreating, and Wellington pursuing. He came up with the former at Toulouse. On the 10th of April the action began. The Spaniards ran away, as usual; the French and English fought gallantly. At length the latter finally prevailed. The battle of Toulouse was one of the most bloody fought during the war; and the French regained something of the *prestige* they had lost at Vittoria and the Pyrenees, by the determined stand they made against superior numbers. Three days before the battle was fought, Soult received intelligence that the allies had entered Paris; but this only determined him to defend Toulouse to the utmost, because, as it contained extensive establishments of all kinds, it was of the highest importance to prevent it from falling into the hands of the

allies. The loss on both sides was great: that of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 4,669; the French loss was given as 3,200 killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 12th, Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph, and found that a large portion of the inhabitants had mounted the white cockade. Soult retreated rapidly to Carcassonne, where he was joined by Suchet.

The Peninsular war was now over. Wellington remained at Toulouse till the 30th of April, when he left for Paris, where he arrived on the 4th of May. On the 10th he left that city for Madrid; and when he arrived at the Spanish capital, Ferdinand, restored to the throne of his ancestors, confirmed all the honours which the provisional government had granted to the hero, and added to them that of Captain-general of Spain. On the 2nd of June he landed in England; and, soon after, took his seat in the House of Lords, as Duke of Wellington, the name by which he will be known as long as England gratefully preserves the memories of her most distinguished sons.

CHAPTER X.

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

In March, 1814, Paris was in the hands of the allies.

On the 1st of April, the senate decreed that Napoleon had forfeited the crown; that the right of succession in his family was abrogated; and that the French people and the French army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to him.

On the 10th, the treaty of abdication was signed at Fontainebleau. Lord Castlereagh, while giving in his adhesion, objected to it on the following grounds:—1. That it recognised the title of Napoleon as Emperor of France, which England had never yet done, directly or indirectly. 2. That it assigned him a residence, in independent sovereignty, close to the Italian coast, and within a few days' sail of France, while the fires of the revolutionary volcano were not extinct in either country. The protest had no effect at the time; but had his lordship stood firm, how many thousands of valuable lives would have been saved! At Elba Napoleon could safely bide his time. Nor was it long before Bourbon folly gave him the opportunity he required.

In March, 1815, Bonaparte was once more in France, received by his old soldiers, and by the fickle French, with open arms. Even Ney, who had left Paris with a promise to Louis that he would bring back Bonaparte bound hand and foot in an iron cage, went over to the emperor. The king and the princes fled, and Bonaparte again slept in the Tuileries.

The allies would listen to no terms of peace short of the abdication of the emperor: and war was inevitable.

Wilberforce tells us that Wellington left England to meet Bonaparte, quite confident as to the ultimate result. In other quarters the news created considerable apprehensions. Sir Samuel Romilly, in his diary, writes—"So sudden, complete, and bloodless a revolution more resembles fiction than history. Napoleon seems, as it were, at his own pleasure, and just at his own season, quietly to have resumed his empire. But what a dreadful prospect is thus suddenly opened to mankind! What dismay must not these tidings strike into the hearts of hundreds of thousands of human beings, in every station of life, from the throne to the cottage! What a deluge of blood must be shed! How various and terrible the calamities which are now impending over states and over individuals!"

The issue was to be decided in Belgium—a country which, for ages, has been the theatre of war. The Duke of Wellington, as commander of the allied forces, arrived there on the 15th of April. Prince Blucher was at the head of the Prussian army of 141,600. It occupied the line from the Meuse and Sambre to beyond Charleroi. The army under Wellington in person, consisting of 90,070, extended from the Prussian right to beyond the Scheldt. Bonaparte had collected together 122,484 men.

The French emperor commenced operations successfully. On the 15th, the Prussians were driven back from Charleroi. At Ligny they suffered dreadfully. Their retreat rendered the English position at Quatre Bras, where there had been some hard fighting, untenable; and Wellington resolved to retire on Waterloo, a village nine miles south-east of Brussels, where, something more than a century before, Marlborough had cut off a large division of the French force opposed to him. The English took up a position in front of Waterloo, on either side of the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. Napoleon followed, and arranged his forces across the same road, in a parallel line with the English, his head-quarters being La Belle Alliance: he had with him 80,000 men. Wellington had 69,686; and Blucher, at Wavre, had 86,000. On the night of the 17th of June it rained in torrents; and it was not till eleven on the morning of the 18th that the emperor commenced his attack. The story of Waterloo has been told too often to need repetition here. A military historian says—"The fight of Waterloo may easily be comprehended by stating that, for ten hours, it was a continued succession of attacks of the French columns on the squares, the British artillery playing on them as they advanced, and the cavalry charging when they receded." All remember how the farm-house of La Sainte Hay was taken and retaken; how repeated attacks were made upon Hougomont; how the Scot's Greys charged in a manner which excited even the admiration of Napoleon; how the old imperial guard, under Ney, dashed up against the British, to be driven back by British bayonets; how the eagle eye of Wellington was everywhere; how despair seized upon the French, in spite of the presence of the emperor; how they fled; and how Wellington pursued, till, at Genappe, late at night, he was joined by Blucher, who continued the pursuit; and a murderous one it was: and how the British, victorious, but fatigued and exhausted, bivouacked on the field of Waterloo. All this has been said and sung times without number, and need not be told here. Suffice it to say, that when, on the 19th, the French reached the Sambre, which they had crossed four days before, a triumphant army, only 40,000 remained, and they had only with them twenty-seven guns.

The slaughter at Waterloo was immense. The British had 1,417 killed, 4,923 wounded, and 582 missing. The King's German Legion, Hanoverian, Brunswick, Nassau, and Belgian loss, was—killed, 1,530; wounded, 5,006; missing, 2,105. The number of Prussians killed was 1,255; wounded, 4,387; missing, 1,386: grand total, 22,591. The loss of the French was much greater. The British officers estimated that at least 25,000 were killed and wounded on the field; and of those sabred in the pursuit no account could be given. For long did the field of battle present a melancholy spectacle, with its dead, rich and poor, private and officer, all mixed in one ghastly mass. Sadder sights were to be seen—the mother weeping for her first-born; the tender maiden for her beloved and brave.

And where was the emperor, to whose ambition there had been offered up this human holocaust! Not mourning for his slain; but wildly grasping at the shadow of a power, the reality of which had passed from him for ever. In the early morning of the 21st of June he was at the Elysée, which his brothers Lucien and Joseph had prepared for his reception. Then he sent for Caulaincourt, and found, that morning, it had been known in Paris that the battle was lost on the 18th, and that France had no longer a grand army. That army, he told Caulaincourt, performed prodigies; but a sudden panic seized it, and all was lost. "Ney," he continued, "conducted himself like a madman. He caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours' repose, and a

warm bath, before I can attend to business." At the expiration of that time he again consulted with Caulaincourt, expressing his opinion that nothing but a dictatorship would save the country; and that a majority of the Chamber—a very mistaken opinion—were in his favour. When the Chamber met, the abdication of Bonaparte was suggested. In vain Lucien reproached them for not evincing more ardour, devotion, and constancy to the emperor. He was ably replied to by M. de Lafayette. "By what right," he asked, "is the nation accused of a want of energy and devotion towards the Emperor Napoleon? It has followed him to the burning sands of Egypt, and the icy deserts of Moscow, in fifty battle-fields, in disaster as well as triumph. In the course of ten years, 3,000,000 of men have perished in his service. We have done enough for him: now it is our duty to serve our country." Bonaparte had to submit to the Chambers. He dictated his abdication—offering himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France: he declared his political life terminated; proclaimed his son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of France; instituted the ministers as a provisional council of government; and recommended that the Chambers should immediately enact a law for the organisation of the regency. His abdication was dated from the palace of the Elysée, June 22nd, 1815. France accepted the abdication, but refused the emperor's conditions. Just then it had had enough of the Bonapartes. On the 27th, he wrote to the Chambers, offering his services as general, wishing only to be considered the first soldier of his country. His offer was at once refused.

Then came days of unparalleled baseness, treachery, and intrigue. Bonapartist, Bourbonist, Orleanist, and Republican, were alike struggling and plotting; and the infamous Fouché was coolly listening to all, and betraying all. Unfortunately the event was decided *for* France, not *by* France. The allies advanced on Paris, and the Bourbons came back in their train. Wellington—or the English government, of which he was the representative—had got it into his head that the best interests of France and Europe required the restoration of the Bourbons; and on this condition alone were they prepared to treat. On the 4th of July they entered Paris. Prussian soldiers occupied the Tuileries. English troops kept guard over the Chambers, and locked out patriotic and indignant peers and deputies. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. was reseated on his throne, not by the acclamations of a grateful and attached people, but by foreign soldiers, who had learnt, in many a bloody field, to execrate the name and arms of France.

"The unhappy king," writes Romilly, "to whom nothing but the lowest adulation can have given the name of 'the long-desired,' seems so little to have been wished for by his subjects, that he has been obliged to come among them in the train of an insolent invading army; and it is by those invaders that he is at this moment maintained upon his throne. Never, surely, was humiliation greater than that which must be suffered by this ill-fated prince—condemned, from the very windows of his palace, to see, with shame, foreign armies giving the law to what his predecessors used to call their good city of Paris."

The French soon turned against the allies. Romilly, who was in Paris in 1815, says—"The French complain of the perfidy of the allied powers. They approached Paris professing hostility only to Bonaparte, and those who were armed in his support; and when, with these professions, they had lulled the country into a fatal security—when they succeeded in numbing the feelings of the people—when they had gained possession of Paris by a convention, in which safety was promised to all who acted under the usurper; and when they had induced the army which was on the banks of the Loire to disband;—then, and not till then—not till by artifice they had made all resistance impossible, did they begin to talk about inflicting punishment on the nation, and requiring from it securities, and exacting indemnities and contributions."

Bonaparte retired to Malmaison, where the true wife of his bosom, the companion of his earlier days and brighter fortunes, had but recently breathed her last. He remained there six days, his own wish being to embark for America;

and the provisional government offered him every facility in their power to enable him to do so. They sent General Becker to escort him to Rochefort, from which place it was thought he might embark for the west. When he reached that port, he found that the British cruisers kept such a strict watch, that he had no chance of getting away. "It is doubtful," says Mr. Wright, in his *History of France*, "when Napoleon first arrived at Rochefort, whether he did not contemplate once more resuming his imperial functions. He had travelled from Malmaison with all the pomp of an emperor; an immense number of carriages following him, in which he had collected the spoils of the palace he had just left, and of others that were within his reach; and on his route he received proofs of attachment from both troops and people. He remained, balancing various schemes in his mind, till the 12th of July: on that day he received intelligence of the dissolution of the provisional government and the Chambers, and of the entrance of Louis XVIII. into Paris. He then threw himself on the generosity, as he expressed it, of the English." The *Bellerophon*, under Captain Maitland, was cruising off Rochefort; and Napoleon sent Las Casas to the captain, to solicit leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. Captain Maitland replied, that "his instructions forbade him to comply with this request; but if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the *Bellerophon;* without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with, he being totally ignorant of what the intentions of the British government were as to his future destination." Napoleon then wrote the following letter to the prince-regent:—

"Your Royal Highness,—Struck at by the factions which divide my country, and by the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I have, like Themistocles, to place myself beside the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim that protection from your royal highness, as the powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.—NAPOLEON."

This letter was sent to Captain Maitland, who offered to forward General Gourgaud as the bearer at once to London; adding, that "if Napoleon went to England, he could not make any stipulation as to his reception. When he arrived there he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of the prince-regent." On the 15th he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, saying to Captain Maitland, as he stepped on deck—"I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and laws." He was received with the honours due to the military rank of a general, which he was considered to hold; and he appeared pleased with the attention paid to him on board. On the 24th of July the vessel arrived off Torbay, and the letter was immediately forwarded to London. It is very probable that, if England had stood alone in the transaction, his appeal would have been successful; but she was bound to act with her allies; and after his breach of the solemn engagements he entered into a little more than twelve months previously, it could scarcely be expected that any terms short of those which would absolutely preclude such another violation of faith would be conceded.

On the 31st of July, Admiral Lord Keith, and Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived at Torbay, and went on board the *Bellerophon*, for the purpose of informing Napoleon that it was the irrevocable determination of the allies that he should not remain in Europe, and that St. Helena would be his future place of residence, under such surveillance as would preclude all possibility of evasion. At first he remonstrated violently against such treatment, and said it was a breach of the agreement under which he had delivered himself up; exclaiming, when he heard of the place of his future residence—"It is worse than the cage of Bajazet."

On the 6th of August Bonaparte was transferred to the *Northumberland*, the flag-ship of Sir George Cockburn. Before leaving the *Bellerophon*, he told Captain Maitland that he certainly had made no conditions on coming on board his ship; that he only claimed hospitality; and that he had no reason to complain of the

captain's conduct. The *Northumberland* sailed on the 7th. On the 10th of October the prisoner was landed on the little rock in the Atlantic, where he was destined to spend the remainder of his life.

Little time was lost in sending Bonaparte from Europe, where his presence certainly would have very much tended to retard any satisfactory settlement. "When he was in this country, the news-writers," says Romilly, "loaded him with the lowest and meanest abuse; while some individuals took a strange interest in his fate. Sir Francis Burdett called upon me this morning, and told me that if the moving for a writ of *habeas corpus* would procure him his liberty, or in any way be useful to him, he would stand forward to do it. I told him that I thought that Bonaparte could not possibly derive any benefit from such a proceeding." If Lord Eldon be a good authority, Bonaparte was sent off before ministers knew, with certainty and exactness, what passed between him and Captain Maitland, and in what manner Napoleon understood that he was received on board a British ship.

By a convention signed at Paris on the 29th of August, between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the British government was entrusted with the custody of the exile's person; and proper precautions were taken to prevent his escaping from St. Helena as he had from Elba. Las Casas, General Bertrand and his wife, and several other adherents accompanied him. But for Bonaparte there was little peace on earth. He lived in a constant state of agitation and strife; resisting regulations which he could not break; and causing a stricter surveillance to be kept over him than would have been the case had he resigned himself to his fate. Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed governor of St. Helena in July, 1816, was greatly censured by him for his tyranny and overbearing oppression. It was alleged that restraints were imposed, and privations exacted, which the most timid caution could not justify; and that a system of petty insults and puerile annoyances was adopted, which produced upon such a mind as Bonaparte's, more cruel tortures than if his body had been fettered with the heaviest chains. On a fair investigation of all that Napoleon and his friends have written, it really appears that it was his own conduct that caused those exercises of authority, of which he so much complained; that Sir Hudson Lowe only obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that not so strictly as Napoleon would have insisted that an officer of his own should have done under similar circumstances. Those orders were, that he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank as a general, and receive "every indulgence consistent with security against his escape." He had every comfort and luxury the isle could afford. Sir Hudson Lowe had a difficult office to fill; as it was impossible for him, or for any one, under the circumstances, to have acted so as to win the approbation of his illustrious captive. Whoever the gaoler, Bonaparte would have been sure to have found fault; and the fact of his escape from Elba, of course rendered a vigilance necessary which otherwise would not have been required.

It is clear that Napoleon was not in reality badly treated. M. Capefigue and La Maiterre, both French historians, confess as much. The latter says—"The sum of 300,000 francs, often added to by additional grants, was appropriated, by the government of England, to the cost of the table provided for the exiled emperor's little Court. Bertrand, the marshal of the palace, his wife and son; M. and Madame Montholon; General Gourgaud, and Dr. O'Meara, the *valet-de-chambre;* Marchand, Cipriani, *maitre d'hôtel;* Priéron, chief of office; Rosseau, keeper of the plate; St. Denys; Noverras, his usher; Santini, and a train of valets, cooks, and footmen, formed the establishment. A library; ten or twelve saddle-horses; gardens; woods; rural labours; constant and free communication between all the exiles; correspondence, under certain regulations, with Europe; receptions and audiences given to travellers who arrived in the island, and were desirous of obtaining an interview with the emperor;—such were the daily amusements of Longwood. Pickets of soldiers, under the command of an officer, watched the

circuit of the building and its environs: a camp was established at a certain distance, but out of sight of the house, so as not to offend the inmates. Napoleon and his officers were at liberty to go out on foot or on horseback, from daybreak to nightfall; and to go over the whole extent of the island, accompanied only by an officer at a respectful distance, so as to prevent all attempt at escape." Such was the respectful captivity which the complaints of Napoleon, and of his companions in exile, styled "the dungeon and martyrdom of St. Helena."

In a little while, however, that perturbed spirit was at rest. On the 5th of May, 1821, Bonaparte breathed his last. The news produced very little effect in this country, or on the continent. He had become a name, and nothing more. In England agriculturists were complaining of distress; politicians were beginning to whisper, in imperious accents, "Reform." George IV. in particular, and the nation in general, were being a good deal troubled by his injured wife; and besides, there was a royal coronation in Westminster Abbey to take place.

The disease of which Bonaparte died was cancer in the stomach: his father had also died of it at the early age of thirty-five. In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn, the visitor is still shown the affected organ, as it appeared after death. Whatever impetuosity and irritability Bonaparte displayed in his life, he bore the excruciating torment attendant on his malady with a fortitude which forbade a single complaint to escape his lips. His thoughts, in his last moments, were apparently fixed upon his son, and upon France. The bust of the young prince was placed, at his express command, by his bed-side. It was the object to which his eyes were constantly turned, and of his latest thoughts. The last words he uttered were, "*Tête!*" "*Armée!*" "*Fils!*" "*France!*"

Bonaparte was buried in a spot he had expressly selected as his final resting-place. It was in a wild, sequestered little valley, about a mile distant from his residence, and very near a spring, over which the branches of two willow-trees formed a delightful shade. Here he loved to remain musing alone. Here, in this secluded spot, was interred, with military honours, the man who, in his lifetime, had given the law to Europe, and had built for himself a more than imperial throne.

In after-times France welcomed back the ashes of her hero. They are now deposited in a stately tomb in the Hôtel des Invalides, in accordance with the following words in the emperor's will:—"Je désire que mes cendres resposent sur les bords de la Seine, au milieu de ce peuple Français, que j'ai tant aimé."

"When the winding-sheet was unrolled," writes one who formed part of the expedition in 1840, to convey the emperor's remains to France, "he was once more visible. His features, though somewhat changed, were perfectly recognisable. The hands were white, and characteristically beautiful as ever. Even the favourite costume of the imperial guard remained still entire, or nearly so; also the epaulettes, decorations, and hat."

CHAPTER XI.

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE.

THE European coalition against Bonaparte had triumphed; and once more its leaders entered the French capital. On the 29th of March, 1814, they issued a proclamation, in which the citizens were told that "the allies were under their walls; their object being to obtain a sound and durable peace with France. The allied sovereigns desired to found in France a beneficent government, which should strengthen her

alliance with all nations; and, in the present circumstances, it was the duty of the Parisians to hasten the general pacification." They were assured, that "the preservation of their city, and of their tranquillity, should be the object of their allies;" that "troops should not be quartered upon them;" and they were called upon to justify "the confidence which Europe placed in their patriotism and prudence." The citizens were appeased by this proclamation; and became still more so when they learnt that "the allied sovereigns had come, neither to conquer nor to rule France, but to learn and support what France deemed most suitable for its welfare." Thus it was, that when the allied sovereigns entered Paris they met with a cordial reception. It was mid-day when Alexander and the King of Prussia, accompanied by Prince Schwartzenberg, Lord Cathcart, Lord Burghersh, and a brilliant suite, entered the city by the Porte St. Martin. A large crowd had assembled, and on all sides resounded the cries of "*Vive l'Empéreur Alexander!*" "*Vive le Roi de Prussé!*" "*Vivent les Allies!*" "*Vivent les Liberateurs!*" As they passed along the crowds increased, and the windows were filled with elegantly-dressed females, many of whom, as they waved their white handkerchiefs, exclaimed, "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" Many of the fair sex in the streets begged to be taken up on the horses of the officers, that they might have a better view. Their conduct excited the indignation of Savery, who says—"There were to be seen ladies, and even ladies of rank, who so far forgot the respect due to themselves as to give way to the most shameful delirium. They eagerly broke through the circle of horses which surrounded the Emperor of Russia, and testified an *empressement* more fitted to excite contempt than to conciliate kindly feeling." Perhaps it would have been as well had the ladies kept clear of the distinguished group, in whose hands the settlement of Europe was then placed. It is to be feared that a good deal of mischief was done by them. Alexander, at any rate, was considerably under their power. His permission to the fascinating Hortense to remain in Paris, undoubtedly paved the way for Bonaparte's last desperate struggle for a throne. In May, a definitive treaty of peace was signed in Paris, by which the integrity of the French boundaries, as they existed on January 1st, 1792, was assured, with some small additions on the side of Germany and Belgium, and a more considerable annexation on that of Savoy. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free. Holland, under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, was to receive an increase of territory. The German states were to be independent, and united by a federal league. Switzerland to be independent, under its own government. Italy, out of the limits of Austria, to be composed of sovereign states. Malta, and its dependencies, to belong to Great Britain. France recovered all the colonies, settlements, and fisheries which she possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, excepting Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Mauritius, which were ceded to England; and a part of St. Domingo, which was to revert to Spain. The King of Sweden renounced, in favour of France, his claims on Guadaloupe; and Portugal restored French Guiana. In her commerce with British India, France was to enjoy the facilities granted to the most favoured nations, but not to erect fortifications on the establishments restored to her. Plenipotentiaries were to meet at Vienna, to complete the treaty. The King of France engaged to co-operate with the King of England in putting an end to the slave-trade.

Blind to the future, and congratulating each other on the satisfactory settlement at which they had arrived, the statesmen and sovereigns of the continent came to England for a holiday. London, on this occasion, was gayer than it had ever been before. The prince-regent and his guests dined magnificently in the Guildhall. The burst of joy which overspread the land was proportionate to the length and danger of the struggle, and the completeness, as it was then thought, of its ultimate success. Not Courts and cities only, but even the ancient rest of the universities was disturbed by the universal exultations. "*Ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu.*" England entertained, in right royal style, the Emperor of Russia, and his sister, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh; the King of Prussia and

his sons, with the most distinguished of the allied generals, including Blucher, Platoff, Barclay de Tolly, Czernichoff, and Bulow. They came over in the sunny month of June; and, for three weeks (when they returned), galas, feastings, and illuminations were universal.

The gaieties of London were transferred to Vienna, where the European potentates and plenipotentiaries next assembled. For some time there was little but festivity, flirtation, and intrigue. "The congress dances," said a wit, "but does not advance." Gentz, the *confidante* of all parties, does not, in his *Memoirs*, leave an impression on our minds very flattering to the men who played the part of leading actors on that stage. He describes Metternich as "light, dissipated, and presumptuous." Some of the entries are ludicrous. Gentz writes—"Sept. 2nd. Went to Prince Metternich: long conversation with him, not, unhappily, on public affairs, but on his and my relations with Madame de Sagau." Of this lady we may remark, parenthetically, that she carried the liberty of divorce to such an extent, as to enable her to play at whist with three husbands, while a fourth betted on her. But let us again listen to Gentz. He writes—"On the 14th, returned to Metternich; conversation with him. Alas! the unhappy *liason* with La Windischgratz, which still appears to interest him more than the affairs of this world." We give another extract:—"22nd. Dined with Metternich, at Nesselrode's. M—— informs me of his definitive rupture with the duchess, which is, at present, an event of the first order." One entry more will suffice to give our readers an idea as to the way in which business was managed:—"Visited the King of Denmark; talked an hour with him. Then Metternich: a long conversation with him—constantly turning more on the confounded women than on business." How the Russian czar was inspired and influenced by that white-robed mystic, Madame Krudener, all the world knows well. In that assembly, however, there was one clear head—that of Talleyrand, who came demanding that France should be heard in that congress of European powers. He pleaded his country's cause before the emperors of Russia and Austria; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Würtemberg; and the ambassadors of England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany. One of the first acts of the congress was to recognise a new royal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover the rank of a kingdom: the title of Elector being unsuitable to present circumstances by the 6th article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed that the states of Germany should remain independent and joined in a federal union. In Italy, the territories formerly possessed by the House of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and, in spite of a promise made by Lord William Bentinck, to the Genoese, that their ancient republic would be restored to its former independence, it was handed over to the Sardinian monarch. Venice was also handed over to Austria. Of all the sovereigns by right of French conquest, Murat alone held his possessions undisturbed. But these arrangements were not made without considerable difficulty. The high contracting parties were not easy to please as to their share of the plunder. Russia claimed Poland, and Prussia Saxony, as the reward of their exertions. Castlereagh, at first, gave his consent; but recalled it, on orders from home, where it offended all parties; and, more than once, war seemed inevitable between the allies themselves. However, the return of Bonaparte made them sensible of their folly and danger. As soon as the news of that event reached Vienna, they issued a solemn manifesto, in which they declared, that by breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended: that, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of the protection of the law, and had manifested to the universe that there could be neither peace nor truce with him: that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. The allies, at the same time, expressed their firm determination to maintain entire the treaty of

Paris, and to employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the peace of Europe from being again troubled. By a treaty which was signed on the 25th of March, 1815, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, the four powers engaged to unite their forces against Bonaparte. A second treaty, which was kept secret, bound those powers to prosecute the war until the complete subjugation of Napoleon was effected. The ratifications of both these documents were interchanged on the 25th of April—the English government declaring that the allies were bound by these agreements to make a united effort to displace Napoleon Bonaparte; but they must not be understood as obliging his Britannic majesty to continue the war for the purpose of forcing the people of France to accept any particular government.

The allied sovereigns also decided those questions connected with Poland and Saxony which had threatened the disruption of their alliance. By treaties signed on the 3rd of May, between Russia and Saxony, Prussia and Russia, the King of Saxony gave up the grand duchy of Warsaw, with which Napoleon had invested him; the fortress of Thorn, and its dependent territory, were ceded to Prussia; the remainder of the duchy was erected into a separate kingdom, and annexed to Russia; Cracow, with a small surrounding territory, and a population of about 60,000, was declared to be a free and independent republic. By another treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the former undertook to pay to the three latter a subsidy of £5,000,000, to be paid monthly, in equal proportions. Russia was to receive a sum equal to four months' subsidy, and Austria and Prussia one equal to two months' subsidy, should the war be at an end within a year after the treaty was signed, to enable them to provide for the return of their troops to their own country. The following subsidies were also agreed to be paid by Great Britain:—To Hanover, £206,590; Italy and the Netherlands, £78,152; Portugal, £110,000; Spain, £147,333; Sweden, £521,061; and the minor powers, £1,724,000. As usual, English gold had to pay for all. Such has been the rule whenever England has had an ally on the continent. One of our earliest religious reformers, in his *Practices of Popish Prelates*, writes—"That the Frenchmen of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and French king, and wearied them, the King of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on; and when it was asked why he danced not?—it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages only, as who should say we paid for all men's dancing." In the present instance, for the dancing of kings and emperors we had to pay rather a heavy price. Bonaparte a second time put down, a second time the allies were on the point of quarrelling. The Emperor Alexander was dissatisfied with the restoration effected under the influence of England; and the Duke of Wellington had arrived in Paris on the 10th of July, says M. Guizot, "stern, and angrily disposed towards the king and his ministers." However, peace was made, and a Bourbon was seated on an uneasy throne. The Bonapartists were proscribed; Ney was shot—a step on the part of the government, if not a crime, at any rate a blunder. In many parts of France the most frightful atrocities were committed on the Bonapartists; the army of the Loire was disbanded, and the flag of the Bourbons replaced the revolutionary tricolour.

The death of Ney requires a fuller notice at our hands than that of the other parties who fell victims to the reactionary spirit of the restoration. The odium of it rests in part on the Duke of Wellington. Ney's crime was, that he had joined Napoleon when he escaped from Elba. He returned, after the battle of Waterloo, to Paris; and, by his bold exposition in the Chamber of Peers, on the 22nd of June, of the real facts and consequences of the battle, materially assisted in driving Bonaparte from power. In that speech he maintained that the allies would be before Paris in a week. His prediction was accomplished; and, on the morning of the 3rd of July, it seemed probable that, in the evening, a battle would be fought more disastrous to France, and particularly to Paris, than any event in the

history of the French nation. Davoust, commanding the artillery defending the town, had a large body of infanty—80,000 men, according to M. Berryer—25,000 cavalry, and between 400 and 500 pieces of field artillery—a force, as Mr. Senior remarks, insufficient for victory, but sufficient to maintain a contest destructive of the city in which it was to take place.

Already the firing had begun, when the provisional government and Davoust sent to propose a negotiation, of which the bases were to be the withdrawing of the allied forces, on the one hand, and the preservation of Paris, and the security of all who inhabited it, on the other. On these terms the convention of the 3rd of July, 1815, was framed and ratified by the Duke of Wellington and Blucher, on the part of the allies, and by Davoust on that of the provisional government. The 12th article provided, that all the inhabitants, and, generally, all persons found in Paris, should continue to enjoy their full rights and liberty, and should not be liable to any molestation or inquiry whatsoever with relation to their functions, to their conduct, or their political opinions. It appears that this was the clause to which the defenders of Paris attached most importance. Had it been refused, negotiations were to have been broken off, and the battle was to have commenced.

Relying on the protection given him by this convention, Ney remained in Paris till the 6th of July, and continued in France until the 3rd of August, when he was arrested on a charge of treason. Owing to various causes the trial did not take place till the 4th of December.

In the meanwhile Ney had applied to the ministers of the allied powers, and required them to interfere. Their answer, drawn up by the Duke of Wellington, and adopted by the ministers of Austria and Prussia, stated, that "the object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of the offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions; but it was not intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, or any French government which should succeed to it, from acting, in this respect, as it might deem fit."

Madame Ney next sought the aid of Lord Holland, and requested him to lay Ney's memorial before the prince-regent. It was done; but the only effect was a letter from Lord Liverpool, referring her to the communication already made to her husband by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Holland now addressed a powerful letter to Lord Kinnaird, then in Paris, in order that he might show it to the duke. Unfortunately it arrived the day after the sentence had been executed His lordship argued—"How can such a man as Wellington assert that the impunity for political conduct extends only to impunity from the allies for offences committed against them? When ships, when garrisons surrender, do the captains or commanders stipulate that the foreign conqueror shall not molest them for their political exertions? With or without such stipulations, what shadow of right has a foreign enemy to punish individuals for opinions held, or conduct pursued, in their own country? It is clear that the immunity promised was for crimes, real or supposed, against a French government. If the French government was a party to that promise, by that promise it must abide. If not, the other allies are bound, in honour, not to deliver a town taken in virtue of it without exacting the same terms from those to whom they deliver it.

"Such, perhaps, is the formal, technical way of putting the argument. Practically and substantially, the case, if not more striking, is yet more conclusive to men of justice and honour. The allies have virtually, I might say formally too, been masters of Paris, while the persons who delivered it to them on the faith of impunity for political offences, have, for those offences, been imprisoned, sentenced, and executed. Wellington himself has precluded all doubt on the subject. He maintains, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, that there is no article in the capitulation securing to the town of Paris the pictures and statues; and therefore, he

argues—and he acts on his argument—that the allies, &c., may seize the pictures without any fresh or formal cession from Louis XVIII. Up to that time, then, the allies were, according to him, in military possession of Paris; and up to that time, then, according to his own view of the matter, the inhabitants were entitled to claim impunity for all political opinions and conduct. Those who had the right and the power of taking, forcibly from Paris, property not specified or disposed of in the capitulation, notwithstanding the nominal government of Louis XVIII., must surely have a right to enforce, on any such nominal and dependent government, the observance of promises on the faith of which the town had surrendered."

Unfortunately for the fame of the Duke of Wellington and Louis XVIII., a different view was entertained, and the restoration was stained with the blood of Ney. We admit that his crime was great; but, writes Mr. Senior, "it was not premeditated: only a few hours elapsed between his active fidelity and his treason. It was the effect of the pressure of circumstances of extraordinary difficulty and perplexity, on a mind unaccustomed to balance conflicting motives. If Ney had been a man of higher education, he would have felt that no motive justifies a failure in honour. But he had been trained in revolutionary camps: the only fidelity to which he had been accustomed, was fidelity to France, and fidelity to the emperor. He was now required to become an emigrant from one, and an opponent to the other. He was required to do this, though he believed the cause of the Bourbons to be irretrievably lost. No one can doubt what his conduct ought to have been; no one can wonder at what it actually was. It must be added, that his treason was really harmless: no opposition on his part could have retarded, by a single hour, the entry of Bonaparte into Paris. If he had followed the example of Macdonald, he must have shared his fate; have seen his troops join the usurper, and then have fled across the frontier. The only consequence would have been, that Bonaparte would have had one brave man less at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. Under such circumstances, his execution, even if it had been legal, would have been impolitic. Public opinion would have sanctioned his banishment, but not his death."

The real fact is, it was illegal; and M. Berryer, his intrepid advocate, said that it was extorted from the king by the allied powers, for the purpose of degrading the French army. Ney was included in the words and in the spirit of the convention—a convention to which Louis owed his throne. Besides, as M. Berryer remarks, the king did expressly recognise the convention, by appealing to it in order to prevent Blucher from destroying the Pont de Jena.

As is usually the case with political crimes, it received its retribution. In the words of Mr. Senior, "the recollection of Ney's death was one of the principal causes of the unpopularity, with the army, which haunted the elder Bourbons; and fifteen years afterwards, when, in their utmost need, they had to rely on the army for support, that recollection precipitated their fall."

All this time the allied sovereigns were residing in the French capital, and negotiations were being carried on by their ambassadors, and by Lord Castlereagh, on the part of England, with the French government, for the purpose, as they blindly thought, of placing France in a position which would prevent her disturbing the peace of Europe again. They deemed that the events of 1815 completely annulled the agreement of 1814, and they were resolved to exact from France "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." The Austrian plenipotentiaries required that Lorraine and Alsace should be given up; Spain asked for the Basque provinces; Prussia for Mayence, Luxembourg, and the other frontier provinces. The King of the Netherlands, not satisfied with Belgium, sought for the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier. The German powers required Franche-Comté and Alsace; and Sardinia demanded Savoy.

And now that monstrous hypocrisy, the holy alliance, was formed. The preamble of this treaty, which was signed at Paris, September 16th, set forth, that

"the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, had acquired, in the midst of the events of the last three years, the intimate conviction that it is necessary to base the future policy of governments on the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God the Saviour. Therefore—1st. The three monarchies, conformable to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which ordain men to regard each other as brethren, will ever remain united in the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity;" and "will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other assistance, aid, and succour. 2nd. The only principle in force between either their governments or their subjects, shall be to render to each other reciprocal services; to testify, by unalterable benevolence, their mutual affection, which ought to animate them; to consider each other as members of the one Christian nation. That Christian nation, of which they and their people make part, have in reality no other sovereign than Him, to whom belongs all power, because in Him are found all the features of love, and knowledge, and absolute wisdom. 3rd. All those powers who wish solemnly to profess these same principles, shall be admitted with eagerness and affection into this new alliance." This precious document, drawn up by the Emperor Alexander, at the instigation of Madame Krudener, who had followed him from Vienna to Paris, was signed by most of the other sovereigns of Europe; but the prince-regent of England declined to do so, on the ground that the treaty being signed by the sovereigns alone, he could not give his signature, as the English constitution forbade him to affix his name to any document which was not signed by a responsible minister. It was well England did not join this new league. By insisting on the restoration of the Bourbons, and by sanctioning the partition of Europe, without any regard to popular rights, she had enough to answer for.

Even as regards France the settlement was very hard. Talleyrand, who quitted office in September, had consented to the return of France to the limits of 1790; the occupation of the French territory by an army of 150,000 men for seven years; and the payment of an indemnity of 800,000,000 of francs. The Duke de Richelieu, Talleyrand's successor, hesitated to accede to these conditions; and by means of his influence with the Emperor Alexander, some slight modifications were obtained. The diplomatists went very slowly to work, and the treaty was not signed at Paris till the 22nd of November. To secure the payments all the frontier fortresses were placed in the hands of the allies, and garrisoned by 150,000 troops; Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, contributing 30,000 men each; and the smaller German states 30,000 collectively. The term of occupation was to be limited to three years, if the necessary arrangements could be completed in that time; and was not to exceed five years. The command of this force was given, cordially and unanimously, to the Duke of Wellington, whom the King of Holland created Prince of Waterloo, with the intent "to perpetuate, by that title, the recollection of his country delivered, and Europe saved." To that sovereign, the English government, with its usual disregard of mercenary considerations, gave up all its share of the indemnity, amounting to nearly £5,000,000, that he might restore the barrier of fortresses against France, which his predecessor had destroyed.

On the same day, at Vienna, to which city the congress had returned, the plenipotentiaries of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, signed a treaty, agreeing to confirm and maintain the perpetual exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from supreme power in France. The congress, before it separated, confirmed the arrangements made previous to the return of Bonaparte from Elba; and settled the territorial division of the rest of Europe, with a view to maintain the balance of power, and oppose a barrier to any future encroachments on the part of France. Many details of the treaty were opposed by England—the only power which did not seek an enlargement of territory.

The high contracting parties were evidently pleased with their handiwork; as, indeed, they had every reason to be. They had taken care of themselves; and

had made France pay a heavy price for the restoration of the Bourbons. Even the holy alliance found its advocates in the British government. When Henry Brougham, then rising into fame in the House of Commons, on making a motion relating to it, observed, that there was something so singular in the language of the treaty as to warrant no little jealousy, and went on to remark, he could not think that it referred to objects purely spiritual; that the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language very similar; and that the proclamation of the Empress Catherine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, had been couched in almost the same words—Lord Castlereagh, instead of expressing his abhorrence, vindicated the motives of the Emperor of Russia, and stated that the prince-regent, whose accession to this alliance had been solicited, had expressed his satisfaction at its tendency.

In all other quarters there was discontent, which, in time, was to find utterance. The arrangement was, indeed, the completest restoration of despotism conceivable, as Mr. Wilkes and Miss Martineau both remark, and the most monstrous wrong ever perpetrated by a conspiracy of rulers on their subjects. There was not a popular interest consulted—not a promise redeemed—not a race liberated in this famous settlement. The people, who had everywhere risen up when they found Napoleon's promises of freedom naught, were never mentioned; but coolly handed over from one to another, as if they had been so many sheep or cattle. At once their condition degenerated. In Italy, Romilly tells us, "assassinations had almost ceased under the French government; but since the restoration of the ancient order of things, accompanied with the facilities for refuge, which small neighbouring states and the asylums of the church afford, they have become as frequent as ever." At Pescia, where Sismondi lived, the assassinations which almost ceased on French rule, had, since that rule was destroyed, been, on an average, one a week. Romilly went on to Genoa, and was delighted with "that magnificent city, filled as it is with the monuments of its ancient prosperity:" but he tells us, that "he could not behold the fine race of inhabitants that crowded its streets, without feeling the most lively indignation against the base and unprincipled policy of England, and the other great powers of Europe, who have lately taken on themselves to deliver this whole state, with all its territory, into the hands of a narrow-minded and bigoted prince—a stranger to them; disliked and despised by them; and who never had any pretensions to aspire to dominion over them."

Meanwhile the work of order, as it was called, went on bravely. In Spain, Ferdinand was so impetuous, suppressing the Cortes and imprisoning its members, that Wellington interfered to secure a modified constitution, though not to prevent the re-establishment of the Inquisition. Ferdinand of Naples was more eager to please the restored pope than his people. One of the articles of the German confederation expressly declared—"Each of the confederated states will grant a constitution to the people." Another placed all Christian sects on an equality; and a third guaranteed the freedom of the press. But these solemn engagements were violated. Austria and Prussia, of course, gave no constitution, and the lesser states delayed as long as possible. The King of the Netherlands gave one to his people in 1815; but it was of such a character as at once to estrange the Belgians. William of Hesse-Cassel returned to his ancestral dominions, saying—"I have slept during the last seven years:" and, in accordance with the spirit of his avowal, insisted on replacing everything on its ancient footing, even to the wearing of hair-powder and pig-tails. Having resold the lands disposed of by King Jerome, without compensating the holders, and compelling his subjects to pay his son's debts, he offered to sell a constitution to the estates for a million of rix dollars. Everywhere a war of extermination was carried on against the popular party. The progressive statesmen who had been called to office by the convulsions of the time, were replaced by men of the old *régime*. Every newspaper of a democratic character was suppressed. The universities and the Tubengund, or

League of Virtue, a society similar to the Carbonari of Italy, of which Körner and Lutzlow were members—in which, says Richter, "lay the idea of the war; a universal enthusiasm elevated to a noble self-consciousness; the conviction that, in the nature of things now (power merely military), no cunning of the most refined description can, in the long run, triumph over native freedom of thought, and tried force of will—were mercilessly attacked."

The Carbonari in time became very formidable. It appears that, in France, secret societies had existed since the second restoration; and when the press was gagged, the discontented, having no other means of expressing their dissatisfaction, more and more resorted to them. These societies were called the *Carbonari*, the *Bons Cousins*, and the *Chevaliers de la Liberté*. The Carbonari, an Italian importation, was the most important of them all. There was in Paris a committee, composed chiefly of members of the Chamber of Deputies, which corresponded with those of the departments, as the latter did with the committee of the arrondissements. The former was composed of nine, the latter of five members, with a president. All orders, resolutions, and plans were conveyed from one to the other verbally, nothing being committed to paper. All the members of the society were bound by a solemn oath not to betray its secrets, and to obey implicitly the central committee, from whom all orders emanated. Death was the punishment of treachery or disobedience; and the chiefs who formed the Paris committee had always assassins at their beck, ready to carry out their sentence. The plans of the society first resolved upon by the committees were made known to the members in secret midnight meetings, where oaths were administered, and other melo-dramatic solemnities resorted to. All the members of the Carbonari were obliged to provide themselves with a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of cartridge. If treachery was suspected, a secret court was held, and an erring or faint-hearted member received a terrible punishment. At the head of the Carbonari in Paris, were General Lafayette and his son, M. Manuel, Dupont de l'Eure, M. d'Argenson, Jacques Kochler, Count Thiard, General Taragre, General Corbeneau, M. de Lascelles, and M. Merithon, men of high position and character.

Let us return to France, where there were still difficulties connected with the settlement. In 1817, a negotiation was commenced by the French government, to obtain some reduction in the enormous claims made for indemnities by the various powers and their subjects, which went far beyond the sums allotted in the treaty. Actually, some of the small German princes sent demands for arrears of payment for services rendered as far back as the reign of Henry IV. Then there were the expenses of the army of occupation. The Duke de Richelieu appealed to Alexander. The latter suggested the appointment of commissioners, to consider the claims, with a view to their adjustment. At his suggestion, also, the Duke of Wellington was chosen by the sovereigns as their arbitrator. The duke, accordingly, went over to Paris, to preside over the commission; and the discussions commenced in January, 1818. By the 1st of April the proceedings were satisfactorily terminated; and for about 300,000,000 francs, France got rid of claims amounting to upwards of 1,300,000,000 francs—an immense reduction, for which she was entirely indebted to Russia and England.

In the same year another congress was held: this time at Aix-la-Chapelle, famous for its waters, and as the favourite residence of Charlemagne. The interests of Great Britain were represented there by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning; those of Austria, by Prince Metternich; of Prussia, by Prince Hardenberg, Baron Bernstorff, and Humboldt; and of Russia, by Nesselrode. The Duke de Richelieu appeared for France. Messrs. Hope and Baring attended, as representing the capitalists of Europe. Very gay was the old city, with kings, princes, dukes, and ladies—some of them very wily diplomatists, such as the Princess Lieven; others, brilliant *artistes*, such as Catalini. Business and pleasure were concluded on the 1st of October, when a treaty was signed, the principal condition of which was, that the troops should evacuate all the

fortresses they occupied in the territory of France on or before the 30th of November. The signing of this treaty was followed, after a conference between the Emperor Alexander and Richelieu, by the admission of France into the European confederacy.

And thus the settlement went slowly on, France drifting more and more into a reactionary policy, which, in time, was again to drive the Bourbons from its throne; Germany and Italy becoming more and more unsettled, and the differences between the peoples and their rulers growing greater. In 1817, the German students held gatherings, to commemorate the third centenary of the Reformation, and hoisted, for the first time, the German tricolour. At Aix-la-Chapelle these proceedings had been formally complained of by the czar's minister. The German dramatist, Kötzebue, inspired by Russia, in a weekly paper then published at Mannheim, ridiculed and denounced the patriotic spirit of the ardent youth of Vaterland. For this ridicule he paid the forfeit of his life. He was assassinated by a German student named Sand, who thus madly endeavoured to rid his country of a foe. In Spain, Italy, Piedmont, and Naples, the people, in secret, were conspiring to attain unto a freedom which had been often promised, but hitherto denied. Nor was this tumult on the continent without its effect at home. Radicalism was organising by means of its secret societies; and a conspiracy had been formed in London (the wretched Cato Street conspiracy) for the assassination of ministers.

But the European settlement required another congress, which was accordingly held. The emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, attended by their ministers, met at Troppau, on the 10th of October, for the purpose of concerting measures to suppress the spirit of revolution which was so prevalent at that time, especially at Naples, where the people had an imbecile forced on them in place of a real king. Metternich, the insolent, lively, and audacious, was the real cause of this congress assembling. His object was to induce the sovereigns to adopt the principle of intervention, for the purpose of maintaining, in their integrity, the states of Europe as they were regulated and apportioned by the treaties of 1815. It was not without difficulty that the Emperor of Russia was induced to coincide with the views of Metternich; but before the congress separated, a protocol was drawn up and signed by the three sovereigns, which bound them to interfere, by force if necessary, for the maintenance of the then existing states, and the suppression of revolution. An invitation was sent to England and France to join the alliance. The congress was adjourned to Laybach, and the King of Naples was invited to attend. The two emperors arrived there in January, 1821. The King of Prussia was represented by Hardenberg, Bernstorff, and Krusemark; Lord Stewart was present for England; and France had three representatives. The small Italian states were also represented. There were five questions discussed. 1. The general principle of intervention. 2. Its application to the revolution at Naples. 3. The propriety of forming an Italian confederation. 4. The best means to put down revolution in Piedmont. 5. The means to be taken with respect to the insurrection then existing in Greece. At this congress, Austria, Prussia, and Russia adhered to the protocol of Troppau, England not disputing the right of the other powers to act upon the principle laid down in that document, and, with respect to Naples, disapproving the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, yet declining to interfere. Louis XVIII. gave a conditional assent, intimating that the union of power and liberty was necessary to secure prosperity. Allied armies, in consequence of this new doctrine of intervention, were immediately sent to repress the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont.

Not yet, however, was the European settlement effected. How could it be, since it proceeded on an erroneous idea altogether? As well might you seek to plant or build on the Goodwin sands. The foundation was always giving way; the light of liberty was always shining in some corner or another. Dr. Arnold writes—"There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is, by the

very law of its creation, in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and human corruption—that our business is to preserve, and not to improve." This was the deadly error into which the Castlereaghs, Metternichs, and Nesselrodes of that day fell. Again, they found that the world was giving way, and they held another congress: this time at Verona. A gay and gallant assembly met there. The Duke of Wellington and the usual diplomatists assembled; royalty was represented by the emperors of Russia and Austria, and by the kings of Sardinia, Naples, and Prussia: ladies, high-born and beautiful, were there, in considerable numbers. Maria Louisa, as Duchess of Lucca and Parma, holding royal rank, was there. The theatre and opera-house were open; and pleasure throve as well and as fast as business.

The congress, which met August 25th, 1822, had much to do. Greece was in a state of insurrection; and the relations between Prussia and the Porte were not in a satisfactory state. England was anxious to get the slave-trade condemned; and France had made up her mind to send an expedition to restore order to Spain. All the allies agreed except England, which, at length, found it desirable to separate itself from the holy alliance. Mr. Canning, who had succeeded Lord Londonderry as Foreign Secretary, wrote to the Duke of Wellington, instructing him to declare, "frankly and decidedly," if it were proposed "to interfere by force or menace in the present struggle with Spain," that "to any such interference his majesty refused to be a party." Writing in the name of his government, the Duke of Wellington wished the other plenipotentiaries to consider, "whether the measures proposed were calculated to allay any irritation which might exist in Spain against France, and to prevent a possible rupture; and whether they might not, with advantage, be delayed till a later period. It was the opinion of his Britannic majesty, that to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent state, unless such transactions affected the essential interests of his subjects, was inconsistent with those principles upon which his majesty had invariably acted. Such animadversions must involve his majesty in serious responsibility, if they should produce any effect, and must irritate if they should not. If addressed, as proposed, to the Spanish government, they were likely to be injurious to the best interests of Spain, or to produce the worst possible consequences upon the probable discussion between that country and France. The king's government, therefore, declined to advise his majesty to hold a common language with the allies on that occasion." This protest was in vain; the French Bourbon had made up his mind to help the Spanish one; and while France gloried in the success of her arms, Spain had every reason to mourn the day when Ferdinand was restored to his throne and power.—And thus ends the European settlement. English statesmen were compelled to pursue and support a different policy from that acceptable to the serf-lords of Russia. In England, at any rate, man had free speech. In all Europe there was an effort after it; and now, in our time, that great European settlement, effected at such an enormous expenditure of life and money, and for which so many congresses had been held, has altogether vanished.

> "So perish the old gods!
> But out of the sea of Time
> Rises a new land of song,
> Fairer than the old.
> Over its meadows green,
> Walk the young birds, and sing."

CHAPTER XII.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT.

UNDOUBTEDLY the close of the war was a period of general joy. We had been engaged in a tremendous struggle: we had continued that struggle—not depressed by disaster, not rendered over-confident by success—till our end had been obtained, and our great foe, who had domineered all over Europe, was an exile on a lone rock in the Atlantic: and we had suffered very little all the while. The ministry, whose successes had rather affected their heads, were in a state of mind almost bordering on insolence. Palmerston thus satirised the perplexities of the opposition on "the choice of a leader:"—

> "The recess nearly spent, and approaching the hour
> That renews the vain struggle for places and power,
> The Whigs, duly summoned, are met to prepare
> Their annual bill of political fare.
> Their brows, like the season, are cloudy and dark;
> Of hope scarce a ray, and of joy not a spark
> Illume any visage—save Whitbread's alone,
> Who grins as he fancies the game all his own,
> Expects the whole sway of the faction to bear,
> And sees his own strength in his party's despair.
> And now to the meeting each member began
> To open his separate project and plan;
> And each in each varied event of the times
> Beholds a new mark of the Ministry's crimes—
> Bad faith with Murat—and the low price of Corn,
> The American Lakes—and the Duchy of Thorn;
> The Legion of Honour—the Trading in Blacks,
> Baron Impert's arrest—and the Property-Tax;
> Colonel Quentin's court-martial—and Spain's discontent,
> The Catholic claims—and the Treaty of Ghent."

If it had not been for the opposition in England, we should have had a holy alliance. As an illustration, let us take the case of Lord Dundonald, M.P. for Westminster, and the idol of the people, as well as one of the most daring of England's naval heroes. He had rendered himself very obnoxious to government; and when tried before Lord Ellenborough (who, it must be remembered, much even to the dislike of Wilberforce, had a seat in the cabinet), he was found guilty of conspiracy to raise a false report on the Stock Exchange, with a view to his own benefit. We know now that the charge was false; but so heated was the ministerial mind against him at that time, that his lordship was expelled the House of Commons, and cashiered by order of his majesty. On the 17th of March, 1815, a motion, which had reference to Dundonald's case, was brought forward in the House of Commons, to the effect, that "there should be no dismissal from military or naval offices by the crown, otherwise than by court-martial." Lord Palmerston took part in the debate, and opposed the motion, on these, among other grounds:—"Was the commission granted by his majesty to be considered such a freehold property as to warrant its being deemed an injury to an individual to take it away from him when he had become unworthy of bearing it? There were many causes which might justify his majesty in withdrawing his confidence from an officer, which could not be brought before a court-martial. Disaffection, incapacity, or disgraceful conduct, were amongst these. The clause itself was not a new one. It had already been discussed and rejected in the House of Commons without a

division, and in that of the Lords by a large majority. The circumstances in which it had been thus lost, were, however, much more in favour of its adoption than the present. It was in 1734, when Sir Robert Walpole had recommended the king to dismiss Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton from the command of their regiments, which might be supposed to have been done in consequence of political differences. This prerogative in the hands of the crown was necessary to the discipline of the army, and even the liberty of the subject."

Another attack was made on the government with reference to the army estimates for 1816; the opposition consisting of Lord John Russell, Mr. Frankland Lewis (father of the late Sir Cornewall Lewis), and Henry Brougham, whose voice was then beginning to be heard. Conscious of his obedient majorities, Lord Palmerston, in his reply, did not attempt to meet the constitutional argument advanced against a large standing army. Very wisely he abstained from all declamation, and confined himself to the business in hand. "Exclusive," said his lordship, "of the troops in India, and the army in the occupation of France, the total number of the men proposed in the votes was 99,000. These might be divided under four heads: those stationed in Great Britain; those in Ireland; those in our old colonies—that is, the colonies we had possessed previously to the war—and those in our new colonies, or those which we acquired in the progress of the war. It was proposed to have 25,000 in Britain, the same number in Ireland, 23,800 in our old colonies, and 22,200 in the new. Add to these 3,000 as a reserve fund for reliefs to the colonial garrisons, and the aggregate was made up. He would not say much about the numbers proposed for Ireland. His right honourable friend, the Secretary for Ireland, would be quite able to meet that point. But he merely remarked, in passing, upon the absolute necessity, having regard to the reciprocal interests of the two countries, now for nine years fully united, of providing adequate protection for persons and property there.

"With respect to the old colonies, the estimates provided only 7,000 men more than had garrisoned them previously to the outbreak of the war. There was a larger force at Gibraltar, but that was rendered necessary by the great extension of the works and fortifications. In the whole of our North American possessions, the Bahamas included, there were only 4,000 more men than there had been in 1791. There were many causes for this increase. The increasing population required larger means of defence—certainly not to be used *against* the inhabitants. Upper Canada had been almost entirely peopled and settled since the war commenced. He did not insinuate any suspicions of broils with the United States. He hoped that both countries had equally made the discovery that peace was the preferable policy. Still, as a matter of political prudence, we must always provide for possible contingencies. *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, &c. He was firmly convinced that, amongst nations, weakness would never be a foundation for security. The navigation between the two countries was suspended during the winter; and, in the case of a rupture, many months might elapse ere reinforcements could be sent. In Jamaica, the force had been increased from 2,000 to 4,000. The same arguments justified this augmentation as those used in the case of America. At Antigua there had been established a considerable naval arsenal, which involved the presence of an additional military force.

"As to the force required for the occupation of the new colonies, or those acquired during the war, the criterion adopted by his majesty's government was the number of troops of the enemy found in them when they capitulated." Here he was greeted with loud ironical cheers, their gist being, that we did not require so many men to garrison these colonies in peaceful times, as the French and the Dutch did when they tried to hold them against our assaults. Palmerston at once apprehended the significance of the opposition cheers; and retorted, that "his majesty's government, although adopting this criterion, by no means meant to follow it rigidly, and place as many men there as the enemy had had.

"The captured colonies were Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, the African settle-

ments, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. In all, the enemy's garrisons there had capitulated to the number of 30,000. This was after all their losses by deaths in action and from sickness. The government only proposed 22,000 men for these colonies, not two-thirds of the garrisons the enemy had kept up." He expatiated on the great military value of our acquisition, the island of Malta. "The Ionian Isles and the Mauritius were experiments, until we discovered how far the natives were reconciled to our rule, and, accordingly, what number of troops we should require to keep there.

"The 25,000 men for the home station, exceeded, by 7,000, the numbers of 1791. But the large increase in our colonial possessions rendered it necessary to keep up a considerably increased reserve at home. It was quite possible, though he hoped quite improbable, that the army of occupation in France might be again called into action. If there were not such a possibility, there would be no need of keeping them in France at all."

The noble lord thus concluded:—"The plain question for the House to consider was, whether they would reduce all the military establishments of the country below their just level; and whether, if they did so, the saving would have any comparison to the injury that might be done? For, after all, even if the plans of retrenchment so loudly called for were adopted, the diminution of expenditure would not be half so great as the country and the House seemed to imagine. Would it, therefore, be a wise or expedient course, under these circumstances, to abdicate the high rank we now maintained in Europe, to take our station amongst secondary powers, and confine ourselves entirely to our own island? He would again repeat, that the question was not whether they should carry into effect such diminution of the military establishment of the country as would save the people from the income-tax (for, he contended, that no possible reduction in those establishments could accomplish that end), but whether they should compel the crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, the fertile sources of our commercial wealth; and whether we should descend from that high and elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, so much blood, and so much treasure to attain."

Facts might well lead the ministry and their supporters astray, and might excuse the dreams, then idly cherished, of increased opulence and power on the return of peace. "The revenue raised within the year by taxation," Alison tells us, "had risen from £19,000,000 in 1792, to £72,000,000 in 1815. The total expenditure, from taxes and loans, had reached, in 1814 and 1815, the enormous sums of £117,000,000 each year. In the latter years of the war, Great Britain had above 1,000,000 of men in arms in Europe and Asia; and besides paying the whole of these immense armaments, was enabled to lend £11,000,000 to the continent. Nor had the credit of the country been exhausted. The loan of 1814, although of the enormous amount of £35,000,000, was obtained at the rate of £4 11*s.* 1*d.* per cent., being a lower rate of interest than had been paid at the commencement of the war. The exports, which, in 1792, were £27,000,000, had swelled up, in 1815, to nearly £58,000,000, official value. The imports had advanced, during the same period, from £19,000,000 to £32,000,000. The shipping had advanced from 1,000,000 to 2,500,000 tons. The population of England had risen from 9,400,000 in 1792, to 13,400,000 in 1815. That of Great Britain and Ireland, from 11,000,000 in the former period, to 18,000,000 in the latter. The imports of grain had been sinking, till, in 1815, it was less than 500,000 quarters." The prosperity of the period is made still more clear, and placed before us in a still stronger light, when we remember "that £6,000,000 annually was raised by the voluntary efforts of the inhabitants to mitigate the distress, and assuage the sufferings of the poor." All classes were enthusiastic. If such had been the growth of the country in a state of war, what an amount of prosperity would bless the land on the return of peace!

Alas! Hope told a fairy tale. The reality was the reverse of all that had been expected. The war over, there was a collapse, which affected every class in

the country, and sent traders into the *Gazette.* Farming produce of every kind fell in value. The iron-trade was in a state of ruin; and, at Merthyr Tydvil, the military had to be called out to keep the peace. The markets of the world were glutted with English manufactures and colonial produce; and London, Hull, and Leith suffered dreadfully by extensive and disastrous shipments to the north of Europe.

To make things worse, in 1816 the harvest was a bad one. So stormy and melancholy a season had not been experienced since 1799. On the 8th of October, the Earl of Darlington wrote to Lord Sidmouth (then Home Secretary)—"The distress in Yorkshire is unprecedented. There is a total stagnation of the little trade we ever had. Wheat is already more than a guinea a bushel; and no old corn in store. The potato crop has failed. The harvest is only beginning; the corn being in many parts still green; and I fear a total defalcation of all grain this season, from the deluge of rain which has fallen for several weeks, and is still falling." In a letter to the same official, Lord Chancellor Eldon writes—"If we think we are to go on smoothly without the effectual means of repressing mischief, and large means too, we shall be most grievously mistaken. I look to the winter with fear and trembling. In this island our wheat is good for nothing. As a farmer, I am ruined here, and in Durham. So much for peace and plenty!" "Let us," exclaimed Lord Nugent, in the House of Commons, in April, 1816—"let us see the state of our country; let us go forth among our fields and manufactories; and let us see what are the tokens and indications of peace. Can we trace them among a peasantry without work, and consequently without bread; among farmers unable to pay their rents, and, *à fortiori,* unable to contribute to that parochial relief on which the peasantry is rendered dependent; among landowners unable to collect their rents, and yet obliged to retain their rank and station as gentlemen in society. Let us listen to the cry of the country. It is poverty, from the proudest castle to the meanest cottage: poverty rings in our ears—it lies in our path which ever way we turn. It is not the congratulations of the noble lord opposite, it is not the song of victory, that can drown this lamentable cry. It is not in the power of the noble lord, it is not in the power of this house of parliament, to stifle the cry of want, nor to brave the stroke of universal bankruptcy."

Ministers had to give way to the cry for retrenchment. The income and malt taxes, amounting to £17,000,000 a year, were abolished. The expenditure was reduced from £102,000,000 to £82,000,000: nearly 300,000 men were disbanded in the army and navy; and still the distress went on.

Mr. Buxton bears his testimony: and as he was not in parliament then, and at all times was a practical philanthropist rather than a party politician, it is unimpeachable as to the extent and severity of the distress then overspreading the land. His son tells us—"The autumn of 1816 was one of great suffering; and in Spitalfields the silk-trade was almost stagnant, and the weavers, always trembling on the brink of starvation, were plunged into the deepest misery." Under these circumstances, it was determined to hold a meeting at the Mansion-house, at which Mr. Buxton was present. We give a brief extract from his speech. After mentioning the causes which had produced an expanse of distress utterly beyond his powers to describe, he continues—"I could detain you till midnight with the scenes we have witnessed. From these rough minutes which I hold in my hand, taken on the spot, in the very houses of the poor—drawn, not from the fictions of a warm imagination, but from scenes of actual life—from the sad realities before us, I could disclose to you a faithful, though a faint picture of such desperate calamity, and unutterable ruin, that the heart must be strong, indeed, that did not sicken at the sight. First, I would lead you to the roof of a house, hardly deserving of the name: there sat three human beings, each seventy years of age, each with the ghastly lineaments of famine. A few bricks were their only chair and their only table; a little of our soup their only provision; a little straw,

and some shreds of an old coat, their only bed. Next, I would show you a family of nine; the father disabled, the mother sickly; their furniture, their bed, their looms, every article of present use, the very implements of future labour, had been surrendered to the claims of hunger. * * * * Come when you please; select almost your own street—almost your own house in that street—your own room. In that street you will find a proof that our picture is faint and feeble. Come amongst us, and we will show you the father of a large family, whom we found in the act of pulling down his stove, to exchange it for bread. The dread of future cold was less violent than the cravings of immediate hunger. Come by day, and we will lead you to a widow in the last stage of illness; yet the only blanket of the dying wretch has been sent to procure bread. Come by night, and we will show you the baskets and the sheds of our markets filled with these wretched creatures; there they find their nightly lodgings; and there, amongst its scraps and refuse, they pick out their daily food." This speech attracted great attention. It was republished by the Spitalfields Benevolent Society, as the best means of creating sympathy with their exertions: it was republished by Hone and the democrats, as the best statement of the miseries permitted under the existing government; and it was republished by the friends of the government, because, said they, "it forms so beautiful a contrast to the language of those wretched demagogues, whose infamous doctrines would increase the evils they deplore."

It was not alone retrenchment that was wanted. The currency question had tended most materially to create our national disasters. Government proposed that the Bank should lend the Treasury £6,000,000; and, in return, receive a prolongation of the suspension of cash payments for two years subsequent to July, 1816, as the sudden contraction of the currency had created mischief all over the land. Mr. Horner, who had thought and written more profoundly on the currency than any one else, observed, that "the extensive issue of paper during the war, was the cause of the rapid and extraordinary enhancement of prices which then took place in every article; and that the still more rapid and disastrous fall of prices which had taken place since the peace, was the result of the great contraction of the currency, especially of country bankers, which had ensued from the prospect of immediately resuming cash payments, in terms of the existing law, on the termination of hostilities; and that by far the greatest evil which impended over the country, was the necessity of paying off, in a contracted, and therefore dear, currency during peace, the debts, public and private, which had been contracted during the lavish issue of a plentiful, and therefore cheap, currency during the war."

Mr. Horner was born in 1778; was called to the English bar, and entered the House of Commons, in 1806. The son of a respectable linendraper in Edinburgh, he made way by his talents and virtues alone. His first seat was for a Treasury borough (St. Ives), for which, by the influence of Lord Kinnaird, and the Whig government then in power, he was elected in June, 1806. "He was," says Sir Archibald Alison, "the most intellectual and profound of that remarkable set of men who were educated, and lived together at that period, in Edinburgh. Less eloquent and discussive than Brougham, less aërial and elegant than Jeffrey, he was a much deeper thinker than either; and brought, more systematically, the powers of a clear understanding and logical reasoning to bear upon a limited number of subjects to which he directed his attention. These he mastered with consummate ability. He was the main author of the bullion report of 1810, and he bequeathed the adoption of its principles to the nation by the bill of 1819, restoring cash payments." As a Whig he was an extreme party man. He seriously complained to Mr. Jefferson, then its editor, that the *Edinburgh Review* was too independent, and not sufficiently Whiggish—a charge which certainly has never before, or since, been brought against that celebrated journal. "It is," adds Sir Archibald Alison, "sufficient to observe, as a curious proof of the warping even of the strongest intellects by the chain of party, that while he clearly saw, and as ably illustrated the obvious truths, that the great rise of prices during the war

was owing to the copious issue of the paper currency, and that the greatest danger to be apprehended, on the return of peace, was the impossibility of discharging the debts, public and private, contracted during a plentiful circulating medium, he could discern no other mode of averting these dangers but by rushing immediately into the contracted currency; and that while he was well aware, that variations in the amount of the circulating medium, are the greatest calamity which can befall a mercantile nation, the only way in which he deemed it practicable to avert them, was to base it entirely on gold—the most eagerly desired, easily transported, and therefore most evanescent of earthly things."

Francis Horner was a man universally esteemed and beloved. He was the friend of all the great and good men of that period. When he died, the sense of his loss was expressed in parliament by Lord Morpeth, Mr. Canning, Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, and Sir Samuel Romilly. The latter said—"I noticed particularly his independence of mind, and observed, that while he was taking a most conspicuous part in our debates, and was commanding the admiration of the House, he never relaxed in the most laborious application to his profession (though without any success in it at all proportioned to his merits), because he thought it essential to maintaining his independence, that he should look to his profession alone for the honours and emoluments to which his talents gave him so just a claim. I spoke, too, of his eloquence, as being not merely calculated to excite admiration and applause, but as ennobled and sanctified by the great and virtuous ends to which it was uniformly directed—the protection of the oppressed, the enfranchisement of the enslaved, the advancing the best interests of the country, and enlarging the sphere of human happiness." Considering his knowledge, his talents, his excellent judgment, his patriotic intentions, and the prospect of years which he had before him, his death was a public calamity; and in the troublous times that succeeded, more than once Sir Samuel Romilly mourned the absence of such an ally. Most of the speeches delivered on the occasion of Horner's death, were published by Lord Holland in a pamphlet, which was translated into Italian. In Westminster, a monument, erected by subscription, records Horner's memory.

An equal authority in financial questions was Lord King. His lordship was born in 1775; succeeded to his title in 1793; took his seat in the House of Lords in 1797, and appears to have spoken for the first time in 1800. From that period, until his death, he took an active part in politics; but his chief merit rests in the services he performed in connection with the currency question. What he did we will endeavour to explain as briefly as possible. The coining of money, in all ages of the world, has been usually a government monopoly. We can quite understand this. What we cannot understand is, how governments, so strict about coin, should have been so remiss about the issue of paper-money. It is as difficult, often, to ascertain the value of a note as that of a sovereign. In England, especially, was the issue of paper-money unlimited. Not only were the issuers of notes relieved from individual responsibility by the creation of chartered banks, but at the time when Lord King entered upon public life, the two principal of these institutions, the Bank of England and the Bank of Ireland, had each been forbidden to perform its promise to pay its notes in metallic money, or, as it is called, cash.

Mr. Senior is inclined to believe (and we agree with him), that, "as far as the Bank of England was concerned, the evil was not the restriction so much as its continuance." It enabled the bank directors to change, at their pleasure, the standard of the country, and made it their interest to do so.

The demands of commerce for loans and discounts, at a rate below the usual rate, are insatiable. When the rate of interest is 5 per cent., the man who can borrow at 4 makes a profit proportionate to the sum which he borrows. With a metallic money, or with a paper-money payable in metallic money, such transactions do not add to the amount of the currency, though they may enable it to circulate more rapidly; but an unconvertible paper currency may thus be

increased without limit. According to Mr. Senior, "the Bank of England is a solitary instance of any approach to moderation in the exercise of such power." The French government gave such a power to Law's bank in February, 1720. By the beginning of May that bank had issued notes of the nominal value of about £1,200,000,000 sterling; and 100 livres in paper were worth about one in silver. The French government itself assumed such a power in 1790. In 1776, they had issued 45,579,000,000 francs; and 100 francs, nominally £4, were worth about five sous, or less than 3*d.* sterling. The paper-money of the Danish government exchanged, in 1813, at the rate of one dollar in silver for 1,600 in paper. In Austria, in 1810, a silver florin was worth thirteen in government paper.

The merchants of London urged the Bank of England to pursue a similar course.

Lord King's first speech on the Restriction Act, appears to have been made on the 22nd of February, 1803. His *Thoughts on the Effects of the Bank Restrictions*, are dated the 28th of May, 1803. In that pamphlet, there was so just an appreciation of the dangers of the path on which we were treading—it contains so full, and, in the main, true an exposition of the theory of paper-money, that, after more than forty years of discussion, Mr. Senior tells us there is little to add to it, or correct. Lord King admits the advantage of a convertible paper currency: he then lays it down, that it can only be kept at a value equal to that of the coin which it represents, by being immediately convertible into specie at the option of the holder; and he denies that an augmented trade requires an augmented currency. Superior wealth and trade are causes which operate, in themselves, to increase the demand for currency; but they may be more than counterbalanced by other circumstances. Commercial nations have, in this respect, a great advantage over others, by the more skilful and judicious management of their currency.

The merits of Lord King's work are, that he early perceived the tendency of the Bank Restriction Act; that he saw the inadequacy of the limits which the bank directors assigned to their issues; that he urged, with a force and clearness which have not been surpassed, the necessity of returning to cash payments; that he based his practical recommendations on theories generally sound, and frequently original; and that he did this at the age of twenty-eight.

Mr. Tooke considers that we were preserved from more mischief at this period, by the fact that the bank directors adhered to the routine of their establishment; and that routine accidently preserved them from the evils which ought to have accrued by their neglect of the foreign exchanges, and of the price of bullion.

The time came when Lord King was found to be a true prophet. Bad harvests in 1809 and 1810—the vast foreign expenditure of government—the exclusion of British manufactures from the continent—the opening of the South American markets, and the mistakes of our merchants as to the extent and character of the trade to be done with them, produced an unparalleled commercial crisis.

On the 20th of June, 1810, the day before the prorogation, the bullion committee delivered their well-known report, affirming the existence of an extensive paper circulation; attributing that excess to the restriction; and recommending a return to cash payments in two years. On the 6th of May, 1811, Mr. Horner moved resolutions embodying the conclusions of the report. They were rejected by majorities of two to one. In the actual state of affairs this was not to be wondered at; but it is strange and wonderful that Mr. Vansittart's rival proposition, "that the promissory notes of the Bank of England have hitherto been, and are at this moment, held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm," should have been adopted.

Lord King resolved to test the question. He sent circulars to his tenants holding leases before the beginning of the depreciation, or when it was less than at the date of the notice, requiring payment of their rent either in guineas, or in Portugal gold coin of equal weight; or in Bank of England notes, sufficient

to purchase the weight of gold requisite to discharge the rent. Had not government interfered, this step would have been most advantageous to the permanent prosperity of the country. "It is probable," says Mr. Senior, "that the government, in its subsequent loans, would have been obliged to pay and borrow in gold. The foreign exchanges would have been quoted in gold, and could not have risen or fallen beyond the expense of transmission. We should have saved, in our imports, and in our foreign expenditure, the additional price which the foreign producer and merchant were forced to put on their commodities, in order to indemnify themselves against the contingency of a fall in the value of the unsubstantial paper pound in which our contracts were actually made: and, above all, we should have escaped all that part (which was nominal) of the enormous rise of agricultural produce, of rents and incumbrances on landed property, that were the pretext for the corn-laws, which oppressed us for forty years."

Help came to the aid of the ignorant in another quarter. On the 27th of June, 1811, Lord Stanhope laid on the table of the House of Lords a bill, making it illegal to receive or to pay gold or bank notes at more or less than their nominal value. At first it was opposed by government. In everything, Lord Stanhope, a very able man, went to extremes; and even when he was in the right, advocated it in such a way as to impede its triumph. Wilberforce, on the reading of the Abolition Bill in the House of Lords, says—"Lord Stanhope's a wild speech. With pain I heard that he was about to divide the House. His speech contained some mischievous passages, threatening the lords that, by means of his stereotype press, he would circulate millions of papers amongst the people, and deluge the country with accounts of the cruelties of the slave-trade, and of the barbarous treatment of the slaves in the West Indies." On the currency question, Earl Stanhope went to an extreme; and, unfortunately for the country, ministers went with him. Sir Samuel Romilly says—"Ministers supported this foolish and mischievous bill, on account of Lord King's conduct being defended by Lord Grenville and Lord Lauderdale; and they have prolonged the session for the mere purpose of carrying it through." On the second reading of the bill in the Lords, the ministers had not determined what course they should take; but, after consultations between Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and others of the ministers, while the debate was going on, they resolved to support it; and, in the committee, they added a clause, to take away from every person having a right to distrain for rent or any other debt, his power of distress if the amount of his rent were tendered to him in bank notes. The minorities were very small: all the regent's personal friends made a point, by his direction, of supporting the bill in every stage of it—such as Lord Yarmouth, Tyrwhitt, and M'Mahon. Sheridan, too, attended, and spoke in support of it. The latter, as an Irishman, ought to have known better. The Restriction Act had been extended to Ireland; and the consequence was, that the exchange on England fell 10 per cent.; that a gold guinea sold for a paper guinea and 2*s*. 8½*d*. premium; all good silver nearly disappeared; and its place was supplied by a base counterfeit coinage worth about 25 per cent. of its real value. The Irish treasury refused to take this coinage from the post-office, and, consequently, the postmen refused it from the public, and detained all letters. Customers were forced to run in debt, and tradesmen to give credit, from the absence of change. Lord Stanhope triumphed, and the evil was prolonged. The speech of Lord King, in defence of his conduct, is unanswerable. His lordship said—

"It was asked, insultingly, in another place, whether any person had ever yet ventured to refuse bank paper in payment or satisfaction of a lawful debt? And, on that foundation, it was attempted to be urged that, in point of fact, there existed no difference between paper and gold, and no actual depreciation. By bringing this question to an issue, at least one of the remaining wretched supports of this fatal system will be overthrown. In this state of things, for the defence of my property, I have thought it advisable to inform my tenants holding lands under old

leases only, that I can no longer continue to receive bank notes upon their nominal value. The plain, broad principle upon which I have acted, is to require payment in a currency of the same intrinsic value which the currency possessed at the date of each respective agreement. Where, may I ask, is the hardship of such demand? In proportion as the currency is depreciated, the price of wheat, of cattle, of all the produce of the land, is augmented. The tenant suffers no loss if he is required only to make an equitable compensation: he is only prevented from acquiring an additional profit, to which he can lay no just claim. To any increase of price, in consequence of the increasing opulence and prosperity of the country, the tenant is justly entitled. The two causes of the increased price are totally distinct: the one arises from the fair increased demand and consumption of the country, which may well have entered into the calculation of the amount of rent; the other proceeds from an anomaly in the currency, which never could have entered into the contemplation of parties.

"Having acted on principles such as I have described, and being satisfied with my own conduct, I shall not be deterred by clamour, or by any imputation whatever by which it may be attempted to prevent me from insisting, with firmness and moderation, on a just and legal demand. If the notes of the Bank of England are not depreciated in value, and if, in fact, there is no difference between paper and gold, the preference given to the latter will be an idle preference, of no public inconvenience, because it will not be followed. If the value of the bank paper is really at par, it is not in the power of any individual to alter the fact; but if, on the contrary, the bank paper is greatly inferior in value to gold coin and bullion, it is highly meritorious to expose and resist a system through which the whole community is impoverished and discarded." His lordship ended by pointing out the pernicious effect it would have on contracts and leases, if the legislature interfered in this matter. But his appeal was unheeded: he was in advance of his time—a great offence; and he belonged to the Whig party—a greater offence: Toryism was the only passport to distinction in church and state.

Under such circumstances of national distress, we can easily understand how discontent found utterance in a manner more or less violent, and more or less displeasing to authority. Orator Hunt, a vain, good-natured gentleman farmer, very nearly created a formidable riot. It appears a meeting was held in Spa Fields, December 2nd, to address the prince-regent on the prevalent discontent. The people waited for some time; but as he did not come, they proceeded with tricoloured flags and banners, headed by a man named Watson, and attacked a gunsmith's shop, whom they shot while defending the entrance. Having then supplied themselves with guns, they marched on, in military array, to the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Shaw, and a strong body of police; but, notwithstanding all resistance, the rioters forced their way into the building, when three of the ringleaders were made prisoners. The mob, upon this, fired over the rails, which had been closed upon the magistrates, and moved off to the Minories, where they broke into two other gunsmiths' shops, and remained, for some time, in possession of that part of the town. Ultimately they were dispersed by the military and police. Two of the persons seized were condemned, and executed; but the greatest criminal, Watson, escaped to America.

On this dark scene a little light is reflected by the expedition against Algiers, and by the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

For a series of years, the pirates on the coast of Barbary had committed great depredations on almost every civilised nation; and, at length, ventured to attack the English flag. Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, proceeded, in consequence, to Tripoli, the government of which acceded to all that he proposed; and, at Tunis, everything was settled by negotiations. These arrangements, however, proving ineffectual, Lord Exmouth, with a portion of the Mediterranean fleet, proceeded, in the early part of the year, first to Tunis, and then to Tripoli. At both these places the deys agreed to a treaty prohibiting the making of Christian

slaves. The Dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to any such arrangement. Lord Exmouth therefore determined to commence hostilities; on which the dey ordered the English consul to be confined, and all the British vessels at Oran to be seized. Negotiations, however, were resumed, which ended in an agreement that three months should be allowed for obtaining the sanction of the sultan. Scarcely had Lord Exmouth reached England, when intelligence arrived of a new and horrible outrage upon three or four hundred Corsican, Neapolitan, and Sicilian fishing-boats, employed in the coral fishery near Tunis. It was now deemed hopeless to trust to treaties, which, it was clear, the Algerine pirates would not observe. Accordingly, Lord Exmouth sailed from Plymouth, in the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns, with four other ships of the line, five frigates, and several sloops, bombs, &c. At Gibraltar his lordship was joined by a Dutch squadron; and, in August, the expedition arrived off Algiers, where every preparation had been made for defence. Nelson had said that Algiers could not be successfully attacked by less than twenty-five ships of the line. Lord Exmouth was of a contrary opinion. Events showed that his lordship was right. The attack commenced on the 27th of August. The bombardment was terrific; and, next morning, the city and harbour exhibited a frightful amount of desolation and destruction. The Algerine ships, magazines, and arsenals were destroyed; and their loss in men was between 6,000 and 7,000. The assailants had also to lament over 800 killed and wounded. The result of this splendid engagement was, that the dey agreed totally to abolish Christian slavery; to deliver up all the slaves in his dominion, to whatever nation they might belong; to return all the money that he had received for the redemption of the slaves since the beginning of the year; and to make reparation, and a public apology to the British consul, for the wrongs and indignities to which he had been subjected.

The battle of Algiers forms a class by itself among naval victories. It was a new thing to place a fleet in a position surrounded by such formidable batteries. Bold, brilliant, and original in the conception, it was most complete in execution. Nor was it more splendid for the honour, than happy in the results. It broke the chains of thousands; gave security to millions; and delivered Christendom from a scourge and a disgrace. To complete the happiness of the achievement, a neighbouring nation co-operated—the natural ally of England, and the truest of her friends.

Lord Exmouth's services were acknowledged as became such a victory. He was raised to the dignity of viscount; and the pope, and the kings of Sardinia, Holland, and Spain, conferred upon him marks of favour.

"In general," writes his lordship's biographer, "every disposition was shown in France to do justice to Lord Exmouth's merits on this occasion: yet it was to be expected that the feelings so natural under the circumstances of their recent defeat, and the present occupation of their territory, would lead many to detract from the honours of a nation which had so severely humbled them." Some illiberal reflections, which appeared at this time in the French journals, prompted the following lines by the late Lord Grenville:—

> "These hands toil-worn, these limbs by fetters galled,
> These bodies scarred by many a servile blow,
> These spirits wasted by disease and woe,
> These Christian souls by miscreant rage enthralled;
> What band of heroes now recalls to life?
> Gives us again to hail our native shores,
> And to each fond, despairing heart, restores
> The long-lost parent—the long-widowed wife!
> Oh, Britain! still to lawless power a foe,
> 'Gainst faithless pirate armed, or blood-stained Gaul;
> Vain is the taunt which mocks thy lavish cost—
> Thy thankless toil—thy blood poured out for all—
> Thy laurels gained in fight, in treaty lost:
> Heaven still shall bless the hand which lays the oppressor low."

Of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte the nation formed the most sanguine expectations. On the 2nd of May, her union with Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, took place. The child of an unfortunate and ill-assorted union, she had given proofs of good feeling, and the promise of a future worthy of her station. Her mother certainly seems to have loved her; but she evidently courted her from other and more interested considerations. On the other hand, the regent, jealous of her popularity, and vexed at her dutiful conduct towards her mother, wished, as much as possible, to keep her under, and affected to treat her as a silly child.

Miss Knight, in her *Autobiography*, gives us a vivid picture of the bondage in which the Princess Charlotte was held. "Warwick House," she tells us, "was a wretched region, almost falling to pieces, and like a convent;" yet, "this was a seat of happiness compared with the Lodge at Windsor," where her royal highness was occasionally sent for country air. The Duchess of Leeds, her principal monitor, was a dull duenna, "who cared for nothing except curious gossips and mischievous people;" and the Bishop of Salisbury, the princess's preceptor, was a prelate, "with the bad style of Windsor manners," whose great aims "were to arm his pupil against popery and Whig principles." Amidst these unfavourable surroundings, the fair young hope of the English people was "kept in a state of protracted infancy;" allowed to appear at Carlton House and Windsor like "a child recently let out of the nursery;" and often snubbed and pestered by her father, who took care to impress her with a sense of her dependence. She was chid if she danced with the Duke of Devonshire; denounced for sitting next to the Duke of Gloucester; condemned, in the presence of cabinet ministers, to listen to the prince-regent's abuse of her mother; beset by spies, who had the audacity to mix up her name with foul imputations; and crossed and disappointed in many ways. Miss Knight records how the prince-regent bade her keep constantly in mind, "that Charlotte was to be subject to him, though she were thirty-five and five-and-forty;" and how, when the princess had taken refuge from his persecutions at Connaught House, he brutally exclaimed, that "he was very glad; that now everybody would see what she was; that all would be known upon the continent, and that nobody would marry her." We are not surprised to find that the princess "had a look of despair and utter wretchedness," when told that she was completely in his power. Miss Knight gives us a pleasing idea of the princess. In consequence of ill-natured gossip about her refusal of the Prince of Orange, and her flight to her mother at Connaught House, much injustice, in popular estimation, has been done the princess. Miss Knight, with evident sincerity, declares that "she would have proved a blessing to her country;" that her character "was full of talent and genius; and that she really was a noble creature." The princess had certainly much quickness of perception, a steady will, and a generous disposition; and we cannot doubt that, if well brought up, she would have become an excellent sovereign. She showed great amiability and feeling in her difficult relation with her parents; and if, beset as she was by her father, she occasionally betrayed a fiery spirit, we can only wonder that she stood so well his constant system of teasing and tyranny. The nation sympathised with her; and believing Prince Leopold (who had come over to this country in the train of the allied sovereigns) was the man of her heart, rejoiced cordially at the union.

The announcement of the intended marriage was received with the utmost satisfaction by both houses of parliament. It had been announced, on the 14th of March, in the Lords by Lord Liverpool; in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh; and, on the next day, the House of Commons fixed the provision of her royal highness at £60,000 a year; of which £10,000 was to be for her own privy purse, and £50,000 for the support of their establishment. The like sum was settled as a provision for the Prince of Coburg, in the event of his surviving his august spouse. These provisions were independent of £60,000 for the outfit of the royal pair; and were all agreed to without a dissentient voice. Soon after the marriage the situation of her royal highness gave hopes of an heir to the monarchy. London society

was glad to find that they were happy, and content with each other. Wilberforce reports her wonder and happiness at the gratitude she enjoyed in her short period of connubial bliss. And how dear she was to the nation, is revealed by Romilly, who, as far back as 1814, in his diary, says—"The Princess Charlotte, who was present as a spectator of the ceremony (the opening of parliament), was recognised by the people on her return, and greeted with loud and repeated hurras!" This reception must have been very annoying to her father, as we find "he was received with a dead and most humiliating silence; no marks of disapprobation, but no applause."

The prince and princess fixed their residence at Claremont, now an object of melancholy interest, where their simple, unostentatious life, their fervent and mutual attachment, their kindness and affability of manner, won the affections of all who approached them—as the noble example of domestic virtue and purity which they exhibited in their conduct, commanded the respect of the whole nation.

The premature death, in childbirth, of the princess, filled every household in the land with sorrow, and was bewailed alike by poets and by orators. Her sufferings, during a protracted labour of forty-eight hours, were very great. In the vain hope of saving the mother, the babe, an uncommonly fine and healthy one, was sacrificed: but, alas! the princess sank rapidly from exhaustion, and died a few hours after, overcome by despair and grief. The principal medical attendant of her royal highness committed suicide. Romilly writes, November 16th, 1817—"The death of the princess is very generally felt and acknowledged to be a great public calamity. Much was not known of her; but the little that was known was favourable to her character. Her domestic retirement, and the warm affection which seemed to unite her to the prince, her husband, had greatly endeared her to the public." Over her early tomb, even the selfish and sated prince-regent must have shed bitter tears of regret and remorse.

Byron writes from Venice—"The death of the Princess Charlotte has been a shock even here, and must have been an earthquake at home. The fate of this poor girl is melancholy in every respect; dying at twenty or so, in childbed—of a boy too: a present princess, and future queen; and just as she began to be happy, and to enjoy herself, and the hopes which she inspired. I feel sorry in every respect." He says, in *Childe Harold*—

"Scion of chiefs and monarchs, where art thou?
Fond hope of many nations, art thou dead?
Could not the grave forget thee, and lay low
Some less majestic, less beloved head?
In the sad midnight, while thy heart still bled,
The mother of a moment, o'er thy boy,
Death hush'd that pang for ever: with thee fled
The present happiness and promised joy,
Which fill'd the imperial isles so full it seem'd to cloy.

"Peasants bring forth in safety.—Can it be,
Oh thou that wert so happy, so adored!
Those who weep not for kings shall weep for thee,
And Freedom's heart, grown heavy, cease to hoard
Her many griefs for ONE; for she had pour'd
Her orisons for thee, and o'er thy head
Beheld her Iris.—Thou, too, lonely lord
And desolate consort—vainly wert thou wed!
The husband of a year! the father of the dead!"

CHAPTER XIII.

OUR SECOND QUARREL WITH AMERICA.

WE stop the record of events in Europe to narrate the rise and progress of our second war with America.

Since the recognition of American independence by the British government, there had been but little friendship between it and America; and the measures of the former to counteract the designs of France, were viewed by the latter with bitter indignation. America complained of insult offered to her flag by Great Britain; and the practice of admitting British seamen to the rights of American citizenship, offended us. Unfortunately, at this time an American seaman lost his life by a shot from the *Leander*, and it was proposed in Congress, at once to suspend all importation from any port in Britain; as also all intercourse between the two countries; and to prohibit the importation of the produce of the manufactures of Great Britain. When Mr. Pitt died, negotiations, with a view to a better understanding, were opened with Mr. Fox, and continued, on his death, with Mr. Canning; a new grievance—the opposition offered by us to the Berlin decrees—having now come into existence. To add still further to the complication, the *Leopard*, an English fifty-gun ship, had met the American frigate *Chesapeake*, and an engagement had taken place between them, attended with loss of life, in consequence of the American captain refusing to allow his ship to be searched for deserters. This incident added fuel to the fire; and the American president, Jefferson, and his representatives in Europe, took a loftier tone. Under Mr. Madison, Jefferson's successor, the breach between the two countries was widened. The orders in council were especially obnoxious. The position, or principle, laid down by the United States was, that "the sea, like the air we breathe, must be regarded as common to all men;" and that, consequently, no belligerent possessed any right to interfere with neutrals.

In 1812, the new ministry, under Lord Liverpool (formed on the death of Mr. Perceval, who had been shot by an assassin in the lobby of the House of Commons), was attacked with the whole strength of the opposition, on the disputes between us and America, and especially with reference to the orders in council. The discussion was initiated by Mr. Brougham, who had then been M.P. for Camelford upwards of two years. In conclusion, he said—

"Never did we stand so high, since we were a nation, in point of military character. We have it in abundance, and even to spare. This unhappy, and seemingly interminable war, lavish as it has been in treasure, still more profuse of blood, and barren of real advantage, has, at least, been equally lavish of glory. Its feats have not merely sustained the warlike fame of the nation, which would have been much; they have done what seemed barely possible—they have greatly exalted it; they have covered our arms with immortal renown. Then, I say, use this glory; use this proud height on which we now stand for the purpose of peace and conciliation with America. Let this, and its incalculable benefits, be the advantage which we reap from the war in Europe; for the fame of that war enables us safely to take it. And who, I demand, give the most disgraceful counsels? They who tell you we are, in military character, but of yesterday—we have yet a name to win—we stand on doubtful ground—we dare not do as we list, for fear of being thought afraid—we cannot, without loss of name, stoop to pacify our American kinsmen? Or I, who say we are a great, a proud, a warlike people; we have fought everywhere, and conquered wherever we fought; our character is eternally fixed; it stands too firm to be shaken; and, on the faith of it, we may do towards

America, safely for our honour, that which we know our interests require? This perpetual jealousy of America! Good God! I cannot, with temper, ask on what it rests. It drives me to a passion to think of it. Jealousy of America! I should as soon think of being jealous of the tradesmen who supply me with necessaries, or the clients who entrust their suits to my patronage. Jealousy of America! whose armies are yet at the plough, or making—since your policy has willed it so—awkward, though improving, attempts at the loom; whose assembled navies could not lay siege to an English sloop of war. Jealousy of a power which is necessarily peaceful, as well as weak; but which, if it had all the ambition of France, and all her armies to back it, and all the navy of England to boot—nay, had it the lust of conquest which marks your enemy and your own armies, as well as means to gratify it—is placed at so vast a distance as to be perfectly harmless! And this is the nation of which, for our honour's sake, we are desired to cherish a perpetual jealousy for the ruin of our best interests!"

Mr. Brougham ultimately withdrew his motion, on the promise given by Lord Castlereagh, that, so far as regarded America, the obnoxious orders should be suspended. Wilberforce says—"Government gave way, yet most awkwardly. They allege, shabbily, the French decree; and when, at a meeting at Lord Castlereagh's, we urged that the decree was a forgery, 'Aye,' said Castlereagh, 'but one does not like to own that we are forced to give way to our manufacturers.'"

On the 23rd of June the promised suspension was announced. Unfortunately, it afterwards appeared, that five days before the declaration was published in London, the American government had declared war against Great Britain. The message of the American president, intimating the approval of the determination of the Congress, asserted, that "the British cruisers had violated the honour of the American flag, and seized persons sailing under it: that the seizure even of British subjects, without trial or inquiry, was contrary to the law of nations: that, under pretence of searching for them, thousands of American citizens had been torn from their country, and compelled to fight for their oppressors: that the British cruisers had violated the rights and the peace of the American coast: that the blood of American citizens had been shed wantonly in the very harbours of the United States; and, instead of punishment, the highest rewards had been bestowed, by the British government, on the persons guilty of those atrocities: that, by means of a nominal blockade, without the presence of an adequate force, the commerce of America had been plundered on every sea; and, at length, Great Britain had resorted to a sweeping system, under the name of 'orders in council,' which had been so contrived as to suit the political views and commercial jealousies of England, and satisfy the avidity of her citizens."

On the 13th of October, the English ministry declared war with America. To their credit be it said, they delayed the declaration as long as possible, hoping that the Americans would be inclined to peace when they heard that the obnoxious orders had been rescinded. All good men in England wished for peace. "I declare," writes Wilberforce, "that I cannot look forward to the idea of victory in any war between Great Britain and America, as in a contest with our ancient enemies." And there were tens of thousands in this country who felt the same.

By land, the first efforts of the Americans were directed against Canada, which was invaded by General Hull with so little skill, that, on the 16th of August, he surrendered his entire army, consisting of 2,500 men, with thirty-three pieces of ordnance, to an inferior force of British and Indians, under General Brock; and, on the 13th of October, a second army repeating the attempt on Canada, was completely defeated, 900 prisoners being taken, and the remainder either killed or wounded. The loss of the English was very slight, with the exception of General Brock, who was killed while cheering his troops, before the engagement actually commenced.

The Americans were more successful at sea—a circumstance easily accounted

for when we remember the superiority of their frigates in size, weight of metal, and number of men. The *Guerriere*, after an engagement of three hours' duration, was captured by Captain Hull, to the great delight of the Americans, to whom the *Guerriere*, when engaged in searching for deserters, had been peculiarly disagreeable. Soon after, the *Macedonian* frigate, under Captain Carden, fell a prey to Commodore Decatur, of the *United States* frigate. In December of the same year, the *Java*, Captain Lambert, having in tow the American ship *William* (which she had captured), was met near the Brazilian coast by the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge and Captain Lawrence. For five hours the *Java* fought resolutely against a superior force; but in vain. Soon after the *Frolic* was encountered by the *Wasp*, and had also to succumb to the stars and stripes. Almost immediately after the British ship *Poictiers* hove in sight, and not only snatched the *Frolic* from her captor, but made a prize of the *Wasp*. The American privateers also did considerable damage; and ministers being much censured by the opposition for a want of foresight in not being prepared with a more efficient naval force to contend with the Americans, several ships of the line were ordered out; and the time arrived when the British regained a portion of their fame. Captain Broke, of the *Shannon*, had, it appears, been for some time cruising near the port of Boston, where the *Chesapeake* frigate then lay. Early on the morning of the 1st of June, 1813, Captain Broke addressed to the commanding officer of the *Chesapeake* a letter of challenge, which for candour, manly spirit, and gentlemanly style is unparalleled. The letter began—

"As the *Chesapeake* appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. The *Shannon* mounts twenty-four guns upon the broadside, and one light boat-gun; eighteen-pounders upon her main deck, and thirty-two-pound carronades on her quarter and forecastle; and is manned with a complement of 300 men and boys (a large proportion of the latter), besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers, who were taken out of recaptured vessels lately." After fixing the place of meeting, and providing against all interruption, Captain Broke concludes —"I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity by the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service that I can render my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay here long."

Lawrence, a brave man, who had previously distinguished himself, accepted the challenge. The fight took place in sight of the people of Boston. It was short, sharp, and decisive. In eleven minutes every officer on board the *Chesapeake*, capable of commanding, had fallen. Lawrence, stricken mortally, was asked if the colours should be hauled down. "No," he exclaimed, "they shall always wave while I live;" and then he cried out—"Don't give up the ship!" But Broke boarded the *Chesapeake*, and she was carried, as a prize, to Halifax, where poor Lawrence, who survived his wounds four days, was buried with every mark of honourable distinction, the oldest captain in the English navy bearing his pall.

The war continued; and many of the leading men in America were of opinion that Canada might easily be wrested from Great Britain. Mr. Henry declared he would take the whole continent from the English, and ask them no favours. For the first two years, the British were obliged to be content with the defence of their Canadian possessions, in which they were generally successful, through the ability of their leaders, the discipline of the regulars, the bravery of the Canadian militia, and the co-operation of the Indians, under one of the most remarkable chieftains that had ever been

engaged in the wars of the whites. Tecumseh was the *beau-ideal* of an Indian warrior. Grand in person, gifted with great strength and marvellous penetration, he gave himself up to the acquisition of glory. He cared nothing for wealth; victory was his passion; and his rule was neither to give nor accept quarter. He fell in an engagement not far from Detroit. The Americans did not, for a long time, avail themselves of the services of the Indian tribes, as they deprecated the policy of employing a people whose system of warfare was so utterly barbarous and cruel; but when they found that the neutrality of those people could not in any way be secured, and that there was no choice but to accept their aid, or see them swell the ranks of their foes, they adopted the former alternative.

At first, as we have said, the theatre of war was confined to the territories of the English in the west, and of the Americans on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario; and a great deal of damage appears to have been done by each of the contending parties. Mr. Thompson, an American editor, in summing up the losses and gains of the United States in the year 1813, reports the American armies as attaining a high degree of reputation, but to have acquired no advantage that could compensate for the blood and treasure which had been exhausted. In the course of the summer, he writes that the American army possessed every position between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Atlantic. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of that stream, they were deprived of those on their own. Whatever satisfaction the American public might derive from the triumphs, in some instances, achieved by their countrymen, the expense and evils of the war were severely felt.

In 1814, preparations were made in England to carry on the American war with more spirit. General Ross was placed in command of the reinforcements; and a strong naval force, under Admiral Cockburn, accompanied him, to lay waste and destroy such towns and districts on the American coast as might be found assailable. The Americans hastily increased their levies to meet this formidable force; but they were unable to prevent the capture of Washington, and the destruction of "the monuments of taste and literature with which the young republic had embellished her chosen seat. The Capitol, the library, the archives, were wantonly destroyed." An attempt was then made on Baltimore, where General Ross fell, mortally wounded. The English, in their turn, had now become the assailants. Sir George Prevost, at the head of a considerable body of soldiers who had gained their experience under Wellington in the Spanish Peninsular war, invaded the New York state, and met the Americans at Plattsburg. He was supported by a fleet, which had entered the harbour just as he had formed his army, consisting of 14,000 men, in two columns, for an assault upon the town. The American squadron in the harbour gave battle to the fleet, and defeated it. Prevost then retreated, leaving behind him large quantities of stores and ammunition.

Encouraged by these successes, the Americans made prodigious efforts to carry on the war. Their expenditure had been very great; their credit was low; their finances disordered; they were in debt: besides, there was a large party anxious for the restoration of peace. Nothing, however, daunted the war spirit of Congress and the president. New loans were made; new taxes raised; and every preparation was taken for prosecuting the war with increased confidence and vigour. It was at this juncture that the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, assembled by delegates at Hartford; and after charging the national government with pursuing measures hostile to the interests of New England, proposed certain amendments of the federal constitution. Nothing came of the Hartford convention—as it has ever since been called—as peace was proclaimed before its resolutions could be formally placed before the government.

England, in 1814, sent out a large force, under Generals Keane and Pakenham, to attack Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. Their defence devolved on General Andrew Jackson.

Andrew Jackson is one of the American heroes. He was a daring, energetic, and skilful man; and, for many years, had been engaged in Tennessee in subduing the Creek Indians, a warlike tribe, who had risen against the whites at the instance of Tecumseh. His first measure was to capture the city and port of Pensacola, which the Spanish government had permitted the English to occupy. His next step was to place New Orleans in a state of defence. The heterogeneous population of the city, which had but recently, as it were, become part of the territory of the state, was not, of course, very enthusiastic in its desire that the American cause should triumph; but Jackson, by his vigour, compelled all classes of people—Frenchmen and negroes alike—to assist in the common purpose; and having some 6,000 or 7,000 trusty soldiers at his command, he speedily raised batteries and parapets, in which cotton bales played a conspicuous part, and bade defiance to the British.

In the beginning of December, Admiral Cochrane's squadron arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, with a considerable body of troops, commanded by Major-General Keane. The first object was to reduce a flotilla of gun-boats on Lake Borgne; which was gallantly performed on the 14th, by Captain Locker and the boats of the squadron. On the 23rd, the first division of troops, amounting to 2,400 men, was landed within six miles of the city; and in the night they were attacked by the Americans; but, after sustaining some loss, maintained their position. On the 25th, Major-General Sir E. Pakenham (an officer of distinguished merit, who had served in the Peninsular war, and was, besides, the brother of the Duke of Wellington) arrived, and took the command. He found the British posted on a piece of flat ground, with the Mississippi on one side, and on the right a thick wood. The enemy was stationed behind an intrenchment, extending from the river on the right, to the wood on the left—a distance of about a thousand yards. This line was strengthened with flank works, and had a canal in front, four feet deep. On the further bank of the Mississippi, the Americans had a battery of twelve guns, which enfiladed the whole of their position. The disposition for the attack by night was formidable; but unexpected difficulties, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay to the entrance of the armed boats; and it did not take place till the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than 200 yards' distance. The troops on each side were nearly 10,000; and since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had, perhaps, been fought with so much bravery—none, certainly, with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 2,040, including in the former the commander-in-chief, who fell while bravely encouraging his men on the edge of the glacis; and among the wounded, Generals Gibbs and Keane, the former of whom expired on the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official account, was almost incredibly small. It certainly did not exceed seventy-one: we have seen it estimated at less. The defence of New Orleans immortalised Andrew Jackson.

General Lambert, on whom the command of the troops now devolved, after holding a consultation with Admiral Cochrane, determined to re-embark his men, and abandon the enterprise. The concluding operation of the war was the capture of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile Point, in the Gulf of Mexico; which, being wholly unable to resist the British force, capitulated on the 11th of February, 1815.

Another gleam of success cheered the British. The *President*, one of the largest frigates yet sent to sea by the United States, commanded by Captain Decatur, accompanied by the *Macedonian* armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during one of those gales in which the blockading squadron was driven out to sea. After a long chase, the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, came up with the former, when a severe action ensued, in which the *President*, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was unable to go a-head. The British frigate *Pomona* now coming up, the *President* surrendered, after exchanging a few broadsides.

In the middle of February, news arrived in America that peace had been settled on terms which left matters exactly where they were; and thus we cannot but pronounce the war as wicked as it was futile. The treaty (which was negotiated, on the part of the Americans, by Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin; and, on the part of Great Britain, by Lord Gambier, Goulbourn, and Adams) was silent on the grand cause of the war, and primary object of dispute—the right of search; but America abandoned her claim for compensation for the captures made under the British orders in council, and omitted any mention of her original pretensions. All conquests on either side were to be restored, Britain retaining her islands on Passamaquoddy Bay—islands which were her's by the treaty of 1783; and the boundaries of the Canadian frontier were defined. Both parties agreed to use their utmost exertions to promote the abolition of the slave-trade. In England, in some quarters, disappointment was manifested in consequence of the peace being concluded just as we were becoming able to put more strength into the contest; but the wise and good, and, indeed, the public in general, felt that it was better to make peace than to make war with the Americans—after all, our own flesh and blood. In America, angry discontent had been provoked, in several of the states, by the prolongation of the contest, the malcontents threatening to refuse payment of the taxes, and even contemplating a secession from the federal union. The bearer of the ratification of the treaty was honoured by the Americans with a most joyous welcome, and carried through the principal streets of New York in peaceful triumph. It was a pity that, while the diplomatists were at work, the treaty did not settle, but only postpone questions. It was left to another generation to discuss the boundary of Maine; but a clause was inserted, to which Mr. Cobden was accustomed to refer in defence of his peace doctrines—that neither nation should keep an armed ship on those inland seas which lie between their respective territories.

Mr. Ward Beecher, the popular (and deservedly popular) clergyman of New York, bitterly complained of "the meanness" of England in taking advantage of the civil war in America, to assume an angry and threatening attitude towards that country with reference to the affair of the *Trent*. Had he consulted the records of his own native land, he would have felt that, as an American, he should have been the last to urge such a complaint. Engaged in a war with the colossal power of Napoleon when the American declaration of war reached us, our fleets and armies had enough to do. Peace was to us a matter of vital importance. But, in America, there was a party unceasingly hostile to Great Britain; and that party triumphed, and continued to triumph, till the supreme power of the republic was placed in the unsullied hands of Abraham Lincoln. They retaliated on our orders in council in a very suicidal fashion, by a Non-intercourse Act, laying an embargo on all vessels of the British: and then, thinking that they could, with very little trouble, win Canada from us, and refusing to listen to overtures of peace, they went to war. Americans had made up their minds to show the world what they could do. Undoubtedly, Englishmen underrated their strength and importance. The former had been at peace for thirty years; they had kept up no military establishment; and their navy, comparatively speaking, was small. The pride of England was to be abased; she was to be taught to do honour to the stars and stripes; and, in the trial of strength which ensued, we suffered more from the navy of America, than we had, in the course of long years of hostility, from that of France. Nevertheless, when there was peace in Europe, it was wise in America to retire from the contest with dignity. To have fought England single-handed, not only might, but must have involved an awful sacrifice of blood and treasure. And it was magnanimous on the part of the English ministry, when they had no longer an enemy in Europe, to decline to carry on the war.

Some writers intimate, that so unequal were the Americans to the task which they had undertaken, that had we prolonged the contest, we might have gained

better terms. "So low," writes Mr. Macfarlane, "was the state of public credit, that no loan could be negotiated. A system of taxation was resorted to, which added fuel to the fire. In none of the New England states would war-taxes ever have been paid. Six months of sternness and perseverance on the part of Great Britain, would have taught the Americans a salutary lesson: twelve months' perseverance and energy in carrying out our blockade, and without any more expeditions by land, or any other risks or expenses, the feeble ties which kept the northern and southern states together, would have been snapped like a scorched thread." It can only be said, in reply, that the Americans had won their freedom in spite of our utmost efforts to retain them as colonists; that in the war just concluded we had won no laurels; that America and England, speaking the same tongue, owning a common origin, inspired by the same grand literature, are bound, by the duties they owe to themselves and the world, to remain at peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFFAIRS IN INDIA.

THE time has now arrived for us to resume the story of our Indian rule. Sir Arthur Wellesley had come and conquered. But in India, at that time, war was a stern necessity of our existence. Insurrection, defeated in one quarter, was sure to reappear in another. In 1806, the mutiny at Vellore—when the sepoys rose and massacred many English officers and men—took place; and instructions had been sent out to the officers to mix more with the natives, and to adopt a more conciliatory treatment of their troops.

In 1807, Lord Minto was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Travancore.

In 1809 we were fighting with the Pindarees. They were brigands in the worst sense of the term, making war in the most rapacious, bloody, and perfidious manner. Murder, torture, and violence distinguished their incursions upon the possessions of the principal communities of Central India. Even the hill fortresses of Rajpootana afforded little protection against their daring attacks. They were accustomed to form themselves into distinct bodies, having separate leaders, but all combining when necessity required. Mounted on fleet horses, they would perform the most extraordinary marches; and have been known to travel 120 miles in ten hours. Dr. Hutchinson, an Anglo-Indian, thus describes the Pindaree:—

> "The steed paws the ground with a snort and a neigh;
> The Pindaree has mounted, and hied him away;
> He has braced on his shield and his sword by his side,
> And forth he has gone on a foray to ride.
>
> "His turban is twisted and wreathed round his brow;
> Its colour is red, as his blood is its glow;
> From his shoulder behind him his carbine is slung,
> And light o'er his saddle his long spear is hung."

The sequel is not quite so flattering. The poet adds:—

> "The river is forded, the frontier is passed,
> And they reach the lone village by midnight at last.
> Would you gather its fate? In the darkness of night
> The forests around it are red in its light.
>
> "Its dwellers have fled, in the wild woods to roam;
> All roofless and black is the place of their home;
> And their daughters, dishonoured, are weeping in vain,
> Nor will boast of their pride and their scorning again."

Another subject settled at this time was that of Dacoitee, or gang-robbery—a crime peculiar, in the systematic manner of its pursuit, to India. It is one of the features of caste, that the trade or profession of the father is followed by the son. The members of some castes cannot depart from the custom of their ancestors without a sacrifice of all family ties, and an apostasy from their religion. Thus the Dacoits of the present day plead prescriptive usage. "I have always followed the trade of my ancestors—Dacoitee. My ancestors held this profession before me, and we train boys in the same manner. In my caste, if there were any persons not robbers, they would be turned out," said an informer, on one occasion: and the same tale has been said a hundred times. The Dacoits are associated with Zemindars, and other persons of social respectability; and in consequence of their numbers, and their connections with the police, the greater part of their robberies are committed with impunity. As their object is simply plunder, they avoid the commission of murder.—Well, to crush this terrible evil Lord Minto made every preparation. The police was in a very inefficient state—corrupt, ill-paid, and feeble: instead of its being a protection, it was a curse to the villages. At one time its duties were entirely performed under the surveillance of the Zemindars; but this had ceased to be the case. New plans, comprising a complete reform, were devised. But the magnitude of the evil was so great, that, under Lord Minto, it was found impossible to do all that was desirable. He was obliged to be content with the partial suppression of Dacoitee: and to this hour it is rife in Lower Bengal; and the authorities in vain attempt wholly and effectually to put it down.

The leader of these fierce mounted robbers was, in 1809, the far-famed Ameer Khan, whose exploits formed, for many years, in Upper India, the theme for eulogistic verse. This Ameer Khan, not contented with having seized part of the territories of Holkar, threatened the dominions of our ally, the Rajah of Berar; and Lord Minto began to fear that Ameer would gradually approach the Nizam's territories, and form a scheme with that fickle prince to restore Mahommedanism, and to destroy the British power. In order that this might be frustrated, he proffered British aid to the Rajah of Berar, and Ameer Khan felt himself bound to retire beyond the frontier after a single action.

Lord Minto had also to contend, even in that distant quarter of the globe, with the intrigues of Napoleon, who had never relinquished his design of invading India, and driving out the British. He was obliged to despatch a mission to Persia, to counteract the efforts which the French were making to establish relations with the Shah, inimical to our interests. With the same view he likewise sent an ambassador to Cabul.

In 1809, we find Lord Minto engaged in measures for the capture of the Mauritius, which then went by the name of the Isle of France. From that quarter, in spite of the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian Ocean, hostile attacks were being constantly made by armed vessels upon our maritime commerce. "Occasionally" (we quote Wilson's continuation of Mill's *History*), "they fell victims to their audacity, and were made to feel the superiority of British skill and prowess; but although they swept the seas from Madagascar to Java, and sometimes carried their depredations to the immediate vicinity of the British harbours, they were, for the most part, singularly fortunate in avoiding the track of English frigates and men-of-war. Their principal spoil arose from the capture of the merchant ships employed in the trade of the eastern seas, whose cargoes, often of considerable value, they carried for sale to the ports from whence they had sailed; but they also inflicted serious damage upon the Company's commerce; and, from time to time, valuable Indiamen fell into their hands. In six weeks, the losses by capture, to the port of Calcutta alone, exceeded £300,000. The number of vessels captured from the Company, during eighteen years of the revolutionary war, amounted to thirty, whose united cargoes were valued at nearly a million of money." Lord Minto trusted, by taking possession of those places where the French ships

found shelter and obtained supplies, to put an end to this unpleasant state of things. Accordingly, he sent out an expedition, which was well planned, and judiciously executed. In spite of vigorous opposition, both the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius fell into the hands of the British. Lord Minto next directed his views to the destruction of the Dutch settlements in India, which were then under the dominion of France. The islands of Batavia and the Eastern Archipelago constituted a rallying-point for an enemy's ships, which appeared likely to acquire fresh importance after the destruction of the French harbours. Accordingly, a fleet of men-of-war, carrying a body of European and native troops, was forwarded to Java, and the other Dutch East Indian islands, and they were reduced after a short, yet sharp, encounter. Thus a possession which had for three centuries contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of all of the most respected and flourishing states of Europe, was wrested from the short usurpation of France, and added to the dominions of the British crown, and a troublesome foe turned into a helping friend. By the reduction of Java, the eastern sea was left without an enemy, and commerce pursued a course uninterrupted by pirates, or by hostile ships of war, though at that time all Europe, under Napoleon, was armed against us. On the conclusion of peace, Java was, of course, restored to Holland.

In a little while our Indian possessions were in imminent peril, not so much from our enemies, as from the troops we had raised and cherished. A mutiny of a remarkably dangerous character had broken out in the Madras army. The government, acting under the advice of the commander-in-chief, had abolished the allowance which officers commanding regiments had been in the habit of receiving for the camp equipage of their corps. The commander-in-chief had been influenced in his recommendation of the measure by Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, who hinted that the grant of the same allowance, in peace and war, for the equipment of the native corps, made it the interest of the commanding officers that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and, therefore, furnished strong inducements to them to neglect their most important duties. The commanding officers were very indignant, and requested the commander-in-chief, General Macdowall, to try Colonel Munro by court-martial: and the colonel, accordingly, was placed under arrest. Sir George Barlow, the Madras governor, ordered his release: a conflict of powers then arose, which, placing the army in an antagonistic attitude towards the higher authorities, produced a series of angry remonstrances on one side, and numerous arrests and dismissals on the other. Ultimately, some of the officers seized Seringapatam, and there, supported by sepoys, bade defiance to the government. Royal troops were sent to besiege them. A crisis had arrived: matters wore a serious aspect; each party was obstinate. In this perilous state of affairs Lord Minto hastened to Madras, and by his firm and conciliatory measures, brought back the officers to their allegiance. The whole affair might have been prevented if Barlow had not been a most despotic governor. "Brought up," writes Mr. Stocqueler, "in the school of Lord Wellesley, whose imperious rule had long been accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioned submission, Sir George entertained exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him. The slightest opposition was viewed in the gravest light, and ensured either intemperate remonstrance, or condign punishment."

The year 1813 witnessed the departure of Lord Minto, and the appointment of Lord Moira (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), as his successor as governor-general. The renewal of the charter of the East India Company, concerning which innumerable petitions had been presented, came before the House of Commons on the 22nd of March. Lord Castlereagh having stated that the term of the existing charter would expire in May, 1814, and that his majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state? whether an entire change should take place in the present system? or whether a middle course should be adopted on a question of so much importance?—it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the

bar; and the witnesses, chiefly persons who had occupied high stations in India, were against opening the trade, or allowing missionaries to repair to the East, for the purpose of converting the natives. On this latter question, however, there was, in this country, a considerable difference of opinion. Sir J. Barlow, of course, writes home, opposing the introduction of Christianity; and Mr. Wilberforce was very anxious to get the church of England to move in the matter. In 1812, we find him writing to Gisborne about East India religious instruction, urging him to publish a short pamphlet for the sake of stirring up the clergy. Wilberforce is represented by his biographers as "trying to keep back the dissenters and Methodists until the church fairly came forward, from fear that, if the sectaries begin, the church will not follow." Warm-hearted and zealous Wilberforce at length informs his friends (what a reproach to the establishment of which he was a supporter!)—"I am not without hopes of prevailing on a considerable party in the church of England to interest themselves on the occasion; but I own I fear that if the dissenters and Methodists come into action before our force from the establishment has stirred, a great part of the latter will either desert our ranks, or be cold and reluctant followers." Poor Wilberforce had a hard time of it. The Bishop of Durham felt the importance of the subject; but he thought he could not move in it till one of the archbishops had taken the matter up. Perceval is favourable; but sees great difficulties in the way. In the House of Commons, it was evident that the struggle in 1813 would be very arduous. The great mass of Anglo-Indians were convinced that the attempt to Christianise the East would infalliby cost us our dominion; and though they might reluctantly consent to the scanty ecclesiastical establishment (one bishop and three archdeacons) for the English residents in India, which government had been persuaded to propose, they were determined to abate none of their hostility to missionary efforts. They proposed, therefore, that the entire regulation of the subject should be left wholly, for the next twenty years, to the East India Company, who had unequivocally shown what would be their rule of conduct. On this point, then, the contest turned. The temper of the House of Commons was not to be mistaken; and it was only by bringing forcibly to bear on it the religious feeling of the country, that Mr. Wilberforce could hope for success. Now that he was in the strife, however, he set about it with an energy and resolution which had never been exceeded even in the vigour of his early manhood, when he fought the abolition battle. "The truth is," he tells Mr. Hey, "and a dreadful truth it is, that the opinions of nine-tenths, or at least of a vast majority of the House of Commons, would be against any motion which the friends of religion might make; but I trust it is different with the great body of our people; and petitions are to be presented, with a view to bring their sentiments and feelings to bear upon the opposite tenets and dispositions of the members of parliament." In vain the opposition were appealed to; Lord Grenville was "dry and cold upon the matter;" and Mr. Tierney was one of his most obstinate opponents. Actually some one went so far as to grieve the philanthropist by saying—"It may be shocking, Mr. W., to say so, but I do believe Hindooism is a better religion for them than Christianity would be;" and yet Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Grant were ready to affirm, "that prudent, and gradual, and successful endeavours to improve and Christianise our Indian population, would strengthen our hold on that country, and render it more securely ours." At length government gave way, and Lord Castlereagh agreed to Mr. Wilberforce's resolution—"far," as he tells us, "surpassing my expectation." But the battle had still to be fought in the Commons. The appearance of the House, at the beginning of the evening, was as bad as could be, and Lord Castlereagh opened the subject very discreetly and judiciously. Never did Mr. Wilberforce speak with greater power. Twenty years before he had appeared in the same place, the eloquent advocate of the same cause. A majority of 89 to 36 in his favour was the result. Success had been gained partly by his own speech and that of Lord Castlereagh; but the impression of 900 petitions—a number at that time

unparalleled—could not be mistaken. "Let no man think," said Mr. Wilberforce, "that the petitions with which we have loaded the table have been produced by a momentary burst of enthusiasm, or that the zeal of the petitioners will be soon expended. No, sir, it will be found to be steady as the light of heaven. While the sun and moon continue to shine in the firmament, so long will this object be pursued with unabated ardour, until the great work be accomplished." And thus measures were adopted tending to the introduction of useful knowledge and religious instruction among the natives of India; and affording facilities to persons desirous of going there, or of remaining in India for that purpose.

The East India Company had a mitigated triumph: their free-trade opponents failed, but their religious gained the day. The government secured to the Company, for a further term of twenty years (or until 1834), all their possessions in India, including the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator. Their exclusive right to commercial intercourse with China, and to the tea trade, was confirmed. British subjects in general were permitted to trade to and from all parts, within the limits of the charter, under certain provisions. All ships engaged in this private trade to be of the burden of 350 tons, or upwards; and those for the settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales' Island, to be provided with a licence, which the Court of Directors was bound to grant. To all other places a special licence was required, which the directors might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the Board of Control. The church establishment in India was placed under the direction of a bishop and three archdeacons. The application of the Company's revenue was directed to the maintenance of the military force, and of the establishments at their settlements; the payment of the interest of their debts in England; their territorial debt; their bond debt at home; and such other purposes as the directors, with the approbation of the Board of Control, might appoint. The dividend on India stock was limited to 10 per cent., until the fund, called the "separate fund," should be exhausted, when it was to be 10½; and the number of troops for which payment was to be made by the Company was limited to 20,000, unless a greater number should be sent to India at the request of the directors. Thus the new charter secured to the Company all the political power they could reasonably desire; while the continuance of their exclusive right of trading between China and Great Britain, left the most valuable portion of their business without competition. For a little longer their trade monopoly is safe. Already, however, it is looked at with envious eyes; and, in time, it will give way, as all monopolies must, before truth, equity, and common sense. Mr. Wilberforce doubts the justice of the monopoly. In time we shall see the sense of that injustice common all over the country, and in parliament alike.

The public were little interested in the discussion; but commercial men were very eager on the matter. Innumerable were the pamphlets issued at that time, advocating the opening the trade to India; the admission of Europeans to hold land there; the freedom of the press; and, in fact, a general system of colonisation. To all these arguments the friends of the existing system replied, by counter-pamphlets, and in parliament, that the expectation of the extension of the trade, by rendering it free, was a delusion. The natives, it was argued, had few wants, and would not purchase European commodities. The opening the country to the ingress of Englishmen was looked upon with horror. It was argued that the poorer classes could not labour in such a climate; and the more educated and better off would only disturb the peace of the country, unsettle the minds of the natives, and endanger the government. Of course, a free press was quite out of the question.

But to return to India. The new governor-general was not from choice, but from necessity, as warlike as any of his predecessors. The theoretical policy of himself, as well as of Lord Minto, was not to interfere in native quarrels, or to engage in wars with the natives; but, as much as possible, to devote themselves to the developing the resources of the country, and the best interests of the inhabit-

ants. But it generally turned out quite otherwise. This was especially true of Lord Hastings. He was incessantly engaged in field operations. The Mahrattas and the Pindarees, interpreting our abstinence from war into fear, and restless under the treaties, mingled intrigue with incursions, and compelled the government to take up arms. Nor were they our only enemies. The Ghoorkas of Nepaul descended into the provinces, at the southern base of their mountain range, and committed many outrages in Lord Minto's time. They had taken forcible possession of lands, and refused to give them up, claiming them as a right. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to settle the disputed question; but the Nepaulese showed no desire to relinquish their hold upon the property they had acquired; and when the troops returned, in the rainy season, the Ghoorkas murdered the civil officers left in charge of the district.

About this period the whole island of Ceylon came into the British possession; the King of Candy, who ruled the interior, having compelled the inhabitants, by a series of atrocious enormities, to throw off his yoke. Early in the year 1815, General Brownrigg, the governor of the British possessions on the coast, issued a proclamation, declaring that he made war on the tyrant alone, and promising protection to his oppressed subjects. An adequate force then penetrated to the capital, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The king was delivered up without the loss of a single man, and a treaty was concluded, by which the British authority was established in the whole island; the rights and immunities of the chiefs were secured; the religion of Buddha was established; torture and mutilation were abolished; and no sentence of death was to be executed without a warrant from the British governor.

For two years, from 1814 to 1816, the contest between the English and the Nepaulese was carried on. It was a species of warfare to which the former were not accustomed: their generals were, with few exceptions, incompetent, and the enemy was at once daring and skilful. "Growing experience, and unlimited resources," says the author whom we have already quoted, "aided the English, and a change of commanders altered the aspect of affairs. General Martindell had been beaten back; General Marley fled from his camp; General Wood wasted a campaign in idleness;' General Ochterlony and Colonel Gardner retrieved our ill-fortunes. The former, in spite of the perils and privations to which he and his troops had been exposed, forced the passes, and defeated the whole force of the Ghoorkas at Muckwanpore; while Gardner, with a force of Rohillas, assisted by the regulars under Colonel Nicholls, laid siege to, and captured Almorah. The Nepaulese then formally acceded to the terms previously offered, retiring in perpetuity within the limits prepared for them; and the country, from Kemaoun to the Sutlej, was ceded to the English.

The two following years were devoted to the destruction of the Mahratta power and the Pindarees. This time a formidable combination was formed to drive the British away. Holkar, Scindia, the Peishwa, and the Rajah of Berar, all joined together: but Lord Hastings was equal to the emergency. He took the field in person; but so vast a theatre of war as Central India and the Deccan required a division of forces. Fortunately, Lord Hastings was surrounded by officers, military and civil, of superior ability. There were few more distinguished men in India, either before or since, than the gentlemen to whom Lord Hastings had to look for counsel and aid. Generals Smith, Hislop, Pritzler, and Doulton; Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Richard Jenkins, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, were not ordinary men. Each, in his sphere, proved more than equal to the occasion. The troops, too, were full of ardour, and gave some striking proofs of their devotion to the service. A gallant stand, made at the village of Corygaum, by a single regiment and a small battery, against the whole of the Peishwa's army; a cavalry charge at Seetubaldee; two batteries at Kirkee and Mahidpore, contributed greatly to the common result, and elevated the military renown of the British beyond all precedent: and for these successes in

the field the British parliament voted its thanks, and Earl Moira was made Marquis of Hastings.

Diplomacy, also, was doing its work; and, in the hands of honest men, it was more than a match for the craft and wile of Indian rajahs and their ministers. Lord Wellesley had learnt that it was impossible to carry on the great game of war any longer with an exhausted treasury; and by policy we were to rule India for the future, rather than by the sword. To be a civilian in India, is not merely, as Mr. J. William Kaye remarks, "to be a member of a great bureaucracy." The duties which he is called upon to face are not solely the duties of the desk. As the soldier in India is often called upon to lay down the sword, and to take up the portfolio of the administration, so the civilian is often, on the great high road of his duty, surrounded by circumstances which compel him to lay down the portfolio, and gird on the sword. Of the civilian-soldier, there is no better type than Sir Henry Lawrence; of the soldier-civilian, there is none better than Mountstuart Elphinstone. Both, by their unaided exertions, attained to the highest honours: the one in the greatest crisis which our Indian empire has witnessed, was appointed, provisionally, to the governor-generalship; the other was twice offered the governor-generalship, and twice refused it.

The name of Lawrence we first hear of in India in connection with the siege of Seringapatam. That name, so venerable and illustrious, was of humble origin, comparatively speaking. At the siege referred to, the forlorn hope of each attack consisted of a sergeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subalterns' parties: that of the right column was commanded by Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th; and the other, of the left column, by Lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th. Of these two heroic men, the first-named went to his death; the second was preserved to be the founder of a noble line.

In 1799, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the fourth son of a Scottish peer, at the age of sixteen embarked for India. He arrived there in the very nick of time. Lord Wellesley was a man with a grand policy; and, scorning all constitutional restraints, he determined to work it out. This grand policy was incompatible with peace; so, in a little time, our armies were in motion; firstly in Southern India, where Tippoo was to be overthrown; and then in Central India, where accounts had to be settled with the Mahratta princes. At the battle of Assaye, the young civilian rode side by side with Sir Arthur Wellesley, who recommended him to his brother for promotion. At the conclusion of peace, Mr. Elphinstone was appointed to represent British interests at the Court of the Rajah of Berar, and he remained at Nagpore. After the departure of Lord Wellesley from India, during the brief second reign of Lord Cornwallis, and the interregnum of Sir George Barlow, in 1807, the British government in India, now represented by Lord Minto, required the aid of its ablest servants; for, after the peace of Tilsit, there was great fear felt for our rule in India, in consequence of the alliance then formed between Russia and France. Amongst the vast projects cherished, was a conjoint expedition to divide the territories of the East India Company between them. It was expected that the attack would be by land rather than by sea; and it was of primary importance, therefore, for the English government to be on friendly terms with the rulers of Afghanistan and Scinde, on the Punjaub. Accordingly, Mr. Elphinstone was despatched to the Court of Cabul; and by showing the Shah of Persia, that if he entered into a compact with the European powers hostile to England, he would inevitably be destroyed, stimulated him to put forth all his strength to impede their progress. There was soon harder work for him to do. The situation is thus described by Metcalfe:—"There is Runjeet Singh, looking on eagerly from the north-west. There is Meer Khan, within a few marches of Agra and Delhi frontiers. There are Scindia, and the Rajah of Berar, settling whether they shall attack us or not, and thus virtually menacing our frontier from Agra down to Cuttack. There are the Pindarees, ready to pour themselves into every defenceless country."

There were few men, let us remark, by way of digression, better acquainted with the politics of Upper India, than the writer of the last paragragh, Charles Metcalfe, then resident at Delhi; and the statesmen by whom Lord Hastings was surrounded, were eager to obtain an expression of his views. They were strongly in favour of a settlement. He knew, that until vigorous measures had been taken to crush the Pindarees, and to place upon a more satisfactory footing our relations with the substantial Mahratta states, there could be no real peace: and the policy he recommended was the one pursued.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, at Poonah, was aware of the treachery of Badjee Rao, and describes his ministers as an intriguing, prevaricating, shuffling, lying, cavilling, grumbling, irritating set of rascals. At length the crisis came—the residency was attacked, burned. The British troops came forward; the Peishwa's army was utterly routed, and the great city of Poonah lay helpless and prostrate at our feet. Badjee Rao became a fugitive; and Mountstuart Elphinstone, as was sportively said at the time, became Peishwa in his place. A new career opened itself before him. He had hitherto been a diplomatist: he was now to find another field for the exercise of his great abilities. The territories ruled by the Peishwa were now to become part and parcel of the British dominions. He had forfeited them by acts of treacherous hostility; and the English government deemed it essential to their security, to curb, for ever, his power to disturb or threaten the peace of the country. The year 1818 found Mr. Elphinstone entering on his new duties as commissioner, or governor, of the Poonah territories—a difficult task, and requiring much knowledge of the people, of their manners and customs, and sympathy with them; and all this Mr. Elphinstone possessed in a very great degree. Bishop Heber writes of him—"He is in every respect an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated; and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military duties, he has found time, not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance in the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society; and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends, in what hours of the day or night he found time for the acquisition of knowledge."

From Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone removed to Bombay, where he was chosen to fill the office of governor, and where, by his wisdom and virtue, he made for himself an enduring place in the hearts of all.

Here, also, we must record the introduction of a new and better leaven into Indian society: we refer to the advent of Henry Martyn, a man of whom all sects and parties in the church of England are proud—as well they may be—since, in the language of Sir James Stephen, "it is, in fact, the one heroic name which adorns her annals from the days of Elizabeth to our own."

When, in 1806, Henry Martyn, from the halls of Cambridge, where he had won the highest rank, abandoning the golden prospects of life opening around him, landed, a humble chaplain, on the shores of India, society was but slowly recovering from the immorality sanctioned and practised by nearly all whites. Carey and Marshman were treated as low-born demagogues, who, if let alone, would unsettle all our institutions, and stir up the natives to revolt. With rare exceptions, little progress was made by the English in acquiring a knowledge of the language and literature of India, and, through them, of the character, habits of thought, and

social and religious institutions of the people. The time not passed in the public offices and courts was devoted generally to loose pleasures and coarse pastimes. Warren Hastings set a bad example, which had found too many imitators. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* says—"He had been living, for some years, with the wife of a Baron Imhoff; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond which had long been practically disregarded, the governor-general had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adulteress in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festal rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of society when the head was thus morally diseased. Francis was a hundred times worse than Hastings. The latter was weak under a pressure of temptation. He was not disposed to pay homage to virtue by throwing a cloak over his vices; and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence which his conduct was calculated to exercise over society at large. In him, it is true, there was a sad want of influence; but, in Francis, an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was, like his malice, unimpulsive, studious, given to subtle contrivances demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability. When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an inexperienced girl of sixteen. Here, indeed, were leaders of society not only corrupting the morals, but disturbing the peace of the presidency. The members of the council fought duels with each other; and their example had many imitators." In the few years which followed there was improvement; but we can fully understand how life in India would be very different from life at home, and the need there was of an effort to raise the standard in that community of private life, by the inculcation of the lofty morality and the sublime example of the Saviour. To do this—to preach Christ and him crucified, was the single aim of Henry Martyn, and to this aim he sacrificed his life.

Like most of the world's reformers, Henry Martyn came of a humble stock. His father was a Cornish miner, who, by his industry and intelligence, had obtained a situation in a merchant's office. Young Henry was sent, for nine years, to the grammar-school of Truro. It is recorded that he was docile, and quick to learn; but he acquired no very remarkable reputation. The elder Martyn, however, had high hopes of his son, who, when scarcely fifteen years old, was sent to Oxford, to try for a Corpus fellowship. The poor lad failed, and had to return to Truro. This was his first great disappointment in life.

Two years later, Henry Martyn was at Cambridge. He went there with increased classical, but with very little mathematical knowledge. The commencement of his Cambridge career was not promising. So little did he at first take to mathematics, that he endeavoured to commit the problems of Euclid to memory. Out of such a one it seemed impossible to make an eminent mathematician. The great annual contest over, Henry Martyn found himself senior wrangler. He had gained the highest object of academical ambition; but it afforded him little gratification. It enhanced the bitterness of his regret for the death of his father; and as he had recently commenced a strictly religious career, it made him more than ever suspicious of stumbling into the pitfalls of human pride. "I obtained my highest wishes," he said; "but I was surprised to find that I had grasped a shadow."

In 1801, Martyn came under the influence of Mr. Simeon, and prepared himself for holy orders. At this time he was a Fellow of St. John's; but the employment did not please him; and it is, in some quarters, doubted whether, notwithstanding his eminent abilities, he was well qualified for the work of tuition. In 1803, he was ordained a deacon of the church of England, and commenced his ministerial career as Mr. Simeon's curate—a step which required some courage, as evangelical preaching was not popular at Cambridge; and it was but recently that

the opposition had ceased from proceedings of a threatening and disorderly character. Martyn, however, manfully performed his work. At this time he fell in with the *Life of David Brainerd*, and its perusal excited within him an earnest desire to go and do likewise. The story of Dr. Carey also fired his mind. But there were difficulties in the way. The little property his father left had been lost, and his sisters were thrown on his exertions. Help came in an unexpected quarter. Mr. Charles Grant, the friend of Wilberforce and Simeon, and an East India director, was very anxious about the evangelisation of India; and it was thought that if proper chaplains to the Company's servants were sent out, much good might, in an indirect way, be done to the natives. Mr. Simeon mentioned Martyn's name. Accordingly, he went up to town; dined at Clapham with Grant and Wilberforce; and in time had the chaplainship given him.

In the summer of 1805 he sailed for his new home. On his way the fleet touched at Falmouth. He availed himself of the circumstance to renew his intercourse with the friends of his youth, and to utter to one, whom he loved more than all, the dearest affections of his heart. His suit was in vain; the lady loved another: and this second disappointment served but to strengthen and mature the missionary spirit which was henceforth to ennoble and immortalise his life.

On his voyage out, Martyn tasted some of the difficulties of his position. He was on board a troop-ship; and troop-ships in those days were not congenial residences for men burning with religious zeal. When he arrived in Calcutta he had as many obstacles thrown in his way as on board ship. Actually, more than one clergyman bitterly preached against him. Another disappointment befel him. On his arrival in India he saw no reasons for supposing that marriage was desirable for a missionary; but after a while his opinions began to change, and his hopes to revive. His friends advised him to make another effort to win the Cornish lady—Miss Grenfell—the suit to whom had so little prospered while at home. Accordingly, he despatched a letter to Cornwall; and good Mr. Simeon took the trouble to visit the Grenfells, and talk over "Mr. Martyn's affair" with the young lady; but, alas! in vain. It is clear she was not sufficiently in love with Martyn to marry him; and it was also clear that she would have been much to blame had she done so.

Martyn was terribly disappointed; but he rose superior to his trials, and went on translating the Scriptures. As he became better acquainted with the languages, he began to make a commencement of preaching to the natives. In 1810, he records in his journal—"Nothing has occurred this last year but my removal to Cawnpore, and the commencement of my ministry—as I hope it may be called—among the Gentiles. This, with my endeavours to instruct the servants, has been blessed by the Lord to the improvement of my temper and behaviour towards them."

But, at Cawnpore, it was manifest that the family disease, consumption, was beginning to appear in Henry Martyn. His friends (the Sherwoods) had perceived, with grief, that, as he grew in grace, his bodily health decayed. To stay at Cawnpore was death. So, after much reflection, and much prayer, he determined that, with the permission of the temporal authorities, and the approval of the recognised patriarch of the English church, he would fulfil his long-cherished project of journeying to Persia, there to improve his knowledge of its language; to obtain assistance in the translation of the Scriptures, and to dispute with the Moollahs.

To Bombay he sailed with Mountstuart Elphinstone; and at that presidency he became acquainted with Sir James Mackintosh and Sir John Malcolm. To the latter he appeared an exceedingly cheerful person (at this time he seems to have got rid of the irritation and depression of spirits which often clouded his earlier life). Malcolm gave the missionary a letter of introduction to the British minister in Persia, Sir Gore Ouseley; in which he said that Martyn was "altogether a very learned and cheerful man, but a great enthusiast in his holy calling. I am

satisfied that if you ever see him you will be pleased with him. He will give you grace before and after dinner; and admonish such of your party as take the Lord's name in vain; but his good sense and great learning will delight you; whilst his constant cheerfulness will add to the hilarity of your party."

Arrived in Shiraz, he spent many months there, translating, studying, and disputing; but it was evident that the life he led was telling on him, and that his only chance of life was a speedy journey to England. In May, 1812, he left Shiraz for his native land, disappointed in his wish to present his translation of the Bible to the King of Persia—official obstructions and illness preventing.

Martyn commenced his home journey on the 2nd of September: on the morning of the 10th he arrived at Erivan; but he daily grew weaker and weaker. His last entry in his diary is dated October 5th:—"No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard, and thought, with sweet comfort and peace, of my God—in solitude my companion, friend, and comforter. Oh, when shall time give place to eternity! When shall appear that new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness! There there shall in nowise enter in anything that defileth; none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts; none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality shall be seen or heard of any more." In ten days the new heaven and the new earth had come to Henry Martyn. Eternity, with all its splendours, had appeared. Sickness and feebleness had been exchanged for strength and health —death had been swallowed up in life.

Well may the church of England revere the memory of Henry Martyn. As his last biographer has remarked—"He has left behind an example of Christian courage, patience, and self-sacrifice, the beauty and the freshness of which long years have in nowise dimmed—an example which Protestant Christians, of all denominations, admire and love; for it is the likeness of one in whom nothing earthly could quench the spirit of the apostle and martyr."

Let us resume the thread of our Indian narrative. By the spring of 1819, the Mahrattas were subdued, the Pindarees annihilated, and the British rule extended throughout India. The Marquis of Hastings devoted the remaining years of his sway to the settlement of a variety of smaller states; the extinction of piracy in the Gulf of Persia; the chastisement of the Rao of Cutch; the arrangement of a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde; and the restoration of tranquillity in Bareilly, where some serious disturbances had taken place. All the while civil improvements had been many and numerous. Bridges were erected; canals, tanks, and aqueducts excavated; lands cleared; roads constructed; churches, chapels, and lighthouses built; and the ecclesiastical establishment placed upon a creditable footing. The first bishop sent out from England was Dr. Middleton, who founded a college in the vicinity of Calcutta.

CHAPTER XV.

ORDER REIGNS.

ONCE more we return to England, where peace had brought discontent and bankruptcy, instead of the anticipated blessings of abundance and wealth. Parliament had passed mischievous measures to postpone the impending crisis. Defended by the military, the landlords had carried the corn-laws to keep up their rents: and paper-money, in spite of Mr. Horner and Lord King, was declared, by parliament, not merely to be legal, but actually of equal value with gold. The war over,

soldiers had been disbanded; and those employed in the manufacture of the implements of warfare, found their occupation gone. Bad harvests and wild speculations still further aggravated the evils incident to the time. The *Gazette* teemed with notices of bankruptcy; and, in all the great cities of the empire, men and women were starving and dying for a bit of bread.

The poet tells us—

> "Of all the ills that men endure,
> How small the part that laws can cure."

This is true; but, as the laws passed at that time had considerably aggravated, if not created the ills which men endured, what wonder is it if the ignorant herd, whether of the agricultural or the manufacturing districts, thought that government could do something for their relief. As, however, it did nothing, hunger made men parliamentary reformers; and, as Europe had been settled by means of physical force, it was but natural for the masses to believe that, by the same force, they could settle the condition of England, in a manner, at any rate, satisfactory to themselves.

In the year 1817, the farce, or tragedy, was really to be played out.

In going to open parliament, the prince-regent had been ill-received by a London mob. On his return, after delivering his speech from the throne, the carriage was surrounded; disloyal expressions were used; and, from words, the crowd proceeded to acts of violence. One of the glasses of the carriage was broken by stones, or balls from an air-gun, aimed at his royal highness.

In the Book of Common Prayer, the people are directed to pray, on behalf of the high court of parliament, "that Thou wouldest be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations, to the advancement of Thy glory; the good of Thy church; the safety, honour, and welfare of our sovereign and his dominions: that all things may be so ordered and settled, by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations." In 1817, these prayers had been in vain.

The ministry of that time is thus drawn by Mr. Roebuck:—"The Perceval administration, and that of Lord Liverpool, until it was somewhat liberalised by the death of Lord Londonderry, and by the preponderance of Mr. Canning, were the two worst governments which this country has endured during the last sixty years. It was the period of Lord Eldon's ascendency, and bears the mark of his uncultivated intellect; his narrow sympathies; his restless jealousy; his fierce prejudices; his general ignorance of the causes on which the welfare of the empire depended; and his indifference to that welfare, even in the few cases by which he could understand the means by which it might have been promoted.

"Administrations in which such a spirit was predominant, were naturally administrations of delay, inaction, and repression. Their object was to keep the country stationary; to support bribery in the boroughs, and intimidation in the counties; to keep the Catholics degraded, and the negroes enslaved; to restrict our commerce, or misdirect our industry; to support corruption by patronage, patronage by large establishments, and large establishments by grinding taxation; and to make that very taxation a plea for prohibitory duties on the necessities of life. When misgovernment produced disease, and disease discontent, they applied their remedies, not to the disease, but to the symptoms; they tried, not to remove dissatisfaction, but to repress its explanation: they persecuted the press; they let loose the yeomanry on public meetings; and suspended the Habeas Corpus."

This is a general indictment. The ministry were frightened, and lost their heads: they believed a vast plan of insurrection was formed, having its centre in the metropolis; but extending widely, also, through the mining and manufacturing districts of the north of England and Scotland; the object of which was the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic in its stead. Mr.

Nordin writes to Lord Sidmouth, from Manchester—"Jan. 3rd, 1817. The lower orders are everywhere meeting in large bodies, and are very clamorous. Delegates, from all quarters, are moving about amongst them as they were before the late disturbance; and they talk of a general union of the lower orders throughout the kingdom." Again, the Duke of Northumberland writes—"A very wide and extensive plan of insurrection has been formed, and which might possibly have been acted upon before this time, but for the proper precautions used to prevent it." Mr. Hunt commenced a tour through the western provinces, addressing the people everywhere in the most seditious and inflammatory language; and, in the densely inhabited districts of the north, appearances were still more alarming. On the 3rd of February, the prince-regent communicated to both houses of parliament, the existence of a secret and wide-spread conspiracy against the government; and, upon its receipt, a secret committee was moved for, and appointed in both Houses. They made their report on the 19th of February, and it was of a sufficiently alarming character. They declared that a conspiracy, which had its ramifications all over England, had been formed to overturn the government. There was to be a general rising in the metropolis; the prisoners were to be liberated; the barracks of the military, the Tower, the Bank, and other places of importance, were to be set on fire; the tricolour was to be raised; and the soldiers were to be won over to the popular cause. In a few days after, the ministry got parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to carry a bill for the prevention of seditious meetings. In vain Whigs and Radicals endeavoured to prevent the passing of such acts, and ridiculed their necessity. In every step they took, the government commanded overwhelming majorities: even when they proposed to punish with death, if a meeting, being summoned by a magistrate to disperse, did not immediately do so, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Sir James Macintosh, strenuously endeavoured, but in vain, to get seven years' transportation substituted for that extreme penalty.

The people, instead of being intimidated, became exasperated. The Home Office became the head-quarters of a system of espionage, which created the conspiracies it sought to suppress. In January, 1818, Romilly writes—"There had been no interruption of public tranquillity since the month of June last—a remarkable period; for it was in that month of June, that the conduct of government, in employing spies and informers, had been exposed and condemned in the House of Commons. From that time government had ceased to employ such instruments; and from the time when they ceased to be employed, all the signs of disaffection which had manifested themselves in different parts of the country had ceased." There can be no clearer evidence of the panic which existed at that time in the minds of ministers, or of the imaginary character of most of the conspiracies, which they considered fraught with danger to church and state. In one sense the ministers were right. Church and state were in danger; and they always are in danger when bad government exists.

On the 27th of March, Lord Sidmouth addressed a circular to the lord-lieutenants of counties, calling their attention to the numerous blasphemous and seditious publications which were circulating through the country; and stating, that any justice might issue a warrant to apprehend any person circulating such publications, upon oath, and hold him to bail. Numerous arrests were made in London, as Sir Samuel Romilly writes, of "obscure and indigent men." At Manchester, eight persons were apprehended on a charge of high treason, and eight at Leicester. The whole of the latter were convicted, and six suffered the last penalty of the law. On the 9th of June, an insurrection broke out in Derbyshire. It was headed by a man named John Brandreth; and, ere long, 500 men were assembled, who proceeded, in military array, to the Butterly iron-works, near Nottingham. On the road to the latter town, they were met by Mr. Rollaston, an intrepid magistrate of the county, with eighteen of the 15th Hussars, under Captain Phillipps, by whom they were stopped, pursued, and forty-five prisoners taken. Brandreth escaped at the time, but was soon after captured; and a special

commission having been sent down to Derby in autumn, he was capitally convicted, and suffered death, with Turner and Ludlam, his two associates; while eleven others were transported for life, and eight imprisoned for various periods.

But not yet had the danger passed away. Discontent was still rife, and government spies were hard at work. A second, and a still more alarming report was prepared, and laid before the House of Commons in June. It stated, that a plan of a general insurrection had been organised, which was to break out, in the first instance, in Manchester, on Sunday, 30th of March; and to be immediately followed by risings in York, Lancaster, Leicester, Nottingham, Chester, Stafford, and Glasgow. It was calculated that 50,000 persons would be ready to join them, in Manchester alone, by break of day; and with this immense force they were to march to attack the barracks and gaols, liberate the prisoners, plunder the houses of all the nobility and gentry, seize all the arms in the gunsmiths' shops, and issue proclamations, absolving the people from their allegiance, and establishing a republic. The outbreak in Derbyshire was a part of this design, which was only frustrated there, and elsewhere, by the vigilance and courage of the magistrates, and the prompt and steady action of the soldiery. This report answered its purpose. The House of Commons, by a majority of 190 to 50, continued the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act, till the 1st of March, 1818, when they finally expired.

A story is told of a lion, who, when seeing a picture in which a man is drawn killing one of his own species, remarked, that if the picture had been painted by a lion, the latter would have been drawn in the act of killing the man. Happily, in the case of the democracy of England at this time, we have not to trust entirely to the reports of paid spies before a frightened committee of the House of Commons. William Cobbett and Bamford gave us a good deal of the other side of the picture.

Bamford was an operative silk-weaver, in Middleton, Lancashire, and secretary of the Hampden club in that place—a club aiming exclusively at parliamentary reform. They sought manhood suffrage and annual parliaments by peaceful means. "It was not," writes Bamford, "until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading, and betraying—that physical force was mentioned among us." The proceedings at these clubs were generally as follows:—"They would," writes Bamford, "generally be found in a large room, an elevated seat being placed for the chairman. On first opening the door the place seemed dimmed by a suffocating vapour of tobacco curling from the cups of long pipes, and issuing from the mouths of the smokers in clouds of abominable odour; like nothing in the world more than one of the unclean fogs of the streets, though the latter certainly were less offensive, and, probably, less hurtful. Every man would have his half-pint of porter before him; many would be speaking at once; and the hum and confusion would be such as to give an idea of there being more talkers than thinkers—more speakers than listeners. Presently order would be called, and a comparative silence would ensue: a speaker, stranger, or citizen would be announced with much courtesy and compliment. 'Hear, hear!' would follow, with clapping of hands, and knocking of knuckles on the tables, till all the half-pints danced. Then a speech, with compliments to some brother orator or popular statesman; next a resolution in favour of parliamentary reform, and a speech to second it: an amendment on some minor point would follow; then a seconding of that: a breach of order by some individual of warm temperament; half-a-dozen would rise to set him right; a dozen to put them right; and the vociferation and gesticulation would become loud and confounding." In such proceedings surely there was nothing very harmful; and if they became more threatening, it was in consequence of government spies and government proclamations. On one occasion, when the House of Commons refused to receive a petition from the people, Sir Samuel Romily spoke on its behalf, arguing that, at that time, members should be more than usually ready to listen to the complaints of the unrepresented. Unfortunately the House was of another

way of thinking; and then in the clubs, as well as elsewhere, there were foolish fellows; and thus it came to pass that the Manchester blanket meeting was held, at which it was resolved that thousands of men should march to London, each with a blanket strapped on his back, soldier-fashion, and a petition in his hand. On the 10th of March the meeting was held, and dispersed by cavalry, and twenty-nine persons, who were on the hustings, taken prisoners. Nothing daunted, several hundreds set out on their way, Bamford with the rest, to London. They were pursued by constables and yeomanry, and dispersed at Stockport, though not till several received sabre-wounds, and a looker-on had been shot. A few managed to get as far as Derby. There a man came to Bamford, proposing that, in consequence of the treatment which the blanketers had received, a Moscow of Manchester should take place that very night. The weaver and his friends dismissed him with the assurance that he was the dupe of some designing villains. A few days after, the magistrates acquainted ministers with a plot for the destruction of Manchester as the signal for a general insurrection. Several arrests were made. The reverend chairman of the bench of magistrates stated, that, on the trial of these men, "purposes of the blackest atrocity must be disclosed." Yet all the parties arrested were discharged, not merely without trial, but actually without having had an indictment preferred against them. Such were the atrocious acts by means of which the ministry of that day sought to arm themselves with despotic powers. It must be remembered, too, that these powers were granted before they had attempted to enforce those existing. In answer to Sir Samuel Romilly, who urged this very point in the House of Commons when the report of the secret committee was discussed, the Attorney-general admitted, that, till within a few days, he had not instituted a single prosecution. The secret report stated that the ministry required fresh powers, to suppress the dangers which the utmost vigilance of government, under the existing laws, had been found inadequate to prevent. Sir Samuel Romilly remarks on this—"Sir Anthony Piggott, a member of the committee, told me that he did not know that it was there; and the truth was, no evidence was laid before the committee of any vigilance exerted by government to execute the existing laws."

In London, the elder Watson was acquitted, after a seven days' trial. No sane jury could be got to believe the evidence given by the government informer, Castles. There was another wretch in their employ, named Oliver. It was clear that he was employed by government; that he went down to the country as a London delegate, and deceived and deluded the poor people there. These circumstances, and Oliver's constant communications with the authorities, were discovered, and published by Mr. Baines in his *Leeds Mercury*, and, subsequently, brought before the House of Commons. Sir Samuel Romilly declared, that he "believed, in his conscience, the whole of the Derbyshire insurrection was the work of persons sent by government." And we have Bamford's evidence that Oliver was busy in May and June, urging on the Lancashire people to take steps that would bring them within the meshes of the law. Lord Sidmouth was a humane man; but he stands convicted, in the burning language of Henry Brougham, as "the recorded dupe of the informer;" guilty of "a cheat in fact, and a murder in anticipation;" the victim "of one who went about to ensnare that he might betray, and to corrupt that he might destroy."

The government next pursued higher game. Weary of peasants and weavers, they began a crusade against the press. Cobbett wisely suspended his publications, and sailed for America; and the prosecution of Thomas Jonathan Wooler (the Black Dwarf of the Radical newspapers) broke down. A few years previously, the law officers of the crown succeeded in getting a verdict in their favour. The brothers Hunt, of the *Examiner*, were the objects of attack. They had written what Lord Ellenborough was pleased to term a foul, atrocious, and malignant libel. The libel purported to be a reply to some fulsome praises which appeared in the *Morning Post*, addressed to the prince; and was as follows:—"What person un

acquainted with the true state of the case, would imagine, in reading these astounding verses, that this *glory of the people* was the subject of millions of shrugs and reproaches. That this *protector of the arts* had named a wretched foreigner his historical painter, in disparagement, or in ignorance, of the merits of his own countrymen. That this *Mæcenas of the age* patronised not a single deserving writer. That this *breather of eloquence* could not say a few decent *extempore* words—if we are to judge, at least, from what he said to his regiment on its embarkation for Portugal. That this *conqueror of hearts* was the disappointer of hopes. That this *exciter of desires* (bravo Messrs. —— of *Post!*), this *Adonis in loveliness*, was a corpulent gentleman of fifty. In short, that this *delightful, blissful, wise, pleasurable, honourable, virtuous, true, immortal* PRINCE was a violator of his word; a libertine, over head and years in debt and disgrace; a despiser of domestic ties; the companion of gamblers and demireps; a man who had just closed half a century without a single claim on the gratitude of his country, or the respect of posterity." For this libel the Hunts had each to pay £500, and to suffer an imprisonment, in separate prisons, of two years. In his valedictory address, Cobbett said—"Lord Sidmouth was sorry to say that I had not written anything the lawyers could prosecute with any chance of success. So that I could be sure of a trial, of whatever sort, I would have run the risk. But against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited, in any gaol in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without communication with any soul but the keeper—against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive."

In London, at this time, was one little man who had the pluck which Cobbett lacked—a pluck which will render his name immortal in the annals of political trials. The name of this man was William Hone. After an imprisonment of some months, he was brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench. We take the particulars of this celebrated event from a sketch supplied by Mr. Charles Knight, drawn and coloured, as we imagine, from personal observation. Mr. Knight says—

"On the morning of the 18th of December, there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of the Guildhall. An obscure bookseller—a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes—is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are, strangely mingled, twopenny political pamphlets, and old harmless folios, that the poor bookseller keeps for his especial reading, as he sits in his dingy back-parlour. The door-keepers and officers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen, for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags; but ever and anon, a dingy boy arrives with a handful of books, of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewed with dusty and tattered volumes, that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-aged man—a bland and smiling man, with a half-sad and half-merry twinkle in his eye—a seedy man (to use an expressive word), whose black coat is wondrous brown and threadbare, takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over the books which are his heralds. The charge was, of having parodied the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; 'thereby bringing the Christian religion into contempt.'" But every one knew better—knew that Hone was prosecuted for political offences—that his crime was Radicalism, and that alone.

The case for the prosecution consisted mainly in reading the parodies complained of, to the intense amusement of all present. "Then," says Mr. Knight, "the pale man in black rose, and, with faltering voice, set forth the difficulties he had in addressing the court; and how his poverty prevented him from obtaining counsel. And now he began to warm in his recital of what he thought his wrongs—his commitments—his hurried calls to plead—the expense of copies of information against him; and as Mr. Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, whom all thought would have mumbled forth a

hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and, in a short time, had possession of his audience, as if he were 'some well-graced actor, who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration.' As to the charge of ridiculing the Christian religion, it was untrue. He was a Christian himself. He maintained there were two kinds of parodies; and in defence of his position, he read and spoke for six hours. The editor of *Blackwood's Magazine* was a parodist; he parodied a chapter of Ezekiel. Martin Luther was a parodist; he parodied the first Psalm. And so was Mr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury. The author of the *Rolliad* was a parodist; and so was Mr. Canning." The defence was as ingenious as it was successful. Mr. Hone obtained a verdict in his favour. Great was the consternation in the Tory camp. Happily, as they thought, they had yet the chances in their favour.

Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough—"the fiery Lord Chief Justice," as he is called—came down the next day to see justice done to the prosecution. This time the libel charged was a parody on the Church of England Litany. The same defence was pursued, in spite of the interruptions of the judge; and with like success.

One day more was given to the suppression of the poor insignificant bookseller. Again, the Lord Chief Justice, determined the verdict should be against the prisoner, took his seat rather as a prosecutor than as a presiding judge. With reference to other matters, Sir Samuel Romilly refers to the "strong and intemperate way" of speaking adopted by the Lord Chief Justice generally; and we may be sure, that on this last day of trial, poor Hone and the jury would have the benefit of all his roughness and insolence. Hone was still undaunted in body and in mind; refused the offer of postponement, and took his trial for the publication of *The Sinecurist's Creed*, a parody upon that of *St. Athanasius*. For eight hours he addressed the jury; rebuked the judge, and quoted church authorities against the Athanasian creed. "Even his lordship's father, the Bishop of Carlisle, took a similar view of the creed." Ellenborough could stand it no longer. "For common delicacy, forbear," he exclaimed. "Oh, my lord, I shall certainly forbear," replied Hone, who had scarcely need to "hope the jury would not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." Hone again had triumphed, and was saved by a British jury from the malice of his persecutors. He gained more than he anticipated. The very next day, though a Sunday, Ellenborough wrote to Lord Sidmouth, expressing his wish to retire. Wilberforce eulogises "his love of good order, his vigorous understanding, his undaunted firmness; and so far as I know them, I am disposed to add, his sound constitutional principles." Others refer to him, as having "a frame of adamant, and a soul of fire." But the obscure, antiquarian bookseller had beaten him; and Lord Ellenborough did not long survive the disgrace.

Hone gained, as he deserved to do, an immense popularity by the trial; and a subscription was set on foot, to reimburse him for the expenses he had encountered, and the sufferings he had undergone. Nor did he often appear on the political stage, but devoted himself to the production of volumes full of quaint and illustrative matter. Mr. Knight speaks of him "as a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his antiquarianism; who was one that even old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after all such reading as was never read; who, in a few years, gave up his politics altogether: and devoting himself to his old poetry, and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century, after this conflict, in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal."

In 1818, the nation was in a more peaceful state: the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was repealed, and a general bill of indemnity to ministers was carried, though not without vigorous opposition, on the part of the Liberals, in the House of Commons. Canning, who had joined the ministry on the death of Earl Buckinghamshire, as President of the Board of Control, had now become the

leader of the House; and it is sad to find how well he worked on the side of privilege and power.

It may be asked—what was Lord Palmerston doing all this while? The answer is—attending to the duties of his office, and speaking as little, and as seldom as was possible. In the House he did nothing but move the army estimates and the Mutiny Bill. It is clear—if Hansard may be relied on—that he gave no open support to the measures of repression deemed so necessary then, and so unnecessary now.

On the vote for the army estimates for 1818, Lord Althorp proposed to reduce the number of men by 5,000, urging the frightful distress prevalent in the country, and dwelling on the enormous disparity between income and outgoings; the expenditure for the year previous having been £65,000,000, while even the oppressive taxation had yielded only £51,000,000. In the course of Lord Palmerston's rejoinder, he said—

"I do not mean to uphold the principle that the increase of population renders a proportionate increase of our military force necessary, or that a numerous population ought to be governed by the edge of the sword. But I appeal to the experience of the last few years, whether an increased population, depending upon agriculture and commerce, may not, from particular circumstances—such as a change of season and want of employment—be worked upon in such a manner, and brought into such a state of fermentation, as to render life and property unsafe without the protection of a large military force? Most of the gentlemen present have seen a proof of this in the riots which took place on the subject of the corn-laws, about three years back, when a large military force was necessary to protect them from insult in their passage to and from this House."

As might be expected, Lord Althorp's motion was lost. The only other occasions, during this session, in which Lord Palmerston addressed the House, save in the official performance of his duties, were on a somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory Copyright Bill, which he opposed; on the question of pensions to officers' widows; and on the claims of certain medical officers to share in the Waterloo prize-money, that most fertile source of discontent in the British army.

Just about this time, and for, we believe, the only time in his life, Lord Palmerston was in danger from an assassin. In the month of April, about one o'clock in the day, Lieutenant Davis, of the 62nd regiment of foot, went to the War Office, and inquired of his lordship's messenger if Lord Palmerston was in. The messenger replied that he was not, but that he was expected every moment; and the inquirer was invited to walk into the waiting-room, and write his name on the list of visitors, as is usual. Davis declined doing so; but waited about the lobby, frequently asking if his lordship would soon arrive. A little before two, Lord Palmerston came to the War Office, and was passing up the steps, when the messenger informed Lieutenant Davis that he was lucky, for his lordship had come, and there was no visitor before him. Davis followed the noble lord, and then hastily retreated down stairs with the pistol in his hand, calling out—"I have done for him." He was immediately seized, and conveyed to Queen Square police-office. Mr. Astley Cooper soon arrived; examined his lordship's wound; and was enabled to report that it was not dangerous. The pistol had been loaded with ball, which had lacerated his lordship's right side; but did not lodge in the flesh. The prisoner, on being examined, proved to be a native of Wales, and formerly an officer in the West Middlesex militia. He had volunteered to join the militia corps which had offered their services for the army of Lord Wellington in the year 1814, and had, in consequence, obtained a lieutenancy in the 62nd regiment, with which he had served for some time in Canada. Various circumstances were stated which proved the man to be of unsound mind. He had no motive whatever for making the attack, as his lordship had shown every disposition in his power to forward an application which Davis had made for a pension. He was given up to his friends; and, happily, no serious consequences resulted from his rash act. Before we pass

away to other and more important matter, let us add a few extracts from his lordship's speeches in defence of flogging in the army, and of the employment of foreign soldiers. His lordship argued—

"A foreign sovereign (William III.) was then on the throne, and the people were not then, as they now are, familiarised to the use of arms; the whole standing army being then not above 20,000 men. There then existed no war like the present, in which we see Bonaparte sending Spaniards into the north, Germans into Spain, and Poles to preserve the tranquillity of Italy. Is there, then, any serious ground for apprehension for the liberties of the country, when we know that the number of foreigners in our service is limited by law to the number of 16,000; and that of those the far larger proportion go abroad?"

Again, in reply to Lord Folkstone, he, with reference to the same subject, said—"If any man would look at the map of Europe, and see what a portion of its population the enemy had forced into hostility against this country; if he were also to consider the limited population of these two islands, and the extensive colonies we had to defend, and the navy we had to support, it appeared to him hardly possible that such a man could now adhere to the idea of not employing foreigners in our service. Looking at the present state of the world, and viewing the countless hosts that were arrayed against Great Britain, single-handed, it seemed to him the height of absurdity to make such an objection. Because of our having swept the seas of our enemy, and because our small but gallant armies had hitherto stood undaunted and unbroken before the overwhelming forces of France and all her dependent states, was it to be urged that we were, unaided and unsupported, capable of maintaining for ever so unequal a contest?"

Lord Palmerston thus expressed his opinion with reference to flogging in the army:—"I do not think it fair to argue from analogy against this mode of punishment. In foreign armies, where corporal punishment is not systematic, there exists what is still more degrading to man—a system of wanton and capricious ill-usage. Trials by court-martial are governed by the strict spirit of justice, and therefore cannot be said to overthrow the energies of the men. With respect to corporal punishment, it is not coeval with the present men, as has been stated, but has existed in all times when the military service has been called into action. With respect to promotions, an honourable baronet and a gallant general have stated some instances of privates being elevated to commissions. I shall state another fact. After the battle of Busaco, the commander-in-chief sent to Lord Wellington ten ensigns' commissions, as rewards for so many non-commissioned officers who had greatly distinguished themselves."

The reader may be disappointed at finding Lord Palmerston a supporter of these acts of government to which we have referred in such terms of censure. We must remember that Canning and Peel also equally participated in them; and yet, in our time, it is admitted that they deserved well of their country, and that, in reality, they were the true friends of progress, so far as the public was ripe for it. Nothing is more unfair than to judge of a statesman of a past day by the light of the present. In their views, the Whigs were nearer the truth than the Tories; and yet a Whig administration was an utter impossibility, and could not—viewed, as it would have been, with aversion and distrust by the monarch and the public alike—have lasted a day. All these great men began life as Tories. Toryism was popular then. A majority of the middle classes were Tories. The genius of Pitt had won over to that side, as Sir Lawrence Peel has remarked, "a body of men naturally inclined at all times, but with moderation, to Whig principles. The horror inspired by the excesses of the French revolution had effected, for a time, a great change, and an unnatural heat in the mind of the middle rank of the English people." England was rapidly outgrowing its institutions; a new and better spirit was moving on the surface of the political waters: a day was to come when Canning was to liberalise the foreign policy of England; when Peel was to abolish political and religious restrictions; when Palmerston was to help to carry a

noble measure of reform: but, in the meanwhile, they had to wait. The motto of the practical politician must be *Quieta non movere;* not to put new wine into old bottles. Of course, the great men we have named could have gone out of office. And what would have been the result? That their places would have been filled up with Tories, of the Eldon and Castlereagh school; and that we should have had acts of restriction more oppressive, and catastrophes more tragical, than those we have already recorded. Lord Palmerston began life as a Tory; he represented a Tory university; he served under a Tory leader. He may not be blamed, or sent to Coventry, for that; but he would have been richly to blame had he remained a Tory when the nation was growing liberal; had he become an obstructive while progress was the order of the day; had he idiotically tried to stop the rising tide, which swept away for ever Tories of the type of Lord Castlereagh, or Chancellor Eldon.

In England, the Alien Act was continued two years longer, on the ground that it was necessary to keep out, as well as send out of Great Britain, those persons who should avail themselves of their vicinity to France, to foster a spirit menacing to the security of our own and the other governments of Europe. Order in Ireland was effected independently of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or of a bill for the suppression of seditious meetings. Ireland being wholly an agricultural country, suffered grievously from the disastrous fall of prices, produced by the scarcity of corn and coin. So serious were the agrarian disturbances in the country, that government brought forward a bill, which Sir A. Alison declares was attended with the very best effects. It was introduced by Mr. Peel, the Secretary for Ireland (afterwards Sir Robert Peel), to whose measures, in the course of our subsequent pages, we shall often have to refer. The object of the bill was to establish a general police force, capable of acting together in any country which the Lord-Lieutenant might determine; that officer having the power of directing what portion of the expense was to be laid on the inhabitants. The measure met with general approbation, and proved so efficacious, that government did not find it necessary to extend the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to Ireland; and were able to reduce the military force in that country from 25,000 to 22,000 men, and the artillery from 400 to 200 guns.

The social condition of the country, and its general prosperity, were much improved in the year 1818. The change had begun in the middle of the preceding year, and arose chiefly from prices of agricultural produce having risen, and from the consequent improvement in the home market. The funds rose 30 per cent.; and the bankruptcies were less than those of the preceding year by 454. In England no change of great importance took place. Distress still prevailed in some of the midland and northern counties; and the operatives of Lancashire remained in a state of organised resistance to their masters. Several outbreaks occurred at Burnley, and another at Stockport—promptly suppressed, without bloodshed, by means of the Manchester yeomanry. How little the right way to create and maintain order in states was understood at this time, is evident from the fate which attended Mr. Brougham's motion in the Commons, for an address to the prince-regent, praying for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of education of the poor throughout England and Wales, and to report thereupon. On this address the previous motion was put and carried: and the same fate attended another proposal—that the commissioners should inquire into the abuses of charities not connected with education. Just at this time, let the reader remember, Foster, in his *Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance*, was describing the people (to use his own language), as "odiously and loathsomely vile, degraded, and depraved;" and only because people in power condemned all such efforts as those of Mr. Brougham, and preferred to rule by physical rather than moral force. The order created by the legislation of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Canning, was not of an enduring kind.

The real friends of order had, at this time, to deplore a heavy loss. Sir

Samuel Romilly—the humane and the philosophical, the enlightened champion of that knowledge and freedom, without which true order cannot exist—in a moment of insanity, occasioned by the death of a wife, to whom he was devotedly attached—committed suicide, just as he had been returned at the general election for Westminster, under the most gratifying circumstances. Even Sir A. Alison confesses, "he was eminently sincere and pious in his feelings, and humane in his disposition, almost to a fault. It was the strength of these feelings which led him to engage with such warmth, and prosecute with such perseverance, the reformation of the criminal code in England, and the extirpation of the many sanguinary enactments which disgraced its statute-book. Humanity owes him much, for having been the first to enter upon that glorious task." He was, in the highest degree, amiable in his private life, and beloved alike by his friends and opponents. When Lord Eldon first beheld the vacant seat at the bar where Sir Samuel used to sit, he was so affected that he burst into tears, and broke up the court. A purer, nobler, loftier patriot than Romilly never lived.

CHAPTER XVI.

SEDITION AND CONSPIRACY.

In the preceding chapter we have implied that order reigned in England. We have shown how that order was created. We have now to teach how unreal and hollow it was. Tacitus speaks of the tyrants who made a solitude, and called it peace. The order maintained by Lord Sidmouth was of a similar character. To feel one's wrongs, and demand one's rights, is every man's eternal and inalienable birthright. Fine, imprisonment, death, are powerless against it; cannot weaken or destroy it. It is true, in a barbarian state of society, the despotism of an Akbar, or a Charlemagne, or a Saint Louis, may be a benefit; but the England of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, of Newton and Locke, was not in a state of barbarism, and was to be governed only by wisdom, and the might of tenderness and truth. Lord Sidmouth and his colleagues could not realise this fact; they trusted to harsh legislation and spies; to the exclusion of newspapers and books; to the prevention of public meetings; to the perpetuation of ignorance; and thus prolonged the disaffection and discontent they professed to deplore.

What the people of England demanded then, they have got now. The corn-laws have been repealed; taxes have been lightened; the press has been freed; the rotten boroughs have been swept away; Roman Catholics and dissenters have been admitted to the rights of citizenship; the benefits of education have been extended; and the laws have been ameliorated, and rendered more humane. Ministers are not afraid of the people now: they were then—as they had every reason to be. Nominally, the country was at peace: in reality, it was in a state of chronic discontent, which a spark might, at any instant, kindle into flame.

In 1819, a new parliament met in Westminster, and, very unwisely, imposed new taxes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, admitted that there was a deficiency in the revenue of the year to a very considerable extent. He proposed a tax of 1*s.* 2*d.* per bushel on malt, which he estimated would produce £1,400,000; by a tax on tobacco he expected £500,000; from one on coffee and cocoa, £130,000; from one on pepper, £30,000; from one on spirits distilled in England, £500,000; from one on tea, £130,000; and from a duty of 6*d.* per lb. on foreign imported wool, £500,000. He further submitted a plan for allowing individuals who chose to pay an immediate addition of 5 per cent., and in some

cases 10 per cent., on the assessed taxes, to be free from any increase for three years, whatever addition they might make during that period to their establishment. A loan was also to be raised, of £12,500,000. Poor Vansittart knew but little of finance. Most of the new taxes were resolutely opposed. It was insisted that they would press very heavily on the poorer classes of the community. Ministers did not see it; and a House of Commons, elected not to see it, was equally blind. Experience, however, had shown, that when new taxes were put on articles in general demand, they were invariably paid by the consumer: the articles were enhanced in price by the additional duty, and often a little more, on account of the increased capital the dealer was compelled to employ.

Out of doors, Radical reformers (many of them not the wisest of men) availed themselves of the prevailing discontent to further their own selfish or patriotic ends. Meetings of distressed operatives were held at Glasgow, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stockport, and elsewhere. Sir Charles Wolseley, a Staffordshire baronet, "an honest, but not very wise man," made his *débût* at the Stockport meeting; and at the Chester assizes an indictment was found against him for the speech then delivered. At Manchester, and all the principal towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, meetings were held to appoint delegates to a great reform union, and to resolve to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of articles paying custom or excise duty. Female democratic clubs began to be established: all of a sudden, sedentary artisans took it into their heads to drill; and, as teachers, disbanded soldiers, or old militia-men, were in great request. Lord Sidmouth and the prince-regent were much alarmed; and the Manchester massacre was the result.

Orator Hunt was to hold a public meeting at Manchester; but it was forbidden by the county magistracy, Manchester at that time being, in the eye of the law, a village. The borough-reeve was then memorialised to call a town meeting on the subject of parliamentary reform. This he refused to do (and very wisely; for, with parliamentary reform, came the abolition of the borough-reeve of Manchester). Nevertheless, the people were determined to hold a meeting; and it was arranged to take place on Monday, August 16th, in St. Peter's Fields—a large tract of ground. The hustings were placed where now stands the Free-trade Hall; and Orator Hunt was there. The scene opened joyously enough. Mr. Archibald Prentice, an eye-witness, thus describes it:—"I saw the main body proceeding towards St. Peter's Fields, and never saw a gayer spectacle. There were haggard-looking men, certainly; but the majority were young persons in their best Sunday suits; and the light-coloured dresses of the cheerful, tidy-looking women, relieved the effect of the dark fustian worn by the men. The marching, of which so much was said afterwards, was what we often see now in the processions of Sunday-school children, and temperance societies. To our eyes, the numerous flags seemed to have been brought to add to the picturesque effect of the pageant. Our company laughed at the fears of the magistrates; and the remark was, that if the men intended mischief, they would not have brought their wives, their sisters, or their children with them. I passed round the outskirts of the meeting, and mingled with the groups that stood chattering there. I occasionally asked the women if they were not afraid to be there; and the usual laughing reply was—'What have we to be afraid of?' I saw Hunt arrive, and heard the shouts of the 60,000 persons by whom he was enthusiastically welcomed, as the carriage in which he stood made its way through the dense crowd to the hustings. I proceeded to my dwelling-house in Salford, intending to return in about an hour or so, to witness in what manner so large a meeting would separate. I had not been at home more than a quarter of an hour, when a wailing sound was heard from the main street; and, rushing out, I saw people running in the direction of Pendleton, their faces pale as death, and some with blood trickling down their cheeks. It was with difficulty I could get any one to stop and tell me what had happened. The unarmed multitude—men, women, and children—had been attacked, with murderous results, by the soldiery."

The carnage was great, and perfectly unnecessary. It appears that, late on the previous night, the magistrates had resolved to arrest Hunt and his friends in the midst of this immense mass of his followers. It seems as if the magistrates had resolved that bloodshed should ensue. They had ready six troops of hussars; a troop of horse artillery, and two guns; a regiment of infantry; three or four hundred of the Cheshire yeomanry, and forty of the Manchester—the latter "hot-headed young men, who had volunteered into the service from their intense hatred of Radicalism." It was said the Riot Act was read; but it is clear the mob, or the greater part of them, knew nothing about it. Just as Hunt had commenced his speech, a body of yeomanry entered the field with drawn swords. Hunt called on those around him to stand firm, and receive them with three cordial cheers. This was done; but the yeomanry, having paused to breathe their horses and form their ranks, dashed through the crowd towards the hustings, where the commander told Mr. Hunt that he must consider himself their prisoner. He implored the people to be tranquil, and stated that he would willingly surrender to any civil officer who might produce a warrant. This was accordingly done, and Hunt was placed in custody. A few more prisoners were made. Had not the yeomanry made a dash at the flags, and created considerable confusion and alarm, all would have passed off quietly. In that confusion their own ranks were broken, and they were in danger from the just vengeance of the mob. The commander of the hussars says, at this moment he was called upon to act, and that he saw, at a glance, the yeomen were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe. His troop was ordered to the rescue; and though they only used the backs of their sabres, fearful were the wounds they made. "People, yeomen, and constables," says the officer, "in their attempts to escape, ran one over the other; so that, by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up at a considerable elevation above the level of the field." The yeomen, cowardly and infuriated, completed the work of destruction; and, dashing in at every opening, struck right and left. Bamford, who was on the hustings, says—"Women, white-vested maids, and tender youth were indiscriminately sabred or trampled on. Few were the instances in which that forbearance was vouchsafed which they so earnestly implored. It did not take long to disperse the crowd. In ten minutes the field was an open and almost deserted space. The yeomanry had dismounted; some were easing their horses' girths; others adjusting their accoutrements; and some wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Before night, eight men, two women, and a child were taken up dead or mortally injured; and the wounded, by hundreds, had fled or been carried home."

The success of the friends of order had been complete. The magistrates were alarmed; and a private meeting of their supporters was got up, to thank them, in the name of the town; which was immediately met by the protest of 4,800 inhabitants. The government, of course, sided with the magistrates: but votes of censure, and demands for inquiry, were passed by great meetings in London, Westminster, Glasgow, York, Bristol, Nottingham, Norwich, Liverpool, and other large towns, and the county of York. To relieve the wounded, and defend the prisoners, a committee was formed at Manchester; and, attended by a deputation from London, they reported 560 cases of serious injury. In reality, the number was much greater. It is to the credit of the working-men that they suffered all this injury, and attempted to take no revenge.

The fears of the government were really quite uncalled for. A meeting had been held in London in July. The artillery and the cavalry, and the horse and foot-guards were called out; special constables were sworn in. At the Tower, the Bank, and the public offices, the usual guards were doubled. Preston, the shoemaker; Watson, recently tried for high treason; Hunt, and Harrison were there. They demanded universal suffrage, and claimed taxation and representation. At the close of the meeting, Harrison was arrested, and was quietly removed by the

constable—no resistance being offered by him or any of the spectators. Nothing could be clearer than the peaceful nature of the meetings, to repress which the government used such extraordinary powers.

Prosecutions were now the order of the day. Sir Francis Burdett had to pay a fine of £2,000 for a letter, written to his constituents, on the subject of the Manchester massacre; and Earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from the lord-lieutenantship of the West Riding, for having taken part in the Yorkshire county meeting. The verdict of a coroner's inquest, which had sat nine times upon one of the sufferers, was quashed by the Court of Queen's Bench; and the Lancashire grand jury threw out the indictment preferred against the yeomanry. Hunt, and nine others, were tried at York the following year, for sedition. The former had two years' imprisonment; Mr. Harrison had eighteen months; and Sir Charles Wolseley the same, for harangues at Stockport and Ashton-under-Lyne. The corporation of London addressed the prince-regent. His answer was not very complimentary. "With the circumstances preceding the late meeting at Manchester," said his royal highness, "you must be unacquainted; and with those which attended it you appear to have been incorrectly informed."

The prince-regent and the ministry were not satisfied with administering such mild rebukes, or with trusting to the ordinary course of law. An extra meeting of parliament was held in November. "I regret," said the prince-regent, in his opening speech, "to have been under the necessity of calling you together at this period of the year; but the seditious practices so long prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts of the country, have been continued with increased activity since you were last assembled in parliament. They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested utterly hostile to the institutions of this kingdom; and aiming, not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and of all order in society. I have given directions that the necessary information on this subject shall be laid before you. And I feel it to be my indispensable duty to press on your immediate attention the consideration of such measures as may be requisite for the counteraction and suppression of a system which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation."

The next day the promised evidence was laid before the parliament. It consisted of the correspondence of the Home Secretary and official persons. The letters of the Manchester magistrates confessed the distress existing in that district. The grand jury of Cheshire expressed their alarm. Sir John Byng said numerous meetings were to have been held; but they did not take place, in consequence of the disunion among the leaders themselves. In some quarters attention was drawn to the drilling of the poor, then so prevalent; and, in other directions, much stress was laid on the manufacture of pistols, pikes, and weapons of war. Similar representations from the south-west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off in a still more extraordinary degree, were also made. At any rate, the ministry laid before the House sufficient alarming matter to excuse and demand, as they thought, legislative enactments; and the results were, the notorious "*Six Acts.*" They were—first, an Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanor; the second, to obviate the training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise; the third, for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels; the fourth, to authorise justices of the peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms collected and kept for purposes dangerous to the public peace; the fifth, to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels; and the sixth, for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. The nature of these Acts is clear from their

titles. They were utterly destructive of liberty. They delivered up the country, bound hand and soul, to the oppressor. Canning, who must have known better, seems most recklessly to have supported every measure of government, and to have out-Heroded them in the cause of order. Wilberforce, who had previously said that the only fault to be found with the democrats, was "their laying, and causing the people to lay, so great a stress on the concerns of this world as to occupy their whole minds and hearts, and to leave a few scanty and lukewarm thoughts for the heavenly treasure"—now, though he "had no small reason to complain of some friends of the administration," thought it his "duty to come forward in support of the several measures which were proposed for the preservation of the public peace." The great unwashed had few friends. Had they been blacks, how eloquently Wilberforce would have pleaded their cause! In vain the Whigs and Radical members united to oppose the new restrictive measures: they were borne down by superior numbers. But Tierney and others did good service; and especially must we record, gratefully, the sarcasm and invective of Henry Brougham. The time, however, had not yet come to break up the solid phalanx of pensioners and placemen who flourished on government abuses. Not even did the mild attempts of Lord John Russell on parliamentary reform, at that time, gain much attention, or produce much effect.

The refusal of ministers to listen to the people, very nearly cost the former their lives. On the 5th of January, 1820, the Duke of Wellington wrote, that he had just heard that "Sidmouth had discovered another conspiracy." The duke here alludes to the Cato Street conspiracy.

Thistlewood, the head of this new conspiracy to murder his majesty's ministers, and throw the nation into confusion, had already, in 1817, taken his trial, with Watson, for high treason. He had served his country in a regiment of the line, in the West Indies; and having resigned his commission, spent some time in studying republican principles in America and France. After the acquittal of Watson, the Attorney-general declined to proceed, and Thistlewood was set free. Soon after this, he was silly enough to send a challenge to Lord Sidmouth; and, being prosecuted for this offence, was fined and imprisoned. Again at liberty, he seems to have been anxious to revenge the treatment he had received; and, with this aim in view, got around him a few desperate characters—butchers and shoemakers, and people in a very humble condition in life. The plot was so absurd and wicked, that we can scarcely believe that it would ever have been attempted to be carried out, had it not been for the fostering care of Edwards, the government spy and informer. Actors, it is said, must please to live: the same remark is applicable to government regarding spies. In all the troubles of these times, we can always trace the dirty work of the hired spy and informer. It is to be hoped that Sidmouth and Castlereagh paid their tools well.

On the 23rd of February, it was arranged that the plot should be carried out; Edwards having informed the conspirators, that, on the above day, a cabinet dinner was to take place at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor Square. Forty or fifty of them engaged to assassinate the ministers, under a pledge of forfeiting their own lives if they failed through want of resolution. Other parties were, simultaneously, to seize the field-pieces in the Artillery-ground, and the London light-horse station in Gray's Inn Lane. Provided with cannon, they were then to take possession of the Mansion-house, which was to be the head-quarters of a provisional government. The Bank was to be secured; and to distract the attention of the authorities, several parts of the metropolis were to be fired. The place of rendezvous from which these infatuated wretches were to issue forth on their work of slaughter and rapine, was over a stable in Cato Street, in the Edgware Road.

Under the sanction of the government, the plot nearly reached maturity. Every care was taken to deceive and delude these contemptible conspirators. All the preparations for the cabinet dinner were continued. Nothing transpired that could lead Thistlewood and his friends for a moment to suspect that their inten-

tions were known; and they were just completing their preparations, when a party of policemen, under the direction of Mr. Birne, a Bow Street magistrate, appeared in Cato Street, where a detachment of Coldstream Guards had been ordered to support them. The police reached their destination about eight in the evening; ascended the ladder, and discovered the conspirators in the loft. In the *mêlée* which ensued, one of them was run through the body by Thistlewood, and fell. The candles were now blown out, and some attempted to escape. Thistlewood was not captured till the next day. In a little while, eleven of them were put upon their trial: one was pardoned; five were transported for life; and five, including Thistlewood himself, were sentenced to death. The execution was brutal and disgusting. The prisoners were first hung, and then decapitated. The horrible spectacle, witnessed by an immense crowd, lasted an hour and a quarter. The city was held by the military till the law was vindicated, and order restored.

Not even then did government succeed in winning the attachment, and securing the obedience, of the suffering poor. In vain Canning, with reckless flippancy, occasionally shocking (even Mr. Wilberforce), held them up to ridicule, as when he alluded to "the revered and ruptured Ogden:" in vain Lord Sidmouth devoted his time to the suppression of plots, which would never have existed had it not been for his well-paid, itinerating informers and spies: in vain parliament placed increased powers in the hands of government. Discontent was active as ever. It had been long smouldering; and now, we are told by an historian, broke out in a very contemptuous manner. A treasonable proclamation was discovered posted on the walls of Glasgow and Paisley, and the surrounding villages; and great was the panic in consequence. At Bonnymuir, an attack was made on the soldiery, who, however, succeeded in capturing nineteen persons, and wounding many more.

In the discussions which ensued, Lord Palmerston was compelled to take a part. The ministry had been blamed for enrolling a large additional number of veterans or pensioners. Upon Palmerston naturally fell the duty of expounding and defending the course adopted. "He had been blamed," he said, "on a former occasion, for not entering more at large into the reasons which had induced ministers to think this addition to the force of the kingdom necessary. He could only repeat now what he had said before—that the reasons for this increase of force were so notorious to every person in the country, that he should consider any attempt on his part to argue the necessity, not only a waste of the time of the House, but as trifling with the public understanding. If the justification of this measure were not sufficiently established by the events which had taken place since August last [the month of the Manchester tragedy], he was certain that no argument he could use, and no eloquence ever heard within these walls, would carry conviction with it."

The same subject was again brought forward, in connection with a proposal by Lord Nugent to reduce the army by 15,000 men. On this second occasion Palmerston went much more deeply and elaborately into the constitutional question involved:—"With respect to calling out the veterans, the noble lord considered it to be a violation of the constitution. If, however, he looked back to the constitution of this country, he would find many instances in which an augmentation had been made in time of peace, under an apprehension of approaching war, or of internal commotion. * * * * Many instances had occurred, in time of peace, where an augmentation of the military force had been effected, without any bill of indemnity, or any measure of the kind mentioned by the noble lord being deemed necessary. He admitted the argument of the noble lord, that no force could be constitutionally embodied without the consent of parliament; but that consent, he contended, had been obtained. In the speech from the throne, the intention of calling out this additional force was mentioned; and both houses of parliament, in their answer to the speech, plainly adverted to the circumstance. If, therefore, gentlemen conceived this proceeding to be unconstitutional, they would find it difficult to answer their country satisfactorily for having suffered so many months

to elapse without having agitated the question. But not only was the circumstance mentioned in the speech from the throne, and in the address in answer to it, but a specific vote of money was agreed to for the subsistence of those troops."

The following sentences contain the ministerial defence and apology:—"The noble lord would ask, 'Is it necessary now to keep up this additional force?' In answer to that, he would only ask gentlemen to turn their attention to the events that had passed since the period to which he had referred. He would forbear from adverting to the conspiracy that was discovered in London. A conspiracy to destroy some hundreds of individuals—to burn different parts of the metropolis—and to create a provisional government—was, it appeared, a matter of no importance to the gentlemen opposite. Did not the noble lord know that special commissions were issued for the north of England, and for Scotland, to bring persons to trial for the highest crime the law of this country contemplated—the crime of high treason? Did he not know that the scenes which gave rise to these commissions took place in February and March last? Did not the noble lord know that meetings of armed men had taken place in Scotland? Was he not aware that, in one instance, a body of these men had acted in hostility to the regular troops? Had he not seen the proclamation that was posted up in the town of Glasgow, purporting to be issued by a provisional government—the object of those signing it being, as they stated, 'to obtain their rights by force of arms?'"

The concluding sentences of this speech contained the following effective upbraiding of the opposition:—"The noble lord said he had watched with jealousy the strides towards a military despotism that had been made of late years. He would say that, if there were any set of men who could drive them to a military despotism, it was those self-called but misled reformers, who demanded that sort of reform in the country which, according to every just principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism. It was said that government met with the sword the complaints of the people. This was not the fact; they only met with the sword those who endeavoured to stir up and to take advantage of those irritated feelings which were the offspring of distress. The use of that military force was to keep down those outrages which had the worst effect on the prosperity of the country. Perhaps the noble lord thought it was immaterial to the industry and welfare of the country to be on the verge of a civil war? Those who knew the extent of these outrages would agree with him, whatever the noble lord might think, that any measure which tended to preserve the peace of the country, tended also to maintain its prosperity. The veterans had not been called out unconstitutionally, but to defend, from the machinations of traitors, those liberties which they had derived from their forefathers, and which, he hoped, they would transmit, unimpaired, to their children."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

DEATH, Horace tells us, attacks, with equal step, the cottage of the poor and the palace of the prince. In the royal family of England, at this time, there was an unusual mortality. The grave had not long closed over all that was mortal of the Princess Charlotte, than Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III., died, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Though she could lay no claim to beauty, she was, we are told, not deficient in those accomplishments which add grace and dignity to an exalted station. As a wife and mother, she was a pattern to her sex.

The death of the Princess Charlotte had caused a good deal of marrying in the royal family. George III. had been the husband of two wives. When Prince of Wales, he ran off with Hannah Lightfoot, a Quakeress, and had children by her. It is said he was married to her at Kew, by Dr. Wilmot, in the presence of the elder Pitt. He took good care that his sons should not imitate his example; and, for this purpose, he got parliament to sanction a law to prevent members of the royal family marrying subjects without the sanction of the reigning sovereign.

The result was, that the immoralities of his numerous sons were flagrant and outrageous, and that their marriages were mostly unhappy ones. The Duke of Sussex had married, but without the royal consent. The Duke of York was separated from his wife, as the prince-regent was from his. It was resolved, in 1818, that the Dukes of Kent, Cambridge, and Clarence should marry, as well as the Princess Elizabeth, then in her forty-eighth year. And the same parliament was asked for a grant to the Duke of Cumberland, who had married three years previously. The dotation to the latter was refused at once; and that to the Duke of Clarence, much to his annoyance, was very considerably reduced. Of all those marriages, that of the Duke of Kent was alone popular. He died January, 1820, after a short illness, in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving behind him an infant daughter—Alexandrina Victoria, our gracious queen, whom God preserve—

"Long to reign over us,
Happy and glorious."

In a week after the death of the duke, his poor, blind, widowed, insane father, George III., died, aged eighty-two, and in the sixtieth year of his reign. Over the last few years of his life an awful veil had been drawn.

The prince-regent now became George IV.; and there came a great scandal all over the land. "The arrival of the queen," writes Wilberforce's biographers, "soon introduced a new and fearful strife amidst the subsiding waves of civil strife."

On the 8th of April, 1795, the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess Caroline, of Brunswick. It was generally understood that, in forming this connection, his royal highness was influenced by the promise of an ample provision for the discharge of his debts, which, at that time, were very great; and this is the more probable, as his attachment to Mrs. Fitzherbert, to whom, it was believed, he was privately married, was well known.

In a few months the newly-married couple had separated. George IV. was not the man to be faithful to any woman long; and the princess never could have been a congenial mate for him. If she was not insane, she was certainly a little odd. From the *Diaries of a Lady of Quality*, just published, it is certain that a suspicion of insanity attached to the princess at this period. In her youth, "there were persons appointed to watch that she did not give notes, &c., &c.; but it was supposed that she always found means to elude their vigilance." Lord Redesdale is the authority for the following anecdote:—"Having been invited to dine with the Duchess of Brunswick, at Blackheath, he and Lady Redesdale, coming at the time specified, found themselves long before the rest of the company. They passed half an hour, *en tiers*, with the duchess, who, having known him from his earliest youth, began talking very confidentially and imprudently of the misconduct of her daughter; and ended with saying, 'But her excuse is, that, poor thing, she is not right here.' She struck her forehead, and burst into a violent flood of tears." Another story, from the same source, is certainly suggestive of eccentricity, at the least. "When the princess was at Baden, the grand duke made a *partie de chasse* for her: she appeared on horseback with a half pumpkin on her head. Upon the grand duke expressing astonishment, and recommending a *coiffure* rather less extraordinary, she replied, that 'the weather was hot, and nothing could keep her head so cool and comfortable as a pumpkin.'" It is argued, on behalf of the free and easy manners, of the princess, that she had been brought up in a free and unrestrained manner; that her father's residence was a palace of revels—a court of high romps,

where everybody was frank and equal, and licensed for gaiety and frolic; where they used to play at proverbs and lively forfeits of all sorts, in merry groups, like people at a fashionable *café*. To some, however, the princess was attractive. Sir Walter Scott was enthusiastic in her praise; and we know that, at her residence, Mr. Canning, as well as Lord Palmerston, were frequent guests. Lord Malmesbury assures us that she had a pretty face, fine eyes, good hands, tolerable teeth: and intimates that, though her expression was not very soft, nor her figure very graceful, that she had a good bust, and *des epaules impertinentes*. But the princess, if not a little flighty, wanted tact—a requisite indispensable in her royal position. She had no dignity. Her education had been, as regards decorum, much neglected. Indeed, it is clear that she was about the worst person that could be selected for the *rôle* she had to play in the tragi-comedy of life.

The fates were against her from the very first. The paramours of the prince took care that she should never have a chance. The poor princess, the moment she saw the prince and Lady Jersey together, realised her fate. "Oh, mine God!" she used to exclaim, in her own earnest way, "I could be the slave of a man I love; but to one whom I loved not, and who loved not me, impossible; *c'est autre chose*." And how did the first gentleman of the age behave to the girl who had left her happy home, trusting in his tenderness and truth. The accounts given by Lord Malmesbury and Lady Charlotte Bury are almost incredible. Think of a gentleman, with an oath, turning away from the lady to whom he is betrothed, and calling for a glass of brandy—who had already intimated to Lord Eldon, that "he was not the sort of person to let his hair grow under his wig to please his wife"—who had spoken of his approaching marriage, as "buying a pig in a poke." "Judge," to use the language of the princess herself, "what it was to have a drunken husband on one's wedding-day; and one who passed the greater part of the bridal night under the grate, where he fell, and where I left him." How could the princess love, honour, and obey such a lord. From such a marriage there could be but one result. It was easy to predict the end.

The royal pair separated: the husband to pursue his amours; the lady into an honourable confinement at Blackheath, where informers watched and waited, trusting and hoping something would occur; that the princess, with her free and unguarded nature, might say or do that which would give her enemy occasion to rejoice.

In 1805, when the royal pair had been living for some time apart, the Duke of Sussex informed the prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him several circumstances respecting the behaviour of the princess, which might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that the matter must be referred to the king. The next step was to appoint a commission to examine Lady Douglas and her husband. On oath, her ladyship swore that the princess was pregnant; that she was delivered of a child; and that it was then living with her. That evidence the commission declared disproved. An intolerable wrong had been done to the princess. Lady Douglas had been simply infamous; and her husband had aided her in her infamy and shame. But the forsaken wife had no friends; and to slander her was the way to win the favour of the prince.

It is curious how much the hoax, played upon the credulity of Lady Douglas, appears to have resembled the trick the princess, when a girl of sixteen, practised upon her parents. Lady Douglas says, not only had she observed the pregnancy of her royal highness, but that the latter had made not the least scruple of talking it over with her, and of describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. It appears, says Lady Charlotte Winn, that at Brunswick there was a grand Court ball, at which the princess was not allowed to appear.

She had her revenge. She painted her cheeks deadly pale; got into bed, and gave the alarm. All the palace was in perplexity: hurrying from the Court ball, in Court dresses, the grand duke and duchess rushed, agitated and in terror, to her side. "Send for the *accoucheur;* I am in labour!" shrieked out the princess, to the utter amazement of all around her. The girl's boisterous laughter soon revealed the hoax. We cannot help thinking, that the credulity of Lady Douglas suggested to the mind of the princess, to attempt to do, at Blackheath, what she had done previously at Brunswick. Perhaps an additional zest was given to the affair from the knowledge how lying tongues would carry it to the prince; and how it would grieve his kindly heart, that the wife of his bosom—the woman who had left her country and her home for him—the woman whom he had sworn on the altar to cherish and protect, had gone astray.

The commission drew up a report exonerating the princess of the very serious offence; but charging her with indiscretion.

This report had a very narrow chance of premature publication. The committee were Whig lords. The Whigs were the prince's friends; and fully expected office on his accession to power. This feeling was general all over the country. When the late Duke of Wellington returned from India to England, in 1805, he thus wrote to his brother, the Governor-general of India, on political affairs:—"Lord Grenville has been out of town ever since I arrived in England; but I went to Stowe, on my way to Cheltenham, where I underwent a bore for two days. Bucky is very anxious that you should join the opposition. He urged that, to join the opposition was the best political game of the day; and his notion was founded upon the difference of the age of the king and the Prince of Wales." The ministry of the time was a Tory one, with Perceval for leader; who was the principal adviser of the princess when the report appeared. He collected the evidence, and all the other documents which constituted that digest of royal scandal known as *The Book*, and got it printed. Canning strongly condemned the step, and returned immediately the copy sent, intimating, that with such a publication he would have nothing to do whatever. Perceval's political game, by the publication of his book, was the disgrace of his opponents, and the renewal of his own lease of power. It was scarcely printed when a change of administration took place; and it became necessary to suppress the publication. Perceval, going out in a hurry, left a copy on the table; which was stolen; and cost him, says Lady Hester Stanhope, £10,000 to get it back again. The editor of a Sunday paper, who had, by some means, obtained another copy, issued a mysterious notice of his intention to publish it; and was stopped by an injunction: but afterwards assured his friends that he had compromised the matter for £1,000. A copy got into the hands of another person connected with the press, who gave it up on payment, so it is said, of £5,000. Such was the desire to retrace a false step; but a step, by means of which Mr. Perceval trusted effectually to damage, in the eyes of the country, the Whig party in general, and the four Whig lords who were on the commission, in particular.

The princess acted as any woman would have done under similar circumstances. She addressed the king, asserting her innocence on all the matters referred to, and asking that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded. Having received those papers, the princess submitted them to her legal advisers, Lord Eldon, Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plumer; and transmitted to his majesty an elaborate letter on the subject. Nine weeks having elapsed without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety to learn whether she might again be admitted to the royal presence: in reply to which, she was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his majesty's confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion that it was no longer necessary for his majesty to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence; but that he hoped, in future, such a conduct would be observed by her as might fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the

king always wished to show to every part of the royal family. The princess, on the receipt of this communication, named a day on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself, in filial duty and affection, at his feet. The good old king, as his admirers loved to term him, refused to receive the forsaken and slandered woman whose innocence he had admitted, and who had appealed to him in her hour of distress. Surely posterity will cry shame on George III. for this.

Again and again did the princess appeal for justice and pity to the king. At length some concession was made in her favour, even as the widow gained her prayer from the august judge. When Perceval and his friends came into office, a minute of council was made, wherein it was humbly submitted to his majesty, that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that the Princess of Wales should be admitted into his presence, and be received in a manner due to her rank and station. Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that she was ever restored to complete favour; and her intercourse with her daughter, also, became subject to much restraint.

In January, 1813, the princess was so much debarred of the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince-regent on the subject. In this letter, which was transmitted to ministers, she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter; which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as countenancing those calumnious reports which had been proved to be unfounded. This letter produced some effect. The prince-regent directed that the whole of the documents referring to "the delicate investigation of 1806," as it was inappropriately called, should be referred to the Privy Council, to report whether the intercourse between the princess and her daughter should continue under restriction. The Privy Council decided against the princess.

As a *dernier resort*, in 1813, the princess appealed to parliament. Assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the House, and to require that the fullest investigation should be made into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. Mr. C. Johnstone moved for an address to the prince-regent, asking for a copy of the report of 1806, with a view to an inquiry into all the circumstances of the case while the witnesses were living. Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said, such a proceeding would be quite unnecessary to remove any apprehension as to the succession to the throne. The innocence of the Princess of Wales had been established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and if a prosecution had not been directed against the accusers, it arose only from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. It behoves us to add that the document called for was not produced; that the princess was declared free from imputations; and that addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom.

We have seen how the good old king acted to the princess. The next insult was to be from the queen. In 1814, as we have already stated, the allied sovereigns visited England. A short time before their arrival, the princess received a letter from the queen, acquainting her that, in a communication from her son, the prince-regent, he stated that her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considered his own presence at her Court indispensable; and that he desired it might be distinctly understood (for reasons of which he alone could be the judge) to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, whether in public or private. The princess next addressed a letter to the prince, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceedings he had thus thought fit to adopt. She had been declared innocent, and would not

be treated as guilty. Her royal highness also addressed a letter to the Speaker, inclosing, for the information of the House, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion. In the course of the debate which ensued, Lord Castlereagh adverted to a fact, not before generally known—namely, that there was in existence an instrument, dated in the year 1809, signed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and approved by his majesty; and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time was applied, which provided for a distinct establishment for the princess, and admitted the fact of the separation.

In the same year, the persecuted princess went to reside abroad. She stayed away six years. English ministers at foreign Courts were instructed not to recognise the princess; and if in any Court a public reception was given her, the British ambassadors were to absent themselves. During this foreign residence, rumours as to her conduct reached England. It was stated that she was living in a state of adultery, with an individual whom she had rapidly raised from the obscure situation of her courier to that of the first post in her household. In 1818, Mr. Cooke, a gentleman in an extensive practice at the Chancery bar, and Mr. Powell, an eminent solicitor, were despatched on a secret mission to Germany, to make inquiries and collect evidence relative to the princess's conduct. Of course the inquiry was a secret one. This was the celebrated Milan commission. Sir John Leach, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and first law adviser, got much obloquy by it. It was said that he went over to Italy himself to forward the project. That he went there at the time, is certain; and, quite by accident, happened to go to Milan. The disgrace of this dirty transaction does not attach to the cabinet. Lord Palmerston knew nothing of it. The deed was done by Sir John Leach, and Lords Eldon and Liverpool.

The death of King George III. made, of course, the princess queen. Now came the tug of war. Under the date of April 27th, 1820, Wilberforce writes—"The Vice-Chancellor Leach has been trying to root out the ministry; he has been telling the king that his present ministers are not standing by him; that he ought to have a divorce. There has been a flirtation between Tierney and the king." The queen had refused all offers of compromise; and arrived in London in June—"Crowds greeting her," writes Wilberforce. "She approaches wisely, because boldly: fixes at Alderman Wood's: Brougham with her"—Brougham, her chief law adviser, who was to win, from her defence, a world-wide renown.

The king lost no time in communicating to both houses of parliament the result of the Milan inquiry. The queen was equally active. Her case is stated in the following letter, read to the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham:—

"The queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons that she has been induced to return to this country in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace, for some time, by secret agents abroad; and lately sanctioned by the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatever but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

"Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring their attention to written documents; and she learns, with still greater astonishment, that there is no intention of proposing that these should be referred to a secret committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were made against her majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to meet the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now, also, desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject in the realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents privately prepared by her

adversaries, as a proceeding unknown by the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies, with full confidence, upon the integrity of the House of Commons for defeating the only attempt she has reason to fear.

"The queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner well calculated to prejudge her case. The omission of her name in the Liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight of the English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence, must be received as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction."

Into the quarrel now commenced Wilberforce plunged as a mediator. Negotiations were entered into again and again, without success. All England sided with the queen. They admired her spirit; and they all knew how infamously she had been used. Addresses to her majesty came pouring in from the city of London, followed by other cities, towns, corporations, villages, guilds, and associated bodies. The Italian witnesses to the queen's guilt were in fear of their lives. The ministry and their friends dreaded the 17th of August, when the trial of the queen was to commence. "I go up," wrote Wilberforce, "to try if I can prevent the inquiry. Yet I feel deeply the evil, that so bad a woman as I fear she is, should carry the victory by sheer impudence (if she is guilty), and assume the part of a person deeply injured." Again, we take another extract from the *Diary*—"Lord Castlereagh appears even more impressed with the danger than Lord Liverpool himself." Not only the "political dissenters," as Wilberforce termed them, prayed for the queen by name, but even the Wesleyan Methodists did so: "and thus this exclusion is," writes Wilberforce, "a most unhappy circumstance, because it has been the means of introducing a political feeling into the church." It was only in the prayer for "all that are desolate and oppressed," as Mr. Denman beautifully remarked, was it permitted to churchmen to remember their injured queen.

The trial, as we have stated, commenced August 17th, on the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, in the House of Lords. Such an event had never occurred before in English history; and, it is to be hoped, may never occur again. Day after day the House was crowded in every part, the queen herself being present; while tale after tale, of revolting indecency as to her conduct, was repeated by the witnesses, who generally broke down under the searching cross-examination of her counsel; and the answer of one Majochi—*non mi recordo*—became a popular by-word. On the 8th of September the examinations were concluded; and then the queen's counsel asked for, and obtained, an adjournment to the 3rd of October. Another month was consumed by the speeches of Messrs. Brougham, Denman, and Lushington; the examination of witnesses for the defence; and the replies of Sir B. Gifford and Sir John Copley. On the 6th of November, the division on the second reading was taken, and showed a majority of only twenty-eight. Four days later, on the third reading, the majority had dwindled down to nine. The ministers had no alternative now but to abandon the bill. After the merited failure of this measure, the Marquis of Tavistock moved, in the House of Commons, for a vote of censure upon the ministers. Their conduct was commonly censured in private, even amongst their own supporters. They stood, in a manner, self-condemned; for it was kowu that, originally, they had been adverse to the proceedings against the queen, and had yielded to a mind which they should rather have directed to wiser conduct. The only member of the cabinet who stood out to the last against Lord Liverpool's proposal to relinquish the prosecution, was Lord Eldon. His lordship always adopted this course; and thought all the better of himself for his foolish obstinacy.

The result of the trial rejoiced the public, who considered the conduct of the

king as unmanly and degrading; and who sympathised with the gallant spirit with which the queen refused all overtures of peace, and wrestled, under every disadvantage, for her rights. On her daily progress, the princess was cheered and sustained by the honest mob, who had no party interests to serve; who saw, in the woman before them, one who had suffered the most terrible of all wrongs—who, for no offence, had been turned out of her husband's house, and her daughter taken from her; who was forced into banishment as it were; had been denied even the poor consolation which the public recognition of her title as queen would have given her; and who, if she had done wrong, might retort it upon him who made her do it; who had dragged her from her home; forced her from society; pointed at her the finger of scorn; and had cast her, forsaken, betrayed, with a heart bruised and broken, reckless and desolate, on the wide world alone.

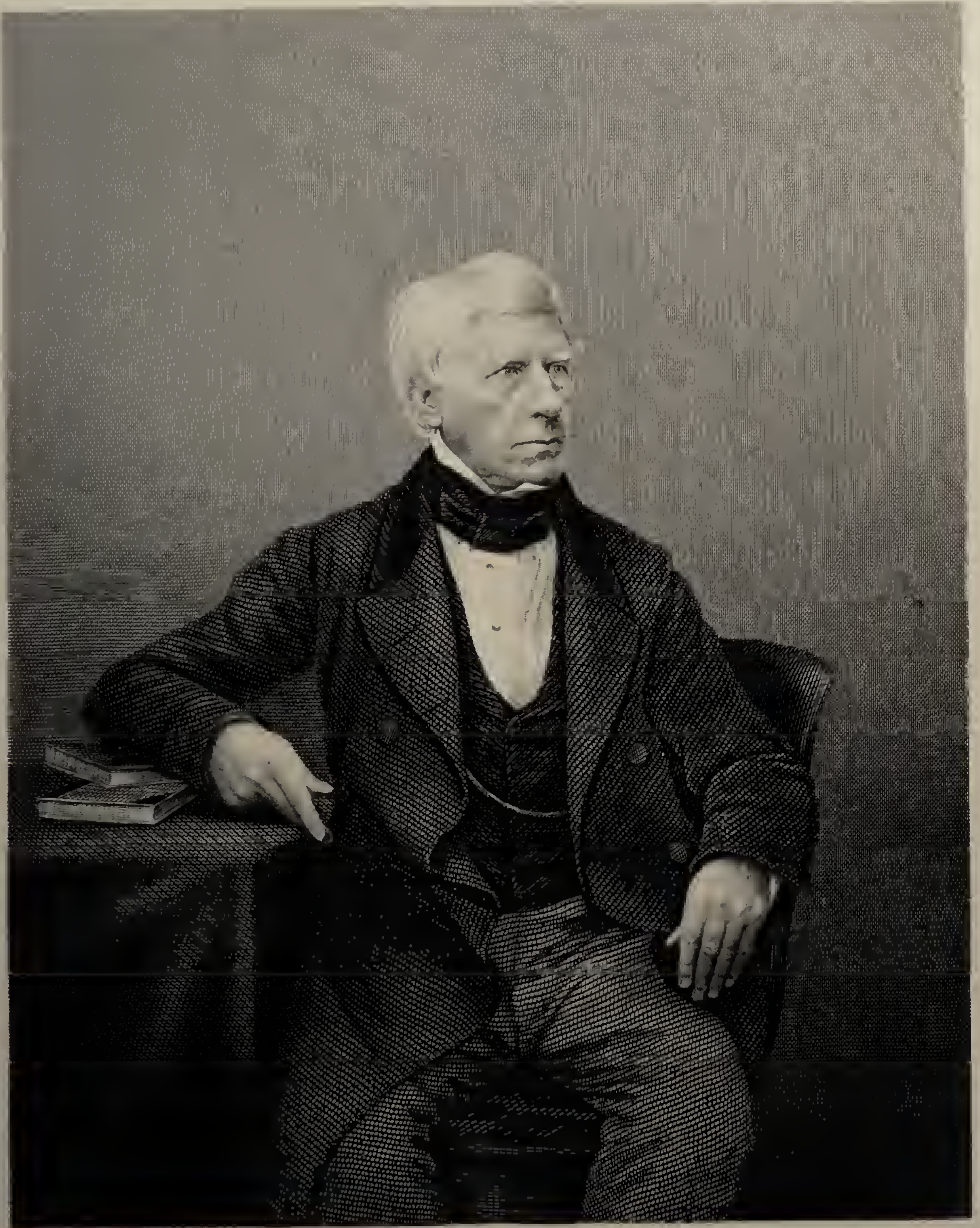
London cheered as it heard the result of the queen's trial; joyful messengers carried the glad tidings all over the land. Wilberforce was at Bath, and tells us how he saw "the early coaches from London come in, men and horses covered with white favours," in consequence; and so it was in all the great towns of the empire. "On the evening of the day," writes a cotemporary historian, "on which the bill was left to its fate, as well as on the following Saturday and Monday, illuminations took place in all parts of the metropolis, and the demonstrations of joy, exultation, and triumph were, on those nights, as strongly exhibited as on any occasion of public rejoicing. In most parts of the kingdom similar scenes took place, and congratulatory addresses were abundantly voted to her majesty from various corporations, fraternities, and public bodies, who, for a lengthened period, filled the approaches to Brandenburg House with all the pageantry of procession on the days appointed for their reception by the queen."[1] Wilberforce has a sneer at Lady Fitzwilliam and the Duchess of Somerset congratulating her majesty on her honourable acquittal; but we are not sure that sneer is altogether deserved. The poet complains, that—

> "Every wrong a tear can claim,
> Except an erring sister's shame."

If her majesty had done wrong, surely she had received punishment enough. But her accuser did not come into court with clean hands; and it speaks well for England, that some of her highest-born ladies, in spite of the royal favour, could join in the sympathy which, in the middle and lower ranks of life, ran strongly and disinterestedly in favour of England's injured queen.

The gigantic efforts of Mr. Brougham at this crisis are almost incredible, and did equal honour to his head and heart. In this cause it seemed as if he had everything at stake. His whole mind and soul were embarked in it. He appeared for the time like a man inspired, carried out of himself, and sustained, by the strength of a mighty purpose, under difficulties which would have crushed even the physical energies of a man less powerful in intellect, and less devoted in aim. His speeches in connection with this subject would fill a volume: they touched and fired men's hearts, as well as convinced their understanding. At this distance of time even, they are a magnificent addition to our oratorical literature.

"Probably," says a writer in the *Annual Register*, "for that year, no measure was ever introduced into parliament on the success of which the crown took a deeper interest than in that of the bill for the degradation of the queen. It was a measure, too, in behalf of which many sound reasons might be urged; for it was much less difficult to assign grounds for believing her majesty guilty, than to find out pretexts for saying that she was innocent. Yet, in spite of all the royal influence—in spite of the strong case which ministers made out—in spite of the aid which they derived from some of the ablest members of the opposition, they were, notwithstanding, obliged to yield to the general clamour, and to abandon their measure. Such a result, whether it was wise or unwise, just or unjust, in this particular case, ought, at least, always to be recollected as a noble proof of the



independence of our aristocracy. Our nobles disregarded the displeasure of the crown, and chose rather to yield to the current of popular prejudice, thinking that the most effective mode of reducing her majesty to insignificance, was to abstain from all measures against her. There was one circumstance of a nature not openly to be avowed in debate, but which had great weight with many of the peers. They felt convinced that the measure would not be passed by the Commons, and they opposed it for that reason. Since it was not to pass finally, the sooner it was stopped in its progress the better. Whether it would have received the sanction of the lower house, had it been permitted to proceed so far, it is not easy to divine; but it is obvious that the difficulties of the inquiry, felt to be considerable in the Lords, would have been increased a thousand-fold in the Commons. That House could not examine witnesses on oath; it could not have the benefit of the opinion of the judges; the advocates on both sides were members; so that what they could not do or say in one capacity, they could in another. It is impossible to guess what course the inquiry would have taken there, or how it would have been conducted, or to what extent it might have been spun out." In other quarters a similar suspicion was entertained. In a letter from Bath, Wilberforce writes—"Seriously (for, indeed, it is a very serious subject), the matter has ended—if ended it is, which, I fear, is not the case—better far than if the bill had gone down to our House. Without exaggeration, it would have occupied just as long as the queen's partisans were disposed to think it for her interest that we should be so employed; and one entire session would certainly not have sufficed; for we have no judges to whom doubtful questions of evidence might be referred, or even ex-chancellors, whose judgment is allowed to decide as to admissible or inadmissible papers or questions: instead of which, every individual member among us thinks himself as well able to decide on these points as the first lawyers in the land."

So far the queen had triumphed, and she determined to make the most of her victory. In a few days after ministers abandoned the bill, she went in state to St. Paul's cathedral, to return publicly her thanks. A numerous cavalcade of horsemen, headed by Sir Robert Wilson, led the way. The crowd was so great that it was with the utmost difficulty her carriage could move along. The applause was loud and long; but no accident marred the day's proceedings. The officiating clergyman made no allusion to her presence (she was not the head of the church, and the dispenser of its patronage). We hear no more of the queen till the opening of parliament, in 1821. A great effort was made to restore her majesty's name to the Liturgy; but the ministry, or, rather, their sovereign, would not give way. In the course of the numerous discussions which ensued, Mr. Brougham, in allusion to his assertion, on a former period, that the queen was not degraded by her omission from the Liturgy, said—"It was not for me, at that time, to declare that my royal mistress was degraded, when she had to meet all the terrors of the threatened investigation. I say the terrors of the investigation; not that innocence should be exposed to danger from injustice or iniquity; but her majesty was on the brink of an investigation in which innocence was no security—in which she was to be met by perjured men, and by perjured women; by bribing men, and bribing women; where the long arm of power, and the long purse of an administration, stretched their influence over Italian hearts and Italian hands; over hearts ready to crouch to the one, over hands ready to grasp at the other. From such trial, from such a threatened prosecution, the most guiltless might shrink, without incurring for a moment the imputation of crime. The queen," said Mr. Brougham, "has been acquitted; she must be treated as if she had never been tried, or there is no justice in England." It is unnecessary to add, that the orator pleaded in vain.

The next occasion of a debate was on the subject of a provision for her majesty. The ministry had come to a resolution to propose, in the House of Commons, that his majesty should be enabled to grant, out of the consolidated

fund, an annual sum not exceeding £50,000, for the separate use and establishment of her majesty. In reply, by means of Mr. Brougham, the queen presented a message to the House, acknowledging his majesty's condescension in recommending an arrangement respecting her to the consideration of parliament. "She is aware that this recommendation must be understood as referring to a provision for the support of her estate and dignity; and, from what has lately passed, she is apprehensive that such a provision may be unaccompanied by the possession of her rights and privileges, in the ample manner wherein former queen-consorts, her royal predecessors, have been wont, in time past, to enjoy them. It is far from the queen's inclination needlessly to throw obstacles in the way of a settlement, which she desires, in common with the whole country, and which she feels the best interest of all parties equally require; and being most anxious to avoid anything that might create irritation, she cautiously abstains from any observation on the unexampled predicament in which she is placed; but she feels it due to the House and to herself, respectfully to declare that she perseveres in the resolution of declining any arrangement while her name continues to be excluded from the Liturgy." In answer, Lord Castlereagh remarked, "that, undoubtedly, the queen had a right to abstain from receiving any benefit from the grant. Her majesty, on a former occasion, had declared that she would not take any money except from parliament. She is misinformed," observed his lordship; "she is travelling into those constitutional errors which she had been before led into. Her law advisers might have informed her, that it was from the crown only, and not from parliament, that she could receive any pecuniary grant. With respect to her majesty, parliament could not be disturbed from its course by her interference; she might, if she pleased, reject the grant when it came before her in a proper shape, but the House had nothing to do with her objections now." And so the vote was passed.

The cause of the queen, at this time, was in the hands of a party. As Canning said, "Faction marked her for its own." The unfortunate situation of the queen aroused the passions of the people in a peculiar manner. Her majesty, by the result of her trial, was placed in circumstances of a very delicate nature. The Court was against her; the fashionable world was against her; the church even refused its prayers for one who sadly needed them. She was thus thrown out of the circle from which it might be expected that a queen of England would select her favourites and friends. The Tories, who had at first supported her, had become friendly with the monarch, and had no wish to lose that friendship. Thus, it was left alone to the Whigs and Radicals to fight her battle, aided and backed by the general instincts of the people, who believed every tale told against the queen to be an infamous slander. The wonderful genius of Cruikshank (then a young man rising into fame) was enlisted on her side. Hone, the antiquarian bookseller (whose acquittal had cost Lord Ellenborough his life), worked well on her majesty's behalf. Their political squibs were the delight of the million. *The House that Jack Built*, *The Man in the Moon*, *The Political Showman at Home*, *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, *Non Mi Recordo*, *A Slap at Slop*, all richly coloured, and grotesquely drawn, are still preserved in many quarters as illustrations of the heat and passion of the age.

In July, Mr. Brougham was heard before the Privy Council on behalf of her majesty's claim to be crowned at the approaching coronation. Two days were occupied with hearing his able and eloquent arguments. In vain, however, did the honourable gentleman exert himself. In reply to her majesty's application, subsequently made to Lord Liverpool, to learn what arrangements had been made for the 19th of July—she was answered, that the crown, using its undoubted prerogative, would not have her included in the ceremony: and she was afterwards informed, that her attendance at the coronation would not be permitted.

For sixty years there had been no coronation in England; and all London was astir very early on July 19th, when, on the consecrated head of George IV., was to

be placed the crown of his fathers. Ambassadors and princes, and lords and ladies, were there, from every corner of the world. At half-past eight in the morning, the doors of Westminster Hall were closed against the admission of more company; and, at half-past ten, his gracious majesty appeared, and the ceremonial commenced.

And where was his queen? Outside; in vain endeavouring to find admission.

Her majesty set out from South Audley Street, in her state carriage, drawn by six beautiful bay horses, elegantly caparisoned, accompanied by Lady Hood and Lady Annie Hamilton. Another carriage followed, containing Lord Hood and the Hon. Keppel Craven. The queen alighted from her carriage in Dean's Yard, in the expectation of being allowed to enter. Twice refused, her majesty sought admission at several temporary doors, which, however, were shut at her approach. Some people then pointed out the opening to the platform, which her majesty immediately ascended, and, walking from thence to Old Palace Yard, entered first the passage to Cotton Garden, and, subsequently, along the covered way to Poet's Corner. At this last entrance, Lord Hood claimed admission for her majesty. The door-keepers demanded tickets. His lordship replied—"I present you your queen: surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket." However, the attendants were obstinate; and, finding every effort to gain admission ineffectual, her majesty returned to her carriage, and proceeded, amidst a vast concourse of people, home. The mob, incensed at the treatment the queen had received, broke the windows of the houses of his majesty's personal friends, and some of those of the chief officers of state; but little damage was done.

The queen, on her return, despatched to Lord Sidmouth a letter, requesting that "his majesty would be pleased to give an early answer to the demand which the queen had made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be crowned the following week, not wishing to incur any new expense to the nation." The queen also stated her trust that, after the public insult received that morning, the king would grant her just right to be crowned on the next Monday; and that his majesty would command the Archbishop of Canterbury to confer upon her that sacred and august ceremony.

And thus passed away the eventful day. Outside Westminster Hall there was a mob, cheering a helpless and persecuted woman. Inside was her persecutor, the royal debauchee, with false hair and padded figure, receiving the consecration of the church, with all the nobles and mighty men of the empire round him; with all the haughtiest and best-born of England's daughters, lending the charm of their beauty and presence to the scene; while, in that ancient hall resounded trumpet, and shout and song; and, from a thousand throats, burst forth England's magnificent air—"God save the King."

What cannot money and power do? The state doled out its cakes and ale. A balloon went up in Greenwich Park: in Hyde Park there were amusements for the people. In the evening the principal theatres were thrown open gratuitously; and there was a display of magnificent fireworks, under the direction of Sir William Congreve. All classes of the people, in every part of the kingdom, partook of the festivities of that memorable day: the demonstrations of joy being, says contemporary history, general throughout the kingdom.

The wrath of a king, says the writer of the Book of Proverbs, is as messengers of death. Thus was it with England's queen. This last and crowning insult sank deep into her heart. The spirit, hitherto indomitable, gave way. Her heart was broken; her strength decayed. In a few days her troubled life was to come to a close. Just before the king left England for Ireland, where he landed in an unmistakable state of intoxication, he was informed of the death of his queen. In the beginning of August, her majesty had complained of some slight indisposition while at Drury Lane Theatre; and, after her return home, she became much worse. On the 2nd of August, it was announced that she was suffering from a dangerous disease. After a week's illness, during which favourable symptoms

had occasionally appeared, the queen expired on the night of the 7th of August. From its first commencement, she had constantly declared her conviction that the disease would terminate fatally. In her will she expressed a wish that her body should not be opened; but that, three days after her death, it should be removed to Brunswick for interment. She further desired that the inscription on her coffin should be—"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." Almost her last words were, that she quitted life "without regret." Well might she say so! For what had she lived? For what had she to live?

Tuesday, the 14th of August, was the day fixed for the funeral. The government was in a hurry to get it over, to remove all obstructions to the public rejoicings to be held in honour of the king in Ireland. The orders were, that the body was to be conveyed privately to the continent, *viâ* Harwich. The queen's friends asked another day's delay: the request was refused. Lady Hood then wrote to Lord Liverpool, objecting to the military guard which had been ordered to attend the funeral; which, she thought, was likely to produce mischief. As government had never honoured the queen with a military escort during life, she thought that they ought, on her death, to suffer the people to pay their last tribute to her without such interference. But the king was not to be moved; and Lord Liverpool declined all further discussion. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th, amidst pelting rain, an immense crowd collected around Brandenburg House, to pay their respects to the dead body of the queen. At Kensington there was a stoppage of an hour and a-half. The ministry had ordered that the body should not be taken through London: the people were determined that it should be. A blockade of waggons and carts, placed across the road, prevented the carrying out the royal programme. At Kensington Gore, a squadron of life-guards, headed by a magistrate, Sir R. Baker, found it impossible to open the park gates, and the crowd continued to vociferate—"To the city! to the city!" On reaching Hyde Park Corner, both the gate and Park Lane were strongly blocked up; but at length the soldiers succeeded in clearing the gate, and the procession proceeded hastily to Cumberland Gate, which also was found closed by the people. The soldiers made an attempt to effect a passage with their sabres; and in the conflict which ensued, the park wall was thrown down by the pressure of the crowd, and the stones converted into missiles to hurl at the soldiers, by which many of the military and the horses were hurt. Some of the troops fired, by which means several persons were wounded, and two were killed. The procession, after having experienced some opposition in the Edgware Road, proceeded to the turnpike-gate, near the top of Tottenham Court Road. The mob was here so determined in their opposition, and had formed so dense a barrier, that the military were obliged to give way, and turn down Tottenham Court Road into the Strand; from whence the procession was compelled to proceed through the city. After leaving London it moved along the route previously prescribed. In a little while the coffin reached Brunswick, and was interred in the family vault of the queen's ancestors. In England, there was a Court mourning from the 1st to the 27th of September.

The royal anger, however, was not yet appeased. Sir Robert Wilson, who had headed the procession, was dismissed shortly after from his majesty's service, to be compensated, in due time, by a liberal subscription, raised for him by an applauding public. Sir Robert Baker was also removed from his situation at the head of the police, because he had given way to the multitude in changing the route of the procession, when he saw that the original route could not be persevered in without bloodshed. Inquests were held on the men who had been killed at Cumberland Gate: one jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against a life-guardsman unknown; and another gave a general verdict of manslaughter against the troops.

And thus ends the story of one who came over to England, thirty years before, a buoyant, high-spirited girl, full of life and gaiety, "vastly happy with her future expectations." "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity."

In reviewing this history, it is clear that the ministry never anticipated the queen's arrival, and that they were quite confounded by it, and her audacity. She will "never come unless she is insane," wrote Lord Eldon. England was then in the hands of a few "great families;" and the Duke of Buckingham's editor tells us, "they regarded the coming struggle with a quiet disdain, that evinced their confidence in the loyalty and good sense of the nation." But the queen fell into hands determined to make, as Lord Dudley writes, the "deepest possible game." As regards her innocence or guilt, Cobbett confesses the people did not care a straw. The soldiers were tampered with; one of the regiments of foot-guards, quartered in the Mews barracks, had to be ordered away at once to Portsmouth. Even the Iron Duke could not see any favourable symptoms. "All," as he told Mr. Ward, with increasing sadness, "seem struck with panic; ourselves, and all: and if the country is lost, it will be through our cowardice. Everything," said he, "audacity and insolence on one side, and tameness on ours." The principal ministers went in danger of their lives. Lord Sidmouth never drove out without a case of loaded pistols on the seat of the carriage, ready for instant use; and when either of them was recognised in the public streets, he was sure to be greeted by groans and hisses, and sometimes by more formidable missiles. It was a wonderful relief to all parties when the Bill of Pains and Penalties was withdrawn after the second reading. "Well," said the Duke of Wellington, "we have done exceedingly well, and have avoided all sorts of mischief, I think with safety, and without dishonour. The votes put the question of guilt or innocence out of doubt; the withdrawing is grounded on mere expediency, and had nothing to do with the verdict: had we given up before the third reading, it would have been different." The trial over, the queen's popularity very much declined. The refusal to let her be present at the coronation, and her sudden, and, we must add, melancholy death, revived it a little; but had she lived, the presumption is that she would have had little influence, and would have been able, but in a very slight degree, to have disturbed the ministers or their king. It is evident, whatever may be the feeling of the reader as to her guilt or innocence, that, as the Duke of Buckingham remarks, "she was far from being the sort of woman a sensible man would court for his wife, or the kind of princess that would confer any distinction on the nation that would accept her as queen."

And what was George IV. doing all this while? The answer is—shutting himself in the Cottage, or at Carlton House, or at Brighton, growing feebler, and having frequent fits of vapours and the gout. On May 20th, Mr. Freemantle writes—"The king never shows himself. He has never been out of Carlton House. Lady Conyngham goes to him of an evening. His language is only about the coronation and Lady Conyngham; very little of the state of the country." In July, Mr. Freemantle writes thus:—"The king grows daily more unpopular, and is the only individual in the kingdom insensible to it. He sees Lady Conyngham daily." In August, the king was really alarmed, and would have welcomed any administration which could have helped him out of his difficulties. "The king," says Mr. Freemantle, "confines himself to the Cottage; has *hourly* messengers—that is, dragoons, who are posted on the road by dozens; and, we hear, is in a state of great irritation." Again he writes—"Be assured that the king, on this subject, is no less than mad. He has said he would rather die, or lose his crown, than submit to any compromise of any sort with the queen." In 1821, we find his majesty very sore on the subject of the press; and in the most imperative manner, in letters to Lord Eldon—"in your double capacity of friend and minister"—insisting upon the prosecution of "venders of treason, and libellers." Innumerable were the king's flirtations with the opposition, much to the annoyance of the Duke of Wellington, who, in July, 1821, expresses to Mr. Freemantle his indignation at Lady Conyngham. He said—"The situation in which she was now placed was one she had been seeking for twenty years; that her whole object was patronage, and patronage alone; that she mingled in everything she could; and it was entirely owing to the necessary

interference of the government on one or two points, and the offence given by Lady Castlereagh in not inviting her, that her present animosity to the government proceeded, and the consequent difficulties with the king."

In one respect George IV. has been much maligned. Intelligence of the serious character of the queen's malady reached him when he was making a yachting excursion. His own correspondence evinces a due regard to decency and decorum. It proceeded further; for when he put to sea with the intention of returning to England, his majesty, and all the royal suite, had a narrow escape from a watery grave. The scene is thus graphically described by his majesty's hand:—"We sailed again yesterday morning, between four and five o'clock, with a most promising breeze, to make the Land's End. About two or three in the morning the wind shifted immediately in our teeth; a violent hurricane and tempest suddenly arose; the most dreadful possible of nights and of scenes ensued; and nothing, I believe, but the undaunted presence of mind, perseverance, experience, and courage of Paget preserved us from a watery grave. The oldest and most experienced of our sailors were petrified and paralysed. You may judge somewhat, then, of what was the state of most of the passengers; every one almost flew up in their shirts upon deck, in terrors that are not to be described."

Enthusiastic Ireland did not participate with the English feeling concerning the queen and the king. "On his majesty landing," says Sir W. Knighton, "the inhabitants of Dublin and of the neighbourhood escorted him, with the most tumultuous acclamations, to the viceregal lodge, from the steps of which he thus addressed them:—'This is one of the happiest days in my life. I have long wished to visit you. My heart has always been Irish. From the first day it beat I loved Ireland; and this day has shown me that I am loved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me exalted happiness.'" The Grenville section of politicians were frightened. "The conduct of the Irish is beyond all conception of loyalty and adulation; and, I fear," writes the Marquis of Buckingham's correspondent, "will serve to strengthen those feelings of self-will and personal authority, which are, at all times, uppermost in the mind. The passage to Dublin," adds the same authority, "was occupied in eating goose-pie and drinking whiskey, in which his majesty partook most abundantly; singing many joyous songs; and being in a state, on his arrival, to double in sight even the numbers of his gracious subjects assembled on the pier to receive him." On his return, the king is described as "a little alarmed at the favour he had shown to the Catholics."

To increase his popularity, another trip was taken by the king—this time to Hanover; embarking at Ramsgate, and disembarking at Calais, whence the royal party proceeded to Brussels, and visited the field of Waterloo. The visit excited a great deal of Hanoverian enthusiasm: the towns, cities, and villages on the royal route turning out all their population, and erecting triumphal arches. The glimpse we get, in Knighton's *Memoirs*, of the primitive life of Germany, is really touching. The pastor, in his robes, is described as standing with his parishioners by the road-side, and the women carrying their Bibles under their arms. At Göttingen, an address was presented by the university, which moved him to tears. The visit was rather a bore to the monarch, who seems, according to his own confession, to have shammed a fit of the gout in order to expedite his departure. Lord Dudley writes—"I cannot help suspecting that his majesty's late journeys to see his kingdoms of Ireland and Hanover, will not, on the whole, redound much to his honour or advantage. His manners are, no doubt, when he pleases, very graceful and captivating. No man knows better how to add to an obligation by the way of conferring it. But, on the whole, he wants dignity, not only in the seclusion and familiarity of his more private life, but on public occasions. The secret of popularity, in very high stations, seems to consist in a somewhat reserved and lofty, but courteous and uniform manner. Drinking toasts; shaking people by the hand, and calling them Jack and Tom, gets more applause at the moment, but fails

entirely in the long run. He seems to have behaved, not like a sovereign coming, in pomp and state, to visit his dominions; but like a popular candidate, come down upon an electioneering trip. If, the day before he left Ireland, he had stood for Dublin, he would, I dare say, have turned out Shaw or Grattan. Henry IV. is a dangerous example for sovereigns that are not, like him, splendid chevaliers and consummate captains. Louis XIV., who was never seen but in a full-bottomed wig, even by his *valet-de-chambre*, is a much safer model."

Scotland, which his majesty visited in 1822, was as enthusiastic as Ireland or Hanover. Sir Walter Scott took a prominent part in the preparations that were making in the Scottish capital to receive its sovereign. The king delighted his Scottish subjects in wearing the highland garb, in which he was very carefully dressed by the Laird of Garth; but the pride of the Macgregors and Glengarries, who thronged around the royal person, suffered a serious blow when a London alderman entered the circle in a suit of the same tartan. The portly figure and civic dignity of Sir William Curtis gave to the costume too much of the appearance of a burlesque to pass unnoticed either by the sovereign or his royal admirers; and it was some time before they recovered their gravity. "The gude town" entertained the king at a grand banquet in the parliament-house; in the course of which he gave, as a toast, "The chieftains and clans of Scotland, and prosperity to the land of cakes."

On all the exciting topics chronicled in this chapter, Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, had nothing to say but on one particular subject: it was his duty to defend the government, and he did so. We have more than once referred to Sir Robert Wilson, an officer in the army, and a member of the House of Commons. As we have intimated, he was cashiered, professedly for his behaviour on the day when the queen's dead body was carried through the city. As a member of the House, Sir Robert argued his own case, and maintained that he had been unconstitutionally dismissed the service. The leading points of Lord Palmerston's reply are as follow:—"The honourable member clearly wished to insinuate that he had been divested of his commission on account of his political conduct in the House of Commons; that such had been his hostility to government, and such the apprehension with which they regarded him, that they wished to punish him for his parliamentary conduct, if they could not deliver themselves from so formidable an opponent (loud cries of 'hear, hear, hear'). Undoubtedly, he could perfectly understand the spirit of those liberal and enlightened politicians, who could so deal with their political opponents as to suppose them capable of the mean and disgraceful conduct of getting rid of a political opponent by an act of official hostility. But really he thought the honourable member estimated his powers of hostility to his majesty's ministers at too high a rate, when he conceived that these powers had drawn down upon him such an exhibition of resentment. Against this invidious supposition on the part of the honourable gentleman, he would confidently appeal to the experience of the House and of the country, whether the conduct of his majesty's government in matters of that sort had been influenced by such a pitiful principle? Was the honourable gentleman the only member of the army who had evinced a systematic opposition in that House to the measures of his majesty's government? If the opposition of the honourable gentleman in parliament were really the chief cause of his removal, at least that principle of conduct had not been seen in the case of a gallant general opposite. It had not been seen in the continuance of the honourable gentleman himself in the army so long as he had been continued. Had his majesty's government been influenced by any such mean and miserable feelings of resentment towards the honourable gentleman as that which he ascribed to them, they needed not have waited until the 14th of August, 1821, for ample opportunities of gratifying that disposition.

* * * * * * * *

"He would venture to say, without entering into all the details of the honourable gentleman's speech, that that speech itself afforded a strong presumption that

the prerogative had been justly exercised in the present instance. First, he would say, that when a person held a commission in the service of the king—when he received the king's pay—when he was decorated with orders and titles, which, as a British officer, he could not have worn without the gracious permission of his sovereign, and when he nevertheless continued, with a number of persons, engaged in illegal proceedings, and opposing the legitimate orders of the king, his master, he was guilty of a direct and gross insult to the sovereign whom he served. This was a prominent feature in the honourable gentleman's own statement, which, independently of any other consideration, justified the step which had been taken with respect to him. The honourable gentleman had stated, that when he came up to Cumberland Gate, he saw the life-guards broken and in disorder; that they appeared, to an eye experienced in military matters, as if they had been checked and repulsed. The honourable gentleman found them venturing their lives in an attack upon a furious populace. He found these brave men, who had so gallantly fought for their country, in a situation of considerable jeopardy. What did the honourable gentleman do on the occasion? He must have been aware of what must have been the duty of an officer under such circumstances. If he was not aware of that duty, he was unworthy of the commission which he bore. Was it possible, however, that the honourable gentleman could have acted in a manner more calculated to provoke military insubordination than—officer as he was—holding a commission, but not having any authority on that occasion—by addressing either the soldiers or the officers who were employed at the time, and who were responsible for the manner in which they performed their duties? It was an act of great military insubordination to address troops under such circumstances at all; but the language in which, by the honourable gentleman's own admission, he addressed them, highly aggravated the character of his military offence. The honourable gentleman admitted that he told the soldiers that it was disgraceful to continue firing. What judge was the honourable gentleman whether the men had disgraced themselves or not?

* * * * * * * *

"The honourable gentleman, a general officer, knew, or ought to have known, that by the rules and discipline of the army, he was guilty of a great breach of those rules and that discipline, by interfering with soldiers while in discharge of their duty.

"If that prerogative were relinquished—if an officer could not be divested of his commission but by the decision of members of his own body, a fourth estate would be created in the realm, most prejudicial to the constitution.

"Let parliament once make the army independent of the crown, and it would not be long ere the army would make itself independent of parliament. In support of this truth, he would appeal to the annals of our history, in which the facts will be found written in characters of blood."

Later in the session, when Wilson's case was again brought forward, his lordship thus condensed the same doctrine:—"Whenever popular assemblies had attempted to command a military force, the thing had usually ended by that force commanding them."

Lord Palmerston represented the official feeling. It is clear, from the Buckingham correspondence, that the officers in the army were unanimous against Sir Robert. Wilberforce writes—"Hearing the newspaper debates on Sir Robert Wilson. He has been treated very harshly; and, especially, it has surely been ungenerous not to give due praise to his military services. On constitutional principles, I could not have supported the inquiry; but, I dare say, when he was dismissed from the army, many reports were believed of him which are now disbelieved."

We may now suppose Lord Palmerston to be getting over some of that modesty which was his characteristic in his younger days; and which, undoubtedly, hindered him from pushing himself forward, or from taking that position in the

government to which his talents, industry, and rank gave him claim. When Lord Mulgrave offered him a seat in the cabinet, the Hon. Edward Phipps writes—"In a letter of this period, written with all the modesty that generally accompanies true talent, the young Lord Palmerston expresses the satisfaction he feels in accepting the office tendered to him unsolicited, and his anxiety to justify the good opinion which such a step must indicate." All the references to his lordship, at this period, agree in this respect. On the formation of the Perceval administration, Mr. Plumer Ward writes, in his *Diary*—

"Lord Palmerston came to town; sent for by Perceval. He was so good as to confide to me that three things were offered to him—the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Secretaryship at War, or a seat at the Treasury, by way of introduction to the seals, if he was afraid of entering on them at once. These offers were, however, in the alternative of there being any of them declined by Milnes (member for Pontefract), to whom they were made in the first instance. Lord Palmerston consulted me very frankly on them, and asked if I thought that he would be equal to the seals, either in cabinet or parliament; particularly the latter, where he had barely made his *débût*. I told him, and was most sincere, that in common with all his friends whom I had ever heard speak on the subject, I thought him quite equal to them in point of capacity; but as to nerves in parliament (of which he himself seemed most to doubt), nobody could judge but himself. He said, Petty (whom I had mentioned) had come forward, after having felt his way, and got possession of himself in the House; and that if he had done the same, he, perhaps, would not hesitate. As it was, he inclined to the second place; but had written to Lord Malmesbury. Among other topics which I urged, one seemed to impress him much—which was, the great difference there would be in his situation and pretensions upon a return to office, in the event of our going out, if he retired as a cabinet minister, instead of a subordinate capacity. He allowed it much flattered his ambition; but feared the prejudice it would occasion to his own reputation, and the interests of his friends, if he failed. I left him inclining to the Secretary at War; and admired his prudence, as I have long done the talents and excellent understanding, as well as the many other good qualities and accomplishments, of this very fine young man."

A little later in the year we have another reference to Palmerston. In a letter to Lord Lonsdale, Mr. Ward writes—"Though Milnes has refused office, the effect of his interviews with Perceval has been to promise all possible support to his government; and this, after begging to see Canning in consequence of their intimacy together, and a full hearing of his case on his own representation. If Rose takes the seals, Lord Palmerston tells me he will probably succeed him as Treasurer of the Navy. I wish him every good; and his talents, when he gets over his nervousness about speaking, must give the most effectual support." The writer's wish was gratified: Lord Palmerston did get over his nervousness. Indeed, in our day, that would have been about the last fault laid to his charge.

We find another entry in Mr. Ward's *Diary*, which we must transcribe. "Lord Palmerston told me to-day, that when he took the War Office, Perceval offered him the cabinet, which, though Lord Malmesbury advised the contrary, he declined. He did this, it seems, from the same modesty which guided his former conduct—a fear that, from his inexperience, he might not answer expectation, which would hurt both himself and his friends, among whose coadjutors no *failure* could be afforded." Thus carefully and slowly did Lord Palmerston feel his way; thus did he display a wisdom beyond his years, and which, in time, was to place him on the pinnacle of fame and power.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DAWN OF LIBERALISM.

MEN are the slaves of names.

Under George IV. the nation made a great advance in Liberalism; yet we had a Tory government all the while.

Well might George III. tell Mr. Rose that he was "an old Whig." In creed and practice, the old Whigs were for a national debt; the funded system; a state bank; exclusive trading corporations; a standing army; foreign wars and foreign intervention; Protestant ascendancy, and Catholic exclusion; restrictive laws on foreign products, and protective laws for articles of home growth; the longer duration of parliaments; and the excise.

The French revolution forced Pitt to become a Tory.

After his death, for sixteen years, the Tory party lived on his traditions. The Liverpool administration lasted all that while; but, when it was first formed, people expected its dissolution in six months. As Premier, Lord Liverpool won the esteem of a great portion of the middle and commercial classes of this country; although George III. spoke slightingly of him, and complained of his ignorance of foreign affairs, and unbusiness-like habits. By the addition of Peel, Canning, and others, and, subsequently, the Duke of Wellington, the Liverpool administration gained much strength. Lord Eldon was very much annoyed. "Can this man (Liverpool) be in earnest?" he asks of one of his correspondents.

In January, 1822, the Liverpool administration gained a great accession of strength. The Marquis of Buckingham was made a duke; Mr. Charles Wynn received the appointment of President of the Board of Control; the duke's nominees, Phillimore and Freemantle, were also provided for; and Mr. Henry Wynn received a diplomatic appointment.

Lord Sidmouth—"that foolish fellow," as the Duke of Wellington termed him —retired from office, and Mr. Peel took his place. "This coalition," writes Sir A. Alison, "gained ministers a few votes in the House of Commons; but it was of more importance as indicating (as changes do) the commencement of a change in the system of government. The admission of even a single Whig into the cabinet indicated the increasing weight of that party in the country; and as they were favourable to Catholic claims, it was an important change." Lord Eldon was very much annoyed about it—a pretty good sign that the step was a desirable one in the interests of the public; and it was so understood by the community at large. One of the first things done by the new administration was to abolish a couple of useless offices. Lord Eldon calls this "stripping the crown naked."

The cabinet was still further liberalised by the death of Lord Castlereagh—at that time Marquis of Londonderry.

The end of the latter was truly shocking. At the close of the session he had retired to his seat at Foot's Cray, Kent, August 12th, 1822. Before his lordship left London, his physician had observed his head to be very confused, and his pulse to be irregular, and had ordered him to be cupped. His colleagues, also, had begun to fancy that there was something amiss. Dr. Bankhead had promised to follow him to his country seat. When he arrived, he went directly to Lord Londonderry's room, who had remained in bed all the day. His lordship observed that it was very odd that he should come to his room first; and on Bankhead answering, that, as he had dined in town, he did not wish to disturb the family at dinner, Lord Londonderry said that the doctor looked very grave, as if something unpleasant had occurred; and begged to know what it was. The doctor replied

that nothing of the kind had occurred. His lordship then apologised, adding, that "the truth was, he had reason to be suspicious; but that he hoped the doctor would be the last person to engage in anything that would be injurious to him." In a morning or two after, the doctor was summoned to attend Lord Londonderry in his dressing-room; and entered just in time to save him from falling, as he had cut his throat with a penknife. He said, as the doctor entered—"Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm; it is all over:" and instantly expired.

The elevated position the marquis had held for many years, had made him a prominent mark for the shafts of honest patriots and malignant partisans. We owe to him the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland; and to the calculations of his lordship, as Secretary at War, and as Foreign Secretary, the successes in our terrible encounter with Bonaparte are partly due. "As a statesman, as a gentleman, as a man, he was," writes the Duke of Buckingham, "the Bayard of political chivalry—*sans peur et sans reproche*." His best advocate, we believe, will be found in the *Castlereagh Despatches*, edited by his brother, the late marquis. "Elegant and courteous in manner, with a noble figure, and finely-chiselled countenance, he was beloved in his family circle, and by all his friends, not less than respected by the wide circle of sovereigns and statesmen with whom he had so worthily upheld the honour and dignity of England." Such is the testimony of the Conservative historian, Alison. Most of Londonderry's colleagues entertained a similar opinion. "Our own country, and Europe," writes Lord Eldon, "have sustained a loss, in my opinion, irreparable." An equally strong testimony in his favour is that of Mr. Freemantle, who, writing upon the supposition that Canning must now join the ministry, adds—"But, after all, I fear we shall not, even with Canning and Peel, and even Grant in addition, be altogether so well off as with Londonderry." His lordship, at the express wish of his lady, was buried in Westminster Abbey, when the mob took occasion to show their sense of the merits of the deceased. "From being in the first coach," writes Mr. C. W. Wynn, "I could see little of the behaviour of the mob at the funeral; but all that I saw or heard was perfectly proper till the removal of the coffin from the hearse, to enter the abbey, when a Radical yell was set up from St. Margaret's churchyard."

In the session of 1793, Mr. Canning took his seat as M.P. for Newport, Isle of Wight. In 1795, he became Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, which he held till Pitt went out of office on the Catholic question. On the latter returning to office in 1804, Canning became Treasurer of the Navy. On Mr. Pitt's death, we find him a fierce opponent of the administration. Under the Duke of Portland, he was Foreign Secretary, which office he held till his quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, arising out of the unfortunate Walcheren expedition; when he resigned, and his friend Huskisson did the same. Canning remained out of office some time; accepting, however, the post of ambassador to Lisbon from Lord Castlereagh, while he refused to serve with him. Shortly after his return, he was made President of the Board of Control, in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. In 1820, he resigned office rather than take part in the proceedings against the queen.

The way was now clear; and Canning came back to office as Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Wynn had all along regretted the loss of Canning. "Though I have no respect for his character, yet he is of great use to check Burdett, Hobhouse, Lambton, &c." Again, he writes, under the date of 1822—"I think as ill of the latter—Canning—as the K—— or you can; but it seems to me so much his interest to do his best, and that the gulf between him and the reformers is so impassable, that it would be far better to admit him, and take the benefit of his services in the House of Commons, which no other man can render." On the occasion of Lord Londonderry's death, Lord Dudley, one of Canning's most intimate friends, writes—"Great as his talents for parliament are, and great as is the want of them on the ministerial side, it is not without reluctance that the rest of the cabinet will consent to receive him as an associate.

If they make him any proposal, it will only be because they are forced to it." And forced to it, as we have seen, they were.

Lord Eldon had viewed, as we can easily imagine, the introduction of Mr. Canning into the cabinet with considerable discontent; but the appointment of Canning's personal friend, Mr. Huskisson, in 1823, to a seat in the cabinet, nearly upset the Lord Chancellor. He writes—"Looking at the whole history of this gentleman, I don't consider this introduction, without a word said about the intention, as I should have, perhaps, done with respect to some persons that have been, or might be, brought into the cabinet; but, turning out one man and introducing another, in the way all this is done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but should cease to be a Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most distinctly declared that no connections of a certain person should come in." A fair portrait of Mr. Huskisson is drawn by Lord Dudley. "Besides possessing considerable abilities, and, on some subjects, extensive knowledge, he is cheerful, good-natured, and obliging: a man of the world of the best sort."

Mr. Canning was a Tory. It is the fashion to consider him a Liberal, prostituting himself, for the sake of pay, to the Tory party; a horse of the sun harnessed to a brewer's dray. We think better of him. He was a Tory in heart as well as in parliament. He steadily declared he should oppose reform, in whatever shape it might appear, to the last hour of his life. As to concessions to the Catholics, it was notorious that George IV. only consented to receive him as minister upon the express condition that no such concessions should be even thought of. Rejected by the Tory aristocracy on account of birth, he formed an administration of the Liberal party, who, like the Marquis of Lansdowne and Mr. Tierney, abandoned their professions for the sake of office. But Canning was not a brainless, thick-headed Tory; and he was aware of the hollow settlement of Europe made by the Tories and the holy alliance. Up to his time we had, if not cordially approved of, at any rate silently acquiesced in, the policy of our continental allies; but when, in 1823, the restored Bourbons, wishing to achieve something which might commend them to the French, conceived the project of first restoring the arbitrary form of the Spanish government (then a modified despotism, tempered by British protection), and then of reconquering the revolted American colonies of Spain, which had thrown off the yoke of the mother country, Mr. Canning resolved to prevent it. He declared that, by means of "the new world," he would redress the balance of the old. He acknowledged the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies; and in his famous speech, in which he compared himself to Æolus holding the chained tempests in his hand, he replied to the threats of Austria and other continental powers, by threatening, in no mysterious terms, an alliance betwixt England and their own defrauded subjects, to whom, in the hour of need, they had promised constitutions on a popular basis.

Mr. Canning steered the vessel of state bravely on. For the first time since the death of Pitt, we had a strong and popular administration. Mr. Canning's genius, his great and brilliant talent, and his oratory, naturally won their way in a popular assembly. He gave the ministry an ascendency in debate, of which, previously, they had stood in need. He retained the middle and manufacturing classes on the Tory side, though he frightened impossible ones, such as George IV., old Eldon, and the Duke of York. He was independent in spirit and action: he would be second to none. His literary taste and his polished manners were all in his favour, and marked him, in early life, as a winner in the political race. By his marriage with General Scott's daughter, whose sister afterwards became Duchess of Portland, Canning acquired wealth and connection. In parliament he had no rival on his own side of the House. He had genius, eloquence, poetry, and a mind capable of solving difficult questions; while his treatment of trifles was of an exquisitely skilful and ludicrous character. And yet this man was never entirely trusted by the party whom he served, and who could not have held office without

him. More than any other man of the time, Canning might exclaim, in his own language—

> "Give me the avow'd, the erect, the manly foe,
> Bold I can meet—perhaps may turn his blow;
> But of all plagues, good Heaven! thy wrath can send,
> Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend."

In that self-seeking age it is strange the suspicion with which Canning was viewed. Selfishness, on the largest scale, seems to have been the only motive for public life. The great noblemen supported the government, if it was made worth their while. "Lord Lansdowne writes word to a correspondent here," writes Lord Dudley, "that everything in England has fallen in price except the Grenvilles. They have certainly made an excellent bargain in proportion to their talents, reputation, and numerical strength. Were Lord G. still in the full vigour of life and exertion, one should not be surprised at any sacrifice made to obtain so powerful a support; but, by his retirement from public affairs, one would have thought that the value of the family was reduced near to that of the half-dozen votes they can bring into a division." A borough was then considered as private property, and to be used for private ends.

"Lord Grosvenor," writes Mr. Freemantle to the Marquis of Buckingham, "has two vacancies for Shaftesbury." "All *your* members," on another occasion he writes to the marquis, "voted."

Mr. Henry Wynn wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, relative to his interview with Lord Castlereagh—"He began by a great deal of palaver about the obligation the government were under to *my* family." Mr. Freemantle writes to the Duke of Buckingham—"Lord Harrowby is the candidate for the garter, which, if he don't get, will, I think, drive him from the government."

The Hon. C. Wynn wrote of the Duke of Wellington—"I do not understand his views and objects; they begin centre, and end, no doubt, in himself." Selfishness reigned everywhere. No wonder Wilberforce wrote—"I verily believe, and have long believed, the constituent body to be more corrupt than the representative." The county members almost exclusively confined their attention to the agricultural interest, and gave the ministry a very inefficient support. Mr. Canning had to avail himself of this selfishness, and to make sure of the king's favour, which he did to the intense mortification of his rivals and friends. Lord Eldon was especially annoyed. He writes—"The appointment of Lord Albert Conyngham in the Foreign Office has, by female influence, put Canning beyond the reach of anything to affect him; and will, naturally, enable him to turn those out whom he does not wish to remain in. The king is in such thraldom that one has nobody to fall back on."

Canning's great blunder was on the question of reform. He committed his party to hostility to it.

The Whigs, originally, were not reformers. The *Edinburgh Review*, their own special organ, repudiates the idea altogether.

So late as 1820, Lord Grenville writes to the Marquis of Buckingham, complaining of "the manner in which the opposition have, of late years, most unfortunately for themselves and for the country, been drawn to mix themselves up with projects of reform."

In 1821, the feeling of the country gentlemen and of the great families, with a few exceptions, was in favour of the ministry; as, in the language of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham, the question was, "whether the opposition is to be suffered, from its base alliance with the Radicals and with the queen, to take violent possession of government, in order to overturn the whole system of our constitution; to bring in annual or triennial parliaments; to do little short of introducing universal suffrage; to disband the army, which now holds the Radicals in check; and, very probably, to let loose Bonaparte, under pretence of mitigating his confinement."

In 1782, Mr. Pitt brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for a plan of parliamentary reform, by which he proposed to buy up the boroughs, and transfer the right of election to the freeholders of the counties at large, or to certain districts. As a consistent Pittite, the time had now come for Mr. Canning to promote the cause of parliamentary reform. He refused to do so; and thus created a reaction in the middle classes of society against Toryism, which, for many years, rendered a Tory administration an utter impossibility.

By his foreign policy it is that he has the fairest claims on our gratitude as a Liberal. He separated England from the holy alliance. The very first blow he struck in the congress of Vienna, announced to the world the attitude England was about to take, and her total denial of the right of the alliance to interfere with the internal affairs of an independent nation. "The alliance had arrived at such a pitch of confidence," writes Mr. Stapleton, "that the ministers of the four Courts called in a body on Mr. Canning, to remonstrate with him on the appointment of Sir William A. Court as the king's minister to Madrid, on account of the countenance that his presence would give to the constitutional government."

The spring-time had come. England began to breathe a freer air.

Mr. Canning's system of foreign policy, as described in his own language, resolved itself into this principle of action—that "England should hold the balance, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles: that, in order to prevent things from going to extremities, she should keep a middle ground, staying the plague both ways."

"The development of this principle," writes Mr. Bell, "as it applied to nations, was illustrated in the strict but watchful neutrality observed between France and Spain; and, as it applied to principles, in the recognition of the independence of the Spanish American colonies. The latter act may be regarded as the most important, for which Mr. Canning was officially responsible; as that which exerted the widest and most distinct influence over the policy of other countries, and which most clearly and emphatically revealed the tendency of his own. It showed that England would recognise institutions raised up by the people, as well as those created by kings. It gave a death-blow to the holy alliance."

Canning was exposed to raking censure on all sides. The opposition, who had hopes of him, were very bitter. Mr. Freemantle writes, in 1823, on one occasion, to the Duke of Buckingham—"You will see, by the papers, the turbulent discussion we had last night. I was not in the House till afterwards, and, therefore, can only give you what I heard of the impression made, which was altogether favourable to Canning. His want of temper was condemned in the first instance; but, at the same time, it is thought it will be beneficial in stopping those strains of invectivo and abuse which are daily increasing, and likely still more to increase if not put down. The fact is, that the opposition have been buoying themselves up with the hope and expectation of friendship with Canning; they now see this to be visionary, and are determined to try and drive a dissension in the cabinet by violence; and in this they are encouraged by the language held, and general conduct of the Lord Chancellor."

On the return of the Duke of Wellington from Verona a bitter attack ensued. The papers which were presented to parliament respecting the negotiations at Verona, Paris, and Madrid, "are considered," says the Duke of Buckingham's correspondent, "so far satisfactory, as to meet the feelings of the country in maintaining a neutrality; that is, in avoiding England to any share in hostilities. But I should say they have given an impression that we were duped by the French government up to the moment of the king's speech, and even afterwards; and that the tone maintained by England, throughout the whole of these proceedings, was not sufficiently high and commanding." There is also, it must be confessed, throughout the whole of the negotiations, a continued exertion, on the part of England, to induce the Spaniards to give way by some modification of their constitution, without a corresponding attempt to induce France to remove her army.

Altogether, the opposition thought they had a good case. Lord Chatham's memory was appealed to, who was reported to have said (for he never could have said so absurd a thing), that not a gun should be fired in Europe without his leave. A grand parliamentary debate ensued. In the House of Commons it lasted three nights. On the third, after one or two speeches, Lord Palmerston rose, and delivered his first recorded utterances on foreign affairs. His lordship vindicated the course of government. "We never meant war; we could not well afford war after our twenty years' superhuman struggle; and we had never threatened war. Faithful as we were to the doctrine of neutrality, and, therefore, precluded from giving the Spaniards active assistance, we did the next best thing we could do for them. We did our best to dissuade France from her aggression. It had been said that a higher moral tone ought to have been taken by this country, and that true and just principles ought to have been more promiuently put forward. If, indeed, the government, instead of labouring to preserve the peace of Europe, had only thought of getting up a case for the House of Commons, it would have been easy to have written papers to satisfy the keenest cravings of the most constitutional appetite. But the object of the government was not to lay a good foundation for a parliamentary debate, but to persuade those (foreign governments) whom they were addressing. It was no use making declarations about the principles of liberty to despots. They must be met upon their own, or upon ueutral ground. If one wishes to convince men, one must apply one's arguments to principles which they recognise. If one wishes to persuade them, one must urge motives whose influence they feel. Still, the principles of liberty were asserted, because it was due to the character of ourselves to do so. We maintained the injustice of interference, but urged strongly the improbability of its success. We denied the right of France to dictate a government to Spain, but pressed upon her the danger of creating a revolution at Paris, by endeavouring to put down a revolution at Madrid. He denied that the counsels given to Spain to make concessions were dishonouring to her. They were given in a spirit of friendliness. They were given on their merits. The Spaniards had gone too far. Sorry, indeed, would he be to live under such a government." He also justified the channel through which the advice had been communicated. "Surely, the Duke of Wellington was the very man to please the Spaniards; and he, finding himself in his former field of glory, would have his old feelings of regard for them warmed and revived." He concluded by repeating that ministers were defensible, alike on grounds of principle and policy.

Dr. Mackay writes—

> "There's a light about to glow,
> There's a fount about to flow:
> There's a midnight blackness changing into grey;
> Men of thought and men of action clear the way."

At this period the way was being cleared. In 1822, Sir James Mackintosh got the House to resolve to take into serious consideration the means of increasing the efficacy of the criminal law, by abating its undue rigour in certaiu cases, together with the proper measures for strengthening the police, and making the punishments of transportation and imprisonment effective for the ends of example and reformation; and, in 1823, four acts were passed, mitigating the severity of some part of our abominable penal code. It may be remembered how Sir Samuel Romilly had laboured for this end. Upon his sudden decease, Sir James Mackintosh became his parliamentary successor. A brief notice of this eminent man will not be out of place.

Sir James Mackintosh was born in Scotland, of very humble parentage, in the year 1765, and was educated at Edinburgh, where he took part in the debates of the Speculative Society. Subsequently he was called to the English bar, and became first known to the public by his *Vindicæ Gallicæ*. In 1803, he sailed for India, having been appointed, by Lord Sidmouth, Recorder of Bombay; and thero

he spent, in no very agreeable banishment, the next nine years of his life. In 1812 he returned to England, having achieved a small independence, and became M.P. for Weymouth. He was afterwards made a privy councillor; but never held any government appointment; and died in 1832, while still in the full vigour of his understanding, and without, it must be acknowledged, having done anything in literature commensurate to the high expectations justly formed of his abilities. As a conversationalist he was unrivalled. Sir A. Alison places him above Jeffrey: and Wilberforce, meeting him at dinner, where Brougham and others were present, intimates that, by sitting next to Mackintosh, he secured the prize. His attempts at criticism and history were of the highest literary order: but he had no perseverance. His time was too much given to society; and he has left behind no enduring monument to his fame.

In parliament Sir James succeeded in taking a high place: and not in vain did he devote himself to the reformation of our criminal code. The subject, as touched and adorned by his philosophical genius, became popular. Owing to his influence, Mr. Peel was converted; and the result of that conversion was a great reformation: our criminal laws were rendered less sanguinary than those deemed sacred by Chancellor Eldon. Nay, even the latter had to give way; and a beginning was made of chancery reform.

In commercial matters the work of progress had been eommenced. A select committee was appointed, in 1823, to consider the best means of maintaining and improving the foreign trade of the country. The Warehousing Bill—the object of which was to allow foreigners to deposit their goods in our warehouses, and to take them out for exportation without payment of duty—was passed; as was also the Reciprocity Bill, which went to the repeal of much of our system of navigation laws. Further steps were taken in the same direction. For instance, Mr. Huskisson, in the course of his free-trade policy, attacked the silk duties—a part of the system of protection which then prevailed—and what was the consequence? Miss Martineau is our authority for the reply. "In the year 1829, it was found that the silk manufacture was twice as extensive as in 1821, 1822, and 1823, and still progressive. Our machinery and our taste improved, and, with them, the fabric, and eolours, and patterns of our manufactured silks, till it was clear, to unprejudiced eyes, that English silks had become superior to the French. In ten years from the passing of the bill, and in eight from the admission of French silks, we were exporting silk goods to France to the value of £63,346 annually. New mills were erected, and the manufacture spread gradually from district to district, calling more and more thousands into existence." Mr. Huskisson carried a bill allowing wool to be either exported or imported on a payment of one penny per pound of one shilling value. Immediately this ancient manufacture of England improved; and, in three years, Mr. Huskisson could boast that our manufacturers had imported 40,000,000 lbs. Canning and Huskisson both believed that commerce flourished best when wholly unfettered by restrictions; but the faith in protection was too strong to be extinguished in their time. As an illustration of the way in which reciprocity was enforced, and of the half-joking way in which Mr. Canning performed his official duties, the following anecdote will suffice. If the king in council had the power of relinquishing the duties on foreign ships and cargoes, where the principle of reciprocity was conceded, he had also a retaliatory power of imposing increased duties where that principle was evaded or resisted. Mr. Canning did this in order to compel other countries to form more reasonable tariffs. A curious instance occurred with reference to Holland. M. Falck, the Dutch minister, having made a one-sided proposition for the admission of English ships, in a way which would have given Holland an unfair advantage, a long diplomatic correspondence ensued. At last, Mr. Canning's patience was exhausted. Sir Charles Bagot, our ambassador at the Hague, was one day attending at Court, when a despatch, in cipher, was hastily put into his hand. It was very short, and very urgent. Unfortunately the key of the eipher was not in his pocket. An

interval of intense anxiety followed. When, however, the mystery was cleared up, the despatch was as follows:—

> "In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch
> Is giving too little, and asking too much.
> With equal advantage the French are content,
> So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms a twenty per cent.,
> Twenty per cent.,
> Twenty per cent.,
> *Nos frapperons* Falck with twenty per cent.
> GEORGE CANNING."

Another cheering sign of the times, and a notification of the departure from the principles of the holy alliance, was the modification of the Alien Act, proposed and carried by Mr. Peel, in 1824.

In 1826 the act was almost entirely abandoned. It required all foreigners to take up their residence here; to register their names and other particulars; and it invested government with the power of deportation at a moment's notice. There were upwards of 25,000 on the register in 1820 and 1822; and the fact that few of them were engaged in definite pursuits, showed that the great majority had but just escaped from continental troubles. They were not, however, very troublesome. In ten years, less than as many persons were sent away. In 1824, there were 26,500 in the country; and though some of them had been detected in plots embarrassing to the government, only one was deported. Mr. Peel then proposed that the necessity for registration in future should cease in seven years; and, ultimately, he renounced altogether the power of deportation. Both changes gave great satisfaction to the nation, and to the unfortunate objects of its protection.

The combination laws, also, were then very much in the way of masters and men. Parliament repealed some of them, and allowed the artisan to emigrate, which, before, he was forbidden to do. It had also to legislate in the interests of the men, who were under the tyranny of unions. In Dublin, especially, these societies were productive of great evils. Many persons were actually murdered. If the curriers were offended with their masters, they applied to the carpenters to be the instruments of their revenge. If the carpenters had any obnoxious master or man to waylay and punish, they applied to the shoemakers. Thus each trade assisted the other; and the difficulties in the way of detection, in cases of personal grievance, or loss of life, were considerably increased. In a fit of unusual generosity, parliament proceeded too far in repealing these laws. The working classes had been for some time under the domination of a few. At the instigation of these social demagogues, so soon as parliament had risen, organisations were formed throughout the manufacturing districts; strikes were continued for months; and the resources of the capitalist and the labourer alike consumed. Early in the session of 1825, Mr. Huskisson, therefore, moved for the appointment of a committee to reconsider the subject.

Perhaps, however, the best thing that could happen for the country, and the truest token of its progress, was the retirement of Lord Chancellor Eldon into private life. When the king received the intimation of his intention to resign, he sent for his lordship, to present him with a token of regard for his past services. This memento took the form of a magnificent silver-gilt cup and cover. It bore the following inscription:—"The gift of his majesty, King George IV., to his highly-valued friend, John, Earl of Eldon, Lord High Chancellor of England, upon his retirement from his official duties, in the year 1827." It was time that Lord Eldon retired. He had long fallen behind his age, and his colleagues had failed to defend him when attacked. In 1825, Mr. Brougham satirically remarked, on the rumour that if a Catholic Relief Bill were passed, Lord Eldon would resign, "that those who expected such a result, greatly underrated the firmness and courage with which he bore, and would continue to bear, the duties of his high station. In these qualities," continued Mr. B., "his lordship had never been excelled—perhaps

had never been paralleled. His patience, under the circumstances, could only be rivalled by the fortitude with which he bore the prolonged distress of the suitors in his own court. In his generous mind there was no propensity so strong as a love of the service of his country. He was, no doubt, convinced that, the higher an office, the more unjustifiable it would be to abandon it. The more splendid the emoluments of a situation—the more extensive its patronage, the more he was persuaded that it was not permitted to a wise and good man to tear himself from it." In his *Diary*, Lord Eldon tells us, this speech proceeded from "bitter malignity. No young lady was ever so unforgiving for being refused a silk gown, when silk gowns adorned female forms, as Brougham is with me; because, having insulted my master, the insulted don't like to clothe him with distinction, honour, and silk." The crabbed Lord Chancellor adds—"Canning answered every part of Brougham's speech except what concerned his colleague—myself. But this is what I should have expected." Brougham never would let Lord Eldon alone; and the unkindest cut of all was, that the Chancellor's own colleagues appeared to enjoy the Commoner's brilliant invectives as much as the fiercest members of opposition.

On the 16th of July, 1823, during a debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of Scotch bills; Mr. Brougham afforded great amusement to that assembly, by drawing a vivid, but somewhat sarcastic, picture of the state of the government. "As to Lord Liverpool," observed the learned gentleman, "he is no more Prime Minister than I am. I reckon Lord Liverpool a sort of member of opposition; and, after what has recently passed, if I were required, I should describe him as 'a noble lord in another place, with whom I have the honour to act.' Lord Liverpool may have collateral influence; but Lord Eldon has all the direct influence of the Prime Minister. He is Prime Minister to all intents and purposes; and he stands alone in the full exercise of all the full influence of that high station." In this strain the orator proceeded, claiming Lord Liverpool as a coadjutor, because both opposed the measures of the Lord Chancellor. The silence with which this attack was received by the treasury bench displeased Lord Eldon vastly. The Chancellor, as he tells us, was always going to resign. This intention gave rise to the following squib, widely circulated at the time:—

"The Chancellor vows he'll depart, as they say,
(So Derry sometimes, if his crew disobey);
But when his resigning a minister mentions,
We think how hell's paved with mankind's good intentions;
For still being in, so oft going out,
We feel much inclined, like his lordship, to doubt."

Lord Eldon had long been the object of opposition attacks. On a motion, brought forward by Mr. Williams, for a committee to inquire into the forms and practices of the Court of Chancery, serious charges against him were implied or expressed. This caused the Lord Chancellor to state publicly, in court, that a certain statement that had been made against him was "an utter falsehood." As the offending individual was Mr. Abercromby, he, on the 1st of March, obtained leave to establish it by evidence. "Nothing," writes Mr. Freemantle, "could have been so disgraceful to a man as the whole of the proceedings relative to the Chancellor." Mr. Wynn confesses that he showed "an intemperance and wrongheadedness highly disgraceful. He is highly angry and sulky, and declares that he meant to go out before, but now will stay, to show that he cannot be bullied." Wilberforce, on this debate, says, though he longed to go, he stayed and voted with the majority. "I could not forget the friendly intercourse of former days, when Sir J. Scott used to be a great deal at my house. I saw much of him then; and it is no more than his due to say, that when he was Solicitor and Attorney-general, under Pitt, he never fawned and flattered, as some did, but always assumed the tone and station of a man who was conscious that he must show he

respected himself if he wished to be respected by others." The Lord Chancellor's power of work was immense, and deserves to be commemorated. On one occasion Wilberforce had to speak to Romilly in court. He says—"As I went up to Romilly, old Eldon saw me, and beckoned to me with as much cheerfulness and gaiety as possible. When I was alone with Romilly, and asked how he was, he answered—'I am worn to death; here we have been sitting on, in the vacation, from nine in the morning until four; and when we leave the place, I have to read through all my papers, to be ready for to-morrow morning: but the most extraordinary part of all is, that Eldon, who has not only mine, but all the other business to go through, is just as cheerful and untired as ever.'"

Another of the old Tories was removed by death. On the 5th of January, 1827, the Duke of York breathed his last, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, to the great regret of the army, whose interests had been ably maintained by his royal highness since his return to the Horse-guards. He had made himself very popular with the high church party, by his "indecent" no-popery speech in the House of Lords—a speech which had been placarded all over London, and which was distributed wholesale by the rector and the country squire. Mr. Wynn writes—"I have been very glad to hear to-day from Freemantle, that the Duchess of Gloucester, on the king's part, disclaims all knowledge of the Duke of York's speech, or participation in his sentiments; and adds, that Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington are extremely angry. The speech is placarded all over the walls, &c.; and I hear, in one place, there is—'Damn the king!—the Duke of York for ever!' This will not tend to reconcile the mind of the former." The king could not last long, said the high churchmen, and then we shall have the Duke of York. It was otherwise decreed. His funeral was conducted in great state. "Few royal princes have been," writes the Duke of Buckingham, "so generally lamented, or left so many memorials of courtesy, liberality, and goodness of heart."

After the death of the duke, the keeper of the king's privy purse was called upon to perform a duty which a less devoted courtier would gladly have avoided. This was to go, in the dead of night, in the bleak month of January, to the vault of St. George's Chapel, Windsor (where the members of the royal family found their last resting-place), with no other light than a solitary torch, and there to select a place for receiving the coffin of the Duke of York. Sir William Knighton describes the scene graphically—the subterranean cemetery, and the various occupants—and never forgot it. He remained in the vault a quarter of an hour, making a careful inspection; and then, not unreluctantly, retraced his steps. The fact was, that the king, remembering the affection that had existed between his deceased brother and his father, was anxious that they should rest together in the tomb as closely as possible; and knowing that he could place the most implicit confidence in Sir William Knighton, entreated him to effect the desired arrangement. It may also be stated here, that, in connexion with his royal father, the duke had rendered himself a little unpopular. When the Duke of York was appointed custos of the poor blind, bereaved, and stricken king, many grumbled, that for such an office the Duke of York was to receive from the state an additional £10,000 a year.

The time had also arrived when Mr. Canning was to enjoy the full fruition of his hopes. In February an attack of paralysis incapacitated the Earl of Liverpool for further official duty, and Canning took his place. It was the price which he claimed, and which his enemies in office were compelled to pay.

Canning's feelings could not have been those of unmixed satisfaction. He himself was sickening for the grave. For some time he had been in a weak state of health; and, standing as a mourner while they buried the Duke of York, in St. George's Chapel, death marked him for its own; and then, for the colleague just hopelessly smitten, he must have felt as he could feel for few other men. They tell us Canning liked to get young men round him: Pitt did the same. But youth is always raw; and it lacks the richness and fulness of an active manhood, or

a ripe old age. In youth's bright morning, when at Christchurch, Mr. Canning formed many friendships; but with none was he so intimate as with the Hon. Mr. Jenkinson. The latter had entered Christchurch in the preceding spring or summer, and they were constantly together. Canning, Jenkinson, and Huskisson were all born in the same year, and entered parliament about the same time. Jenkinson was also one of the contributors to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, which, as all the world knows, was originated by Canning, who wrote some of its ablest articles. For years Jenkinson (now Lord Liverpool) had kept together a cabinet of discordant materials, whose resignation had been prophesied at least once a month; and his sudden seizure must have made Canning serious, as he looked back to the days when, for them, life was a triumphal march, and not what it had come to be—a scene of disappointment, intrigue, and petty strife; and now he, the dull, honest friend of thirty years, was summoned away from his friends and his fame. Lord Liverpool had not a particle of genius. His control was purely nominal. No one feared, or disliked, or doubted him. The secret of his success consisted in the fact, that he did not possess a single quality to provoke the jealousy or excite the insubordination of his colleagues, and in his ability to surround himself with able men.

On the 12th of April, Mr. Wynn moved the issuing of the Speaker's writ for the election of a member for the borough of Newport, in the room of the Right Hon. George Canning, who had accepted the office of Chief Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury. During the previous fortnight there had been a great ferment among all parties in the state. Speculations of various degrees were entertained as to the result of Lord Liverpool's retirement. But Mr. Canning's position as a statesman, his influence in the House of Commons, and the great reputation his literary and oratorical talents had procured for him, pointed him out as the most popular Premier that could then be selected. Unfortunately, he was not popular everywhere: indeed, many persons who had enjoyed the most frequent opportunities of knowing him, admired the orator more than they loved the man. Some of them reluctantly worked with him; others found it still more difficult to conceal their dislike; and these were to be found among the most eminent of his political associates.

By members of parliament, and others, the same feeling was entertained. In 1832, long after Canning's death, Wilberforce said—"I knew him well, and he knew that I knew him. He felt that I knew him before he became well acquainted with Pitt. He had a mind susceptible of the forms of great ideas." Old Dr. Parr was violent against him. "I know," he said, in his dogmatic way, "the interior of the man, and I abhor him." Byron speaks of him as "a genius—almost a universal one; an orator, a wit, a poet, and a statesman." In poetry, the noble peer was equally eulogistic. He wrote—

> "Yet something may remain, perchance to chime
> With reason; and, what's stronger still, with rhyme.
> Even this, thy genius, Canning, may permit;
> Who, bred a statesman, still was born a wit,
> And never, even in that dull House, could'st tame
> To unleavened prose thine own poetic flame.
> Our last, our best, our only orator;
> E'en I can praise thee."

Sydney Smith's portrait of his brother wit is not flattering. He thus alludes to Mr. Canning, in 1808:—"I can only say, I have listened to him long and often with the greatest attention. I have used every exertion in my power to take a fair measure of him; and it appears to me impossible to hear him upon any arduous topic without perceiving that he is completely deficient in those solid and serious qualities upon which, and which alone, the confidence of a great country can properly repose. He sweats, and labours, and works for sense; and Mr. Ellis always seems to think it is coming, but it does not come; the machine can't draw up what

is not to be found in the spring. Providence has made him a light, jesting, paragraph-writing man, and that he will remain to the end of the chapter. When he is jocular he is strong; when he is serious he is like Sampson in a wig; any ordinary person is a match for him. A song; an ironical letter; a burlesque ode; an attack in a newspaper on Mr. Nicholl's eyes; a smart speech of twenty minutes, full of gross misrepresentations and excellent turns; a spirited manner; lucky quotations; success in provoking dull men; some half-information, picked up in Pall Mall in the morning;—these are your friend's natural weapons. All these things he can do: here I allow him to be truly great; nay, I will be just, and go further still: if he would confine himself to these things, and consider the playful and the facile to be the basis of his character, he would, for that species of man, be universally allowed to be a person of a very good understanding. Call him a legislator, a reasoner, and the conductor of the affairs of a great nation, and it seems to me as absurd as if a butterfly were to teach bees to make honey. That he is an extraordinary writer of small poetry, and a diner-out of the highest order, I do most readily admit. After George Selwyn, and, perhaps, Tickell, there has been no such man for this half century."

Wilberforce implies that Canning was wise in his generation, and was indebted for a great deal of his popularity to the newspaper editors. At any rate, it must be admitted that he had few friendships with his colleagues, or the official class; they considered his talents in debate indispensable to their party, but they complained of his lust of power, his arrogance; and certainly did not appreciate his patriotism higher than their own. In 1825, when Canning was loudly protesting his devotion to the Catholic cause, one of the Duke of Buckingham's correspondents writes—"Every one who knows anything, knows that it was not the Catholic question, but general aversion to his personal character, which rendered his success at Oxford impossible. He himself feels, that if it be true that he did not join in the no-popery cry, he partook of the prey with the rest of the hounds, and kept his disapprobation to himself. On the slavery question he was more than a match for Wilberforce, though professing earnestly the wish to aid him; and his foreign policy, of which so much has been said, and for which so much may be said, was certainly as much the result of pique as principle." The Duke of Buckingham intimates, that a careful attention to the correspondence he has published, will show that Canning endeavoured, by taking as opposite a course possible as that adopted by his predecessor and former rival, to throw discredit on his ideas and measures. "The feeling," he adds, "that was at the bottom of this conduct, arose from his recollection of the failure of his scheme to raise himself at the expense of Lord Castlereagh, and the humiliation and enforced absence from office which followed its exposure."

But let us return to the situation. As soon as Canning had obtained the king's command to form an administration, he wrote to his colleagues individually, apprising them of his having been so honoured, and courteously expressing his desire that the public service might still enjoy the advantages it had derived from the exercise of their administrative talents. In the document there was an important omission. No mention was made of the chief office of the government to which they were invited to belong; they could scarcely, however, have been in ignorance what such a communication implied. Yet only one of the ministers (Lord Bexley) returned a frank avowal of willingness to retain his position. Lord Westmoreland replied, stating his inability to give a decided answer to Mr. Canning's proposition till he knew who was to be his leader; and a similar reply came from the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Melville, and Mr. Peel. The new Premier lost no time in forwarding the required information, apologising for the omission. Communications were presently returned, expressing disinclination to form part of a cabinet which could not work in harmony. In short, directly it became clearly understood that they were expected to serve under Mr. Canning, the entire administration, with very few exceptions, retired.

The task of reconstruction proceeded. The first appointment—that of the Duke of Clarence as Lord High Admiral—was popular. Sir John Copley, as Baron Lyndhurst, was promoted to the woolsack; and then the Premier turned to his natural allies, the Whigs. He found them accessible; they could have no objection to serve under a leader who was friendly to some of their favourite measures. "If the Whigs do not give Canning active support," observes the Duke of Buckingham, "Canning will not stand; and they will not give active support unless employed." As to the Whigs, they had either to join Canning in carrying their own measures, or to remain out of office altogether. A pure Whig administration was not to be dreamt of for an instant. "That the Whigs, as a party, will never succeed to power," wrote Mr. Plumer Ward, a year or two previously, "seems to be the opinion of all my friends, however divided among themselves."

Parliament met on the 1st of May, and it was manifest what a wonderful change had taken place, the ministerial benches being filled by the opposition leaders and their supporters. Explanations soon followed, in which Mr. Canning took a prominent part, disclaiming any knowledge of the cause of the hostility he had excited in his late colleagues; expressing himself, throughout his speech, in a tone of moderation, and announcing that the Catholic question stood exactly as it did in 1812, by which he admitted that the new cabinet was a little more in unison on the subject than the old one. In the House of Lords, other explanations were given; the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon and Bathurst, denying any concert in their resignations; and, for several days, both Houses were employed in discussions respecting the break-up of the late government. The same subject was taken up out of doors quite as warmly. On the 8th of May, at a public dinner of the clergy of London, the Bishop of London stated, that shortly after the late ministerial changes, the king had sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself, and directed him to make known to the clergy, that his sentiments on the coronation oath and the Catholic question were those his revered father, George III., and lamented brother, the Duke of York, had maintained during their lives, and which he himself had professed when Prince of Wales, and which nothing could shake; finally assuring them that the recent ministerial arrangements were the result of circumstances, to his majesty equally unforeseen and unpleasant.

If the high-church and Tory party were alarmed, equally so were the sturdy dissenters and Liberals, represented by the *Eclectic Review* and John Foster. The latter, in a letter to Mr. Easthope (afterwards Sir John), M.P., writes—"Can you be perfectly free from all suspicion that there is some shrewd turn of the *black art* in the case, when you—the whole tribe of you—patriots, reformers, and democrats, and what not, find yourselves suddenly transported through the air from your war-like position in *front* of Canning, to a station of alliance and fighting co-operation beside him and behind him; while he has not made so much as a hypocritical profession of any change of principles or measures? The riddance of a good quantity of the most rotten aristocracy from the administration is most plainly a good thing so far. But we folks, who are at a distance from the grand central monopoly of wisdom—and, therefore, of slow and obtuse intellects—cannot well comprehend this zealous coalition of the avowed enemies of all corruption, with a minister who has been, at all times and seasons, its friend and defender; and, more than so, fairly tells them, as if in scorn of their gullibility, that he will continue in the old course, explicitly flouting, beforehand, their parliamentary reform, their attempts on behalf of dissenters, and such like. To *us* it really seems as if this odd sort of league is made at the sole expense of what had been thought the wiser and better-meaning party; and that the reformers, the economists, &c., are consenting to forego all their best projects, and even principles, for the honour of being denominated 'his honourable friends.' The nation, truly, is to be a mighty gainer by this famous compact!

"But Catholic emancipation! Catholic emancipation!—why, yes, very well so

far, if that, even so much as *that* were in any likelihood to be effected: but this worthy minister has consented to abandon even that to its feeble and remote chance. For, as left to its own shifts, what chance has it in the Lords?

"But, even supposing this most virtuous and patriotic minister, backed by his scores of converts and new friends, could, would, and did carry this measure; what then? Will he alleviate the oppressive burdens of the country? Will he cut down the profligate and enormous expenditure of the government? Will he blow up a single rotten borough? Will he rout out that infernal Court of Chancery? Will he do anything towards creating an effective police through the country, every part of which is, every night, in complete exposure to attacks of plunderers and ruffians? Or, to glance abroad, will he do anything for Greece, or anything, to real or effectual purpose, for what is named the Peninsula? Nay, will he do anything, at last, for even amendment of the West Indies, which he has palavered so much about? No; nothing of all this. So that the good of having got this same admirable Prime Minister consists in the good he will not do." Thus did the new minister appear to the Radical reformers.

Under such unpromising circumstances, the Premier summoned the first cabinet council to assemble at his own residence, on the 20th of May. The cabinet included Lords Lyndhurst, Harrowby, Bexley, Dudley, and Ward; Duke of Portland, Marquis of Anglesea, and Messrs. Canning, Wynn, Huskisson, and Bourne. Orders and dignities were showered on influential members of the new government and its supporters. Mr. Robinson had been created Viscount Goderich; Sir Charles Abbot, Baron Tenterden; and Mr. Plunket, Baron Plunket. The Earl of Carlisle was made First Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and Mr. Tierney, Master of the Mint; while knighthood promotions and preferments abounded.

These changes in no way affected the subject of this memoir. We still find him at his old post. "I have heard," writes Mr. Wynn to the Duke of Buckingham, "nothing lately about Lord Palmerston; but, from all accounts, his re-election for Cambridge is so doubtful (to say the least of it), that I fully expect him to withdraw from it into the upper house." This was written in 1825. We cannot imagine Lord Palmerston as wishing to be there. He knew his place, and kept it to the last.

Of his speeches on Catholic emancipation we shall have to speak soon. Let us now refer to the peculiar duties of his office. A Colonel Allen had been deprived, by the War Office, of twelve months of his seniority. Palmerston's defence, when the matter came before the Commons, was, that the right of dismissing officers without courts-martial, was "a power held, not for the benefit of the crown, but for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people." Certainly, if his view was right, no case stronger than that of this colonel could arise. And it seems surprising that it was the rigour, and not the leniency, of the punishment inflicted upon him that was complained of. Within a very short interval Allen had flogged seventy-nine of his men, inflicting 4,817 lashes. This was in direct opposition to the order of his general, that no punishment should be inflicted until the offence and sentence had been reported to him. Men had received twenty-five lashes for having blank cartridges in their pockets instead of their cartouche-boxes. Another had been flogged because "he went from the carry to the support;" that is, supported his firelock in the ranks with the angle of the arm, instead of the palm of his hand. Another had been punished for "levelling his piece!"

"One would suppose," said Palmerston, "from the wording of this charge, that a mutiny had taken place in the regiment, and that this man had levelled his musket, charged to the muzzle, at his commanding officer. But the fact was, that the unsoldier-like conduct complained of was 'for levelling his piece in the air when the regiment was practising with blank ammunition.' It appeared that the offender, instead of levelling with mathematical precision, had presented his piece in an angular direction, towards the horizon. Now, when an individual who had exerted his authority for the punishment of such trifles, came forward and complained of

severity, could the House be expected to interfere? *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quærentes?*"

The same general question of dismissal without court-martial was again introduced by Colonel Davies, in the discussion of the Mutiny Bill. The colonel's speech drew from the War Secretary this, among other emphatic utterances:—

"According to the amendment, the House would create a fourth estate in the kingdom, and convert the army into a power most dangerous for the country. Instead of being subordinate to the proper authority, and incorporated with the practice of our constitution, the army would be changed into a corps of Mamelukes, who would very soon overthrow the laws, and annihilate all power but their own."

One thing now is clear—Lord Palmerston's nervousness and fear of failure had left him. He was becoming a frequent speaker in the House, and on subjects not connected with his own department. Thus, on the occasion of a vote for new churches—a vote considered quite unnecessary in some quarters—his lordship, in advocating it, said—

"It is my wish that the established church should be the predominant one in this country; for nothing, I am persuaded, can tend more to the general tranquillity and happiness of a people, than a community of sentiment, as far as it can be obtained without intolerance to any party, in matters of religious doctrine."

Forty years before the achievement of the long-talked-of plan for the embankment of the Thames, Palmerston thus expressed himself:—"Every man who had been in Dublin and Paris, spoke in praise of their quays, and drew comparisons to the disadvantage of London. Foreigners said—'Well, we have seen your town, but where is the Thames?'"

In 1826, he presented a petition from the University of Cambridge against slavery, and expressed his conviction that it was "in vain for the colonial legislatures to think that, however they might retard, they could ultimately defeat a measure supported by the concurrent sentiments of the people of Great Britain. If they persevered in their resistance, they might raise against themselves such a storm of public opinion as no prudent man would wish to encounter."

But we must hasten to chronicle the close of the Canning administration—an administration which had been a nine days' wonder. Old Eldon writes—"The whole conversation in town is made up of abusive—bitterly abusive—talk of people about each other—all fire and flame: I have known nothing like it. I think political enmity runs higher, and waxes warmer, than ever I knew it." A spectator said, when the Premier went down to the House of Commons, "people were as anxious to see Canning, as if a change of his person had accompanied his change of place." And such, undoubtedly, there was to be. Canning was taken seriously ill about the end of the summer, and breathed his last on the 8th of August, at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick—dying, as it has been stated, in the very same room in which Fox had, under circumstances strikingly similar.

It is unfortunate for Canning's fair fame, that he was not allowed time to consolidate his power, or develop those administrative talents which he was known to possess. His admirers generally were loud in their congratulations that he did not go to India when appointed Governor-general, a little before the death of Lord Londonderry; but the Duke of Buckingham inclines to the opinion that his genius might have there found far more scope for development than it met with in the higher, yet more restricted position, of Foreign Secretary and First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Dudley writes—"Canning, it seems, is to be Governor-general. It is impossible to say that this is the most natural or desirable termination to the career of the most distinguished speaker in the English parliament; but I have no doubt that the appointment is a most fortunate one for the country he is sent to govern."

Canning's funeral took place at Westminster Abbey, where he was buried at the foot of Mr. Pitt's tomb, on the 16th of August. It was attended by the members of the royal family, the cabinet ministers, the foreign ambassadors, and a number of political and personal friends. There was no savage yell from the mob when Canning was borne to his last, long home. A peerage was conferred upon his widow.

Lord Palmerston defended his late Premier to the last. When a public provision for the family was opposed in the Commons, Palmerston replied—"His name would be venerated long after his doctrines had been consigned to oblivion. As to the plea of economy, the setting it up on the occasion was calculated to disgust the House with the very name." Few had the generous enthusiasm of Palmerston; for Canning became extinct at a later period. In the course of the reform debates, Lord Palmerston thus vindicated his consistency as a reformer and disciple of Canning; and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the latter:—"Taunts have been thrown out in the course of this night's debate against those who, like myself, were the admirers of Mr. Canning. We have been taunted for abandoning the principles which he supported with respect to the important question of reform. Sir, I should have thought that events which have happened within these walls since the lamented death of that great and illustrious man, might have taught those from whom those taunts have proceeded a humbler and a juster estimate of the extent to which this sort of consistency ought to be carried. I should have thought that such men might have learned from examples, which they will be not less disposed than I am to respect, that public men may change their opinions upon questions of great public importance, without any other motive than an honourable, I will say a noble, regard for their country's good. I should have thought these persons might have learned that it is not the duty of a public man in this House to carry what I will call the private vanity of consistency of opinion to such an extent, as to sacrifice to it the interest and safety of his country. As to my own opinions, I have stated them. What the opinions of Mr. Canning would have been in the present day, had he been spared to the country, I will not take upon me to say; but they are bad expounders of the opinions of Mr. Canning who look only to the particular sentiments which he may have expressed in particular times, without fathoming the depth of the great principle by which the whole course of his public life was guided. If ever there was a man who took great and enlarged views of human affairs, that man was Mr. Canning. If ever there was a man who, as it were, polarised his opinions by universal and all-pervading principles of action, that man was, undoubtedly, Mr. Canning: and when our assailants on this question would endeavour to pin down his gigantic mind by the Lilliputian threads of verbal quotation, I repudiate, in his name, the conclusions which they would draw; and I feel convinced that, if he had been standing here now, his mighty genius would have embraced within its comprehensive grasp, all the various necessities upon which our own conclusions have been founded, and that he would, in all probability, have stated to the House, with powers, alas! how different from those of any now within these walls! the same opinions which I venture humbly to submit. If any man wants a key to the opinions of Mr. Canning, let him consult the concluding passage of his speech on the 24th of February, 1826, as applicable to the present occasion as to that upon which it was delivered; in which he says, that 'they who resist improvement because it is innovation, may find themselves compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement.'"

Lord Goderich (nicknamed, by Cobbett, Prosperity Robinson) succeeded. Under Lord Liverpool he had been for a short time Chancellor of tho Exchequer; but he was quite unfitted, by his helplessness and ignorance, for his post. "From the first, all men perceived," writes Mr. Roebuck, "that the new administration was destined to an early end. The Premier, though possessed of respectablo abilities, and fitted to act the part of a useful subordinate, was wholly without the influence

needed in the chief of an administration. The consequence was, that the subordinates quarrelled and broke up the cabinet. An idle question of etiquette between Mr. Tierney and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, led to the sudden resignation both of Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson. The unhappy Premier, frightened at his own incapacity, and by the difficulties of his position, immediately followed the example of his colleagues, and returned his dangerous honours to the king, begging permission to resign. The king at once graciously acceded to the noble lord's request, and commanded the Duke of Wellington to form a new administration." In 1823, Mr. Robinson was welcomed in the cabinet as "a decided improvement upon poor Van (the retiring Chancellor of the Exchequer), both in manner and popularity with the House. He is a man of sense and judgment, though, perhaps, deficient in energy." Such was the opinion of his contemporaries, who had a higher opinion of him than Mr. Roebuck.

The immediate changes in the ministry, caused by the death of Canning, were —Viscount Goderich to be First Lord of the Treasury, and the Duke of Portland Lord President of the Council; while Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Herries were sworn of the Privy Council. These announcements were made on the 17th of August; and, on the 22nd, the Duke of Wellington was gazetted as Commander-in-Chief. The government was then speedily arranged: Mr. Herries taking office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Huskisson, Colonial Secretary; Mr. C. Grant, President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy. In the other offices there were no important alterations. "The result, as it now stands," writes Mr. Freemantle to the Duke of Buckingham, "promises permanence, so *I hear*, though I cannot think that all parties could have been satisfied. It is a decided victory against the Whigs, though, it must be admitted, on a matter on which they could not have resorted to the extent of quitting the government. The character of the government is now exclusively, I might almost say, Canningite, having got rid of its chief, who had become so personally objectionable. The resumption of the Duke of Wellington in command paralyses his opposition, and, of course, weakens the phalanx in your House. It also very much subdues the opposition of that part of the Whigs who were so violent against him last session. * * * I hear the different members of the government are perfectly satisfied with each other; that is, I mean that Lord Lansdowne is content with all that is done by Lord Goderich. The ground of greatest satisfaction to the Whigs arose from the immediate decision taken to retain the government as it stood, and, under no circumstances but that of dire necessity, to have recourse to the Tories. There never was the slightest advance towards them. I have never had the slightest conversation, in any quarter of authority and influence, during or since these transactions. The whole was managed with great prudence and temper. The great object of the opposition now is, to preserve their strength in your House. I doubt if they will be enabled to do this. The opening of the parliament will be a trying scene for the new government; but if they have the full support (which I know they have), I have not the smallest doubt of their standing; and should they get through one session, they are fixed for a period."

Apparently, never had a government a fairer chance of longevity. Yet it was no sooner formed than it fell to pieces. A succession of fusions had been attempted, till the administration had been so thoroughly charged with Whigism, that the genuine Tory element was not very clearly perceptible. The Goderich experiment appears to have been the shortest and most unsatisfactory of the series; and then recourse was had to the original material, from whence the fabric derived its reputation. The Duke of Wellington was placed, as we have stated, at the Horse-guards: it proved a convenient stepping-stone to the Treasury; for Mr. Canning's successor, finding the task he had undertaken above his strength, gave in his resignation; and now the duke commenced his political life as a leader. Hitherto he had been a subordinate. Viscount Goderich, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The circumstances which have occurred, and which

have produced a change in the administration, were of a nature to render it impossible for me to continue at the head of government, without being compelled to remodel it under principles different from those upon which alone I undertook, originally, to conduct it. I did not see the possibility of being able to conduct it under the peculiar circumstances in which parties now stand in this country, with any reasonable prospect of success; and this state of things led the king to feel it to be necessary to consult the Duke of Wellington, and to entrust to his grace the new arrangement which might become necessary. Nothing is at present known as to the shape which matters will take; but it seems to me evident, from what I hear, that the duke's object is to form a government upon as wide a basis as circumstances may permit; and certainly not to confine himself to those who marked their hostility to the administrations which succeeded Lord Liverpool." To this new administration the Whigs did not approximate; and against it, "the ultra-Tories, at the head of whom is Lord Eldon," are described as outrageous. Nor were other parties in the state disposed to look with very favourable eyes on the new administration. The Right Hon. Thomas Grenville writes—"My original objections to the formation of a government concocted out of the army list and the ultra-Tories, are quite insuperable on constitutional principles alone; neither is there any instance, since the revolution, of any government so adverse, in its formation, to all the free principles and practice of our constitution; neither am I reconciled to it by the little tricks which I think I have traced in it; nor by the sort of double conduct, which is intended to allure both parties, without substantial promise to either."

An event occurred at this time that created considerable amusement, and, in a remarkable way, showed the military manner in which the Duke of Wellington was disposed to carry on his government. A bill for disfranchising East Retford was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Mr. Huskisson thought proper to vote in opposition to Mr. Peel, the ministerial leader in the House, on the question of transferring the elective franchise to Birmingham; and after the division, about two o'clock in the morning (May 26th, 1828), he wrote a letter to the duke, announcing what he had done, and expressing his inclination to resign, "to prevent the injury to the king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils." From his subsequent explanation in the House of Commons, it appears, that whatever he wrote, he did not mean the communication to be taken as a resignation. But the duke insisted upon interpreting the document literally, and accepted the surrender forthwith. Lord Dudley first, and then Lord Palmerston, waited upon the duke, confirming Huskisson's view, and pointing out the mistake. But the duke emphatically replied —"It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; and it shall be no mistake."

From this event ensued—fortunately for Palmerston's future fame—his secession from the Wellington administration. Lord Palmerston had voted with Huskisson; and when the matter came on for discussion in the House of Commons, he stated his intention to resign, because his colleague was no longer in the ministry. He agreed with Huskisson in the opinion which led to the difference. It was as an enemy of electoral reform that he supported the transfer of the franchise to such large places as Birmingham, for thereby, he held, the mouths of the more clamorous reformers were stopped, and the necessity of more sweeping measures avoided.

These resignations necessitated further changes. On the 21st, the official programme was thus announced:—Arthur, Duke of Wellington, First Lord of the Treasury; Robert, Viscount Melville, Right Hon. Robert Peel, Earl of Aberdeen, and Sir George Murray, Secretaries of State; Right Hon. H. Goulbourn, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Wallace, Right Hon. John Sullivan, Lord Ashley, Marquis of Graham, Lawrence Peel, Esq., and the Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay, Commissioners for the Affairs of India: the Maquis of Anglesea was gazetted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Ellenborough as Privy Seal. The Tories were delighted. They had the duke at the helm, and that was enough. There

was no fear of the Iron Duke; he never would give way. Wilberforce tells us, in 1828, he called on Southey, and found him anticipating civil war. On the contrary, Wilberforce thought the ministry would give way to the Catholics, as they did in 1782. To which Southey replied, that the administration of 1782 was weak; "but *now*, the Duke of Wellington," said he, stretching out his arm stiffly, and pulling up his sleeve—"ha! the duke is a great man."

Hundreds of years ago there was a Danish king in this country, called Canute. His courtiers would fain have had him believe that it was in his power to stop the rising tide. In a very simple manner, by ordering his seat to be placed by the sea, he demonstrated the absurdity of the idea. In the political world such absurdities are constantly repeated by the foolish and fanatic. Put So-and-so in office, and the tide will be stopped; and So-and-so is put in office, and what is the result? That he has either to give way, or is swept away. The age is stronger than the individual. Humanity is greater and grander than a party or a sect. The Tories trusted in George III.; but he died: then all their hope was centred in the son; but his indolence and gout rendered him, latterly, a king but in name: and now the constitution is safe, for have we not got the Iron Duke? We shall see that he can no more stop the rising tide of Liberal opinion, than could Dame Partington sweep back the Atlantic.

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day, and cease to be."

CHAPTER XIX.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In France the party of reaction was omnipotent.

To invade Spain on behalf of legitimacy, and to restore the *prestige* of the French army, were their aims.

The French king's speech, on opening the chambers, revealed the real intentions of the government.

At the congress of Verona, as we have already said, Mr. Canning, by means of the Duke of Wellington, had protested against that invasion.

"The blindness," said the King of the French, on the 28th of January, 1823, as he opened the session of the French Chambers—"the blindness with which my representations made at Madrid have been rejected, leave me but few hopes of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of our minister: 100,000 soldiers, commanded by a prince of my family, whom it delights my heart to call my son, are ready to march, invoking the name of St. Louis to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV.; to save that fine kingdom from ruin; and to reconcile it with Europe. If war is inevitable, I will use my best endeavours to limit its circle, and shorten its duration. It will only be undertaken to conquer that peace which the present state of Spain renders impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give his people those institutions which they can only hold from him, and which, by insuring the repose, will dissipate the just uneasiness of France; and from that moment hostilities shall cease." In a few weeks after, the French, under the Duke d'Angoulême, were in Spain. The Spaniards, while fighting in support of a "popular" constitution, and in defence of "popular" rights, had the mortification of knowing that the "popular" feeling was not with them. A report made to the Córtes early in the year, acknowledged that the great majority of the people were hostile to their cause; the rural population (instigated,

probably, by the priests) having always been so; while the enthusiasm once displayed at Madrid and the seaports, was sensibly dying away. The French were successful; the wretched Ferdinand—who would make a hundred promises a day, and break them, as the Duke d'Angoulême complained—was set free; and Spain was delivered up to the incurable tyranny of her king.

England remained neutral, though many ardent patriots were disappointed, and could not reconcile themselves to the complete setting at nought of our glorious Peninsular campaign, nor to the triumph of a Bourbon where a Bonaparte had failed. Mr. Canning's position was impregnable. The principle on which Louis XVIII. proceeded to make war, was that which makes constitutional rights emanate from the king. Against this principle Mr. Canning entered a dignified protest. "If," said he, "the speech were to be construed, that the free institutions of the Spanish people could only be legitimately held from the spontaneous gifts of the sovereign, first restored to absolute power, and then divesting himself of such portion of that power as he might think proper to part with, it was a principle to which the Spanish nation could not be expected to submit, nor could any British statesman uphold or defend it. It was, indeed, a principle which struck at the root of the British constitution." In his *Memoirs*, Chateaubriand says—"Cobbett was the only person in England who, at this period, undertook our défence; who did us justice; who judged calmly both of the necessity of our intervention in Spain, and of the view we had to restore to France the strength of which it had been deprived. Happily *he* did not divine our entire plan, which was to break through, or modify the treaties of Vienna, and to establish Bourbon monarchies in South America. Had he discerned this, and lifted the veil, he would have exposed France to great danger."

The most popular thing Mr. Canning did, and that on which he most prided himself, was the recognition of the South American republics, which had long shaken off the feeble yoke of the mother country. It is not true that he called them into existence; but his recognition was a great aid to them. It was a gain to the cause of freedom; for it was an acknowledgment of the right of insurrection—a bold thing to do at that time. Were we to go to war with France because her army entered Spain? "No," said Mr. Canning, "I looked another way: I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved, that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The independence of the Spanish colonies in South America was very popular with the public. Many years before, when the struggle between Spain and her distant possessions had only commenced, Lord Grenville was canvassed for his opinion on the propriety of Great Britain assisting the colonists to throw off the yoke of the mother country; but he declined to interfere in a domestic quarrel. When Mr. Canning, for the second time, obtained the seals of the Foreign Office, liberal measures were the order of the day, and the British empire was made to throw its weight into the scale against a state which it had, a few years before, made extraordinary exertions to defend. The Duke of Wellington is described, by Mr. Plumer Ward, "as furious against recognition." "I can only say," said Lord Hertford, in answer to the question, if he thought Canning would say anything in the House relative to South American recognition?—"if he does, it will be his death-warrant." The Grenville party denied, however, that this recognition was any admission of the principle of insurrection. North America had set the example, and our commercial interests required us to do the same. As Mr. Wynn remarked—"The trade carried on with South America is too important an object to be hazarded." The government of Buenos Ayres had now been established fifteen years; there was no appearance of any Spanish party without its dominions; nor the most distant chance of the mother country recovering it. It was, *de facto*, independent, and carried on with Great Britain an increasing trade. The same argument applied to Mexico. With respect to Peru

and Chili, it was confessed that the government were not so firmly established. In the quarrel we had remained neutral. At the first outbreak of the colonies, numbers of young men volunteered to leave England to fight on their behalf. Mr. Canning would not allow this. He brought in a bill to prohibit their interference, which he declared would be a direct violation of our treaty with Spain.

The vast possessions of Spain in America were originally divided into two vice-royalties, Mexico and Peru; the former extending far into the northern continent, and the latter deeply penetrating into the south. These immense tracts of continent were re-divided for purposes of government. Peru was parcelled out, at different times, into the vice-royalties, or captain-generalship, of New Grenada; Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres; Venezuela, Chili, Guatemala, Havannah, and Porto Rico. The original inhabitants of these regions did not fade away before the Europeans, but submitted to, and intermingled with them. The Creoles, or offspring of this mixture, were almost universally, though not legally, excluded from public employment; and were treated as badly by the ruling classes as the Indians themselves. Misfortune makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows; and, in time, the Creoles joined the Indians in their revolt against common cruelties and injustice. A long and bloody struggle ensued, and the republics of Mexico, La Plata, Chili, Bolivia, Columbia, and Paraguay, were in a degree established, but in a miserable fashion. If Canning called them into existence, he had little reason to be proud of his handiwork.

The prolongation of the contest, which raged, without intermission, from 1810 to 1825, utterly ruined the mines of South America, and brought down the annual supply of precious metals, for the use of the globe, from ten millions to three millions annually. And what has been the gain to Europe or to us? Lord Palmerston, on one occasion, in his place in parliament, declared that Great Britain, between 1820 and 1840, had advanced £150,000,000, in loans, to the popular states and republics of Spain and South America; nearly the whole of which had been lost. "If to this we add," writes Sir A. Alison, "the dreadful losses consequent on the monetary crisis of 1825, the direct consequence of the speculation entered into in 1824, by British capitalists in South America, at a time when our currency at home was rendered entirely dependent on our retention of the daily declining supplies of gold, we shall have a loss of £300,000,000 sterling inflicted upon Great Britain."

It is, however, one great consolation to us to think that, at any rate, little of British blood has been poured out in the miserable squabbles of these wretched governments. We have not forgotten our melancholy escapade in Buenos Ayres, where, in 1806, General Whitelocke marched into the town, and, at a loss of 2,500 men, got himself into a fix such as few British commanders were ever in. It is true Whitelocke, on his return to England, was cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity. But, perhaps, it was as well that such a mischance occurred. Under English rule, the lawlessness which has marked the whole history of the South American republics would have existed, and they would have been a perpetual source of annoyance and trouble. It is to be questioned whether the French emperor, by this time, does not begin to think that it was a pity he ever interfered in Mexican affairs.

Let us return to Europe.

The hostile attitude which France assumed towards Spain gave serious alarm to the Portuguese government; and a formal application was made to the British cabinet, to know whether they could rely on the alliance of Great Britain in case of an invasion. "The ministry of England has just replied," said the Portuguese foreign minister, "that the British government, having solemnly declared, in the face of Europe, that it does not presume to attribute to itself a right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, considers itself bound to give to this kingdom every succour of which it may stand in need, should its independence appear to be threatened in any mode, or by any power whatever."

Portugal was in an unsettled state; Brazil had become separated from the mother country; and, at home, the king (John VI.) and the ministry succeeded in overthrowing the constitution, and restoring despotic power. His son, Don Miguel, and the queen, were not satisfied with this, and devised a plan for deposing the king, and placing Don Miguel on the throne. This was the easier to effect, as the latter was placed at the head of the army. The ambassadors of France and England interfered: Don Miguel was removed from his high office; the king repaired on board an English ship of war, then lying in the Tagus, where, for a time, he established the seat of government: Don Miguel was sent on his travels; the queen was placed under surveillance; and the king, on his return to Lisbon, declared his intention to restore the ancient political constitution of England—the Cortes, composed of the three estates of the kingdom—the clergy, the nobility, and the people—which had not been convoked for more than a century.

The King of Portugal died on the 10th of March, 1826, and the crown descended to the next heir, Don Pedro, who was at the head of affairs in Brazil. By the constitution of the latter country, it had been declared that the two crowns should never be united on the same head. If, therefore, Don Pedro accepted the crown of Brazil, it was incumbent upon him to renounce that of Portugal. He did so: he abdicated in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria, a girl seven years old. It was made a condition, on her coming of age, that she should marry Don Miguel, it being supposed that this step would obviate any danger that might be apprehended from the faction of Don Miguel and the queen-dowager. An amnesty was granted for political offences, and a new constitution was promised to the mother country. At first all went on smoothly enough. Don Miguel took the oath unconditionally to the constitutional charter, and applied to the pope, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary dispensation for solemnising the intended marriage. The constitution was received and proclaimed, with great pomp, in Lisbon, where, for three days, the city was one continued scene of festivity and rejoicing. In the provinces, too, a similar feeling was manifested.

But the ultra-royalists, headed by the queen-dowager, were discontented, and they steadily intrigued to place Don Miguel on the throne. It was by means of the military, the wealth of Chaves (a nobleman of great possessions and influence in the northern parts of the kingdom), and the power of the priesthood, that they trusted to succeed. Matters were further complicated by the ill-timed interference of Spain.

Spain, at that time, had sunk into the lowest state of degradation and exhaustion. Legitimacy had been restored; and a curse came with it. A *pasquinade*, published in spite of the vigilance of the police of Madrid, is a description of the state of Spain:—"Nothing is wanting to thy happiness, my dear country. Thou hast monks and locusts (the police); ports without ships; troops without breeches; a brilliant priesthood; high-roads infested by banditti; an exhausted treasury; the country divided into parties of all colours; a king who is not ignorant of it, but who does not dare to do anything; a paper currency, which is worth more than it ought to be. Nothing was wanting to thee but a holy year; and the pope has granted it." Under her feeble king, embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary, Spain was a mockery and a by-word. The Moor, as in the days of old, ravaged her shores. Her merchantmen were captured in her very harbours. Fallen was she, indeed, from her high estate!

The establishment of a constitutional government in Portugal was a sad offence to the Spanish Ferdinand. He was annoyed at the recognition of Brazil by Portugal; but that was a minor evil, compared with the establishment of a constitution. It jeopardised his power, institutions, and priesthood. It was a most alarming precedent, and to be put down at any price. The clergy would have hurried him at once into war; but Spain was not in a condition for that. He next appealed to the powers of Europe.

The latter were as despotically inclined as himself. Mr. H. Wynn, writing from Stuttgard, in 1824, to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The Emperor of Russia and the other sovereigns still bother us; but they, at last, seem to be getting tired of it, and to find that the presence of their ministers is not considered, by the king or people, as sufficient advantage to give up a form of government with which they are both equally satisfied. Metternich sees the impossibility of doing away with the constitutional governments, and seems now to have modified his views to preventing the publicity of the debates. In this he will likewise possibly fail. You may conceive in what a state of thraldom the press is, when you hear that the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* complained the other day, at my table, of the ill-conduct of the censor of the press, in having allowed the insertion of an attack reflecting on the partition of Poland. All historical works must now be modelled to the tastes of the sovereigns, or we shall have the Emperor of Austria making representations to the government, of allowing the Tubingen students to read works reflecting, in an improper manner, on his great predecessor, Julius Cæsar." Well might Mr. Canning declare, in the House of Commons, that his immediate object at Verona, was to prevent a war with Spain, growing out of "an assumed jurisdiction of the congress; and keeping within bounds that *areopagatical* spirit which was beyond the sphere of the original conception and understood principles of the alliance."

The European powers, undoubtedly, as much disliked constitutionalism as Ferdinand himself. But they refused to interfere, because of England.

Ferdinand, however, continued in his designs. He persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new Portuguese government; and proceeded to acts of covert hostility, never dreaming that England would do more than remonstrate. Treaties existed between the two countries, by which Spain was bound to disarm, and give up, all deserters who crossed the frontiers. Instead of this being the case, they were now furnished with a secure asylum; were armed, organised, and provisioned, and sent back to invade the country from which they had deserted. A whole regiment, in this manner, abandoned the fortress of Almeida, and waited in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo for orders to invade the frontier. Other troops did the same. They acted as if they formed a Spanish army, and Spain was at war with Portugal. They proclaimed Don Miguel king, and the queen-dowager regent during his absence. Under these circumstances, the British minister remonstrated, in very strong terms, against the conduct of the Spanish Court; declaring that an army of Portuguese rebels, equipped and paid by Spain, would be treated by England as a Spanish army. These remonstrances, however, appear to have produced but little effect. For months Ferdinand continued this unsatisfactory conduct, refusing to acknowledge the regency, and affording active assistance to the rebels. The British minister made, every day, more urgent and menacing remonstrances, and declared that unless justice were immediately done to Portugal, he would demand his passports. France disavowed the conduct of her minister, and threatened to take away the French troops then guarding the capital. Yet Ferdinand seemed determined to go on with his projects, still hiding them under false promises and assertions. When he knew that an invasion had commenced, and that the rebels were in Portugal, his minister made great lamentations that they should have abused the confidence of the Spanish authorities, and offered to send them all out of Spain.

Matters now became serious. When the last grand invasion of rebels from Spain took place, the British government felt that it was time to interfere. Accordingly, in December, 1826, the Portuguese minister, the Marquis de Palmella, made a formal application to Mr. Canning, "in the name of her highness the Infanta Regent of Portugal, for the support and aid of British troops, in virtue of the treaties of alliance and guarantee which have existed in full force between the two crowns, without interruption, for more than a century and a-half." The ministers waited a few days, to watch the conduct of Spain; and on the 11th

of December, a message from the king was communicated to parliament. Mr. Canning's speech on the occasion was received with loud cheers on all sides of the House; and the address was seconded by Sir Robert Wilson, who, however, thought that France should march her troops out of Spain, as a first step to the defence of Portugal. While Canning was speaking the House fairly vibrated with emotion. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the following little sentence:—"The precise information on which alone we could act arrived only on Friday last. On Saturday the decision of government was taken; on Sunday we obtained the sanction of his majesty; on Monday we came down to parliament; and at this very hour, while I have the honour of addressing this House, British troops are on their way to Portugal." Equally effective were the orator's concluding remarks—"We go to Portugal, not to rule; not to dictate; not to prescribe constitutions; but to defend and preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come." Mr. Canning's speech produced as much effect in Portugal as at home. In Lisbon it was translated; 6,000 copies were sold in a few hours; and it was quickly spread all over the kingdom in the shape of handbills.

In an incredibly short space of time, an armament of 5,000 men, under Sir W. Clinton, was despatched to Portugal: their coming spread terror through the ranks of the invaders; the rebels everywhere retired. Ferdinand had, at length, to succumb. His French guards had left him; Russia had expressed her disapproval of his conduct; and England had drawn the sword. The ultra-royalist party in France were much annoyed. Led by the *camarilla* and Chateaubriand, they were, as we learn from Lafayette's correspondence, eager for a war with England, rather than that a constitutional *régime* should be established in Lisbon.

Greece, at this time, also claimed the regard of Europe. In 1821, an assembly had been called at Argos, composed of ecclesiastics, landowners, merchants, and others, by whom, on the 27th of January, 1822, the independence of the country had been declared. Since that period the patriots had maintained a generally successful war with the Ottoman forces—a war which the latter stained, on the 23rd of April, and following days, by one of the most merciless acts on record. An overwhelming Turkish force landed on the island of Scio, and massacred nearly all the inhabitants, except such women and boys as could be sold for slaves. Upwards of 40,000 were barbarously murdered, and 25,000 consigned to slavery. At the congress of Verona, steps were taken to ensure the independence of Greece, principally in consequence of the influence exercised over Alexander by Pozzo di Borgo.

This celebrated diplomatist was born at Ajaccio, in 1764—the birthplace, four years afterwards, of the great Napoleon. Pozzo, it is said, had more to do with the downfall of his fellow-townsman than any one of his contemporaries. Pozzo first appeared as the right hand of Paoli, expelled from Corsica with the British in 1797. In 1803, he entered the Russian diplomatic service. The inveterate enmity which he cherished against his former friend and countryman, Napoleon, roused all his faculties into activity. He, however, failed in various efforts: his master was forced to agree to an armistice with Napoleon in 1807; and Pozzo was compelled for some time to absent himself from Russia. Yet the spirit of opposition within him did not abate, and he concerted fresh measures with the English government for another onset. He was recalled by the Russian emperor in 1812; and then commenced a series of diplomatic manœuvres, which effectually aided in overthrowing the power of Napoleon. It was he who prevailed upon the Swedish crown-prince, Bernadotte, to join the confederacy against the French; he who counselled the allies to bring the contest to a crisis by marching upon Paris; he who warned the congress of Vienna of the possibility of Bonaparte returning from Elba. Nor, when his diplomacy had done everything

it could, did his master-passion cease. He shed his blood at Waterloo to foil the last struggle of his great countryman; and when he heard that his vanquished adversary had died at St. Helena, he vindictively exclaimed—"I have not killed Napoleon, but I have thrown the last shovelful of earth upon him." In her drama of *Revenge*, the critics contended that Miss Baillie had exceeded the bounds of probability; but the life-histories of such men as Pozzo di Borgo, show that the artist was guilty of no exaggeration. Subsequently he became Russian ambassador at the French Court, and died at Paris, in 1842.

But to return to Greece. All over Europe, the young, the enthusiastic, the poet, and the scholar, were ardent in her favour. Lord Byron devoted to her cause the last energies of his feverish and wasted life. Greece, with a fair prospect of ultimate success, was at that time as distracted in her councils as ever. Her arms had been victorious; but the ancient jealousy of the Greek mind was unmitigated. The third campaign had commenced, and yet no regular government had been organised; the fiscal resources of the country were neglected; a wild energy against the Ottomans was all that the Greeks depended upon for carrying on the war. At this time Missolonghi was in a critical state, being blockaded both by land and sea. Trelawney, writing to Lord Byron, says—"There have been thirty battles fought and won by the late Marco Botzarris, and his gallant tribe of Suliotes, who are shut up in Missolonghi. If it falls, Athens will be in danger, and thousands of throats cut. A few thousand dollars would provide ships to relieve it. A portion of this sum is raised; and I would coin my heart to save this key of Greece." In vain Lord Byron volunteered most excellent advice. "I must frankly confess," he wrote to the Greek chiefs, "that unless union and order are confirmed, all hopes of a loan will be in vain; and all the assistance which the Greeks could expect from abroad (an assistance which might be neither trifling or worthless) will be suspended or destroyed; and, what is worse, the great powers of Europe—of whom no one was an enemy to Greece, but seemed inclined to favour her—in consenting to the establishment of an independent power, will be persuaded that the Greeks are unable to govern themselves; and will, perhaps, undertake to arrange your disorders in such a way as to blast the brightest hopes you indulge in, and that are indulged in by your friends." It would have been well for the Greeks had they taken his lordship's advice. Towards the end of the year 1824, their dissensions rose to such a height as to produce an insurrection on the part of the Moreotes. This rebellion, after some bloodshed, was quelled by the end of December; but it hindered the reduction of Patras, which might, otherwise, have been taken during the winter; and delayed the prosecution of the blockade of the Gulf of Corinth. The blockade had already been recognised by the English government. This was an important point gained for them, as it was a first step towards the recognition of their independence.

In 1826, the Turks, under Ibrahim Pasha, captured Navarino, and became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea. The progress of Ibrahim, burning and destroying wherever he came, had thrown the Greek government into great perplexity and distress. At this time several foreign factions were carrying on secret intrigues. The French party actually proposed to give the sovereignty to a son of the Duke of Orleans, promising, on that condition, 12,000 French troops. The Russian emperor, during the preceding year, had issued a semi-official note, hinting at the possibility of forming Greece into principalities. M. Rodvos, the secretary of the executive government, addressed a spirited letter to the British government on this proposal, declaring, that "the Greek nation, as well as its government, whose organ I have the honour to be, in offering their homage to his Britannic majesty through your excellency, solemnly declare, that they prefer a glorious death to the disgraceful lot intended to be imposed upon them." In his answer, Mr. Canning said—"The rights of Greece, as a belligerent power, have invariably been respected. The provisional government of Greece may depend on the continuation of this neutrality: it may be assured that Great

Britain will take no part in any attempt to impose upon it, by force, a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes, if such a peace should ever be proposed: but should the Greeks ever think it advisable to ask our mediation, we will offer it to the Porte; and if it is accepted, we will neglect nothing to make it effectual, in concert with the other powers, whose intervention would facilitate the arrangement. This is, in our opinion, all that can reasonably be required of the British ministers."

In August of the same year, the Greek government issued a manifesto, placing itself under British protection. This document was not the act of a few individuals, but of all the deputies and primates, the army and the navy of Greece.

The year 1826 was a disastrous one to the Greeks. Missolonghi fell, and its brave defenders, male and female, were murdered, dishonoured, or enslaved. One of the greatest misfortunes which the Greeks had to experience, was the misapplication of the loans which were raised for them in England. Lord Cochrane had offered them his services, and great things were expected from his gallantry and experience. A fleet was to be raised in England and America, to be put under his command. Early in 1825, a loan of £2,000,000 was negotiated for this purpose; but, from the mismanagement of those to whom it was entrusted, at the end of November not a single vessel had arrived for Lord Cochrane to take the command of. It is not too much to suppose, that had this fleet been properly fitted out, Missolonghi would not have fallen. With undaunted resolution the Greek nation struggled on in spite of their reverses. No attempts had as yet been made by any of the European powers to make a settlement of the differences between the Greeks and their oppressors. The interposition of the Christian cabinets would, at this time, without doubt, have been effectual with Turkey; but they did not choose to discover any cause for such interference. The sovereignty of Turkey, it was said, was just as legitimate over Greece, as that of Russia over Georgia. The time was coming when they would think differently. In the autumn, Mr. Canning visited Paris, and was received with great cordiality by the king and his ministers. He was invited to the royal table, and had several conferences with the French foreign minister and M. de Villèle. With respect to the former, Mr. Canning's idea that a Christian power should be raised in the Levant, as a check both upon Russia and the Porte (which had already been mooted in the French chambers), was acceded to.

In July, 1827, a treaty was signed between England, France, and Russia, for the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks. The motives which induced them to make it were stated to be, "the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to the disorders of anarchy, produced, daily, fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gave occasion to piracy, which not only exposed the subjects of the contracting parties to considerable losses, but rendered necessary burdensome measures of suppression and protection." It was agreed, by the three powers, that they should offer their mediation to the sultan, in a note signed by all the ministers at Constantinople, proposing that he should retain his suzerainty over Greece, but that the Greeks should be allowed to govern themselves on paying an annual tribute—that tribute to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the sultan should have a voice. All the property of Mohammedans in Greece was to be abandoned, the owners receiving an indemnity; and the fortresses to be given up to the Greek troops. One month was to be allowed to the Porte to decide upon the acceptance of the terms. If the sultan refused, then the powers would, for their own security, come to an arrangement with the Greeks, and send consular agents to the Greek ports.

The sultan refused. Not so lightly was the ruffian hand of the Turk to be shaken off. The allies resolved to take more active measures. An English, French, and Russian squadron had been collected in the Levant; consisting of ten

ships of the line, ten frigates, and six smaller vessels—mounting, in all, 1,324 guns. Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, commanded for the Porte in the Morea. This man had committed atrocities on his miserable captives almost beyond belief. In consequence, the allies determined to call on him to desist from hostilities; and, if he refused, to resort to force. The demand was rejected, and the allied commanders determined to attack and destroy the Turkish and Egyptian fleets of seventy-nine vessels, mounting 2,240 guns; collected in the bay of Navarino, protected by more than 1,000 guns.

In the afternoon of the 20th of October, the allies commenced operations by entering the bay of Navarino, the English leading. When they had taken up their positions, an officer, bearing a flag of truce, was sent, by Sir Edward Codrington, to the Turkish admiral's ship. A fire was opened on the boat and the flag of truce, the officer bearing which was slain. This brought on a return fire, and the action soon became general. It lasted four hours, and ended in the defeat of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. Fifty-one of their vessels, including their line-of-battle ships, were totally destroyed: of the other twenty-eight, some were run ashore, and the remainder were considered too insignificant to be attacked, save by a chance shot. The Turks are said to have fought well; but they were in no position to withstand the heavy armaments of the allies. This "untoward event," as the Duke of Wellington termed it, settled the question of Greek independence. A republic was formed, with Count Capo d'Istrias for president. Ultimately Greece was protected by a French army of 14,000; Russia objecting to England having any troops in the Levant. When the news reached the House of Commons, Mr. Hobhouse inquired of Lord Palmerston, whether it was the intention of ministers to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Codrington? Lord Palmerston denied any such intention, as "it was not usual to propose a vote of thanks of this nature, when not performed in a time of open war between the nations to which the combatants belonged." Sir Edward Codrington, however, received promotion, as did four captains and seven commanders.

In Italy, Austria was still prominent as the friend and supporter of unpopular monarchy. In 1822, Lord Castlereagh had admitted that her proceedings had been at variance with the law of nations and common sense. The constitution was repealed, and its defenders proscribed. At Turin the university was even dissolved, and its fine building converted into a stable for the horses of the royalist troops. Ferdinand, King of Naples, died in 1825, and was succeeded by his son; but his kingdom was still occupied by an Austrian army. Such was the attachment of the people to the Bourbons.

The fathers and founders of the holy alliance were as short-lived as their handiwork. We have referred to the death of the King of Naples. In 1825, another star in the political horizon was blotted out. On the 1st of December the Emperor Alexander breathed his last at Taganrog (where, it is said, he had gone in order to escape a conspiracy of his subjects), in the forty-eighth year of his age. His death was a loss to Russia, but a gain to France, where, since the restoration, Russian intrigue and counsels had exercised no small degree of influence. The deceased monarch had many good qualities: he was, next to England, the principal means of freeing Europe from the domination of France; but he never ceased to aim at the extension of Russian influence and dominion. His younger brother, Nicholas, succeeded him; Constantine, the eldest, having resigned his birthright in his favour. This latter personage, according to all accounts, must have been one of the most brutal and barbarous of men. On one occasion, it is said, Alexander burst into tears as he witnessed a loyal demonstration on the part of his people. On being asked the reason, his answer was, he was thinking of their fate when Constantine would be their ruler. The courier of the latter is reported to have said—"We have had a very quiet journey this time; on our last, the grand duke killed two postilions with his own hands." Happily for Europe the succession of this man was set aside. Unhappily for Poland it came under his iron rule.

Louis, the desired, was also gathered to his fathers. In 1823, it was apparent that the end was near; and all who sought Court favour paid homage to the Count d'Artois. The last illness of the king was tedious, both to himself and every one around him. When it became quite evident that his end was approaching, his family was most anxious that he should receive the rites of religion as prescribed by the church. He complied; but previously, the Count d'Artois had had his last interview. Addressing the latter, the king said—"I have tacked between parties, like Henry IV. Unlike him, I die on my bed, and in the Tuileries. Do as I have done, and you will reach the same end in peace. I pardon whatever annoyance you may have caused me for the hopes I entertain of your conduct as king. But," pointing to the Duke de Bordeaux, "let Charles X. take care of the crown for that boy." It is needless to say that the advice fell on obstinate ears.

Louis XVIII. was taken away from the evil to come. According to M. Guizot, he "was a moderate of the old system, and a liberal-minded inheritor of the eighteenth century. His wisdom was egotistical and sceptical, but serious and severe." He is said "to have had no other principle than that which his brother professed—of the nation being the property of the eldest son of the reigning dynasty;" and to have had no faith either in the justness of the representative principle, considered in the abstract, or in the wisdom and good results of its being fairly applicable to France. As a man, Lamartine draws a picture of him from personal observation, which we cannot but think too highly coloured. The writer says—"His natural talent—cultivated, reflective, and quick; full of recollections rich in anecdote; nourished by philosophy; enriched by quotations never deformed by pedantry—rendered him equal in conversation to the most renowned literary characters of his age. M. de Chateaubriand had not more elegance; M. de Talleyrand more wit; Madame de Stael more billiancy. Never inferior, always equal, often superior, to those with whom he conversed on every subject, yet with more tact and address than they, he changed his tone and the subject of his conversation with the addressed, and yet was never exhausted by any one. History, contemporary events, things, men, theatres, books, poetry, the arts, the incidents of the day, formed the varied text of his conversations. Since the suppers of Potsdam, where the genius of Voltaire met the capacity of Frederick the Great, never had the cabinet of a prince been the sanctuary of more philosophy, literature, talent, and taste." Perhaps the best thing that can be said of Louis XVIII. is, that, in spite of the impatience exhibited by a large and increasing section of the people of France of a rule they considered as forced upon them by foreigners, his reign lasted ten years.

In 1824, Charles X. ascended the throne. At the time of the revolution, in consequence of his dissipation, extravagance, and *hauteur*, he was, perhaps, the most unpopular of the Bourbons. He was an excellent horseman, and a perfect courtier. At one time he had been a great lover of the fair sex. On the death of his last favourite, he abjured female influence, and devoted himself to religion; the priests obtaining, and retaining, a great ascendancy over him. He was always a steady and attached friend; and his tall and majestic figure contributed, with his chivalric manner, to make him personally popular amongst all with whom he came in contact. Born in 1757, he was sixty-seven years of age when he ascended the throne: he had married very early—before he had completed his sixteenth year; and the Duke d'Angoulême, his eldest son, was already fifty years old. From the first, Charles X. never gave himself a chance. He was in the hands of the *Congregation*, or *Parti prêtre*—in short, the Jesuits; and when he ascended the throne, a *camarilla* of its members completely regulated his conduct. Opposed to him were three parties, quietly biding their time—the Orleanists, sanctioned by the Duke d'Orleans, which comprised many leading and able men, both in Paris and the departments; the Bonapartists, who were prepared to rally round Napoleon II. and the tricoloured flag; and the Republicans, whose secret conspiracy was still ramified through every part of France. All the world knows how the

ladies smiled on him when he appeared in Paris as their king; how he was anointed with the sacred oil; how he blundered more and more; and ended his days in exile, in a foreign land.

Mr. Canning, before his sudden and lamented decease, had an American question to settle. The difficulty was connected with that tract of country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, called Oregon, in which both England and America claimed a right of settlement. In 1818, the question was evaded; and now Mr. Rush, the American minister, had to reopen the discussion with Mr. Canning, whom he found ill in bed. The map was produced, and Mr. Rush traced the boundary demanded, which ran along 51° of latitude. Mr. Canning expressed his surprise at the extent of the American claim; and when the negotiations were again renewed, the American minister reduced his demand to the 49°; to which Mr. Canning refused to accede. Further attempts were made to bring about a settlement of this disputed boundary; and Mr. Canning, from an anxious desire to avoid hostilities, proposed a middle course, which was rejected by America. It was a question on which we were very near going to war. "The English people," said Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rush, "were in such a temper that war could be produced by holding up a finger." The Oregon question was not settled till a much later time.

At the beginning of 1824, a misunderstanding arose between the Dey of Algiers and the English consul, Mr. Macdonald, which led to the violation, on the part of the Algerines, of the privileges of the consular character. Captain Spencer was immediately sent, with the *Naiad* and the *Chameleon*, to demand satisfaction. On his arrival, he found two recently-captured Spanish vessels in the Mole, the crews of which were destined for slavery. Their liberation, also, was made a part of his demand. After waiting four days, and receiving no answer, he got the consul and his family, and all the other Europeans, on board, and prepared for his departure. On their way out, the crew of the *Chameleon* captured the Algerine corvette which had taken the Spanish vessels. She was manned by a hundred men, and had seventeen Spaniards on board. Sir H. Neale then, with the squadron under his command, stood in towards the town and batteries; but the courage of the dey failed him, and he agreed to submit to all the demands, binding himself in the strictest manner to abide by the treaty existing. It was well for the dey that he came to his senses at last.

CHAPTER XX.

INDIA AND OUR COLONIES.

It is the boast of an Englishman, that on the dominions of his country the sun never sets. One disadvantage of this state of things is, that the door of the temple of Janus is never shut; and that, in some quarter of the world or other, his country is sure to be at war.

In 1824, Earl Amherst succeeded the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-general. However peaceful were his intentions, the necessities of his position soon plunged him into war.

The Burmese were the first to engage his attention. Their empire extends along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, filling up the interval between the Company's possessions and the territory of China. Between this government and the British there had been, as was natural, jealousies for years. In 1823, various acts of hostility were systematically committed. In the same year, under colour of a claim to the island of Shapuree, an attack was made on a small guard of British

soldiers that were on it, by a body of troops, who, coming unexpectedly on our men, killed and wounded several of them. A reinforcement, however, arriving, the invaders were driven out of the island. No answer was returned to the Company's remonstrances; but it was distinctly declared, by the local authorities, that the emperor intended to invade the British possessions unless his claim to Shapuree was unequivocally admitted. The Burmese generals now advanced into countries under our protection. It was thus clear they were bent on war; and one of their generals had already announced that it was his intention to take possession of Calcutta, preparatory to his march to England. To chastise them, and bring them to reason, an expedition was sent out, under Sir Archibald Campbell. Our troops captured Rangoon, and ravaged the maritime towns. It was, however, a tough and tedious task. We knew little of the country, or of the warlike habits of the people. Its climate was particularly noxious, and the difficulty of forcing a passage up the rivers was very considerable. The war lasted for two years, and brought out all the best qualities of British troops in vivid colours. Their patience was severely tried; their health destroyed; their privations were great; and their courage was taxed to the utmost. The power of Burmah was humbled. By a treaty, signed on the 24th of February, 1826, the King of Ava renounced all claim, to Assam and its dependencies. The British government was to retain the province of Arracan; they were also to retain possession of the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim. The sum of one crore of rupees was to be paid by the Burman government, to indemnify Great Britain, in part, for the expenses of the war. British vessels were to be received in Burman ports on the same terms as Burman vessels in British ports. The King of Siam, who had taken part in the war as an ally of Britain, was to be included in the treaty. Accredited ministers of the two governments were to reside at each other's Courts. In May, 1827, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the officers and men engaged in this war.

A sepoy mutiny occurred at this time. Four regiments refused to proceed to Burmah, on the ground that they ought not to be expected to cross the seas, as they could not cook their food on board ship. They entertained, besides, exaggerated ideas of the physical strength of the Burmese; believed them to be sorcerers, and their country pestiferous. Further, they demanded extra allowance as the price of their service. The government protested against their reasoning, and denied them the allowance. Three regiments gave way; the fourth, influenced by designing men, continued to refuse. Driven to the alternative of crushing the mutinous spirit by a terrible example, or submitting to see its authority derided, and the spirit of revolt diffused, the government left the affair in the hands of the commander-in-chief, General Sir Edward Paget, an able man and a humane officer. Sir Edward's action was terribly stern and prompt. He surrounded the mutinous regiment with European troops and guns; and when the crisis arrived, gave the command, and had the sepoys shot down without remorse. The lesson was awful; but the empire was saved.

Hostilities in India were not alone confined to Burmah. In the north-west of India reigned the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and with him we had a misunderstanding. Bhurtpore itself was a fortress of enormous strength; and when it was besieged by Lord Lake in 1805, the British troops were obliged to give up the enterprise with a loss of 3,000 men. A usurper had seated himself on the throne; and we were bound, by treaty, to see justice done to the rightful heir. Accordingly, the resident or envoy at the Court of Bhurtpore, Major-general Sir David Ochterlony, immediately assembled troops for that purpose. The Governor-general of India and his council would not, however, recognise the course adopted by Sir David. They recalled the troops; and, in disgust at this mark of disapprobation, Sir David resigned his appointment, and retired to a neighbouring station, where he died of a broken heart. The government soon after was obliged to adopt the very course they had condemned. A large force was assembled, under Lord

Combermere, who had recently come out as commander-in-chief, in succession to Sir Edward Paget, and Bhurtpore was besieged. The place was gallantly defended; but the science and courage of the British troops overpowered the defence, and the fortress fell into our hands. The besieged lost about 4,000 men. The whole of the arms, stores, and ammunition of the fortress were taken by Lord Combermere. But we gained still more: for the disaffected in Delhi were prepared to rise in revolt against us if we had failed in our attack.

Canning sent out Lord William Bentinck to India, to fill the place he himself at one time had hoped to occupy. His administration of seven years was the most able and beneficial India had ever enjoyed. He avoided war by abstaining from intervention in the affairs of native states. Excepting when the Rajah of Coorg, by a succession of cruelties towards his own people, and an infraction of treaties, accompanied by an insolent defiance of the British government, compelled Lord William to dethrone him, there was not a single occasion on which the sword was drawn. His sole aim appears to have been the advancement of the people in intelligence and conciliation, the spread of education, and the abolition of the most cruel and disgraceful practice of heathenism.

Suttee was put an end to, and all participators in it were declared offenders against the criminal law. The Shastras, or sacred books of the Hindoos, prescribe that a woman shall either burn herself with the dead body of her husband, and secure beatitude for 35,000,000 of years, or lead a life of chastity and retirement. To serve their own purposes, however, the Brahminical priesthood insisted, that if the widow did not destroy herself, and give up her property and possessions to the temples, she would be compelled to a life of menial service and degradation. Rather than encounter this, the poor creatures suffered themselves to be led to the funeral pyre, and there, stupefied with drugs, were laid on the faggots; while the priests and their attendants kept up a discordant noise with drums and trumpets, that the shrieks might not reach the ears of the assembled multitude. Of course, all orthodox Hindoos remonstrated with Lord William Bentinck against his sacrilegious innovation; but he had the courage to stand his ground nevertheless. Infanticide, in like manner, found in him a most determined enemy; and he gave no countenance to idolatrous sacrifices which involved the destruction of human life.

Against the detestable practice of Thuggism, Lord William Bentinck also waged a war of extermination. The Thugs, or stranglers (a religious sect in India, under the supposed sanction of some malevolent deity), were accustomed to travel about the country in small bands; and, joining travellers on the road, would seduce them into conversation, or persuade them to sit down, and partake of refreshment. While thus unsuspiciously engaged, the travellers were strangled by some of the Thugs, who, coming behind them with a twisted handkerchief, would suddenly throw it round their necks, and instantaneously deprive them of life. The Thugs then robbed the murdered men, and interred their bodies. To General Sleeman, a vigilant officer, well acquainted with the natives in all their social relations, and perfectly familiar with their language, Lord William assigned the task of extirpating the crime; and this most difficult work was ably and admirably performed.

Nor did Lord William Bentinck confine himself to the abolition of these great and crying evils. In every way he laboured hard for the well-being of the natives. Judicial and magisterial offices were entrusted to respectable Hindoos and Mohammedans; and they were likewise occasionally charged with the collection of the revenue. An acquaintance with the English language was encouraged; education received a great impulse; and a medical college was established. His lordship had many powerful prejudices to cope with in connection with the introduction of the practice of surgery, and the use of particular articles of the pharmacopœia; but they all gave way before the influence and intelligence of the medical officers whom he employed to carry out his benevolent purposes. In

addition, let us add that his lordship abolished the transit duties, which had always pressed so severely upon the internal traffic of the country; that he endeavoured to establish a steam communication with England, *viâ* the Red Sea; and that he allowed the utmost freedom to the press—and we have said enough to show how great are his lordship's claims to be considered as one of India's best and truest benefactors.

An insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, created a considerable sensation, not so much on account of the insurrection, as by reason of the barbarous treatment of Mr. Smith, an agent of the London Missionary Society. A court-martial found him guilty of a capital offence, though there was not a shadow of proof that he had the slightest intimation of the insurrection till the moment of its breaking out, when he interfered to prevent it. He was condemned, contrary to law; and his one fault was, that he was a missionary. His accusers, who found him guilty, had not the courage to hang him, but threw him into prison, where he died. On the 1st of June, 1824, a motion on the subject was brought forward by Mr. Brougham, in a brilliant speech of four hours' length, which produced a strong effect upon public feeling. Sir James Mackintosh followed, and was succeeded by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Denman. The debate was closed by a powerful reply on Brougham's part. Wilberforce writes—"Brougham made a capital speech—by Mackintosh well termed impregnable. I doubt not he will be equally great in reply." The speech of the great orator is worthy to be read now, inasmuch as a Jamaica conspiracy has been hinted, and a frightful massacre achieved. "The frame of West Indian society," said Mr. Brougham, "that monstrous birth of the accursed slave-trade, is so feeble in itself, and, at the same time, surrounded with such perils from without, that, barely to support it, demands the most temperate judgment, the steadiest and most skilful hand; and with all our discretion, and firmness, and dexterity, its continued existence seems little less than a miracle. The necessary hazards to which, by its very constitution, it is hourly exposed, are sufficient, one should think, to satiate the most greedy appetite for difficulties, to quench the most chivalrous passion for dangers. Enough that a handful of slave-owners are scattered among myriads of slaves. Enough that, in their nearest neighbourhood, a commonwealth of these slaves is now seated triumphant upon the ruined tyranny of their slaughtered masters. Enough that, exposed to this frightful enemy from within and without, the planters are cut off from all help by the ocean. But, to odds so fearful, these deluded men must add new perils, absolutely overwhelming. By a bond which nature has drawn with her own hand, and both hemispheres have witnessed, they find leagued against them every shade of the African race, every description of those swarthy hordes, from the peaceful Eboe to the fiery Koromantyn. And they must now combine in the same hatred the Christians of the Old World with the pagans of the New. Barely able to restrain the natural love of freedom, they must mingle it with the enthusiasm of religion, vainly imagining that spiritual thraldom will make personal subjection more bearable; wildly hoping to bridle the strongest of the passions in union and excess—the desire of liberty, irritated by despair and the fervour of religious zeal—by persecution exasperated to frenzy. But I call upon parliament to rescue the West Indians from the horrors of such a policy; to deliver these misguided men from their own hands. I call upon you to interpose, while it is yet time, to save the West Indies: first of all, the negroes, the most numerous class of our subjects, and entitled, beyond every other, to our care by a claim which honourable minds will most readily admit—their countless wrongs, borne with such forbearance and meekness while the most dreadful retaliation was within their grasp: next, their masters, whose shortsighted violence is indeed hurtful to their slaves, but to themselves is fraught with fearful and speedy destruction if you do not at once make your voice heard, and your authority felt, where both have been so long despised." In parliament, Mr. Brougham, as was expected, failed of his object. The discussion was, however, productive of an immense amount of good. It changed, as Mr. C.

Buxton wrote, the current of public opinion. The nation, which had before partook of the consternation of government, began to awaken to the truth; and, from that time, the religious public in England was strongly enlisted on behalf of the oppressed missionaries, and their persecuted followers; and this feeling soon increased into a detestation of that system of which such intolerance was the natural fruit.

In June, 1825, the House of Commons was called on to discuss the case of Mr. Shrewsbury, a Wesleyan missionary in Barbadoes, "in whose conduct," as Mr. Canning expressly stated in the House, "there did not appear the slightest ground of blame or suspicion." But the planters were exasperated against him for his exertions in the instruction of the negroes and free people of colour; and it was also charged against him, that he had actually corresponded with Mr. Buxton—"though," said the latter in the House, "I never received from him, nor wrote to him, a single letter; nor did I know that such a man existed till I happened to take up a newspaper, and there read, with some astonishment, that he was going to be hanged for corresponding with me." On two successive Sundays in October, 1823, the doors of Mr. Shrewsbury's chapel were stormed, during the hours of divine worship, by a furious mob, who did not at that time, however, proceed to actual outrage; but a day or two afterwards "a proclamation" was published, calling on all "the true lovers of religion" to assemble in arms on the following Sunday, and pull down the chapel and mission-house. This they accordingly did; but Mr. Shrewsbury had concealed himself in the house of a clergyman, whose kindness, said Mr. Buxton, "there displayed to a poor, friendless missionary, hunted for his life by an infuriated mob, I will now return by concealing his name, knowing that if I were to mention it with approbation, the fate of Mr. Austin, of Demerara, would wait him." Mr. Austin, it appears, for befriending a missionary, was "a ruined and banished man." Well might Mr. Freemantle write at this time to the Duke of Buckingham—"I fear we shall have great difficulties arising from the state of our West India islands: and, however we may dread the immediate danger of a rise of the negroes, it cannot long be prevented; and, indeed, the proprietors have very little interest in sustaining this state of things."

Of the Cape of Good Hope, at this time, there was much complaint. Lord Charles Somerset's administration was very unpopular. When their resources were entirely exhausted, many of the settlers applied to him for conveyance to England, or Van Diemen's Land: he answered, that no means of conveyance were at his disposal. During his temporary absence, military posts had been established as a defence to the settlement against the depredations of the Caffres. On his return, he is said to have withdrawn them all: the country was thus left at the mercy of the Caffres; the cattle carried off by droves; the inhabitants attacked, and some of them barbarously wounded. On one occasion above sixty of the most respectable inhabitants at the Cape wished to establish a literary society, a museum, and a library; a fundamental article of its plan being, that politics, controversial theology, the question of slavery, and all purely professional subjects, should be excluded from the discussions. They held one or two preparatory meetings, and then solicited his lordship's patronage; and on his refusal to accede to this, his permission to establish the proposed society, pointing out to him its identity in design with the Royal Society patronised by the king in England, and the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, patronised by the Governor-general and council. To this application his lordship gave a positive refusal; first, because they had presumed to form themselves into a society "without any previous reference to his excellency;" and, in the second place, because it was improper to permit the establishment of an institution which might have a tendency to produce political discussion. During the session of 1825, several petitions were presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the illegal and arbitrary conduct of the governor. Ultimately his lordship was recalled, and a new governor sent out in his place. He came home with the professed object of answering all the charges

made against him; but they were allowed to die away. A new feature also marks the colonial question. In 1827, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, signed by 1,600 of the most respectable of the colonists at the Cape, praying for a representative government, and describing the one at that time existing as despotic as that of Turkey. In the course of our history other colonies will offer similar requests, and the boon will be granted.

On another part of the African continent, we were, and had been, some time at war. In the vicinity of Cape Coast Castle were the Fantee tribes; and to the north and west of these was the kingdom of Ashantee. The Ashantees first came in contact with the British in the beginning of the present century, after they had conquered the Fantees. In 1811 and 1816, the latter revolted, but were, in both cases, subdued. During the last-named year, Cape Coast was long held in blockade; and but for supplies afforded by the castle, the greater part of its inhabitants must have perished by famine. The authority of Ashantee over the whole coast was now acknowledged, and a treaty was concluded between that kingdom and the British-African government. After this, the treaty was broken by Mr. Smith, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, who encouraged the Fantees to throw off the yoke; but a treaty was again concluded by Mr. Dupuis, who had been sent out to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, as consul. When this treaty arrived at Cape Coast, the governor had entirely altered his views. He disowned the treaty; excited the natives to withdraw their allegiance from Ashantee; and persuaded Sir George Collier, who then commanded a squadron on the coast, to promise his support. While affairs were in this state, the administration of Cape Coast Castle was taken away from the African Company, and Sir Charles M'Carthy was sent out by his majesty's ministers to take the command on that coast. He immediately proclaimed defiance to the power of the Ashantees, and promised protection to the Fantees, who again revolted. This was quickly followed by war. At first the enemy suffered reverses; but he collected all his force, and moved towards Cape Coast Castle. Preparations were immediately made for receiving him; and by the 4th of January, 1824, Sir Charles had got together 2,000 men, with whom he marched into the country of the Wassaws. Here he was attacked, on the 21st, by 10,000 Ashantees: the Wassaws retreated early, and, from some inexcusable carelessness, the regulars were short of ammunition. The day was a disastrous one for the British, who were entirely at the mercy of the enemy. Sir Charles M'Carthy was among the slain. Captain Ricketts, and a number of wounded men, escaped through the woods, and, after suffering many hardships, were found by Major Chisholm, who was advancing to join Sir Charles M'Carthy; and now first learned the unfortunate defeat. He, however, hastened to Cape Coast Castle, the safety of which was endangered.

In the March following, the Ashantees recommenced their operations with 15,000 men. In May, they had arrived within ten or twelve miles of Cape Coast Castle—a fort (the best on the coast), standing on a granite rock projecting into the sea. Colonel Sunderland arrived to take the command; and it was determined to attack the Ashantees at once. Accordingly, on the day following, after an obstinate engagement of five hours, they were driven from their position with great loss. Yet, owing to the cowardly behaviour of the native forces, Major Chisholm was obliged to retire. A new king at this time ascended the throne of Ashantee, and came, with all the warriors he could muster, to join the forces already advanced, with the determination of destroying the castle, and driving the English out of the country. On his arrival at Fettue, he sent a message to the colonel, that if "the walls of Cape Coast Castle were not high enough, Colonel Sunderland ought to build them higher; and if they were not sufficiently furnished with cannon, he should land those belonging to the ships of war; but that all could not prevent the king from throwing the whole into the sea." After about three weeks' preparation, his majesty approached the settlement, which he nearly surrounded with his posts. They did not venture to attack Cape Coast, but employed detached parties

in ravaging the surrounding country. In July, a general engagement took place, which ended in their defeat, though they had 16,000 fighting-men; and on our side there were not more than 5,000, of whom only 300 were regulars. During several following days the enemy collected, and manifested designs of again attacking our posts; but they soon disappeared, owing, as was afterwards learned, to the insubordination and discontent which had begun to show itself in the Ashantee army.

In 1826, the tranquillity of our settlements on the Guinea coast was again endangered by the Ashantees. Since their former defeat they had been diligently employed in raising forces to renew the attack; and the native chiefs at length carried intelligence to the commandant at Cape Coast Castle, requesting his assistance, and promising to raise 12,000 men who would not run away, but place themselves under his command. Accordingly, Colonel Purdon, the commandant, divided the force they assembled into five brigades, with two corps of observation to protect each flank. A corps of reserve was formed of such of the settlers as could be assembled; and to the whole were added eighty British soldiers of the Royal African Corps, with four field-pieces. They were also joined by 500 militia —British, Dutch, and Danish. The whole amounted to less than 12,000 men; while the Ashantees numbered 25,000. After the battle had lasted an hour, with great bravery on both sides, the left of the British right centre brigade, and nearly the whole of the right wing, gave way. Just at this time, the central reserve, in which were the men of the Royal African regiment, being uncovered by the flight of the natives, opened a destructive fire upon the Ashantees, which created great confusion among them; in the midst of which Colonel Purdon moved every man he had to the attack, and cut through the enemy's centre. The result was that the enemy fled in every direction, after sustaining a loss of not less than 5,000 men; and the whole of their camp equipage, which was of great value, passed into the hands of the victors. The head of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which had been considered by the Ashantees as their greatest charm, or *fetish*, was also recovered.

Canada, and our North American provinces, at this time, began to force themselves on the attention of the public. In Lower Canada, in 1824, there had been serious political differences, in consequence of the position assumed by the church establishment. An address to the king was voted by the House of Assembly, which represented, in strong language, that the members of the church of England constituted but a minority of the population; that the members of the Scottish church had an undoubted right to have a provision made for the clergy, out of the lands appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes; and that the dissenting ministers had also an equally just claim. Disputes also arose between the House of Assembly and the legislative council and governor. The former claimed an unlimited right to dispose of the whole of the revenue, part of which had been raised under the authority of the British parliament, and appropriated to the discharge of the civil expenses. This pretension was resisted by the governor and legislative council. The supplies were, in consequence, refused, and the different branches of the legislature parted, very much dissatisfied with each other. The Anglo-Saxon race was now beginning to fulfil its mission of replenishing and taking possession of the earth. Emigration, on a large scale, came to be considered as a remedy for the ills of poverty. There had been, in 1824, immense speculation, and a great formation of joint-stock companies; many of them, as is always the case, merely bubble ones. Money, to use a technical phrase, had become tight. The distress which was experienced in every part of the country, called the attention of government to the subject of emigration. There were lands abroad, fertile, and abounding in health and the elements of wealth. Why should not the labourer take possession of them? Why should a man starve at home, if he could get as much corn and beef as he required if he crossed the Atlantic? If there was no home for him in the Old World, why should he not seek one in the New? The public argued thus, and

government began to take the matter up; and wisely; for, of necessity, a man in a state of starvation is in a state of discontent. For four years, emigration on a small scale, to Canada, had been encouraged by the government. It was now resolved that it should be conducted on a larger scale. In 1825, 2,024 persons emigrated from Ireland to Canada, at the government expense; and thus most of them exchanged dependence and pauperism here, for comparative wealth and independence there. Thriving colonists, it had become clear, are better for a country than starving paupers. It was further announced, that as the business of the colonial department had increased, it was necessary to have a second Under-Secretary of State; and Mr. R. W. Hay was appointed, in addition to Mr. R. Wilmot Horton. The government of forty dependencies, besides the oversight of various commissions on colonial subjects, was divided between these two gentlemen; and they were now charged with the business of emigration, to which government, as we have already intimated, lent assistance through parochial officers. Independently of this, the custom-house returns show that the people had begun to take the matter into their own hands. In 1820, nearly 18,000 persons emigrated; in the next year, about 13,000; in the prosperous years 1824 and 1826, only 8,000 and 9,000; in the disastrous year which intervened, upwards of 14,000. Of all these, nine-tenths went to our North American colonies, and the remainder to Australia. The numbers are insignificant compared with the statistical returns of the present time. Lord Palmerston lived to see it resorted to on the most extensive scale. The twenty-fifth annual report (the last) of the emigration commissioners states, that there were 208,900 emigrants who left the United Kingdom in 1865. Of the whole, 162,650 cleared from English, 10,436 from Scotch, and 35,814 from Irish ports. The native origin of the emigrants appeared to be—56,618 English; 15,035 Scotch; 115,428 Irish; 16,942 foreigners; and 4,877 not distinguished; and their destinations were as follow:—147,042 to the United States; 12,721 to the North American colonies; 40,942 to the Australian colonies; to Jamaica, 343; British Guiana, 220; Trinidad, 128; other West Indian settlements, 1,215; the East Indies, 1,267; China, 205; Japan, 4; Mauritius, 23; Western Africa, St. Helena, Madeira, Malta, &c., 364; the Cape of Good Hope, 873; Natal, 527; Mexico, 43; the Falkland Islands, 5; the Sandwich Islands, 15; New South Wales, 4,689; Queensland, 7,183; Victoria, 13,909; South Australia, 2,842; Western Australia, 299; Tasmania, 50; New Zealand, 11,970. Considered in one point of view, these returns indicate an immense amount of poverty, hardship, and distress. It is not willingly that a man leaves his native land, and all the tender associations connected with the place of his birth, and the friends of his childhood. At the same time, it must be confessed, that to the young, the hardy, and adventurous, there is something exciting and gratifying in winning for themselves, in a new world, the wealth, position, and independence denied them here. England's magnificent colonial empire is her greatest boast, and will ever be the noblest memento of the skill, daring, and prowess of her adventurous sons. Speaking the English tongue, ruled by English law, nursed and reared by English literature, and upheld by English faith, it matters little what becomes of the mother country; or if, in time, the New Zealander shall stand on Westminster, and see St. Paul's a ruin. In her vast colonies, in Australia and America, beneath the fiery splendour of the southern cross, England will renew her mighty youth. British America is daily growing in value and importance to the mother country. The progress of Canada in population and material prosperity—the opening up to settlement of the fertile regions of the north-west territory—the discovery of gold in British Columbia;—the development of the resources of all these colonies, and the construction of a great highway through them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will scarcely fail to exercise an immense influence on the future progress of our great empire. The British colonies in Australia are rising at a rate which promises, ere long, to outstrip the far-famed rapidity of Transatlantic increase. Prophecy

appears to be realised:—"God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Fleeing from poverty and persecution—

"England sent her men of men the chief;
Who taught those sires of empire yet to be,
To plant the tree of life—to plant fair Freedom's tree."

Frenchmen do not emigrate: not because the Frenchman is satisfied, and well off at home, as we have heard some Frenchmen argue; but because French colonies are a failure. There is not enough of liberty allowed them. "All colonies," writes Sir A. Alison (and for once he is right), "which have flourished in the world, and left durable traces of existence to future times, have been matured under the shelter of republican institutions. Those of Greece and Rome, on the shores of the Mediterranean; those of Holland and England, on the wider margin of the ocean, attest this important fact. The colonies of Great Britain at this time, though nominally ruled by Queen Victoria, are, for the most part, practically speaking, self-directed; and where the authority of the central government has made itself felt, it has generally been only to do mischief, and weaken the bonds which unite its numerous offspring to the parent state. Wherever democratic institutions do not prevail, colonial settlements have, after a time, declined, and at length expired; and it seems impossible to engraft republican self-direction upon original subjection to monarchical institutions. It must be bred in the bone, and matured in the strength. The Portuguese settlements in the East are almost extinct, and exhibit no traces of the vigour with which Vasco da Gama braved the perils of tho stormy Cape. The attempt to introduce republican institutions, after three centuries of servitude, into the Spanish colonies of South America, has led only to anarchy and suffering; and the decisive fact, that the republican states of North America, though settled a century later, have now more than double the European population of the monarchical in the south, points to the wide difference in the future destinies of mankind of these opposite forms of government." Left alone in the woods, Anglo-Saxon settlers early feel the necessity of relying on their own resources. Self-government is in accordance with their habits, and it suits them accordingly. Speaking of the energy and enterprise of the fishermen of Cape Cod, a sandy, barren track of territory, specially memorable on account of the landing there, on the 9th of November, 1620, of the Pilgrim Fathers from the *Mayflower*, Burke remarked, in the House of Commons—"No sea that is not vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness of their toils; neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried their most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pursued by this people." And, with such settlers, only one form of government—a democratic one—is possible; and hence it is that the more democratic have been the colonies, the better have they flourished and grown strong. "Certain it is," as the same historian writes, "that great as the British military empire in India now is, it will leave no settlements of Europeans behind it among the sable multitudes of Hindostan." Possibly, also, future time may verify the saying of Burke—"That if the Englishman left the East, he would leave no more durable traces of his existence than the jackal and the tiger." Surely this application of Burke's language is a little overstrained. When the latter wrote, Englishmen only went to India to make money. Its rulers were of the Clive and Hastings class. Under such Governor-generals as Lord W. Bentinck and Lord Canning, quite a different order of things was instituted and maintained. At home, the public woke up to a sense of its duties to the vast continent entrusted to its care; and that public feeling acted on the government, and improved and modified it. To the Christian student, it may appear that this second division of our race is almost as wonderful as that earlier one recorded in sacred writ, when the builders of Babel were "scattered upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city." Those early emigrants carried away with them but the simplest

rudiments of knowledge; but the ships that leave our harbours are freighted with the long results of time—with treasures of wisdom and genius denied to kings, prophets, and priests, in the dawn of our race. Each emigrant ship that leaves our shore is a messenger of peace and goodwill; bears to other lands the faith and civilisation of our own; helps to break down the selfish isolation of nations, out of which wars arise; and hastens on the day when—

> "Man to man, the world o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that."

CHAPTER XXI.

TRADE AND COMMERCE UNDER GEORGE IV.

THE reign of George IV. was, on the whole, a prosperous one; but it had its reverses—its shade as well as its sunshine.

In 1825, a terrible panic took place. It appears, that for the 156 joint-stock companies of 1823, there were 532 in 1825, with a nominal capital of £441,649,600; and, in the same period, foreign loans had been subscribed to the extent of £18,000,000. Some of the objects of these associations were ludicrously absurd. There were companies for mining in the Cordilleras, and for milking in the Pampas; next, for cutting through the isthmus of Panama, and intersecting England with canals; with lighting the obscurest villages with gas; for baking and washing; for hatching eggs; and churning butter by the omnipotent power of steam. A frightful shock was given to public credit by the stoppage of the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole and Company, on the 12th of December, as it was known that that firm kept accounts with forty-four country banks, and it was feared that the fall of the one would lead to that of many more. These fears were realised as bank after bank failed; and the funds fell, and city men stood aghast at the prospect before them. "Country bankers," says Mr. Francis, "from all parts of England, were in town, trying to secure cash. The heads of all the London houses were as regular in attendance as their clerks. It was common to hear of men worth £100,000 begging the loan of £1,000, on the best security, as a personal favour. Exchequer-bills fell to sixty-five shillings discount; and the brokers closed their books, and refused to engage in any transactions whatever. The bankers in the country demanded gold, not only to the extent of their circulation, but to the extent of all their engagements of every description, in anticipation of a run. Many packages of gold, forwarded to these gentlemen, came back unopened." "Hundreds of thousands of sovereigns," said Mr. Poulett Thompson, "were sent, which were returned untouched, having been provided only to meet the chances of a run. The Bank of England was called upon to supply gold for all the notes of these banks; and post-chaises and four were regularly stationed in Lombard Street all the day." On the 14th of December, a meeting of the merchants and traders of London was convened at the Mansion-house, to devise mitigating measures. It was stated that the distress arose from want of confidence in men able to pay forty, fifty, or sixty shillings in the pound. The governor and deputy-governor of the bank officially communicated to the Lord Mayor, that they would do everything in their power to alleviate the condition of the city and country bankers. Nevertheless, the distress increased; doubt brooded everywhere; and all trade was suspended.

The Mint was put to work, and coined at the rate of 150,000 sovereigns a day for a week. The weekly discounts at the bank were from five to fifteen millions. Advances were made upon the simple deposit of title-deeds, often

without even an examination. Exchequer-bills, to an enormous amount, were sold to meet the demand from the mercantile interest; and gold, from abroad, was constantly arriving.

A suggestion was made to government for an order in council to restrain the payment in specie, under the apprehension that it might be exhausted. Mr. Canning was reported to have replied, in one of his emphatic sentences, that he would never consent to a thing of that sort. But the most extraordinary feature of the time, was the advice of Mr. Huskisson, to place a paper on their doors, stating that they had not gold to pay with, but expected some shortly. Of course this advice did not mend matters. For two or three days the most unquestionable security could not procure money, nor could the public funds be said to have a price. There was no market for bank or East India stock. It was the opinion of Mr. Huskisson, that, in forty-eight hours, all dealings would have been stopped between man and man, except by way of barter. In the city a universal gloom prevailed. Up to this time, with the single exception of 1797, the term "bank" had been synonymous with safety. When, therefore, it was believed that the Bank of England was in danger, deep and dire was the terror and dismay. The great hall of the establishment was filled all day with a trembling and anxious crowd, eager to exchange their notes for gold. Happily the bank was able to respond to the call. No attempt was offered to withhold, as in 1797; or to delay, as in 1745; and it was owing to this conduct on the part of the bank, that the difficulty was met, and that the danger passed away.

The anxieties and harassing feelings of the time may be faintly imagined. We can, however, get some idea of them from the statement furnished by Mr. Richards, the deputy-governor of the bank. He says—"In autumn the bank began very seriously to contemplate what would be the result of the speculations. Not only the bank, but every man's mind connected with the city was in an extreme state of excitement and alarm. I think I can recollect, on the first Saturday in December, having come home, after a very weary and anxious day, from the bank, receiving a visit from two members of the committee, and one of our bankers of that class, at my own house, stating the difficulty in which a banker's house near the bank was placed. The object was to ascertain my views. I was called upon in consequence of the governor being connected with the house of Pole and Company by marriage, and other circumstances. I ventured to encourage these gentlemen, that, upon anything like a fair statement, the bank would not let this concern fall through. It was agreed that, on the following morning (Sunday), we should meet as many directors as I could get together, with the three gentlemen who had called upon me; and that some eminent merchants, friends of the house, should be called to the meeting to assist with their opinion. The result was, that it was agreed £300,000 should be placed at the disposal of Pole and Company the next morning, on security of several bills of exchange and notes of hand, and over and above a mortgage of Sir Peter Pole's property, which was to ride over the whole. During that week, I believe the attention of every man was directed much more to the state of that house than anything else. They fought through it till Thursday or Friday pretty manfully; and about that time, from a conversation I had with a partner in the house, I was led to fear that it might fall. However, it fought on till Saturday evening. Sunday passed, and on Monday the storm began; and, till Saturday night, it raged with an intensity it is impossible for me to describe. On the Saturday night it had somewhat abated. The bank had taken a firm and deliberate resolution to make common cause with the country, as far as their humble efforts would go. On Saturday night it was my happiness, when I went up to the cabinet, reeling with fatigue, to be able just to call out to my Lord Liverpool, and to the members of his majesty's government then present—'All is well.' Then, on the following week, things began to get a little more steady; and, by the 24th, what with the one pound notes that had gone out, people began to get satisfied. Then it was, for the first time in a

fortnight, that those who had been busy in that terrible scene, could recollect that they had families who had some claim upon their attention. It happened to me not to see my children for that week."

In the manufacturing districts there was great suffering, and consequent discontent. In the great cities operatives can combine, and declare their wrongs or maladies; while, in the agricultural districts, the labourer bears his in dumb silence; for—

"Sufferance is the badge of all his tribe."

In Lancashire, popular indignation was directed against the machinery used in weaving. A tumultuous rising occurred in Blackburn; and every power-loom in that town, and in the parts adjacent, was destroyed in one day. The same thing was done in other districts, in spite of the soldiers and of the cannons placed around the manufactories. In the course of a week, it was reckoned that £30,000 worth of property was destroyed, and many lives lost. What with bad laws, and the opposition to machinery, our cotton-trade had a near chance of being destroyed altogether. To prevent the use of calicoes interfering with the demand for linen and cotton stuffs, a statute was passed, in 1721, imposing a penalty of £5 upon the weaver, and of £20 upon the seller of a piece of calico. Fifteen years after, this extraordinary statute was so far modified, that calicoes manufactured in Great Britain were allowed to be worn, provided the warp thereof was entirely of linen yarn. This was the law with respect to calicoes till after the invention of Sir Richard Arkwright introduced a new era into the history of the cotton manufacture, when its impolicy became obvious to every one. In 1744, a statute was passed, allowing printed goods, wholly made of cotton, to be used. Many of its best friends had to work in retirement. The Blackburn operatives drove away Hargraves; and we all know how Crompton, fearful that his new machine (the spinning-mule) should be destroyed by the same men, kept it hid in a loft above the ceiling of his room, during several weeks. The inventors were, in reality, the best friends of the operative. The inventor of the power-loom, Cartwright, as we know, had his attention turned to the subject quite by accident. In the summer of 1784, he happened to be on a visit at Matlock, in Derbyshire, and in the company of some gentlemen from Manchester. The conversation turned upon Arkwright's spinning machinery; and fears were expressed, by one of the company, that in consequence of the recent improvements, so much cotton would soon be spun, that hands would not be found to weave it. To this Cartwright replied, that the only remedy for such an evil, would be to apply the power of machinery to weaving as well as spinning. The discussion which ensued upon the practicability of doing this, made such an impression on Cartwright's mind, that he determined to try and see what he could do. The power-loom was the result. It gave an impulse to the trade, which established England's manufacturing superiority. At the time of Cartwright's death, in 1823, steam-looms had increased so rapidly, that they were doing the work of 200,000 men. The marvels of the cotton manufacture in Britain, have exceeded all other marvels; and the vast development of native wealth and industry, during the last thirty years, has been mainly owing to its progress. From the accounts laid before parliament, it appears that the official value of cotton goods exported, which, in 1785, was £864,000, and, in 1797, had risen to £2,580,000, had increased, in 1814, to £17,655,000; and, in 1833, had reached the enormous amount of £46,000,000. So great and rapid an extension is, perhaps, not to be found in any single branch of manufacture. During the same period of time, an astonishing progress was made in other departments—in woollen goods, cutlery, hardware, and iron; in the last especially. In 1814, the total quantity of pig-iron wrought in Great Britain, was 350,000 tons. In 1835, it had risen to 1,000,000 tons. These figures are also interesting as teaching us the secret of our strength; and how it was that we prospered all the while we carried on an enormous war, and were not reduced to national bankruptcy by the

debt which it left behind. It was to the cotton-trade of England that we were indebted for the wealth which enabled us to repair, in peace, the ravages of war; and, without machinery, that trade could never have been developed to the extent it was.

But this the operatives did not understand; they only knew that they were poor, and in want of bread. In Manchester, especially, there was much hostility to the powers that be. The Bradford wool-combers and weavers called meetings, to take into account the unparalleled distress and fearful condition of the operatives. In Lanarkshire, similar meetings were held. In Ireland, the voice of sorrow was loud and indignant. The silk-weavers of Dublin marched in procession through the streets, to make their miserable condition more universally known: they wished a public subscription in their favour, to be employed in purchasing the manufacturers' stock in hand, in the hope that it would create a market—a truly Irish way of settling the question; as sensible as that adopted at Trowbridge by the poor, who attacked the stall-keepers, and plundered them, because potatoes had risen in price. Like scenes were witnessed at Carlisle, where, however, the poor weavers hit the right nail on the head, and demanded the repeal of the corn-laws, and a radical reform. At Norwich, the weavers, irritated and maddened by distress, refused to accept such wages as the manufacturers could offer. They assembled in large numbers, and kept watch at the city gates for goods brought in from the country. One cart-load they seized, and threw the cart into the river. They broke the windows of their employers, and committed other acts of violence of an alarming character. At that time, it was said, there were not less than 12,000 unemployed throughout the country. The sufferings of that class of artisans were very great; and, in Bethnal Green, many thieves assembled openly for the purposes of depredation, pretending they were weavers, starving for want of work and food.

The summer, too, was remarkably hot, and that made things worse.

In 1828, appeared the report of the committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the causes of the increase of crime. It testified to the existence of a frightful amount of intemperance among the lower orders. Few tailors and shoemakers, it appeared, would work on the first days of the week. If poverty existed, it arose chiefly from misconduct, and drinking to excess. Impunity for crime was carefully provided for by respectable attorneys, who negotiated between thieves and their victims for the restoration of stolen property for a consideration. Parties who had committed forgery, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, escaped in consequence of the law, which then required that you should show where the forgery was written—a thing almost impossible. Most appalling was the evidence as to the existence of flash houses. To those dens of profligacy, notorious thieves, professed gamblers, and dissolute persons of both sexes were accustomed to repair. They were frequently kept by individuals having no licence. Their keepers gained security by paying annual tribute to common informers: and to these sinks of iniquity, the committee learned, that sundry police officers were in the habit of resorting, under the specious pretence that their object was to become acquainted with the persons of notorious characters, that they might the more readily, at a fitting time, render them amenable to law.

All England was astonished, at this time, with the existence of a new species of crime, which has enriched our language with a very useful and expressive term. By the accidental discovery of a dead body, recognised as that of a woman in good health a few hours before, in the house of a man named Burke, it was revealed that a system of murder had been going on for some time, in order to supply subjects for the dissecting-rooms. Burke confessed to fifteen murders, perpetrated by himself and his accomplice, Hare. Their victims were generally helpless, friendless, half-witted people, whom they invited home, and regaled, and then suffocated. The execution of the murderers took place in January, 1829, in Edinburgh. Shouts arose from the multitude to the executioner, of—"Burke him!

give him no rope! Burke him!" And at every convulsive throe, a hurra was set up, as if every one present had a personal revenge to gratify. When the bodies were cut down, there was a cry of "one cheer more." In the single year 1827, there had been seventy-three executions, of which only eleven were for murder; while the total number who had been convicted of capital crimes, and had sentence of death passed upon, or recorded against them, was 1,529: the proportion of the condemned to the executed, for several years, was about one in twenty. A great sensation was made, towards the close of 1829, by the execution of a Quaker, named Hunton, for forgery. Every endeavour was made to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, but in vain.

Here we may as well—though we anticipate a couple of years in doing so—refer to the discontented state of the peasantry. In 1830, they assembled in the county of Kent, and visited the farm buildings of the principal landed proprietors, demolishing the thrashing machines then in use. In some instances they set fire to barns and corn-stacks. The ministry were alarmed, and feared that the number of unemployed labourers might do some serious mischief. Nor did things mend. Rioting and incendiarism spread from Kent to Sussex, Norfolk, Surrey, Hants, Wilts, Berks, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire, and a great deal of valuable property was destroyed. A mystery enveloped these proceedings that appeared to indicate organisation; and it became suspected in high quarters, though, apparently, without any reason, that they had a political source as well as a political object. Threatening letters were sent to individuals, signed "Swing;" and beacon-fires communicated from one part of the country to another. With the object of checking these outrages, night patrols were established; dragoons were kept in readiness to disperse tumultuous meetings; while the magistrates, clergymen, and landed gentry, did much to alleviate the existing distress.

The signs of the times continued, in the opinion of the Duke of Buckingham and his friends, ominously significant. On the 9th of January, 1831, sentence of death was pronounced against twenty-three persons for assisting to destroy a paper machine. In Dorsetshire, on the 11th, the same sentence was passed upon three more for extortion, and two for robbery: four received seven years' transportation for destroying machinery; two were sentenced to one year, and two to three months' imprisonment and hard labour. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions; three at Ipswich; twenty-six at Petworth; and several at Oxford. At Gloucester, seven criminals were transported for fourteen years: one had three years' imprisonment; two, two years'; twelve were sentenced to a less term; and six were left for execution. At Winchester, two were hanged on the 15th, as well as two at Salisbury on the 25th. Upwards of 800 offenders were brought to trial. Carlisle, the notorious publisher of seditious and irreligious books, was, on the 10th, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to a fine of £200, for a libel tending to excite the agricultural labourers to riot and to the destruction of property. In Ireland, similar measures were pursued to put down unlawful meetings. Several proclamations to this effect were issued by the Lord-Lieutenant; and, on the 18th, Mr. Daniel O'Connell was arrested for having attended a prohibited meeting, and was held to bail.

The cry of financial reform began to be raised; and, according to all appearance, there was need for it. The Duke of Buckingham confesses, that "much carelessness had prevailed in the arrangements of the royal household with tradespeople. The charges of the latter had been extravagant; the purveyance marked by many abuses." Mr. Freemantle intimates, that, owing to negligence, the jewels worn by King George at the coronation had not been returned; and the result was, they had to pay for eleven months' hire instead of one. In 1828, Mr. Plumer Ward writes to the Right Hon. H. Goulbourn—"In short, it seems neither more nor less than the most scandalous waste on the part of the lower servants, encouraged by laxity of discipline; particularly, I think, from the former officers, and the good nature of the king. This made the attempt to alter the condition of his servants

unpleasant, if not hopeless. I cannot better exemplify this than by the instance of an allowance of £500 a year to the lower servants, in lieu of small-beer. The history is, when allowed small-beer in kind, they were all allowed access to the cellar *ad libitum*, and often would not take the trouble to turn the cock after having drawn the quantity; but let hogsheads run off from very wantonness. The then officer in power (I know not who he was; but it was in Blomefield's time), instead of punishing them, thought it right to turn the beer into money (the servants having ale and porter *besides*, sufficient); and hence this £500 a year compensation for not being able to continue this frightful extravagance. The above is, to be sure, an extreme case; but the prodigality of the steward's room and the servants' hall is almost as bad. Every person belonging to either, seems allowed to carry away as much provision as he can scramble for after being himself satisfied. If a bottle of wine or porter is opened for a glass, the rest is carried off: the meat in a napkin, which seldom finds its way back again. And, in addition to this, scores of persons who have no connection with the domestic establishment, appear to run riot upon the unlimited allowance for these tables. All this, after conferring with the deputy comptroller, I find may be checked by authority; and the Lord Steward having willingly promised it, it has been agreed to strike off no less than £1,600 a year from this expense alone. The footmen and maids, moreover, have been allowed charwomen and helpers (in fact, to allow them to be idle); and the reduction of these will save £400 or £500 a year more. The calculation of meat, per day, for each individual family, has been two pounds, which, the principal cook allows, is too much by half a pound: this alone will save £500 a year; and an allowance of what is called *bread* money (which I could not get explained, it having been made before the present officers came into place), may also be reduced to the amount of £300. This is the more right, because the allowance in money does not preclude the supply of bread in kind over and above the allowance. I mention this specifically, because they seem gross abuses, which you ought to be apprised of. Other deductions will arise, more from better regulations than abolitions; particularly in the gardens, upon which the Lord Steward, &c., have themselves ordered a diminution (agreed to by Mr. Aiton) of £2,600 a year; and the whole put together, as per table enclosed, will amount to £6,456."

Such a peep as this at the scandalous way in which money was wasted, renders quite intelligible the cry raised by Joseph Hume and Sir James Graham, in the House of Commons, for reduction of expenditure—a cry to which the Duke of Wellington was quite inclined to listen, and, in his stern decisive way, to respond to. William IV. was anxious that his expenses should be on as moderate a scale as possible. This, coupled with apprehensions of parliamentary comments, made the treasurer of the household watch any extraordinary expenditure with uneasiness, especially as the Marquis of Blandford stated in the House of Commons—"Every labouring man who earns £30 a year, has £18 taken from him by the whole of the cruel and harassing excise laws, and those cheating indirect taxes." Well might Mr. Daniel O'Connell exclaim, at the end of one of his harangues in the House of Commons—"Ye place-holders who revel on the hard earnings of the people—ye pensioners who subsist on public money—ye tax consumers, and tax devourers, assault me as you please. I am not to be intimidated by you." To which appeal, the answer was a saving to the nation of £161,000 a year. It was the intention of government, says the Duke of Buckingham, to have followed up this first step with other financial reforms. The civil list was "the first of a series in contemplation for retrenching the national expenditure, and lessening the burdens of the people." But it was otherwise decreed. It was on this point that the opposition determined to give battle. Lord Althorp, after the motion had been put, recommended the appointment of a committee to examine into the details of the proposed arrangement, of which he expressed his disapproval. Sir Henry Parnell followed on the same side; as did Messrs. Hume and Brougham. Lord Palmerston's short speech was a wily one—he supported the amendment: at

the same time he was very anxious to disclaim all intention of diminishing the revenue of his majesty. Hansard tells us, Lord Palmerston saw, with regret, that the government was not convinced of the propriety of a more simplified arrangement. He was of opinion, that when the expenses of the civil list were to be settled for the whole reign, it must be of great importance indeed that the accounts should be considered fully. The opposition triumphed by a majority of twenty-nine; and thus a debate, which was of little interest, and which was very brief, became one of historic importance, as it was the occasion of the entry of the Whigs into the promised land of office. The ministry were surprised at the result; and it is said that the Duke of Wellington was very angry at the carelessness which had allowed it. Mr. Roebuck tells us, that the duke's notion of discipline was sorely disturbed by the conduct of the subordinates on this occasion; while his confidence in the generalship of the leader of the House of Commons was also greatly shaken. In proof of the assertion that the result was not anticipated, Lord Sidmouth's evidence may be adduced—"Last night's division was a surprise to ministers and their opponents."

It is clear that the opposition would rather have gained the victory on any other question. The ministry were wise in going out on that particular one. As financial reformers, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were quite equal to the Whigs. On one occasion, the latter is reported to have said, that he and his colleagues had done all in their power to relieve the people, and had taken off taxation to the extent of £3,950,000. By retiring on the question of the civil list, they placed their adversaries in a delicate position. The Whigs, of course, were anxious to gain the favour of the king; but if, to do this, they were liberal with their votes of money, they would certainly give offence to the people, and weaken their popularity. If, on the other hand, they sought, by economy, to strengthen their power with the public, they would infallibly make enemies among those who influenced and surrounded the king. The mere discussion, besides, was dangerous. As Mr. Roebuck writes—"In the hurry and excitement of debate, expressions fall from unwary or unskilful speakers, which, by them, may easily be forgotten, but which rankle deeply in royal bosoms, and for a longer time than in those of less exalted persons. The less a man has to think of, and the more highly he is taught to think of himself, the more easily is he offended, and the more lasting is his anger, and the more bitter is his hate." In the preceding reign, this truth had been sufficiently illustrated to the Whigs by the exclusion of Earl Grey and Mr. Brougham from office. In the same way had George III. acted with regard to Mr. Fox. "To an opposition seeking office," continues Mr. Roebuck, "the discussion of a civil list must always prove difficult and full of peril." Sir Henry Parnell, at any rate, in moving his amendment, took care that his speech should be seasoned sufficiently to suit the royal appetite. William IV., who had but just ascended the throne—who had done nothing whatever to win the popular regard—he described "as the most popular monarch, and the most deservedly popular monarch, that ever sat on the throne of these realms." Can any censure be too strong for such language as this?

The Whigs triumphed; but their professions of economy, put forward by them as a means of party warfare, in the speech of Sir H. Parnell, were long remembered against them.

To the last, the duke would have it that his going out of office had nothing to do with the question of reform. "I was defeated," said he "on the civil list: in short, the government was placed in a minority. Upon thus finding I had the misfortune no longer to enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, I thought proper to resign the situation I held in his majesty's service. Upon that occasion, parliamentary reform had no more to do, as far as I was concerned, with the resignation which I tendered to his majesty on the day following the defeat on the civil list, than anything else in the world. I admit," adds the duke, with amusing simplicity, "I resigned next morning, because I did not wish to expose his majesty

and the country to the consequences that might result from the government going out on the success of the question of parliamentary reform; but, to say I resigned on account of parliamentary reform, is wrong." Sir Robert Peel said, in the House of Commons, subsequently—"That though we retired on the civil-list question, with regard to which we were in a minority, yet it is impossible to deny that the anticipation of the probable manifestation and opinion on the question of reform in this House, entered into the consideration of the government."

The new parliament, elected on the accession of William IV., was, undoubtedly, unfavourable to government. "The general election was considered," says a writer in the *Annual Register*, "to have diminished the number of votes on which ministers could depend:" and the relation in which they now stand to the more populous part of the representation, was stated to be as follows:—"Of the eighty-two members returned by the forty counties of England, only twenty-eight were steady adherents of ministry; forty-seven were avowed adherents of the neutral opposition; and seven of the neutral cast did not lean much to government. Of the thirteen great popular cities and boroughs, with hundreds (London, Westminster, and Aylesbury, &c.), returning twenty-eight members, only three seats were held by decidedly ministerial men; twenty-four by men of avowed opposition. There were sixty other places, which might have contests, being more or less open, returning 126 members. Of these, only forty-seven were ministerial; all the rest were avowed opposition men, save eight, whose leaning was rather more against the government than for it. Of the 236 men then returned by elections, more or less popular in England, only seventy-nine were ministerial votes; 141 were in avowed opposition; and sixteen of a neutral cast. Ministers, therefore, could only look for a majority among the close boroughs, and the Scotch and Irish members; and, unfortunately for them, the great families who commanded the largest number of close boroughs, were among their opponents."

To this state of things many causes contributed. First and foremost may be placed the enthusiasm created in this country by the successful revolution in France, of which the Whig leaders had wisely availed themselves. Another cause, and one very creditable to the Duke of Wellington, was his determination not to influence the various contests by any exercise of the power of government. For this fact we must quote Mr. Roebuck, who, after stating it, adds—"I have, of late years, also on the highest authority, heard the same assertion made; and made under circumstances which, if the assertion had been incorrect, must have brought denial." That such conduct was greatly to the duke's honour, it must be admitted; but, at the same time, it was very disastrous to his government. And then the bigots and high churchmen were all against the duke: he had committed, in their eyes, an unpardonable sin—he had relieved dissenters and Roman Catholics from persecution; he had admitted them to equal civil rights; he had preferred to rid the statute-books of intolerant edicts, rather than to plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war. While the government thus rested on its merits, the various parties opposed to it were particularly active. But, as we have not yet told the tale of how the Tory party came to be divided—how it was that such peers as Lords Winchelsea and Londonderry, and such M.P.'s as Sir Edward Knatchbull, the Marquis of Blandford, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Holme Sumner, left their own ranks, and joined the opposition in their furious attacks on government—we retrace our steps, to chronicle the growth of that religious freedom, the concession of which the ultra-Tories considered ruinous to church and state.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

THE battle of religious liberty in this country has yet to be won. Much has been gained, but not all.

I am not in a position to tolerate the religious opinions of my brother-man. He has as much right to his as I have to mine. This truth was not recognised till lately. In the time of Henry VIII. there was no such recognition.

"Established Protestantism, as denoting a scheme of doctrine as well as a scheme of polity, dates," says a well-informed writer in the *British Quarterly Review*, "from the accession of Edward VI." Under Queen Elizabeth the system ripened. The act vesting ecclesiastical supremacy in the crown became a test act. All ecclesiastical persons, from the highest to the lowest—all persons taking degrees in the universities, or holding any civil office requiring homage to the crown, were to bind themselves to obedience according to this instrument. And all persons who should, by word or deed, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm contrary to this act, were liable, for the first offence, to a forfeiture of lands and goods; for a second, to the penalty of the premunire statute, which added excommunication and outlawry to forfeiture: the third offence became high treason. The clergyman not duly using the Book of Common Prayer, or chargeable with doing or uttering anything in depreciation of it, was fined to the value of his living for one year, and imprisoned for six months. For a second offence, his preferment was wholly forfeited; and a third subjected him to imprisonment for life. The punishment of a layman offending against this act, was, in the first instance, imprisonment during one year; imprisonment during life in the second instance; and the penalty of the third offence was imprisonment, with the loss of lands and goods. It was further enacted, that all persons failing to attend their parish church, or some recognised place of worship, on the Lord's-day, should pay the fine of one shilling for each absence, unless reasonable cause for such absence could be shown.

But, before this, Wycliffe had sown in the land the seeds of Puritanism. This Puritanism in the establishment gave Queen Elizabeth a good deal of trouble. In her time, also, appeared a new, and, as it seemed, an alarming heresy. There were men, claiming to read the New Testament, who said that the church was but a congregation of believers; and that Christ alone was the head of the church. The haughty spirit of the queen revolted at such a doctrine. If this were so, what was to become of her prerogative to frock and unfrock bishops, and to tune her pulpits, as she termed it? All the Tudor blood in her veins boiled up at such a revolting idea.

The origin of this doctrine in our history is commonly attributed to a clergyman named Robert Browne. He was related to Cecil, her majesty's Secretary of State, who often shielded his kinsman from the consequences of his extravagance. Better men—Thacker, Copping, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry—held the same opinions; and, for holding them, were sentenced to death. The terrible penalty did not deter from crime. Sectaries of this order flourished. Sir Walter Raleigh declared, that in Norfolk, and in parts about London, there were not less than 20,000.

Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, was an able opposer of this heresy. From his articles there was no way of escape.

Once upon a time, the arch enemy of mankind engaged a monk in a theological controversy, with a view to prove him a heretic. "What do you believe?" Satan is reported to have asked. "*Id credo quod credit ecclesia*," was the

reply. But, said the tormentor, "*Quid credit ecclesia;*" whereupon the monk replied, "*Id quod ego credo.*" Whitgift and the queen did not allow such evasive replies.

Bancroft followed in Whitgift's steps. In the second year of King James II.'s reign, 300 ministers were deprived, imprisoned, or banished. The Puritans had prayed him that "the Lord's-day be not profaned." His answer was the *Book of Sports.*

Dr. Laud took care still further to alienate the people, and nurse dissent. Under him, one bishop alone (Bishop Wren, of Norwich) drove upwards of 3,000 persons to seek their bread in a foreign land.

Cromwell encouraged the Independents, or Brownists.

Charles II. was inclined to discourage religious persecution. At Breda he had pledged himself to a lenient course; and it was not natural that he should wish to incur the odium of violating that pledge. But, above all, he was concerned that the laws which bore hardly on the Catholics should be relaxed. Clarendon and the bishops were of another way of thinking. The royal promise was broken; the Savoy Conference was a failure; terms of subscription were enforced, more objectionable than ever; and on St. Bartholomew's-day, 2,000 pious men were ejected from their livings, and, for conscience' sake, became beggars and wanderers on the face of the land. Nothing more clearly shows the numbing influence of subscriptions, than the fact that, from that day to this there has been scarcely a secession from the ranks of the clergy. Baptist Noel, in our time, is almost the only instance of a clergyman leaving the church in obedience to the teaching of a higher law.

The spirit of the statesmanship of that time we get from a passage in Clarendon's life. With reference to the nonconforming divines at the Savoy Conference, he writes—"It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that class of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted they would have more to ask, somewhat for the security of the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion. Nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real or substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever; but consist of many glutinous materials of will and humour, folly and knavery, and ambition and malice, which make them cling inseparably together till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are actually broken or subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other." The Clarendon theory is untenable. In 1828, parliament began by abandoning it. An innovation was commenced, of which we have not as yet seen the end.

The result of the Clarendon theory was, that 60,000 persons suffered for dissent between the Restoration and the Revolution; of whom it was said that 5,000 died in prison. Another result was, that dissent flourished; and actually, at this time, in numbers and activity, it is far superior to the church.

But we return to the Test and Corporation Acts. In the time of Charles, as our readers are aware, every attempt was made to favour popery. For this purpose an indulgence was granted to dissenters. When the latter saw that they were only to be tools to advance the Romish religion, Alderman Lowe (a city member, and a leading Presbyterian) spoke against it with great warmth, and said that they would rather go without their desired liberty, than have it in a way so detrimental to the nation. "The House of Commons," writes Dr. Warner, "which, for ten years, had been loading them with penal laws, were so wrought upon by this sacrifice of their liberty to the interest of the nation and religion, that they ordered a bill to be brought in to take off the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, and require only the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. It passed in the Commons; but being detained for amendments in the Lords, the parliament was prorogued before it was ready for the royal assent. But the king having, at the remonstrance of the Commons,

revoked the indulgence, and promised to pass any bill they should present to him for the security of religion, they took him at his word, and passed a bill to prevent dangers which may happen from popish recusants, requiring all persons, in any office under government, to take the sacrament in the church of England." When this bill, which has since been called the Test Act, was brought into the House, the Court party endeavoured to denounce it by dividing the Protestant church party with a proposal for some regard to the Protestant dissenters. But Alderman Lowe, seeing the project, stood up again, and said—"He hoped the clause in favour of dissenters would occasion no intemperate heat; that he should move for passing the bill, which was such a barrier against popery, without any alteration, without interposing anything till it was finished, the dissenters choosing rather to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, than clog a more necessary work." This defeated the scheme for the time; and, as no money bill could be passed without it, the king gave his consent. Dr. Warner adds, that the act has continued ever since, "much to the dishonour of our holy religion." Perhaps the honour of our holy religion was lightly considered. When it was the fashion for the king to leave the bed of his mistresses to attend church, and take the sacrament, it were vain in his courtiers and servants to expect any lofty reverence for the sacraments of the church.

Towards the end of the last century some relief was given to the Roman Catholics, and the concession stirred up the dissenters to seek a similar boon. The Corporation and Test Acts had, from the time of the revolution, been felt as burdens of oppressive weight; and, in 1787, they applied to parliament for relief. The subject was ably introduced by Mr. Beaufoy, and as ably supported by Mr. Fox. Lord North painted, in glowing colours, the danger to the church from this proposed innovation, and insisted that the acts referred to were merely political ones, and that the exclusion of dissenters from offices of trust could not be considered either as an injury or disgrace. Mr. Pitt was also opposed to their repeal. In vain was the attempt. A second effort was made, equally unsuccessful. In 1790, Mr. Fox himself moved the repeal; but he also pleaded in vain for civil equality. In 1792, there was a further attempt, headed again by Mr. Fox; and then came the French revolution, when, in the alarm created by it in the minds of the upper classes in this country, all thoughts of justice and of right were postponed to a more convenient season. And thus matters remained till Lord John Russell carried their repeal; and the House of Commons refused—

> "To make the symbol of atoning grace
> An office key, the picklock of a place."

Lord Palmerston voted with the minority. His argument was, that the House should first consider the case of the Catholics. As much as any man, he deprecated the acts. He was as great a friend to civil and religious liberty as the noble lord: he was an enemy to all interference between man and his conscience. He utterly disbelieved that any such interference could give security to church or state. It could do no good: it must do evil. It must either turn honest men into hypocrites, or make honest men discontented. His lordship added—"But if those laws were unjust towards the dissenter, and unnecessary for the security of the church, why, it might be asked, should they not be immediately repealed? He answered that, for the last eighty years, they had virtually and practically been repealed; that the annual Indemnity Act had converted them into a dead letter. Merciless and severe as they might be, yet for eighty long years they had been asleep and spell-bound; and, as he saw no possibility of their being awakened, he would not trouble himself to care about an existence which had ceased to deserve that name. He looked upon the revival of these laws as absolutely impossible. It would be an evil to which the country could not submit. It would be an evil affecting not merely the dissenters, but the members of the church of England. For as the test was required for every possible office under the crown, from the

highest in the state, to the most insignificant and menial, it might fairly be assumed, that for one dissenter who would become obnoxious to the penalties, if the acts were to be revived, there would be ten members of the church of England caught in the trammels of the law. The revival of those laws, then, being an event not to be supposed, the only question was, whether their dormant existence was an evil of sufficient magnitude to call for the interposition of parliament. His opinion was, that parliament should dispose of practical evils before they began to deal with theoretical ones; and he objected to take up tho last until the first had been redressed. There were two classes of men upon whom the laws imposed civil and political disabilities on account of religious opinions—the Protestant dissenters and the Roman Catholics. The penalties on the first were virtually repealed, and had no operation, or, at least, a very trifling one. He did not choose to begin with the lesser evil, and leave untouched the greater. He would begin with the greater; and when that was brought down to the level of the lesser, then he should be prepared to consider the wholo subject upon a general view, and to deal with both classes upon a common and uniform principle. That was, in his opinion, the statesmanlike mode of proceeding; that was the only way by which they could hope to heal differences, and tranquillise the empire; that was the only course which would be just towards the Catholics."

Mr. Peel has left us an ample history of the way in which the ministry acted, in view of the debate, and after.

"In the present loose state of religious opinion," wrote Peel's former tutor and fast friend, Dr. Loyd, Bishop of Oxford, "it is more than probable that the debate will turn much on the total independence of civil affairs on religious opinions; and though the argument is perfectly absurd in any state where there is a church established by law, controlled by law, with her formularies authorised and unchangeable by law—still, the licentious opinion is so much more popular in a democratic assembly, and so much within the grasp of all men, that it is very likely it will be argued only on those grounds." The bishop then recommends him Sherlock's and Broadley's tracts on the subject. The date of this letter is February 10th.

Mr. Peel replies on the 19th—"The argument against repeal, for a popular assembly like the House of Commons, is threadbare in the extreme. The distinction between the sacrament as an actual qualification for office, and the proof it incidentally affords of qualification, is too refined for the House. It might do very well when people took the sacrament once a month; but now people take the sacrament (when it is required in the case of office), not for the sake of religion, but for the sake of office. The best argument—mind, I am speaking always of House of Commons' arguments; of arguments for people who know very little of the matter; care not much about it; half of whom have dined, or are going to dine, and are only forcibly struck by that which they instantly comprehend without trouble—the best argument is this:—Under the existing system, a kindly feeling has grown up between dissenters and the church of England. When was there a period, when has there been a period, of less religious polemics mixed up with civil controversies, than there has been within the last forty years? May not this state of comparative peace be connected with a state of law which gives, practically, the dissenter the enjoyment of civil rights, but recognises the predominance of the established church? The dissenter is satisfied with practical possession; the established church with the admission—the annually-received admission by the legislature of the legal claim to superior protection. Why bring parties into conflict, when for thirty years both parties have been satisfied." This reasoning, based on false assumptions, did not satisfy the House of Commons. Lord John Russell's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, though opposed with all the influence and authority of government (Mr. Peel states as much), was carried by a majority of 237 against 193.

Mr. Peel continues—"Notwithstanding this decision, adverse to the views of

the administration, it appeared to the advisers of the crown, that, considering the state of parties, and all that had passed since the death of Mr. Canning—the abdication of one government, and the very recent constitution of another—we should not be justified in abandoning the service of the crown, and exposing the king to all the embarrassment which must be the result of our resignation at such a period, and under such circumstances. Considering, on the other hand, the amount of the majority in the Commons in favour of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and that that majority included many attached friends of the established church (Lord Sandon, Sir Thomas Acland, and others generally concurring with them on religious matters), it appeared to me that it would be very unwise hastily to commit the House of Lords to a conflict with the House of Commons on a question of this nature. I expressed this opinion to my colleagues, requesting only that no decision on the course to be pursued by government should be taken without previous communication with the highest authorities in the church, and an earnest effort to act in friendly concert with them, in order that, if the ultimate decision should be in favour of concession, the church might have the credit of voluntary and cheerful acquiescence in measures which, without requiring any compromise of principle, were calculated to conciliate the good-will of those who dissented from the doctrines of the church. I thought that, after the declared opinions of the House of Commons, an eager, yet unavailing, opposition, or even a sullen neutrality, or grudging, or extorted consent, would deprive concession of all its grace, and increase whatever might be the amount of danger." Accordingly, communications were entered into with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other prelates. Peel writes—"I have had opportunities of ascertaining the opinions of the archbishop, Bishops of Durham, London, and Chester, on the present state of the question regarding the Corporation and Test Acts. My impression is, that they all incline to a permanent settlement of the question now. As might be expected, Kaye, Coppleston, and Law, are at least as favourable to such a course as they are. I think declaration in lieu of sacramental test—the latter being repealed—will be the measure; but we must not say so now." On March 15th, Peel writes—"I have been all the morning at Lambeth, with the two archbishops, Llandaff, Durham, London, and Chester. We settled a declaration, which I think will go down in the House of Commons; which we can carry against all the dissenting interest there; and will, in my opinion, or, at least, under all circumstances, be satisfactory to the church."

With a view to the forthcoming debate, the Bishop of Oxford writes, suggesting that Mr. Peel should take higher church ground, and should show that the principle of religious equality, whether true or false in the abstract, was not the principle of the English constitution. Mr. Peel replies—

"The mode in which it is most prudent to discuss any question in the House of Commons, must be determined by a variety of considerations, of which it is not easy for persons at a distance to judge. One of these circumstances, and a most material one, is the prospect of being victorious or beaten. If you are to be beaten, the higher the tone you take, the more creditable it may be to the individual member who takes it; but, let me add, the more complete is the triumph over the party on whose behalf it is taken. It might have been right to say—'The Test Act is essential to the security of the church; it recognises the great principle that conformity to the church should be the qualification for civil trust; it is the barrier and bulwark, and so forth. Remove it, and the church is gone: the dissenters will be triumphant. I disclaim all responsibility for such an issue, and throw it upon the House of Commons.' This is a high line, and a good line; the best possible if it succeed, and is supported by a large majority. But, if it fails, of course the minister taking it resigns, which is a very subordinate part of the consideration. But what is the position of the church?—and what is the position of the dissenter, admitted by the minister to have had a complete triumph?

"Now a word as to the substance of the argument you advised me to hold.

"Is it possible to maintain, that to talk of an established church, and, at the same time, to assert the equal right of all religious sects, is a contradiction in terms? That an established religion necessarily implies superiority of privilege; and that, if Lord John Russell wished to affirm the equal right of all, the more manly way would be to move at once that there should be no established church?

"Supposing I had said this in the House of Commons. First—what would Scotland reply to me?

"That she had as much an established church as England had—a church declared permanent and inviolable in terms as solemn and binding as any that are applied to the episcopal church of England.

"She would scout my doctrine, that the true test of an establishment was exclusive civil privilege of any kind for its members. There is no distinguishing test in Scotland: none of any kind. There is equal rights of all sects so far as civil and corporate offices are concerned.

"There may be an exception in some cases as to Catholics. If, then, it is, it stands on special grounds. The general rule in Scotland is equal civil privilege for all, but an established church.

"Secondly—what would Ireland say to me?

"She has an established church; but, with respect to every sect (except the Roman Catholics)—Presbyterian, Seceder, Unitarian, Infidel, Atheist—she puts them on a *better footing*, with respect to civil privilege, than the members of the church of England.

"She has released every dissenter, by a permanent law, from the sacramental test; but leaves it to be taken by the members of the church of England.

"In the case of every sect except the Roman Catholic, there is, I apprehend, in Ireland, at this moment, equality of civil privilege; and yet there is an established church.

"Well, then, in England, the moment you do that which the House of Commons resolved to do—repeal the sacramental test—even if you impose a declaration to be taken in common by all, whether they be members of the church or dissenters (provided that declaration can be taken without scruple by a dissenter), you do establish, I apprehend, practically, equality of civil privilege." Mr. Peel adds—

"I do not, therefore, think that it is possible to contend for the abstract position, that the true test, or one of the essential tests of an established church, is the superior privilege as to civil rights of its members.

"In these times it is not very prudent to lay down general doctrines with respect to the essential attributes of the church, unless we are quite sure that they are safe doctrines for all parts of our empire.

"It is safe to say *that* is the established church of England, to which the king must conform; whose chief ministers have a right to seats in the House of Lords; which has an inalienable claim to ecclesiastical property.

"But I should be sorry, for the sake of the church, to argue that she ceased to be the established church if you once admitted equality of civil privilege.

"I do not say that there ought not to be equality of civil privilege. All I say is, that I should be sorry to rest the question of an establishment or not upon that issue."

Still, however, the church party were in alarm. Dr. Tournay writes to the Bishop of Oxford—"I am frightened by what appears to be the plan for substituting a declaration for the Test and Corporation Acts. Most gladly should I part with the sacramental test; but what we have in exchange should be sufficient in itself, and enforced without interruption or dispensation whatever. But, as matters now stand, the dissenter is not to declare generally that he will not destroy her by means of his official power and opportunities. What is still worse, when the declaration is made what it ought to be, it is only to be made when the crown thinks fit. So that, when Lord Lansdowne is Prime Minister, it will never be made at all. Can this be so? If so, the church will surrender all, and gain nothing."

Mr. Peel, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, says in reply—

"Dr. Tournay's proposal is this—Let every man who was formerly subject to the test be now compelled to take the declaration previously to his admission to office; that is, let every man who receives the king's wages, who holds any office or any commission, be required to make a declaration about the church of England. The annual Indemnity Act, of course, is not to apply to this declaration; it must really be made and subscribed. Now it certainly would be very edifying to administer to midshipmen, young ensigns in the guards, state trumpeters, all the king's household servants, all gaugers and tide-waiters, a solemn declaration that they would not use their influence to the injury of the Protestant church.

"But it may be said—Specify who are to take this declaration; or make all take it as the general rule; then specify the exceptions.

"Just let Dr. Tournay try his hand at a clause specifying nomination, the offices to which the declaration is to apply, or the exceptions. It appears to me, that either course would involve the declaration in ridicule, or would just confine it to a few enumerated offences, at the risk of omitting many which ought to be included.

"Be it enacted, that all privy councillors, sheriffs, magistrates, are to take the declaration. Very good: but what am I to do with officers of the ordnance—the surveyor-general of the ordnance, for instance—the commissioners of customs? An Indian judge: is he to make the declaration—That whereas, all his influence being confined to the island of Ceylon, he will not use it in injuring the church of England? Really, to attempt, in an act of parliament, to nominate either the offices or the exceptions, would, in my opinion, cover the declaration with ridicule, even if the attempt were not a hopeless one.

"The taking of the declaration is essential in the cases of all corporate offices. There is no power of dispensation there. May we not trust the king, being the head of the church of England? If we are prepared to entrust him with the power of appointing a dissenter to the highest civil office, may we not trust him with the power of naming the offices to which the declaration shall apply?"

In the House of Commons the bill passed, laden with securities. Objections were taken to the power originally given to the crown to name the offices, on the appointment to which the declaration substituted for the sacramental test should be made. In the House of Commons these objections were obviated by providing that the specification of offices should be an act of the king in council. In the Lords the bill was altered in this respect. All discretionary authority was taken away. As the general rule, the declaration was required to be made by all persons employed in the public service. Then followed an exception from that rule, expressly inserted in the act, in favour of military and naval officers below the rank of rear-admiral and major-general; and of all persons whatever employed in the management or collection of the revenue.

Another more important alteration was made in the bill in its passage through the Lords. As it was sent from the Commons, the declaration was not required to be made "on the true faith of a Christian." These words, objected to at the time by Lord Holland, were inserted in the Lords, at the suggestion of Lord Eldon and the Bishop of Llandaff. The consequence of this clause was the exclusion of Jews from parliament. An attempt was made, by Mr. Robert Grant, to get the clause repealed, but in vain. His bill for the admission of the Jews, was passed, in the Commons, by a majority of eighteen; but thrown out, on the second reading, by 228 to 165.

Lord Eldon, the chief opponent of the bill, was terribly annoyed at its success; and was very angry with the bishops for giving it support. In his letters to his daughter, he speaks of it, "as being, in his poor judgment, as bad, as mischievous, and as revolutionary as the most captious dissenter could wish it to be." He says—"The administration have—to their shame be it said—got the archbishops, and most of the bishops, to support this revolutionary bill." In his speech in the House

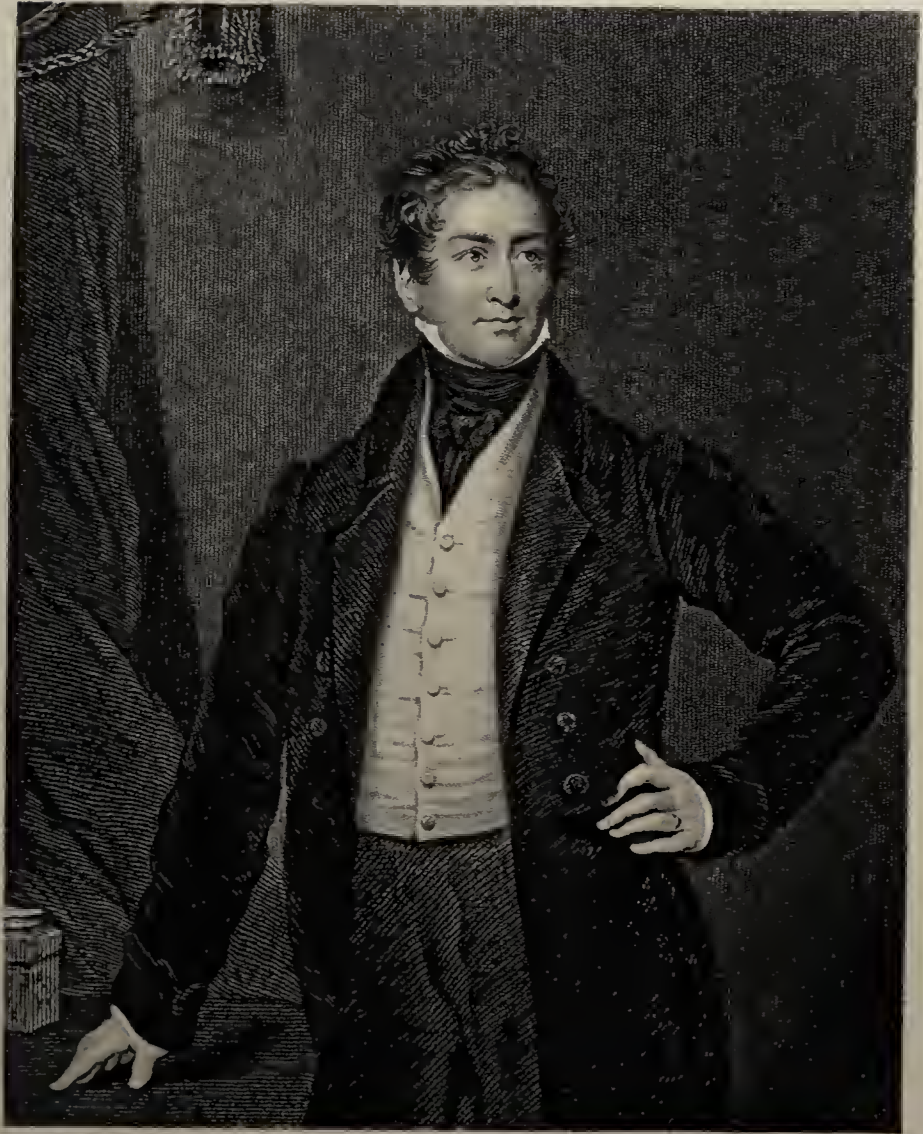
of Lords, Lord Eldon observed, that "he had voted against such a bill before some of their lordships now supporting it were born; and he might say the same of the right reverend prelates who were so strangely showing their attachment to the church. The last time the question was agitated in the House of Commons, was in 1790, when there was a majority of 187 against it. Nothing had occurred since to make it less mischievous." His lordship forgot that the majority of 187 against the bill, had, in the course of time, been turned into a majority of forty-four in its favour—a fact which, if his lordship overlooked, a real statesman like Mr. Peel could not. "It might be consistent," remarks the latter gentleman, on the above passage, with perfect fidelity and attachment to the church, "to believe, that with this decisive evidence of a change in public opinion, and considering the conscientious objections of many sincere friends of the church to the sacramental test as a qualification for office—it might be more for the real interests of the church and religion, to consent to an alteration of the law, than to commit a minority of the House of Commons, even with the aid of the Lords, to a conflict for its maintenance." It may be still further urged, that the ministry were wise in counselling acquiescence, and the church wise in taking that advice. "Thirty years since," said Alderman Wood, "there were only two or three persons in the corporation of the city of London favourable to repeal. The other day, when the corporation met to petition for repeal, only two hands were held up against the petition." The time, then, had manifestly arrived when the sense of the community had refused to support the sacramental test—when it had become a mockery—a mockery, in reality, of a very awful character. As an illustration of the religious influence of requiring persons to qualify for office by taking the sacraments in the church of England, one of the speakers in the debate in parliament on the subject, said, that "it was customary, in some parts, for a churchwarden or sexton to announce, from the church steps, to a waiting group—'Now you who want to qualify, come this way.'" In reality the ministry had no alternative. "Had any other course been taken by the government," writes Mr. Peel, "the final result of parliamentary discussion would probably have been the same—viz., the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Whether it would have taken place under circumstances more favourable to the true interests of the church, or more conducive to the maintenance of harmony and good-will among the professors of different religious creeds, may fairly be questioned." Sir Robert puts his case very modestly. In our opinion it could be settled by him better than any one else. He represented the church party: he was member for the University of Oxford: he was the friend and *confidante* of bishops and archbishops. Had it been placed in other and less friendly hands, the settlement would have been much more angry and difficult. It was well for the church that it was not postponed till later days, when fiercer passions were aroused; when further aims were held; when the masses, with their giant strength, had wrung reform from a trembling aristocracy and an unwilling king.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

A GENERATION had nearly passed away since the union between England and Ireland had been achieved, and yet the latter was as turbulent and disaffected to England as at any time of her history.

When the union was effected, Mr. Pitt intended to relieve the Catholics. George III. was obstinately opposed to it, and Irish disaffection became greater than ever.



Robert Peel

In 1803, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and martial law re-enacted.

In 1807, the Irish Insurrection Act was passed; and, in 1814, it was, with some modifications, re-enacted, at the instance of Mr. Peel, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. "They have sent," said O'Connell, with reference to Mr. Peel, "a raw youth, squeezed out of the workings of I know not what factory, and not past the foppery of perfumed handkerchiefs and thin shoes, to govern us." Time after time, the question of Catholic relief had been discussed in the Lords and Commons. It was a standing article of Whig faith; and we have every reason to believe, that the Duke of Bedford, when Irish vice-regent, had been authorised by the Prince of Wales to hold out hopes that, on his accession to the government of the country, Catholic disabilities should cease. In the House of Commons, the question had been generally under the leadership of Grattan, of whom Sir James Mackintosh has well said—"He is one of the few private men whose virtues are followed by public fame. He is one of the few men whose private virtues are to be cited as examples for those who would follow in his public steps." Grattan was one of the most unsullied of Ireland's sons. When the English legislature was endeavouring, before the union, to usurp the right of governing that country, Grattan carried the memorable resolution in the Irish parliament—"That the king's most excellent majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws for Ireland." Fifty thousand pounds were voted him, "as a testimony of the national gratitude for such great national services." He opposed the union; but, after it was carried, solicited the suffrage of an English constituency for a seat in the imperial parliament. On his death, the motions on the subject were made by Mr. Plunket, one of the leading orators of the day.

It was on the occasion of Mr. Grattan's annual motion, that Lord Palmerston, at some length, entered into the question, and declared the grounds on which he should support the Catholic party. In the course of his speech, he said—

"Although I wish the Catholic claims to be considered, *I never will admit their claims to stand upon the ground of right.* To maintain that the legislature of a country has not a right to impose such political disabilities upon any class of the community as it may deem necessary for the welfare and safety of the whole, would be to strike at once at the fundamental principles on which civilised government is founded. If I thought the Catholics were asking for their rights, I, for one, would not go into the committee. What! would it be becoming for the British parliament to say to the Catholics—'We allow that what you ask of us are only just and natural rights, but we will not freely and liberally grant them. We will go into a committee to barter with you for the concession of those admitted rights, to see under what conditions, with what modifications, and subject to what restrictions, these rights can be sanctioned by us?' Such conduct would at once be inconsistent and unjust. I wish the few honourable members who maintain this doctrine of right, to weigh well all the consequences to which it is calculated to lead.

"Putting this question, however, entirely upon the ground of *expediency*, I cannot concur with those who think that they have proved the expediency of continuing the Catholic disabilities now, by showing that they were necessary in the times when they were originally imposed. These disabilities are not the rule of the constitution, but an exception from that rule; their necessity in one century is no evidence of their expediency in another; and it is as much incumbent upon those who now contend for their continuance, to show that they are required for the present security of the state, as it was upon those who first framed them, to prove the necessity of their original enactment.

* * * * * * *

"I do not think, then, that a case of danger has been sufficiently made out. But if I think there is no real danger in the removal of these disabilities, accompanied by such other corresponding regulations as the House may ultimately adopt, I do think there is both inconvenience and danger in the continuance of the present

anomalous state of things. We have gone too far to stop where we are. If it had been intended for ever to debar the Catholics from any share in the honours of this constitution, they have been too largely admitted to its civil privileges. It is not in human nature to be satisfied when so near the attainment of its wishes.

"We cannot, under these circumstances, hope to derive those advantages from the Catholics, as members of the community, which, otherwise, we might expect. We have, in the bosom of the empire, a large mass, considerable by its numbers, by property, by rank, by talent and activity, but separate in its feelings, distinct in its interests, circumscribed and cut off from the rest of the community by an impassable line of demarcation. Is this a desirable state of things? Can we be said to have at our command the full natural resources of the united empire? I do not mean to palliate or defend the conduct of the Catholics: it has been most reprehensible. To their own violence and intemperance they have to ascribe many of the difficulties which they still have to encounter. But is the course which has been so long pursued with regard to them wise and beneficial for the country? That is the real question for the House to consider. Is it wise, for instance, to say to any set of men, that they may enter, it is true, the army or the navy; but, whatever may be the bravery and talents they display, however brilliant the achievements they may perform, they must remain in the inferior ranks of the service? Can we hope from such men the full stretch of exertion to which, by proper incentives, they might be led? Is it wise, again, to admit men to the profession of the law, and forbid them to aspire to its honours? Might not the knowledge and habit of business so acquired sometimes be perverted to mischievous purposes? Might not the activity or ambition which is cherished in one direction break out in another? If men feel that they cannot hope to rise to professional honours, may they not be tempted to gratify their love of destruction by becoming the leaders of a faction? I do not say that such things would, but, undoubtedly, they might be.

"Is it wise to say to men of rank and property, who, from old lineage or present possessions, have a deep interest in the common weal, that they live, indeed, in a country where, by the blessings of a free constitution, it is possible for any man, themselves only excepted, by the honest exertion of talents and industry in the avocations of political life, to make himself honoured and respected by his countrymen, and to render good service to the state; that they alone can never be permitted to enter this career; that they may, indeed, usefully employ themselves in the humbler avocations of private life, but that public service they never can perform, public honour they never shall attain? What we have lost by the continuance of this system it is not for man to know; what we may have lost can be more easily imagined. If it had unfortunately happened that, by the circumstances of birth and education, a Nelson, a Wellington, a Burke, a Fox, or a Pitt, had belonged to this class of the community, of what honours, and what glory, might not the page of British history have been deprived? To what perils and calamities might not this country have been exposed? The question is not whether we would have so large a part of the population Catholic or not. There they are, and we must deal with them as we can. It is in vain to think that, by any human pressure, we can stop the spring which gushes from the earth. But it is for us to consider whether we will force it to spend its strength in secret and hidden courses, undermining our fences and corrupting our soil, or whether we shall at once turn the current into the open and spacious channel of honourable and constitutional ambition, converting it into the means of national prosperity and public wealth."

He concluded with the following happy eulogium on the measure:—"I cannot sit down without expressing the satisfaction which I feel, in common with the nation at large, at the determination which the government has at last adopted to give peace to Ireland. It will open a career of happiness to Ireland which for

centuries she has been forbidden to taste, and to England a prospect of commercial prosperity and national strength which has hitherto been a stranger to its annals. The labours of the present session will link together two classes of the community which have too long been dissevered; they will form in history the true mark which is to divide the shadow of morning twilight from the brilliant effulgence of the risen sun; they will form a monument—not of the crime or ambition of man—not of the misfortunes or the convulsions of society—but of the calm and deliberate operation of benevolent wisdom watching the good of the human race. And we ought to be proud that our hands are to be employed in a measure which will pass down to the latest posterity as an object of their respect, gratitude, and admiration."

In 1821, the Catholic Relief Bill was carried in the Commons, and, it was hoped, would pass the Lords. It was believed it would, as Mr. Freemantle, in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, says—"I hear Lady Conyngham supports it, which is a great thing." In the Lords, however, the bill was lost by a majority of thirty-nine, owing chiefly to an emphatic speech from the Duke of York. Lord Eldon writes—"The Duke of York has done more to quiet this matter than everything else put together. It has had a great effect. I have nothing further to delay your drinking 'To the thirty-nine who saved the Thirty-nine Articles'—a very fashionable toast." Lord Eldon's toasting was a little premature.

In 1822, Canning revived the subject in the Commons by his bill to allow Catholic peers to sit in parliament. It was pressed forward by the opposition, to embarrass government. "My idea," writes Mr. Freemantle, "is, that Canning does not mean mischief so much as regaining some little character and importance which he has so justly lost."

In 1823, the Catholic question was argued by Mr. Plunket in the House of Commons.

Palmerston is now in opposition; but we shall find him disposed to aid the ministry as far as he can. It must be remembered that he had only very recently, in reply to Mr. Brougham, thus defended the Prime Minister:—"The claims which that noble and gallant duke had established to the gratitude of his country, stood upon a basis too firm to be shaken by any taunts or sneers that might bo thrown out against them. * * * There was one topic upon which he was glad to be able to relieve the alarms of the honourable and learned gentleman. The military office formerly held by the noble duke would not be united to the political. From the present time the Duke of Wellington would cease to be Commander-in-Chief. Another objection taken by the honourable and learned gentleman to the present Prime Minister was, that the noble duke's habits and experience had been military, and not civil. But the honourable and learned gentleman himself had admitted, that, in the speech in which the noble duke, with an honourable modesty, had disclaimed the possession of talents which qualified him for the first situation in the country, the very terms and manner in which that disclaimer was made showed that the modesty of the speaker far underrated his own capacities. And surely the personal knowledge of the honourable and learned gentleman must sufficiently instruct him that the whole of the Duke of Wellington's experience had not been confined to the army. The House, at least, would know that there had scarcely been an important transaction in Europe, for the last thirteen years, in which the noble duke, at home or abroad, had not directly taken a part."

Soon after the accession of George IV., insurrection and famine in Ireland attracted the attention of the cabinet to that country, and the Lord-Lieutenant was suddenly recalled, and Lord Wellesley, a friend to Catholic emancipation, sent in his place. It was then thought (and the ministry encouraged the idea) that the tithes were at the bottom of the disturbances which prevailed; and a Composition Act was introduced, with a view to create order: but the act altogether failed; and it became more and more the opinion of Lord Wellesley that Catholic emancipation

was the only remedy. George IV. professed to be alarmed, when Mr. Canning became Prime Minister, at the preponderance of the Catholic party (as it was called in the cabinet); and insisted upon sending out Lord Anglesea—a staunch Protestant —and recalling Lord Wellesley. The former, however, in spite of his violent declaration against emancipation, was no sooner in Ireland, and face to face with the difficulties of the situation, than he became friendly to the measure, and was summarily recalled by the Duke of Wellington. The Duke of Northumberland was sent in Lord Anglesea's place, and remained there till Wellington himself was compelled to resign office.

The Irish Catholic Association at this time ruled all Ireland; and its presiding genius was Daniel O'Connell. Let us pause to consider the conduct of this extraordinary man. We remember him in his prime—when, in cunning and daring, he was unrivalled in the House of Commons or out. Nature had been bountiful to the man, and had admirably fitted him for the part he was to play. With a broad, robust frame, capable of enduring an immense amount of fatigue; with a stentorian voice, always well modulated; with a face redolent of Irish humour; with a readiness never at fault; and with a versatility that made him all things to all men—it was rarely that he appeared in public without gaining his ends, and making many friends. When he presented himself, to plead before Lord Eldon, the old Tory was compelled to admit "that his demeanour was very proper." In the history of mankind, there have been few instances of a power so extraordinary as that wielded by Mr. O'Connell.

"His early education," writes Mr. Roebuck, "had given his manners something of an ecclesiastical smoothness when in the society of gentlemen, more particularly of English gentlemen; but, when addressing his own countrymen, he could assume (perhaps *resume* might be the more appropriate word) a *rollicking* air which completely won the hearts of the excitable peasantry whom he sought to move, and over whom he indeed ruled with an absolute despotism. With the Catholic priesthood he had also great influence; and, by their aid, obtained and continued his extraordinary power over his uneducated countrymen. When speaking of the priesthood or a priest, the demeanour of Mr. O'Connell was indeed so deferential as to appear a perfect prostration of body and mind to ghostly domination. His strict observance of the forms of his religion, the fervour of his outward piety, won the esteem and confidence of the Irish Catholic clergy. They believed him a true and obedient son of the church. They trusted him; and finding him endowed with great ability, they, in their turn, followed and supported his political agitation. This mutual confidence was greatly promoted by the character of Mr. O'Connell's piety, in which terror played no common part. Subject to the influence of strong passions, of undoubting faith, but also liable to strong fits of despondency and fear, he was just the man to be an active and useful instrument in the hands of an astute and grasping priesthood. In most cases in which an alliance takes place between a layman and a priest, there is a lurking mutual distrust which, spite of every art and disguise, betrays itself from time to time. But in the instance of Mr. O'Connell, no such distrust seems ever to have arisen on either side. The priests of his church were too sagacious to fail in accurately appreciating the extent and character of their power over his mind. They knew his weakness, and their own strength. They had no fear, consequently, when aiding him to acquire power over the peasantry, because they were sure that his power would never be employed to diminish, or even to check their own spiritual influence and temporal authority and wealth. A perfect mutual cordiality and confidence appeared to exist; and, as we believe, did in reality exist, between them and Mr. O'Connell; and great advantage resulted to both parties from this alliance. * * * He was a skilful lawyer; thoroughly acquainted with the character of his countrymen, and ready at all times to aid them when subject to accusation by the government, or quarrelling among themselves. They who have witnessed his conduct in criminal trials and at *nisi prius*, describe him as unrivalled in the dexterity with

which he managed a jury; while those who have heard his legal arguments before the judges in Dublin, speak of them as models of forensic skill. The contrast between his manner on these different occasions, proved his marvellous versatility, and ought to have prepared the House of Commons for his admirably appropriate demeanour when he first appeared before them as the one great representative of Roman Catholic Ireland. He was at all times a finished actor, and could assume, or throw off at once and completely, any part he chose. * * * In the House of Commons, every trace of the ranting, rampant demagogue entirely disappeared. * * * What would make an assembly of peasants weep, would probably send the House of Commons to sleep, or would keep them awake simply by exciting their contempt or disgust. Mr. O'Connell knew this well: and further, he was aware that the assembly into which he entered was as courageous as fastidious; that it was as difficult to excite their fear as it was easy to offend their taste. To bully them he knew was dangerous; to frighten them, impossible; to persuade them out of their former convictions, almost hopeless: but, to amuse and interest them—to command their attention and respect by wit, knowledge, clear and forcible statement, and accurate reasoning, and sometimes by rare, and felicitous, and finished touches of passionate argument—to excite and almost convince them;—all this, he was aware, was within the power of a great orator. Proudly conscious that he could aspire to this high calling, with a calm self-possession he applied himself to his last most difficult task of conquering the attention—the respectful attention—of an adverse House of Commons; and succeeded. Great as were Mr. O'Connell's powers, and enormous as was the influence he wielded, it must, however, be confessed," adds Mr. Roebuck, "that his great abilities and glorious opportunities were of comparatively little use to himself or others; and that few men have so long, and to such an extent, engaged the attention of the world, and have passed away leaving so little behind them by which they can be worthily remembered. To assume the manner, and employ the language that would please a particular assembly, and contribute to the attainment of a given end, was no difficult task for so finished an actor as Mr. O'Connell. But, to be observant of the truth—to sacrifice selfish purposes—to withstand the popular prejudice that created his power, required a mind trained from infancy to obey the exalted morality fitted for a free people, and which among them alone can be found. Unfortunately for his fame, and the happiness of his country, Mr. O'Connell was tainted with the vices produced by that dominion against which he reared a gallant front. The slavery that he attempted to vanquish had exercised its baneful influence over his own mind. That carelessness respecting truth which always attends the slave's condition, deformed the mind of him who was destined, in one remarkable instance, to overcome the very tyranny which marked with ignominy the race to which he belonged."

No sooner had Mr. Canning died than Mr. O'Connell devoted himself to the task of rousing the entire Roman Catholic population; and, with the aid of the priesthood, he assumed the whole government of Ireland. The parliamentary opposition, of course, were only too glad to take advantage of this popular excitement, and to assail the administration with a motion respecting emancipation. The opposition in parliament were relieved, by the death of Mr. Canning, from all restraint; and as they had carried the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, were ready for a still more complete measure of religious toleration.

In 1827, there had been a two nights' debate on the subject. The public expectation had been directed with great eagerness towards it. At the general election, in the preceding year, the exertions of the priests had met with great success in the election of members favourable to emancipation. A majority of four decided against the Catholics. In a day or two after, the Marquis of Lansdowne withdrew his notice of motion to consider the Catholic claims in the House of Lords. "He could not," he said, "upon due consideration, allow any precipitate step on his part, at that moment, to have the possible effect of creating or

adding to the distressing, the disheartening conviction on the minds of the people of Ireland, that a majority of both houses of parliament was determined to reject the consideration of their claims. He felt too deeply what the effect of such a step must be, to add to the irritation upon the subject which already existed; and he should refrain from any step that could, by possibility, have that effect." In Ireland, the result of the debate added fuel to the flame of anti-English feeling; and in many parts of the country violent outrages occurred.

The arguments on either side were much as follows:—It was contended that the repeal of Roman Catholic liabilities would be the destruction of the established church in Ireland; there was the danger of abolishing tests, which had been established for the express purpose of giving the legislature a Protestant character; there was the danger that the removal of civil disabilities might materially affect the position in which the Roman Catholic religion stood to the state; and last, and not least, there was the peculiar character of the Roman Catholic religion itself, with its foreign relationship, its system of complete organisation and discipline.

On the other hand, there was the unquestionable right of the people to choose their own representatives; and the fact that the refusal of that right had been the source of endless confusion and rebellion. It was argued that such removal would put an end to all jealousies between his majesty's subjects, and bury in oblivion all animosities between Great Britain and Ireland. Besides, it was urged that that measure was part and parcel of the scheme of Mr. Pitt in effecting the legislative union between the two countries.

The subject had been debated in a full House in 1827, and the measure only negatived by a majority of four votes.

Mr. Peel had made up his mind that resistance was no longer possible. When asked by the Duke of Wellington to join him in the formation of a cabinet, he found that it was only by the aid of men favourable to repeal that an administration could exist. "What," he writes, "must have been the inevitable fate of a government composed of Goulbourn, Sir John Beckett, Wetherell, and myself, supported by very warm friends, no doubt; but those warm friends being prosperous country gentlemen, fox-hunters, &c.—most excellent men, who will attend one night, but who will not leave their favourite pursuits to sit up till two or three o'clock, fighting questions of detail, on which, however, a government must have a majority? We could not have stood creditably a fortnight."

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts rendered the ground maintained by the high Protestant party still more untenable.

Lord Palmerston was early noted for his liberality on the Roman Catholic question. He was viewed with suspicion accordingly. In February, 1828, Lord Eldon writes—"Nobody can read the late speeches of Palmerston and Vesey Fitzgerald, without being apprehensive that most dangerous concessions are about to be thought of to the Catholics, such as shortly, and surely, will shake the foundations of the Protestant church."

On the 8th of May, 1828, the Catholic question was brought forward by Sir Francis Burdett. He moved a resolution to this effect—"That it is the opinion of this committee that it is expedient to consider the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory settlement as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." The motion was carried by a majority of six. "The debate which followed was only remarkable for its result," says Mr. Roebuck. In the opinion of Mr. Peel it was quite otherwise. In his *Memoirs* he tells us—"It was remarked by Mr. Brougham, who closed the debate, that no single member of those who had opposed the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, had affirmed the proposition that things could remain as they were; and that it was impossible to conceal or deny the great progress which this

question had made in parliament, and the much greater out of doors." Mr. Peel gives a list of the speakers; and modestly remarks, that "the great preponderance of talent and influence on the future decisions of the House of Commons, was ranged on the other side." Another significant fact was—"That many of the younger members of the House of Commons, who had previously taken a part against the Roman Catholic claims, followed the example of Mr. Brownlow, and admitted the change of opinion ; and that it very rarely, if ever, happened, that the list of speakers against concession was reinforced by a young member of even ordinary ability."

Another important event was the Clare election. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald had accepted the office of President of the Board of Trade. As the necessary consequence the seat for the county of Clare became vacant. Notwithstanding his views in favour of emancipation, Mr. O'Connell determined to propose himself as a candidate in opposition, and was returned. "The election," as Mr. Peel writes, "afforded a decisive proof, not only that the instrument (the forty-shilling franchise) on which the Protestant proprietor had hitherto mainly relied for the maintenance of his political influence, had completely failed him; but that, through the combined exertions of the agitator and the priest, or rather, I should say, through the contagious sympathies of a common cause among all classes of the Roman Catholic population, the instrument of defence and supremacy had been converted into a weapon fatal to the authority of the landlord." "All the gentry and forty-pound freeholders," writes Mr. Fitzgerald, "voted for me; all the great interests broke down. Such a scene as we have had; such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us. * * * The sheriff has made a special return, and you will say a strange one; but it will force parliament instantly to take it up. It states that I was proposed as a Protestant, being a fit person to represent the county in parliament; that Mr. O'Connell was also proposed; that he (O'Connell) had declared before the sheriff that he was a Roman Catholic, and intended to continue a Roman Catholic. It states that a protest was made against his return by the electors; as well as the certificate that he was called to the bar as a Roman Catholic. It states the numbers for each candidate: and thus it leaves the return." Lord Anglesea, in anticipation of the election, writes word—"There are at Ennis near 300 constabulary; at Clare castle (close at hand), forty-seven artillery, with two six-pounders; 120 cavalry, 415 infantry. Within a few hours, 183 cavalry, 1,313 infantry. Within thirty-six hours, twenty-eight cavalry, 1,367 infantry, two six-pounders; besides large reserves at a further distance." Nevertheless, his lordship trusted that the agitators would preserve order; as they had the power, as well as the inclination, to accomplish it. No wonder people were alarmed. It was obvious, what could be done in Clare could be done in other districts.

"The Clare election," writes Mr. Peel, "supplied the manifest proof of an abnormal and unhealthy condition of the public mind in Ireland—the manifest proof that the sense of a common grievance, and the sympathies of a common interest, were beginning to loosen the ties which connect different classes of men in friendly relation to each other; to weaken the force of personal and local attachments; and to unite the scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the assumed authority of superior intelligence, hostile to the law, and government which administered it." All intelligent people saw that the Clare election was the turning-point of the struggle. Even Lord Eldon saw it. After observing—"Nothing is talked of now which interests anybody the least in the world except the election of Mr. O'Connell;" he adds—"As Mr. O'Connell will not, though elected, be allowed to take his seat in the House of Commons unless he will take the oaths, &c. (and that he won't do unless he can get absolution), his rejection from the Commons may excite rebellion in Ireland. At all events, this business must bring the Roman Catholic question, which has been so often discussed, to a crisis and a conclusion. The nature of that conclusion I do not think likely to be favourable to Protestantism."

What was to be done? "Maintain the Protestant constitution," shrieked the bigot, "and resort to military force."

Alas! it was not clear even that that force could be depended on. It was clearly the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald, and Major Warburton, and Lord Anglesea (the gentlemen with whom Mr. Peel was the more immediately connected at this time), that implicit reliance could not long be placed on the effect of discipline, and the duty of obedience. It has been often asked—why did Mr. Peel secede from Mr. Canning's ministry on the Catholic question, when, in 1829, he carried it through the Commons? The answer is very clear—the Clare election had opened his eyes.

The session of 1828 was closed by the speech from the throne, on the 28th of July; and, immediately afterwards, the Duke of Wellington entered into communication with Mr. Peel on the subject. The former had not committed himself so deeply as Mr. Peel had done. Lord Lansdowne, at the close of the debate in the Lords, intimated that he had derived encouragement from the conferences of "the noble lord on the woolsack, and the noble duke." Mr. Brougham, on a subsequent day, congratulated the country upon the speech of the latter, considering it as an augury of better things to come, in spite of the Lords having negatived the motion of Lord Lansdowne by a majority of forty-four.

The Irish Lord-Lieutenant thus writes of the agitators—"I believe their success inevitable; that no power under heaven can arrest its progress. There may be rebellion: you may put to death thousands: you may suppress it; but it will be only to put off the day of compromise." Again—"I most seriously conjure you to signify an intention of taking the state of Ireland into consideration in the first days of the next session of parliament." What could any ministry do but try concession? Mr. Peel counselled the duke to take this course, and, at the same time, to allow him to resign office. The duke had interviews with his majesty and the Lord Chancellor, accordingly, for that purpose.

In the meanwhile the situation in Ireland became more alarming.

Lord Anglesea writes, in September—"The organisation of the Catholics is very complete. They carry banners; they form, and they march by word of command, and in good order; but they commit no outrage: and I discourage interference or display, both of the military and the constabulary. The carrying of party flags is illegal; but is it expedient to put the law in force? What is to be gained?

"Some of the ringleaders might be taken. The assemblies would then be instructed by the agitators, through the priests, to obey the law, and to discontinue to display their flags. They would be obeyed, and the flags would disappear; but the meetings, the great grievance, would continue; and in suppressing the minor ones, you would increase irritation and bad feeling towards the law.

"The speeches continue to be very inflammatory. Expressions might possibly be noted that would admit of prosecution; but, in general, the language, although violent, is nicely measured, and so equivocal as to admit of an explanation that might be strained into an excess of loyalty, and a nervous warning to the state of the dangers to which it is exposed. I have not yet heard of anything that might lead to a favourable verdict.

"On the other hand, the Orangemen—or, I suppose I am now to call them the Brunswickers—are rivalling the association, both in violence and in rent. Two associations and two rents are rather formidable."

As the winter advances the communications from Ireland are more alarming. Lord F. L. Gower, for instance, writes to Mr. Peel—"I have little doubt that the peasantry of the south, at present, look forward to the period of Mr. O'Connell's expulsion from the House of Commons as the time for rising; but any occurrence in the interval, which should appear to be adverse to the interests of the Roman Catholic body, might precipitate this result. I do not believe there is a man in Ireland more alarmed at the prospect of affairs than O'Connell. Sheil has, for some time, kept sedulously away from the association."

"At the close of the year 1828," writes Mr. Peel, "little, if any, progress had been made in removing the difficulties with which the Duke of Wellington had to contend."

Another difficulty arose: Lord Anglesea was recalled; and it was found difficult to appoint a successor. The Duke of Wellington writes, December 30th, 1828—"I have heard from Lord Bathurst. In answer to my letter upon the lieutenancy of Ireland, he positively declines. The whole question turns upon the Roman Catholic question. If we are to concede we may find one qualified; if we are not, I am afraid that it will be very difficult to find one with whom Lord Francis would stay." The chief difficulty, however, was with the king. Sir Robert Peel writes—"At the commencement of the month of January, 1829, his majesty had not yet signified his consent that the whole subject of Ireland, including the Catholic question, should be taken into consideration by his faithful servants. In his interviews with the Duke of Wellington, in the course of the autumn, the king had manifested much uneasiness and irritation; and had, hitherto, shown no disposition to relax the opposition which (of late years, at least) he had manifested to the consideration, by the government, of the claims of the Roman Catholics."

In the *Life of Lord Eldon*, are published *memoranda* of conversations between the king and himself, in the months of March and April, 1829; in the course of which the king expresses himself very strongly on the subject, declaring that it was with the utmost pain and reluctance that he acted upon the advice of his ministers. His majesty is reported to have said, that "he was miserable and wretched; and that his situation was dreadful;" that "if he gave his assent to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, he would go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover; that he would return no more to England; and that his subjects might get a Catholic king in the Duke of Clarence." Again Lord Eldon writes—"His majesty employed a very considerable portion of his time in stating all that he represented to have passed when Mr. Canning was made minister; and expressly stated that Mr. Canning would never, and that he engaged that he would never, allow him to be troubled about the Roman Catholic question. He blamed all the ministers who had retired upon Canning's appointment; representing, in substance, that their retirement, and not he, had made Canning minister." Respecting this statement, it is doubtful—more than doubtful—whether the royal word is to be relied on. It is most improbable that Mr. Canning committed himself to such an agreement. Sir Robert Peel himself says as much. In commenting on the above passage, he adds—"I feel very confident that Mr. Canning would not have accepted office, having entered into any engagement, or given any assurance, which would have the effect of placing his government and himself in that relation to George IV., with respect to the Catholic question, in which preceding ministers had stood to George III." In 1824, his majesty wrote to Mr. Peel—"The sentiments of the king upon Catholic emancipation are those of his revered and excellent father; from these sentiments the king never can, and never will, deviate." All subsequent declarations on his part were to the same effect; and "the events which were passing in Ireland; the systematic agitation; the intemperate conduct of some of the Roman Catholic leaders; the violent and abusive speeches of others; the acts of the association, assuming the functions of government; and, as it appeared to the king, the passiveness and want of energy in the Irish executive, irritated his majesty, and indisposed him the more to recede from the declared resolution to maintain inviolate the existing law."

But parliament was on the eve of meeting, and the Irish difficulty had to be met. In the early part of January, 1829, the Duke of Wellington had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Durham. He sought that interview for the purpose of laying before them the state of affairs in Ireland, and in the hope of convincing them that the public interests, and those interests especially which they naturally must regard with the

greatest solicitude, demanded the adjustment of the Catholic question, and the adoption of other legislative measures, which, without such adjustment, it was hopeless to attempt. It was in vain the duke pleaded. The ecclesiastical dignitaries declared their intention to offer a decided opposition to the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. Sir R. Peel writes—"What I chiefly apprehended was, that the king, hearing the result of the duke's conference with the bishops, would make some public and formal declaration of his resolution to maintain, as a matter of conscience and religious obligation, the existing laws; and would thus take a position, in reference to the Catholic question, similar to that in which his father had stood, which it might be almost impossible for his majesty, however urgent the necessity, hereafter to abandon." Up to this period, Sir Robert declares that he had cherished the hope that the Duke of Wellington might be enabled to overcome the difficulties which were opposed to his undertaking; and that he (Mr. Peel) might be allowed to retire from office, and, in a private station, to lend all the assistance in his power to the progress of the contemplated measure through parliament. But this interview with the bishops had made even the determined duke begin to despair of success. And the worst of it was, that no one else could succeed with the king if the duke failed. Sir Robert writes—"It may, perhaps, by some have been thought that the high and established character of Earl Grey, his great abilities, and great political experience, would have enabled him to surmount these various difficulties. In addition to these high qualities, Earl Grey had the advantage of having been the strenuous and consistent advocate of the Roman Catholic cause; the advantage, also, of having stood aloof from the administrations of Mr. Canning and Lord Ripon; and of having strong claims on the esteem and respect of all parties, without being fettered by the trammels of any. I had, however, the strongest reasons for the conviction that Lord Grey could not have succeeded in an undertaking which, in the supposed case of his accession to power, would have been abandoned as hopeless by the Duke of Wellington, and abandoned on the ground that the sovereign would not adopt the advice of his servants in respect of the consideration of the Catholic question." Being convinced that this question must be settled, and without delay—"And resolved," Sir Robert writes, "that no act of mine should obstruct or retard its settlement; impressed with the strongest feelings of attachment to the Duke of Wellington; of admiration of his upright conduct and intentions as Prime Minister; of deep interest in the success of an undertaking on which he had entered from the purest motives, and the highest sense of duty, I determined not to insist upon retirement from office, but to make the duke the voluntary offer of that official co-operation, should he consider it necessary, which he scrupled, from the influence of kind and considerate feelings, to require from me."

Accordingly, Mr. Peel sent to the duke a memorandum to this effect; to be laid, if necessary, before the king. In this able memorandum the question was considered in every light. The time had arrived "for the government to make its choice—either to offer united and unqualified resistance to the grant of further privileges to the Roman Catholics, or to undertake to consider, without delay, the whole state of Ireland, and to attempt to make some satisfactory adjustment on the various points which are involved in what is called the Catholic question." As regards the first alternative, that was impossible, as the present House of Commons consisted of a majority in favour of concession to Roman Catholics. But the parliament might be dissolved. Then comes the question—"What would be the effect on that representation, supposing an exclusive Protestant government to be formed, and a dissolution of parliament to take place, the constituent body in Ireland remaining the same?

"I assume that that body would remain the same; because I do not consider it possible that an alteration in the elective franchise of Ireland could be made previously to a dissolution of parliament, in the case which I am now supposing, that of the formation of an exclusive Protestant government.

"The effect, I apprehend, would be increased excitement in Ireland; a confirmation of the influence of the priesthood over the forty-shilling freeholders; the further exclusion of members in the Protestant interest, and of moderate and reasonable advocates of the Roman Catholics; and the return of persons neither connected with, nor representing, the landed aristocracy or property of the country, but selected purely for their ultra-devotion to Roman Catholic interests.

"Now I cannot too strongly express my opinion, that supposing the effect of a dissolution should be materially to strengthen the hands of a Protestant government by the returns from Great Britain, that circumstance would not be a sufficient compensation for the evil of an Irish representative body, such as I have supposed. You might, on important occasions, overbear that representation by a majority in parliament; but, depend upon it, that intolerable evils would still remain.

"The local government of Ireland would be weakened in a most material degree, by having opposed to it a vast majority of the constituent and representative body of the country.

"The parliamentary business would be impeded by the addition to the House of Commons of fifty or sixty members, whose only chance of maintaining their influence would be unremitting attendance in the House, and violent and vexatious opposition to the progress of public business.

"The very circumstance of severing altogether the connection between the constituent body of Ireland and the natural aristocracy of the country, would be a great, perhaps an irreparable misfortune.

"For these reasons, and firmly believing that an attempt to form an exclusive Protestant government, on a principle which must at once compel the dissolution of the present, would be ultimately injurious, and injurious, above all, to the Protestant interest, I cannot advise it."

Equally clear is the paper on the evils of the then existing state of things. The writer adds—

"First, there is the evil of continued division between two branches of the legislature, on a great constitutional question.

"Secondly.—The power of the Roman Catholics is unduly increased by the House of Commons repeatedly pronouncing an opinion in their favour. There are many points in regard to the Roman Catholic religion, and Roman Catholic proceedings in Ireland, on which Protestant opinion would be united, or, at least, predominant, if it were not for the difference which exists as to the civil incapacities.

"Thirdly.—In the course of last autumn, out of a regular infantry force in the United Kingdom, amounting to about 30,000 men, 25,000 were stationed either in Ireland or on the west coast of England, with a view to the maintenance of tranquillity in Ireland, this country being at peace with the whole world.

"Fourthly.—Though I have not the slightest apprehension of the result of civil commotion—though I believe it could be put down at once—yet I think the necessity of being constantly prepared for it while the government is divided, and the two houses of parliament are divided on the Catholic question, is a much worse evil than its actual occurrence.

"Fifthly.—The state of political excitement in Ireland will soon render it almost impracticable to administer justice in cases in which political or religious considerations are involved. Trial by jury will not be a safe or a just tribunal; and, above all, not just or safe in cases wherein the government is a party. These are practical and growing evils, for which I see no sufficient remedy if the present state of things is to continue; and the actual pressure is so great, as fully to warrant, in my opinion, a recourse to other measures. My advice, therefore, to his majesty will not be to grant the Catholic claims, or any part of them, precipitately or unadvisedly; but, in the first instance, to remove the barrier which prevents the consideration of the Catholic question by the cabinet; to permit his

confidential servants to consider it in all its relations, on the same principles on which they consider any other great question of public policy, in the hope that some plan of adjustment can be proposed, on the authority and responsibility of a government likely to command the assent of parliament, and to unite in its support a powerful weight of Protestant opinion, from a conviction that it is a settlement equitable towards the Roman Catholics, and safe as it concerns the Protestant establishment."

The Duke of Wellington, having laid the paper before the king, insisted upon his Home Secretary's remaining in office, in case his majesty allowed the cabinet to devise and propose a measure of the kind intimated. The day after the receipt, by his majesty, of Mr. Peel's memorandum, those of his ministers who had voted uniformly against the Roman Catholic claims, had each a separate interview with his majesty, and expressed opinions in general conformity with it. The ministers were, the Duke of Wellington, the Chancellor, Lord Bathurst, Mr. Goulbourn, Mr. Herries, and Mr. Peel. The king, after this interview, granted the desired request; at the same time insisting that he was "in no degree pledged to the adoption of the views of his government, even if it should concur unanimously in the course to be pursued."

No time was to be lost. It was now the 17th of January, and parliament was summoned for the 6th of February. Mr. Peel had, however, his plan ready, which he at once submitted to his colleagues; relating—"1st. To the extent to which civil incapacities shall be removed, and the manner of removing them. 2nd. The regulation and restriction of the elective franchise. 3rd. The relation in which the Roman Catholic religion shall stand, in future, towards the state." With respect to the first, Mr. Peel's suggestion was—civil equality for all Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the exception of certain specified offices. His advice was—not to risk the failure of the two great measures—the relief from civil disabilities, and the regulation of the elective franchise—by uniting with them measures for defining the relation of the Roman Catholic religion to the state, or for making a pecuniary provision for the ministers of that religion. Meanwhile time passed on. The king gave "a reluctant assent" to the speech from the throne, intimating that a Catholic Relief Bill was in progress; and Mr. Peel appealed to his constituents at Oxford, lest it should be said, that "I was exercising an authority derived from the confidence of the university, to promote measures injurious either to her own interests, or to those of the church." Oxford—famed, all the world over, for its conservatism and port; Oxford—that

"Cherished long
The right divine of kings to govern wrong"—

was faithful to her instincts, and rejected Mr. Peel, as, in our day, she has renounced the services of her most distinguished son. The numbers polled were—Sir Robert Inglis, 755; Mr. Peel, 609. This election took place in March. The bill for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association was read a third time in the Commons, under the management of Mr. Peel, on February 17th; on the 20th, he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and ceased to be a member of parliament.

Unseated by Oxford, Mr. Peel had a very narrow escape of being rejected by the pocket borough of Westbury. "The Protestant feeling," writes Sir Robert, "was much excited, even among the quiet population of a small country town; and, notwithstanding all the assistance which Sir Manasseh Lopez (the patron of the borough) could render me, my return was not effected without considerable difficulty. Sir Manasseh himself suffered in his person from one of the many missiles with which the town-hall was assailed during the ceremony of election. It was favourable for me that that ceremony was not unduly protracted. Very shortly after my return had been declared by the proper officer, the arrival of a

Protestant candidate, in a chaise and four, from London, had been announced. If he had entered the town a few hours earlier, it is highly probable that I should have fared no better at Westbury than I did at Oxford."

Mr. Peel returned to town, to find that, at the eleventh hour, a serious opposition was to be encountered. We give his own words:—

"On the evening of Tuesday, the 3rd of March, the king commanded the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and myself, to attend his majesty at Windsor, at an early hour on the following day. We went there accordingly; and, on our arrival, were ushered into the presence of the king, who received us with his usual kindness and cordiality. He was grave, and apparently labouring under some anxiety and uneasiness.

"His majesty said that we must be fully aware that it had caused him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposition made to him by his cabinet, that they should be at liberty to offer their collective advice on the Catholic question; and still further pain, to feel that he had no alternative but to act upon the advice which he had received.

"His majesty then observed, that as the question was again to be brought forward in parliament, he wished to have a previous personal conference with those of his ministers whom he had summoned on this occasion to attend him, and whom he must regard as chiefly responsible for the advice tendered to him. He said that he desired to receive from us a more complete and detailed explanation of the manner in which we proposed to effect the object we had in view.

"Upon this requisition from his majesty, being, probably, most familiar with the details of the measure which I had to submit to the House of Commons on the following day, I proceeded to explain them to the king. I observed to his majesty, that the chief impediment to the enjoyment of complete civil privileges by his Roman Catholic subjects, was the obligation to make the declaration against transubstantiation, and to take the oath of supremacy, as qualifications for such privileges; that we proposed to repeal altogether the declaration against transubstantiation, and to modify, in the case of the Roman Catholics, that part of the oath of supremacy which relates to the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and superiority of the pope.

"On this reference to the oath of supremacy the king seemed much surprised, and said, rapidly and earnestly—'What is this? You surely do not mean to alter the ancient oath of supremacy?' He appealed to each of his ministers on this point. We explained to his majesty, that we proposed, that to all his subjects, excepting the Roman Catholics, the oath should be administered in its present form, and that the Roman Catholic should be required to declare, on oath, his belief that no foreign prince or prelate had any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, or superiority, directly or indirectly, within this realm. We added, that if the Roman Catholic was still required, before his admission to office or to parliament, to declare his belief that no foreign prelate hath, or ought to have, any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, power, or pre-eminence within the realm, the measure of relief would be unavailing—that an effectual impediment to the enjoyment of civil privileges would remain unremoved.

"The king observed that, be that as it might, he could not possibly consent to any alteration of the ancient oath of supremacy; that he was exceedingly sorry that there had been any misunderstanding on so essential a point; that he did not blame us on account of that misunderstanding; that he did not mean to imply that, in the explanation which we had previously given to him in writing, there had been any concealment or reserve on that point: still, the undoubted fact was, that he had given his sanction to our proceedings under misapprehension with regard to one particular point, and that a most important one—viz., the alteration of the oath of supremacy; and he felt assured that our opinions would be in concurrence with his own—that a sanction so given ought not to be binding upon the sovereign; and that his majesty had no alternative but to retract his consent, if the measure

to which it had been given under an erroneous impression were *bonâ fide* disapproved of by his deliberate and conscientious judgment.

"In answer to this appeal, we expressed our deep concern that there had been any misunderstanding on so important a matter; but our entire acquiescence in the king's opinion, that his majesty ought not to be bound by a consent unwarily given to important public measures, under a misapprehension of their real character and import. After a short lapse of time, his majesty then said—'But after this explanation of my feelings, what course do you propose to take as my ministers?' He observed that notice had been given of proceedings in the House of Commons for the following day; and, addressing himself particularly to me, who had charge of those proceedings, said—'Now, Mr. Peel, tell me, what course do you propose to take to-morrow?' I replied, that with all due deference and respect for his majesty, I could not have a moment's hesitation with respect to my course; that the speech from the throne had justified the universal expectation that the government intended to propose measures for the complete relief of the Roman Catholics from civil incapacities; that I had vacated the seat for Oxford on the assumption that such measures would be proposed; that the consent of the House of Commons had been given to the bill for the suppression of the Roman Catholic Association, if not on the express assurance, at least with the full understanding, that the measure of coercion would be immediately followed by the measure of relief; that I must, therefore, at once entreat his majesty to accept my resignation of office, and to permit me, on the following day, to inform the House of Commons, that unforeseen impediments, which would hereafter be explained, prevented the king's servants from proposing to parliament the measures that had been announced; that I no longer held the seals of the home department; and that it was my painful duty to withdraw the notice which had been given in my name.

"The king then put a similar question to the Duke of Wellington, who replied that he desired to be permitted by his majesty to retire from office, and to make to the House of Lords an announcement to the same effect with that which I wished to make to the House of Commons.

"The Chancellor intimated his entire acquiescence in the course which the Duke of Wellington and I proposed to pursue.

"His majesty was pleased to express his deep regret that we could not remain in his service consistently with our sense of honour and public duty. His majesty said, moreover, that he could not be surprised at our decision, or blame us for the conclusion at which we had arrived.

"Our interview with his majesty lasted for the long period of five hours. There was unintermitted conversation during the whole time; but nothing material passed, excepting that the purport of which I have faithfully reported. At the close of the interview, the king took leave of us with great composure and kindness; gave to each of us a salute on each cheek; and accepted our resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the necessity which compelled us to retire from his service."

We have another account of this interview, from the pen of Lord Eldon. He says—"The king complained that he had never seen the bills, &c.; and that he was in the position of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that his ministers had threatened (I think he said twice, at my time of seeing him) to resign if the measures were not proceeded in; and that he had said to them 'Go on,' when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state in which he was placed; and that in one of those meetings, when resignation was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he gave by what passed in the interview between him and his ministers; till the interview and talk had brought him into such a state, that he hardly knew what he was about when he, after several hours, said, 'Go on.'"

In a second interview, Lord Eldon writes—"The king mentioned again what he had said as to his assent. He now produced two papers, which he repre-

sented as copies of what he had written to them; in which he assents to their proceedings, and going on with the bill; adding, certainly, in each, as he read them, very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceedings gave him." In commenting on the foregoing, Sir Robert Peel thinks Lord Eldon must have misunderstood the account. "In the first place, there was only one interview, such as that to which I have referred; one interview, I mean, between his majesty and certain of his ministers, in which the offer of resignation was made. In the second place, his majesty did not give us, at the close of the interview, permission to go on. His majesty accepted, from each of us, the tender of resignation; and we returned to London, under the full persuasion that the government was dissolved—at least, that we, individually, were no longer in the service of the crown. On our return to London we joined our colleagues, who were assembled at a cabinet dinner (I think at Lord Bathurst's), and announced, to their infinite astonishment, that we had ceased to be members of the government."

A sudden change, however, took place in the counsels of the king. His majesty thought better of it. To give up Wellington and Peel, to throw himself into the arms of Grey and Brougham, was, in familiar, but expressive language, to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire. Sir Robert Peel continues—"At a late hour on the evening of the 4th of March, the king wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that his majesty anticipated so much difficulty in the attempt to form another administration, that he could not dispense with our services; that he must, therefore, desire us to withdraw our resignation; and that we were at liberty to proceed with the measures of which notice had been given in parliament. Accordingly, the ministry did so, having previously referred to the king, for the purpose of ascertaining, distinctly, whether we were authorised to assure parliament that the measures in contemplation were proposed by us with the entire consent and sanction of his majesty." In the course of the night an answer was received, giving them full authority. Mr. Peel adds—

"For the purpose of silencing all cavil on this subject, in opening those measures on the following day, I commenced my speech in this manner:—

"'I rise, as the minister of the king, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to me in that character, to vindicate the advice given to his majesty by an united cabinet,'" &c., &c.

We get another glimpse of the proceedings here recorded, from another point of view. In a letter dated February 9th, 1829, to Mr. J. J. Gurney, Mr. Buxton writes, respecting "a slave meeting at Brougham's"—"They were all in the highest glee about the Catholics: Brougham particularly. They seemed exquisitely delighted with the vexation of the Tories, who are, and have reason, they say, to be bitterly affronted; and the great ones among them vow they will have an apology, in the shape of some good place, or they will never forgive the duke for letting them go down to the House as strong Protestants, and insisting upon their returning, that very day, stout Catholics. They say they do not mind changing their opinions—that is a duty which they must sometimes pay to their chiefs; but they think it hard to be obliged to turn right-about-face, at the word of command, without a moment being given to change their convictions.

"The duke is very peremptory. The story goes, that he said to Mr. ——, who has a place under government, 'We have settled the matter, and hope you like it.' Mr. —— said he would take time to consider it. 'Oh yes, you shall have plenty of time; I don't want your answer before four o'clock to-day. I shall thank you for it then; for if you don't like our measures we must have your office and seat for somebody else.' To-morrow we are to have a fierce debate. The high-church party are very furious, and talk of calling upon the country; and I expect we shall have a good deal of bitterness."

The people at large seem to have had a similar feeling of surprise. John Foster writes—"It is a very grand thing that these people have been doing for the national welfare, and the more gratifying for having come with a surprising sud-

denness, and contrary to all that had been expected from the predominant movers of the exploit. It is a curious and a memorable circumstance, that a measure which could not, in all probability, have been effected by a completely united ministry of Whigs and Liberals (had there been a possible composition of it), has been resolutely carried by a set of men violently opposed to Liberalism, and opposed, till lately, to this very measure itself. They (the Tories) are here, in Bristol, pre-eminently amazed, and stunned, and astounded, almost out of their senses, to see the thing not only done with a high hand, by their own set—the high Tories—their very idols—the high church-and-state standard men; but done in direct and cool contempt of all their loud and general remonstrances. And it is such a dashing and prodigious kick at the wisdom of our ancestors."

Well may Sir Robert Peel, in his *Memoirs*, write—"If I had been swayed by any unworthy fears—the fear of obloquy, the fear of responsibility, the fear of parliamentary conflict—I might have concealed my real opinion—might have sheltered myself under the dishonest plea of a false consistency, and have gained the hollow applause which is lavished upon those who inflexibly adhere to an opinion once pronounced, though altered circumstances may demand and justify the modification or abandonment of it. If I had been stimulated by personal ambition—that sort of ambition, I mean, which is content with the lead of a political party, and the possession of official power—I might have encouraged and deferred to the scruples of my sovereign, and might have appealed to the religious feelings of the country to rally round the throne for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and the protection of the royal conscience."

To a crowded House, in a speech lasting upwards of four hours, did Mr. Peel unfold his plan. The cheers which greeted him were occasionally heard in Westminster Hall: and well might they be; for it was in a noble spirit that he held out to Ireland the olive-branch. The details of the plan were simple, and conceived in a generous spirit. All disabilities, civil and political, were to be at once abolished; and Catholics were to be made admissible to every office, whether legislative, administrative, or judicial, except that of Regent, the Chancellors of Ireland and England, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. "The bill, however," said Mr. Peel, "will not qualify the Roman Catholics to hold any office, place, or dignity connected with the church establishment of the United Kingdom, or with the ecclesiastical courts of judicature, or with the universities, or the great public schools, or schools of ecclesiastical foundations. All local statutes of the universities, and the power of making such statutes, will be preserved inviolate; the laws respecting the right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices will remain unrepealed and unvaried; and provision will be made for trusting exclusively to Protestant authorities the right of church patronage belonging to any civil office that may hereafter be held by a Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholics will be disabled, under severe penalties, from advising the crown, directly or indirectly, in respect of the grants of church preferments; and, generally, from the exercise of any influence, derived from civil office, over ecclesiastical appointments." A very important clause was that in which the forty-shilling franchise, then existing, was abolished, and a ten-pound qualification substituted. Such was the main outline of the plan. "The debate which followed," says Mr. Roebuck, "was unworthy of remark. It was distinguished only by the almost entire silence of the Whigs (Mr. Brougham alone, of the leading members of the party, speaking on it, and he confining his observations to a few earnest and warm words of eulogy upon the measure, and the right honourable gentleman proposing it), and by the impotent and bitter spite of the more violent spokesmen of the Tory party."

On the second reading, in the House of Commons, the debate was of a very animated character; and, in the course of it, Lord Palmerston (then out of office) delivered one of his best speeches in favour of the bill. His lordship said—"He esteemed, as much as any honourable member could, the character and conduct of those great men who had effected the revolution of 1688; and he thought that it

was a very ill compliment to the memory of those illustrious persons, to say that their steps were followed by illiberally excluding any of our fellow-subjects from the blessings of the constitution in consequence of their religious opinions. The honourable member for Corfe Castle had brought forward the declaration of the Prince of Orange, as a proof of the correctness of the view which he took of the question when he opposed this bill, and contended that that declaration was framed, and entirely directed, to the exclusion of Roman Catholics from political power. He would not deny that much was levelled against the Roman Catholics; but he had greatly misread that declaration when he confined its intention to so narrow a view. If properly read, it took a much more comprehensive and enlightened scope." The noble lord then went through the different clauses of the declaration, and contended that it was levelled, not merely against the Roman Catholics, but against the perversion of the laws, and the establishment of despotic power. "That declaration described who the civil councillors were to whom it alluded, and set them forth as persons who, when they found they could not, by intrigue or violence, command the votes of parliament, recommended to the king that the parliament should be dissolved. And what was the remedy proposed by it? Why, a new parliament or convention was summoned: and for what purpose? Why, for the purpose of preparing such new laws, and making such new provisions and arrangements, as should be considered by it necessary for the settlement of the kingdom; and also for the purpose of establishing a good understanding between the Protestant established church and the Protestant dissenters. The latter object, however, had not been effected till last year, when it was happily consummated. And the last great object for which that convention met, was to secure to all persons who had lived peacefully and properly, perfect security in their religious opinions—the papists themselves not being excepted. These were the opinions of that great religious radical, King William. King William came, not with Protestantism in one hand, and the axe of intolerance in the other; he came with peace and tolerance on his lips, and religious and civil liberty upon his banners." The noble lord then alluded to the condition of Ireland; and, after stating that it was the great reason why he supported this measure, he depicted its deplorable condition in glowing colours. "In opposition to the measure, it had been observed, that if thirty or forty Roman Catholics gained admission into that House, they would use their best endeavours to subvert the constitution; but it had not been exactly explained how they were to accomplish the task. It should be remembered, however, that although a small party might, by throwing its weight into nearly poised balances, give the preponderance to one, yet that the measures which it was supposed the Roman Catholics would be desirous to carry, were of such a nature that they could succeed only when they could support them by a decided majority: and that being the case, it was impossible that thirty or forty Roman Catholics could effect their adoption. But it was said, that in the case of a tottering, weak ministry, the Roman Catholics might, by their co-operation and assistance, obtain a mastery. Such a supposition was absurd. The very moment a ministry thus misconducted itself, it would be deserted by every Protestant, and crushed by its own weakness and folly. If the question was, as to whether there should be any Catholics or not, he would say 'No.' But then the Roman Catholics were there: they were there with their tenets, whether good or ill; and the only question to be considered was, what was to be done with them? The question was, whether a new attempt should be made to depress, subdue, or exterminate them; or whether, by conciliation and kindness, they should be converted into friends and supporters of the common interest? For his own part he hoped to see the latter course adopted. The only professed objection to the admission of the Roman Catholics to political power was, that they held a divided allegiance. The Catholic utterly denied that such was the fact; and, as a proof of the truth of his denial, said to the Protestant—'Frame what oath you please, binding me to temporal allegiance to the king, and I will truly take

it.' Much had been said respecting the wisdom of their ancestors; and certainly, upon the question before the House, their ancestors appeared to have the advantage. Their ancestors hated the Roman Catholics; and, perhaps, had some cause: they hated the Roman Catholics, and had none. Their ancestors attempted to exterminate the Roman Catholics, and set about it in right good earnest, deeming a Catholic a sort of dangerous and ferocious beast of prey; and, treating him as such, drove him into his fastnesses. They hated the Catholic; but permitted him to walk about their cities, to be seen in the neighbourhood of their gardens, and thought it sufficient if they only closed against him the temples of justice. The population of England, in 1821, was 14,000,000; that of Ireland was 7,000,000. In the same year, the revenue raised through the industry of England, was £50,000,000; the revenue raised through the industry of Ireland, was what?—£25,000,000, as in due proportion it ought to have been? No; it was barely £5,000,000. What was the reason of so great a disproportion? The soil of Ireland was celebrated for its fertility; and, as a proof of the industry of the people, he appealed to the harvest-fields of England. But he should be told that Ireland was without capital. Why was she without it? That simple fact proved that she was misgoverned. The capital of England overflowed in every direction excepting Ireland. It was found to climb the Andes; to visit the antipodes; but into Ireland it did not enter. Beyond the United Kingdom no enterprise was too difficult for the British capitalist; but around Ireland the enchanter had thrown his spell; and he called upon the House to break the charm, and let in the circulating medium." He called upon the country gentlemen who wished to be relieved from the burdens which oppressed them, and told them that there was no plan, however ingenious, of finance that would afford them one-half the relief they would derive from Catholic emancipation. "Until that was granted, nothing effectual could be done. If the most ingenious tormentor of the human race had endeavoured to devise a scheme for rendering Ireland miserable, he could not have conceived one more effective than the penal. In a pure despotism all might be contented, because all were alike; but when freedom was given only to a part, there must be dissensions and heart-burnings. His right honourable friend (Mr. Peel) had asked those who opposed the measure, what other course they would pursue? And the honourable member for Newark had said—'Mulct the absentees; educate the poor; introduce the poor-laws; and, as a last remedy, civil war.' Absenteeism! Make Ireland habitable, and the absentees would return. Educate the poor! No; if they wished to maintain the disabilities, they should keep the poor in ignorance. Introduce the poor-laws! Why, the Irish were charged with being an improvident people; the population was considered superabundant. How, then, would the poor-laws serve them? Committees of that House had sat to endeavour to get rid of the curse of the poor-laws in this country; but it had never occurred to any one to think that their introduction into Ireland would confer a blessing upon that country. As to civil war, gentlemen said that they must come to it, sooner or later; and that they were better prepared now than they should be hereafter. When the honourable member for Newark was better acquainted with the history of Ireland, he would know that blood had been shed, and leaders had been tried and punished. True, those measures had succeeded for a moment; but they had ultimately only fixed deeper the barbed arrows of discontent in the hearts of the people. It was easy for honourable gentlemen who lived secure in the blessings of peace, to talk of civil war.

"He jests at scars who never felt a wound."

That barbarism which required civil war, would not be sanctioned by the people of England. If the nation was glutted with peace, and, like a smothered fire, was ready to burst forth in flame, let it turn upon another country, and not upon itself. England, he was sure, would recoil with loathing at the prospect of shedding paternal blood."—Such is an outline of Lord Palmerston's able speech.

In the House of Lords the discussion was still less important. What could be said when the great soldier of the age—the man in whom all trusted—the Iron Duke—had stated, in his blunt, terse way—"My lords, I am one of those who have, probably, passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it." The description he gave of the actual condition of Ireland no one presumed to gainsay. The good sense of the Lords told them, that the only safe, or humane, or rational course of conduct, was that which the ministers recommended. The Archbishop of Canterbury, seconded by the Archbishop of Armagh, moved in vain to throw out the bill. After a debate of three days, the second reading was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the bill shortly after became, together with the one altering the franchise, the law of the land.

In Ireland, of course, an immense majority of the people were in favour of the ministerial measures. In England, with the exception of the country clergy and the ignorant peasantry, the feeling, if not ardent, was, at any rate, favourable. In Scotland, where people are apt to forget that—

"New presbyter is but old priest writ large,"

and where hatred to papacy is sucked in with the mother's milk, the feeling was very different; and in Glasgow, especially, mobs were raised, equalling in ferocity and ignorance the wretched followers of Lord George Gordon—mobs which were indignantly described and reprobated by Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons. The no-popery cry was lustily raised, and ministers were vehemently assailed with demands to dissolve parliament, and appeal to the country. It must have been amusing to have heard the late Sir Robert Inglis exclaim—"I have heard, with surprise, that the proper mode of ascertaining the opinion of the people was from the opinion of the representatives in that House. I allow that is one mode of ascertaining the opinion of the people; but collecting that opinion from the exercise of the right of petitioning was an equally valuable mode."

Previous to the introduction of the Relief Bill into the House of Lords, an incident occurred which created much excitement at the time, and shows strongly the desperate violence of party feeling existing at that crisis. In consequence of the part which the Duke of Wellington took, as minister, on this question, the Earl of Winchelsea, the leader of the high-church party, addressed a letter to the secretary of the London King's College Committee, withdrawing his name from the list of subscribers. "I was one of those," he said, "who, at first, thought that the proposed plan might be practicable, and prove an antidote to the principles of the London University. I was not, however, very sanguine in my expectations, seeing many difficulties likely to arise in the execution of the suggested arrangements; and I confess I felt rather doubtful as to the sincerity of the motives which had actuated some of the prime movers in this undertaking, when I considered that the noble duke at the head of his majesty's government, had been induced, on this occasion, to assume a new character, and to step forward himself as the public advocate of religion and morality. Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and high-church party; that the noble duke, who had for some time previous to that period, determined upon breaking in on the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry out his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of popery into every department in the state." As this letter appeared in the newspapers, the Duke of Wellington wrote immediately to the Earl of Winchelsea; and received for answer, that, as the latter had publicly supported King's College, he had a right to say, publicly, why he had ceased to do so. A correspondence ensued, the duke intimating that he had a just right to expect

some reparation for the injury done to his feelings; and intimating that, though the Earl of Winchelsea might be the best judge of the mode to be adopted in withdrawing his name from the subscription list, still, it did not appear necessary, in doing so, to attribute to the writer disgraceful and criminal motives. "No man," continued the duke, "had a right, whether in public or in private, by speech, or in writing, or in print, to insult another by attributing to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him." The earl, however, refused to withdraw the obnoxious letter; and the result was a meeting between the duke and the earl, on the morning of the 21st of March. The parties having taken their ground, the earl received the duke's fire, and then fired into the air. After some discussion, a memorandum was delivered by Lord Falmouth, the second of the earl, to Sir Henry Hardinge, the duke's second, which was accepted as satisfactory to the latter. It was as follows:—"Having given the Duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood when his grace communicated with me through Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Falmouth, on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that in apology, I regret having, unadvisedly, published an opinion which the duke states, in his memorandum of yesterday, to have charged him with disgraceful and criminal motives in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. I also declare that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter in question appeared in public." Mr. Roebuck tells us the nation felt humiliated when they heard that their great hero had submitted to the folly of a duel. The event was a cause of sorrow to all sensible men. They grieved to see the Duke of Wellington giving, in a moment of anger, the sanction of his great authority to so barbarous and foolish a practice. It is clear, from the duke's own letters, that he was of quite another way of thinking. He defends his own conduct, intimating that he would do so again if necessary; and implies that, by taking such a step, he put a stop to the misrepresentation and scandal with regard to himself, which, at that time, pervaded the political world.

In their own ranks ministers found opponents. Sir Charles Wetherell—a great bore, as some of the Duke of Buckingham's correspondents call him, but an able lawyer—made a most violent attack on the ministerial measure. It was well known, from the first, that he differed from them; and many wondered that he should so long have been allowed to retain office. It was said by the anti-Catholic party, that in the event of the Attorney-general's office becoming vacant, in looking out for a successor, ministers could not have decorously passed over the Solicitor-general, Sir N. Tindal; that, by his elevation, a vacancy would be created in the University of Cambridge; and that ministers did not wish to run the chance of receiving a defeat at Cambridge, as they had at Oxford University. However, Wetherell was dismissed, and his office ultimately transferred to Sir James Scarlett, a *nisi prius* lawyer, who had been once a Whig. According to Mr. Roebuck, an effort was made at this time to secure the services of Mr. Brougham, as Master of the Rolls; which was, however, at once declined. Before then—in Mr. Canning's time—an offer (we believe that of Chief Baron of the Exchequer) was made to Mr. Brougham. "Why, the post of Chief Baron is, you know, the halfway-house to that of the Chancellor." "Yes," was Mr. Brougham's answer, "but you deprive me of the horses which are to carry me on"—meaning that he would be excluded from the House of Commons, whence he derived his power and strength, by being made a judge.

The Relief Bill admitted eight Roman Catholic peers to the House of Lords.

It is painful to record—yet such, undoubtedly, is the fact—that this well-meant measure, to pass which the patriotic statesmen of the day endured such unmitigated and violent censure, may be said to be almost a complete failure.

The ministers were in a painful position. Actuated by a sense of duty, they had done what was right. They had conquered their own aversion to the measure; and had carried it at a painful sacrifice of friends and present fame. We have seen, in the duel fought with Lord Winchelsea, that the Iron Duke felt how hard was the duty he had to discharge; and we can imagine how much more strongly the sensitive nature of Mr. Peel would lead him to shrink from the part he felt called upon to act. In submitting his plan to the House, he thus feelingly referred to himself—"I was called upon to make those sacrifices of private feeling which are inseparable from apparent inconsistency of conduct; from the abandonment of preconceived opinions; from the alienation of those with whom I had heretofore acted. Sir, I have done so; and the events of the last six weeks must have proved that it is painful in the extreme to prefer, to such considerations, even, the most urgent sense of public duty."

"'Tis said with ease; but, oh! how hardly tried,
By haughty souls to human honour tied.
Oh! sharp the pangs of agonising pride!"

And yet, at this distance of time, if we ask ourselves what we in this country gained by the measure, the answer is—nothing; saving the conviction that a manifest injustice had been swept away, and a deed of right done. If Mr. Pitt had but acted as he originally intended; if he had not weakly deferred to the wicked obstinacy of a poor old man, the Act of Union might have been so in reality, and Ireland and England might have been as one. The golden opportunity was lost. When Mr. Peel timidly came forward, a generation of Irishmen had grown up under a burning sense of wrong; and when he carried the Relief Bill, that sense of injustice was still entertained, and led to further agitation. Instead of emancipation, the repeal of the union was now the cry. The truth was, the ministry made two unpardonable blunders. They abolished the forty-shilling franchise, and made enemies at once of all the Irish lower orders. Their second blunder was still worse. By refusing Mr. O'Connell his seat, they made him an enemy; and he was the Irish nation. As to the state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, which Mr. Peel appeared to think ought to have accompanied the measure, that could have waited. Be that as it may, a measure which should have been large and generous—which should have touched the heart of the Irish people—which should have bound them to England for ever—actually added to the existing discontent. There is a great deal in manner. Much depends upon the way in which a favour is conceived. Mr. Peel did his best, but he was afraid of Lord Eldon and the ultras. We have the consolation of feeling that right was done; but that is all.

It is obvious, however, that abolishing the forty-shilling franchise was Mr. Peel's own act. In his *Memoirs* it is clear how seriously he had been alarmed at the Clare election.

In the House of Commons, he said—"I say, at once, that we must look for real security in the regulation of the elective franchise in Ireland; in a decisive, uncompromising reform of the abuses to which the exercise of the present franchise is liable. It is in vain to deny or conceal the truth with respect to that franchise. It was, until a late period, the instrument through which the landed aristocracy, the resident and absentee proprietor, maintained their local influence; through which property had its weight, its legitimate weight, in the national representation. The landlord has been disarmed by the priest; and the fear of spiritual denunciations, acting in unison with the excited passions and feelings of the multitude, has already severed in some cases, and will sever in others, unless we interfere to prevent it, every tie between the Protestant proprietor and the lower class of his Roman Catholic tenantry. The weapon which he has forged with so much care, and has, heretofore, wielded with such success, has broken short in his hand." Mr. Peel forgot that the Clare election was altogether an exceptional case, and that, in a little while, affairs would have resumed their wonted course, and

the natural influence of property would have been restored. Such men as Daniel O'Connell are not met with every day. As to the real objection to the forty-shilling franchise—that it was manufactured to a large extent—Mr. Peel was silent. So long as this was done by rival proprietors, and was a means employed by one rich man against another, he took no notice of the practice. Suppression had, however, been mooted in parliament. It had formed a part of one of Sir F. Burdett's bills on the subject; and it was said that the particular clause embodying the scheme had been drawn up by Mr. O'Connell himself. So loud and general, however, was the outcry against it, that the agitator saw his mistake, and hastened to recant; which he did with professions of sorrow; appeals to his God and his country for pardon; devotion of his soul to perdition if he again so sinned—all which, if it pleased his ignorant followers, tended rather to damage the man in the estimation of intelligent minds.

But we return to the bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, which accompanied the Relief Bill through all its stages. It was considered politic to carry the two bills together. To one party, ministers said—emancipation is the only condition on which we will agree to disfranchise; to the other—disfranchisement is the only condition on which we will agree to emancipate. The Liberal party in the House were willing to agree to the disfranchisement, rather than lose emancipation. It did not pass entirely, however, without opposition. Lord Palmerston, Lord Duncannon, and Mr. Huskisson, had the sagacity to perceive its unsatisfactory character, and to deprecate it accordingly. If the voters referred to had been corrupt, it was said, their disfranchisement might be defended; but their only offence was, that they had exercised their privilege honestly and independently, as their own conscience dictated: and this very conduct, on their part, had been a great agent in procuring the Relief Bill. That it would have any effect in discouraging the too great sub-division of land, and in doing away with fraudulent and fictitious votes, was strongly denied. The opponents of the bill also scouted the idea that it had anything to do with the Relief Bill. In the speech from the throne, they said parliament had been told that the price required for Catholic emancipation, was the immediate and summary suppression of the Roman Catholic Association; and it was absurd, after the price had been paid, to demand a further sacrifice, like the present bill. It was in vain, however, the cause of the doomed voter was pleaded. Only seventeen members of the House of Commons voted against the bill. The minute division of the land, the small extent of the holdings in Ireland, made this provision a sweeping extinction of nine-tenths of the voters in that country. The language which Mr. Peel used, in arguing for this extinction (which we have quoted), gave great offence, and kept alive, for many years, the animosity he sought to allay. It cannot, with the testimony of France and Belgium, and the lands bordering on the Rhine, before us, be maintained that the sub-division of the soil is necessarily injurious, as regards either the cultivation of the land, or the well-being of the peasant proprietor himself; and surely it was a most unstatesman-like act, with one stroke of the pen, to rob the Irish peasantry of political power, and to make them the sworn foes of England in all time to come.

It may be that this would have mattered little, had not the ministry made an additional blunder with regard to Mr. O'Connell. Lord Cloncurry states his belief that the great agitator would have settled down into a really useful and patriotic Irish member, if the ministry had not refused to admit him as member for the county which had so enthusiastically returned him. In his sharp, suggestive way, Mr. Roebuck says—"The evil lay deeper. The government ought not only to have avoided insulting, but to have *provided* for Mr. O'Connell. *Agitation* meant *Income*." Elsewhere he adds—"Mr. O'Connell's case, with respect to his election for the county of Clare, was a peculiar one. It could never have been perverted into a precedent. No mischief, then, could have arisen from it by way of example. To exclude him from parliament was now no longer possible. If the law, by the

peculiar circumstances of his case, were doubtful, policy required that he should have the benefit of the doubt; and thus additional grace would have been given to the great concession just made in favour of his sect. No one who now dispassionately views the legal point in the case, can assert that it is without doubt. The argument of Mr. O'Connell remained, in many points, unanswered. [The reader must bear in mind this is the language of a lawyer.] And the result of the discussion was, that, in the world's opinion, he was excluded from personal pique—not because the law was against him; that he was sacrificed to party resentment, which wreaked its vengeance on him, in spite of, and not in accordance with, the law."

We have already told the story of the Clare election. The subsequent proceedings in connection with it must now be described. On the 15th of May, 1829, Mr. O'Connell appeared at the House of Commons to take his seat. He was supported by Lords Ebrington and Duncannon. The clerk tendered the oath which had been repealed by the late act; but which act was in force at the time of Mr. O'Connell's election. He declined taking it, as it was no longer required by law. This objection was made known to the Speaker, who gave it as his opinion, that the election having taken place under the old law, the oaths imposed by that law must be taken before a member could sit in that House. The House might be appealed to on the subject by petition, or the question might be raised by themselves. Mr. O'Connell was then directed to withdraw; and Mr. Brougham moved that he should be heard with regard to his claim. This was agreed; but the next question raised was, whether he should be heard at the bar or at the table? On the 18th, it was decided in favour of the latter alternative. The moment must have been a trying one for O'Connell; but he was equal to the occasion. He who was known and feared as a demagogue—a reckless blusterer—a mob orator, little scrupulous as to the literal truth of his assertions—he whom the majority in that House regarded as the incarnation of Ireland's defiance of English wrong—who had been the terror and torment of one ministry after another—who had driven Irish Lord-Lieutenants to despair—appeared and pleaded before the House mildly and modestly, with a good temper and self-possession nothing could ruffle, and with a skill and knowledge of the law none could impeach. The Solicitor-general spoke of him as "having stated his case with the ability which might have been expected from so distinguished a member of his profession; and with a temper which did equal credit to his feelings as a man and a gentleman." The Solicitor-general for Ireland declared, that "the talent with which the learned gentleman had advocated his cause at the bar of the House, was of itself a sufficient proof of how worthy he was to possess a seat in parliament." Mr. Brougham willingly concurred in bearing testimony to the temper and deliberate tone in which the discussion of that evening had been conducted. Sir James Scarlett and Mr. Sugden were profuse of words expressing eulogy and respect; and the House universally assented to the praise thus given. After Mr. O'Connell had concluded his argument, a debate followed on the question, whether or not he should be allowed to take his seat? And some of the legal authorities of the House said, as the subject was doubtful, he ought to have the benefit of that doubt, and be admitted to take the oath required by the new law; but the Solicitor-general thought it his duty to submit a motion, declaring that Mr. O'Connell was not entitled to sit without taking the oath of supremacy. The result was unfavourable to Mr. O'Connell's claims. On a division, the numbers were—for his exclusion, 190; against it, 116. The next day he appeared at the bar of the House, when he was asked, if he were prepared to take the oath of supremacy? He desired to see the oath; and, having perused it, remarked that it contained one assertion, as to a matter of fact, which he knew was not true; and another, as to a matter of opinion, which he believed to be untrue; and, consequently, he must refuse to take the oath. The question was then raised as to whether a new writ should be issued for the county of Clare, or an act be passed to relieve Mr. O'Connell, and, at the

same time, to avoid the excitement of a new election. It was decided that a writ should issue; and Mr. O'Connell returned to Ireland, with a deep sense of the insult he had received, and determined to revenge it. He also returned there a greater and a stronger man than ever. Success in London means success everywhere. O'Connell had won such success. Not alone had he met in debate the acutest intellects of the senate, and on equal terms—not alone had he dared to

"Beard the lion in his den,
The Douglas in his hall"—

He had won over the English public. Its sympathy had been strongly enlisted on his side. It was a fatal blunder to make such a man an enemy. "There is not in the whole world," wrote John Foster, "any other person who has so much moral power in virtue solely of the individual's own personal qualities." And John Foster was the representative man of the intelligent dissenting middle-class of England. Cobbett, who was himself a power, and who had a very bad opinion of O'Connell after he had quarrelled with him, did all he could to write him down. He defied any man, from history or imagination, to furnish an instance of turpitude equal to that of O'Connell on the Clare election. It must be remembered that O'Connell had been at the head of an agitation, the object of which mainly was to allow Catholics to serve in parliament; that he had then solemnly assured the Clare electors that there was nothing to prevent his taking his seat, if elected; and that, when elected, he had kept away from the House of Commons, and the discharge of his parliamentary duties, on the plea that he could not legally sit and vote; and that, if he did, he would be sent to Newgate. O'Connell had previously assailed Cobbett, describing him as a "comical miscreant, and a vile vagabond." And, with equal taste, he reproached his "childish folly, and drivelling absurdity." "It cannot be said of him," continued O'Connell, "that his wine of life is on the lees, because wine is too generous a liquor to enter into the comparison; but his gin of existence is on the dregs; and that fluid, which, while it flowed copiously and clearly, was intoxicating even to madness, is now nothing but a muddy residuum, productive of sickness and nausea, and incapable of giving one exhilarating sensation."

The second election of Clare took place under most inauspicious circumstances. The Catholics knew they had extorted the boon of relief, not from the generosity, but from the fears of England. "The House of Commons," said Mr. O'Connell, "has deprived me of the right conferred on me by the people of Clare. They have, in my opinion, unjustly and illegally deprived me of that right; but from their decision there is no appeal, save to the people. I appeal to you. In my person the county of Clare has been insulted. The brand of degradation has been raised to mark me, because the people of Clare fairly selected me. Will the people of Clare endure this insult now that they can firmly, but constitutionally, efface it for ever? Electors of the county of Clare, to you is due the glory of converting people, and conquering Wellington. The last election for Clare is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing the Catholic Relief Bill. You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland." The appeal was warmly responded to. What was termed an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland was held, at which it was determined that £5,000, which remained of the Catholic rent, should be assigned to the promoting of Mr. O'Connell's return. When the time of election came, the latter was unopposed. It was, however, attended with all the bustle of opposition; and large bodies of the people were engaged daily in the—to them congenial—task of listening to, and applauding O'Connell's fierce harangues, in which the Protestants and the government of England were equally abused. "I want," he said, in a speech at Youghal, "and must have, a repeal of that cursed measure which deprived Ireland of her senate, and thereby made her a dependant on British aristocracy, and British intrigue, and British interests. I may, perhaps, be told, that to attempt a repeal of

the union would be chimerical. I pity the man who requires an argument in support of the position that Ireland wants her parliament; and that individual who pronounces the attainment of such a consummation to be Utopian, is reminded of the Catholic question. Do I not remember when it was difficult to procure a meeting of five Catholics to look for the restoration of our then withheld rights! I recollect the time when we agitators were almost as much execrated by our fellow-slaves as we were by our oppressors. For the attempt of the repeal of the union I shall have the support of all classes and grades in society—the Orangeman of the north, the Methodist of the south, and the quiet, unpretending Quaker, who may thereby think that his gains shall be thereby augmented. All shall be joined in one common cause—the restoration of Ireland's parliament."

Thus it came to pass, that disorders increased rather than decreased in the sister country. From the Duke of Wellington's letters on the subject, it is clear that his grace considered the Catholic Relief Act had produced an immense amount of good: and so it had; but of a negative rather than of a positive character. It had saved us from a civil war, which, if it had taken place, would have been unparalleled for savage atrocity: but the settlement did not heal animosities; it rather added fuel to the flame. In Ireland a *via media* has never existed; and now the whole population was divided into two hostile camps. Activity and organisation on one side, produced activity and organisation on the other. The Orangeman, who inhabited the land, took his creed from the Old Testament rather than the New. Of the Saviour, with his law of love, he seemed to know but little. To rule with a rod of iron—to exterminate the papist—to consign him to degradation in this world, and damnation in the next, seem to have been the sole aim of the bigots who commemorated the memory of William of Orange, and whose battle-cry was, "To hell with the pope." On the 12th of July, 1829, the usual party processions were held. The Catholics resolved, if possible, to oppose them by force. Of course, the knowledge of this fact only made the Protestants more furious and determined to hold the celebrations, at all times offensive to their Catholic neighbours. In Ireland the Protestants were in a minority: and there they represented foreign domination; the right of might, and fraud, and wrong. There, if anywhere, it was incumbent on the teachers and professors of the Protestant faith to evince the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove; and, perhaps, in the history of our race, never was so little of either displayed by any set of men as by the Protestant statesmen and established clergy of Ireland. True to their native wrongheadedness, they organised their processions, and came into collision with the Catholics. In Clare, Armagh, Leitrim, Cavan, Monaghan, and several other counties, numerous encounters took place, in which multitudes were wounded, and many lives were lost. The county of Tipperary was reduced to such a state, that it was thought, early in September, to hold a meeting of magistrates, for the purpose of considering what were the best plans that could be adopted. They recommended the renewal of the Insurrection Act; an amendment of the act to facilitate the discovery of concealed arms; and the establishment of military posts. A pretty comment this on the result of the union between Ireland and England, and the boon of Catholic emancipation.

So much for the Catholic question—a question which illustrates, in an extraordinary degree, the little part that men, the ablest or strongest, can play in the political drama, and the inevitable necessity which overrules all. The Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel seceded from Mr. Canning's administration, as they feared it was too favourable to Catholic claims. In the strongest terms he could employ, the duke deprecated all idea of forming an administration himself. His words were remarkable; were long remembered; and often tauntingly quoted. After having dwelt, with an honest and becoming pride, upon his successful career as a soldier, and described the high gratification he felt on being placed as Commander-in-Chief, at the head of the army, he continued—"Does any man believe that I would give up such a gratification in order to be appointed to a station, of

the duties of which I was ignorant, in which I was not wished, and for which I was not qualified?—as it must be obvious to your lordships, that not being in the habit of addressing your lordships, I should have been found, besides other disqualifications, incapable of displaying as they ought to be displayed, or of defending the measures of government as they ought to be defended in this House, by the person thus honoured by his majesty's confidence. My lords, I should have been worse than mad if I should have thought of such a thing." This was the language of 1827. In 1828, the duke was Prime Minister; and, in 1829, Catholic emancipation—and, as regards the upper house and the king, at his almost imperious dictation—was carried. There was a power stronger than his own, to which the hero of Waterloo was compelled to succumb.

Still more remarkable is the case of Mr. Peel, the elect of Oxford, the Protestant champion, *par excellence.* He writes—"To the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, I had offered, from my entrance into parliament, an unvarying and decided opposition—an opposition which certainly did not originate in any views of personal political advantage. When, in the year 1812, I voted against the resolution in favour of concession, moved by Mr. Canning after the death of Mr. Perceval, and carried by a majority of 235 to 106, I could not expect that by that vote I was contributing to my political advancement.

"The grounds on which my opposition was rested are fully developed by me in a speech delivered in the year 1817.

"It appeared to me that the question of Catholic emancipation was one much more complicated and extensive in its bearings, than it was considered to be by the greater part of the very able and distinguished men who supported the claims of the Roman Catholics.

"Adverting to the past history of Ireland, her geographical position, her social state in respect to the tenure of property, and the number and religious denominations of her people, I thought it would be exceedingly difficult to reconcile the perfect equality of civil privilege, or rather, the *bonâ fide* practical application of that principle with those objects, on the inviolable maintenance of which the friends and opponents of Catholic emancipation were completely agreed—namely, the legislative union and the established church in Ireland, as guaranteed by the Act of Union.

"The Relief Bill of Mr. Grattan, introduced in 1813, declared, in its preamble, that the Protestant episcopal church of England and Ireland was established permanently and inviolably, and that it would tend to promote the interest of the same, and to strengthen the free constitution, of which it is an essential part, if the disqualifications under which the Roman Catholics laboured were removed. It assumed that such removal would put an end to all religious jealousies between her majesty's subjects, and bury in oblivion all animosities between Great Britain and Ireland.

"I did not participate in the opinions or anticipations thus expressed.

"I was not, indeed, insensible to the manifest evil of submitting to incapacity and disqualification a class of his majesty's subjects rapidly increasing in wealth, numbers, and importance, and constituting the vast majority of the population of one part of the United Kingdom. * * * * But there were, on the other hand, many considerations which appeared to me not sufficiently weighed by the advocates of concession.

"There was the danger of abolishing tests, which had been established for the express purpose of giving to the legislature a Protestant character; tests which had been established, not upon vague constitutional theories, but on the practical experience of the ills which had been inflicted, and the dangers which had been incurred, by the struggles for ascendancy at periods not remote from the present.

"There was the danger that the removal of civil disabilities might materially alter the relations in which the Roman Catholic religion stood to the state. I saw, indeed, no satisfactory solution of the difficulties with which those relations

were encompassed under the existing state of the law; but I apprehended that they might be materially increased by the total removal of political incapacities from the professors of the Roman Catholic religion.

"The connection of that religion with the most important events in the domestic history of this country; the forcible transfer of its temporal possessions to the reformed church; the recognition of an external spiritual authority; the natural sympathies (in religious matters at least) with foreign nations acknowledging the same authority; the peremptory refusal, by the Irish Roman Catholics, to submit to those restrictions to which, in all other countries, Protestant or Catholic, the ecclesiastical appointments in the church of Rome, and the intercourse with the papal see, were subject; the impossibility of imposing such restrictions by the mere will of the legislature—these, and other similar considerations, presented to my mind matter for grave reflection, for serious misgiving, whether there could be that identity of interest and feeling which would permit the practical application of the principle of perfect equality in the administration of Irish affairs; and whether, if the inquiry were nominal, and not practical, there would be satisfaction and contentment on the part of the Roman Catholics."

Again, Mr. Peel writes—"It appeared to me that admissions were made, from time to time, by the most able and eminent of the advocates of concession, little calculated to banish the apprehensions of its opponents.

"Shortly before his decease, Mr. Pitt had declared his opinion, that in no possible case, previous to the union, could the privileges demanded by the Roman Catholics be given consistently with a due regard to the Protestant influence in Ireland, to the internal tranquillity of that kingdom, the frame and structure of our constitution, or the probability of the permanent connection of Ireland with this country.

"Nearly twenty years afterwards, Mr. Plunket avowed his opinion, that, speaking of the Protestant established church in a political point of view, he had no hesitation to state that the existence of it was the great bond of union between the two countries; and that if ever that unfortunate moment should arrive when they would rashly lay their hands on the property of the church, to rob it of its rights, they would seal the doom, and terminate the connection between the two countries.

"These, and many similar declarations of opinion that might be cited, justified the apprehension that, notwithstanding the removal of political disabilities, adverse interests and conflicting views of policy would prevent the harmonious co-operation of Protestant and Roman Catholic in the government of Ireland."

Yet Mr. Peel carried Catholic emancipation in the House of Commons. Why? Because, to form "a government on the principle of resistance to the claims of Roman Catholics was perfectly hopeless."

But Mr. Peel might have retired. Well, he intended to do so. He felt the awkwardness of recommending, one year, what he vehemently opposed the one preceding. Almost in his last speech in parliament, in the year 1828, Mr. Peel had reiterated his anti-Catholic faith. In reply to the hope expressed by Sir F. Burdett, that the question would be taken up by government in the next session, Mr. Peel said—"Lest any misconception should go abroad respecting my sentiments, I am anxious to speak upon this point for myself, and myself alone. Under the constitution of the present government, each individual member of it is at liberty to entertain and support his own opinion regarding this question. Conceiving, then, that it is only necessary for me to state my own individual opinion on the subject, I would refer the right hon. baronet, and the House, to the declaration which I have repeatedly made respecting it; and, speaking then as an individual member of the government, I explained, as I was at liberty to do, my own sentiments on the question. To that declaration and to those opinions I still adhere; and I conceive that, in so saying, I have said enough to satisfy the House that my sentiments on the subject remain unaltered." And then the Duke of

Wellington insisted upon Mr. Peel's remaining in office to carry a measure of relief which he had spent his life in opposing. The duke writes to Mr. Peel, January 17th, 1829—"If I should not have your assistance in office, the difficulties in parliament will be augmented tenfold by your secession; while the means of getting the better of them will be diminished in the same proportion." There was no help for it but for Mr. Peel to remain where he was.

Lastly, let us look at the situation of the king. Whatever may have been his original feelings on the subject, latterly he had been as anti-Catholic as his father, or his brother, the Duke of York. He resolved, at any rate, that the Catholic question should not trouble him. By the removal of Mr. Canning, by the failure of Viscount Goderich, the poor old gouty and paralysed monarch felt that the question had been, at length, got rid of. The same feeling was entertained in other quarters. The anticipations of the Whigs as to what the government would do, were stated by Lord Duncannon, in a letter written at this very time to the Catholic Association. He says—"The present position of affairs is a hopeless one, as I really think the government, as at present constituted, almost worse than Lord Liverpool's. Mr. Lamb has, indeed, the best intentions towards Ireland; and Lord Anglesea goes with the same intentions; but what can be hoped from any such government after Mr. Peel's speech of last year, in which he took, as Home Secretary, the complete control of Ireland?" And well might people think so. His majesty had commanded the subject to be tabooed: and is not the command of majesty law?

In forming his administration, the Duke of Wellington wrote to Mr. Peel, January 9th, 1828, while the cabinet was yet in embryo—"The king said it was to be understood that the Roman Catholic question was not to be made a cabinet question:" and we all know that the Duke of Wellington was the very last man to disobey the commands of royalty. In accordance with the wishes of his sovereign, the old duke was ever ready to do or dare anything. But the old soldier was vanquished. He had to give up the prejudices, or the principles, of his life, and he had to teach his monarch to do the same. George IV., in the decline of life, had, like many ardent votaries of pleasure, when approaching the close of a profligate career, more serious thoughts on the subject of religion than he had previously been supposed to entertain. In all times, priestcraft has found its most pliant victims in the debauchee tottering and trembling on the borders of the grave. To assent to the proposed alteration of the law would, he feared, be a violation of the coronation oath. Yet he wanted the firmness to refuse it. We have shown how the king withdrew his assent after he had been committed by the speech from the throne; and we have seen how the cabinet resigned in consequence; and how it was not till the day before the one on which Mr. Peel was to bring forward his plan, that leave was reluctantly given. When the bill had reached its last stage in the Commons, George IV. seems to have been reduced to a state of helpless imbecility. It was at this time that he sent for Lord Eldon, and had the interview with him to which we have already referred. On the 9th of April the ex-Chancellor had another interview. What follows furnishes a striking picture of the distress of the monarch.

Eldon found the king wretched. "He began to talk on the coronation oath. On that I could only repeat what I had before said, if his majesty meant me to say anything upon the subject. Understanding that he did so wish, I repeated, that, so far as his oath was concerned, it was matter between him, God, and his conscience, whether giving his royal assent to this measure was supporting, to the utmost of his power, the Protestant reformed religion. That it was not my opinion, nor the opinions of archbishops, bishops, or lay peers (all of which he must know, as well the opinions in favour of the measure, as those against it) that were to guide and govern him; but he was to act according to his own conscientious view of the obligations under which such an oath placed him. Little more passed except occasional bursts of expression—'What can I do? What can I now fall

back on? I am miserable—wretched; my situation is dreadful: no one about me to advise with. If I do give my consent, I will go to the baths abroad, and thence to Hanover. I'll return no more to England. I'll make no more Roman Catholic peers. I will not do what this bill will enable me to do. I'll return no more. Let them get a Catholic king in Clarence.' I think he also mentioned Sussex. 'The people will see that I did not wish this.' There were the strongest appearances, certainly, of misery. He more than once stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck, and expressed great misery." Evidently, his lordship hoped and believed, that, at the eleventh hour, the king would draw back. This conversation took place on the 9th; on the 13th the royal assent was given. His lordship was shocked and mortified. He writes—"After all I had heard in my visits; not a day's delay! God bless us, and his church!"

What do we learn? How weak is man! how irresistible is humanity! Parliaments are strong, and crowned kings are strong, and mighty men of war are strong: but there is something stronger than all;—the eternal law which demands the banishment of injustice—however ancient, however robed with power, however sacred in the eyes of its defenders—from the face of the earth.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE STORY OF THE PENINSULA.

OUR ancient ally, Portugal, is again in trouble. In February, 1829, Don Miguel returned to Portugal. He had been in England, where it was hoped he had learnt a little wisdom; and where he had written a letter to George IV., in which he declared, "that he should be a wretch if he were to overthrow the constitution, a violator of his oath, and the usurper of a brother's throne." It remains to show how he kept the promise thus solemnly made.

Immediately on his arrival in Lisbon, it was clear that he was aiming at the supreme power, and to destroy the constitution which he had sworn to maintain. Many respectable families immediately withdrew from Lisbon. The English troops, which had been sent out to oppose the threatened invasion from Spain, were preparing to leave Portugal, when Sir Frederick Lamb, the British ambassador, took upon himself to detain them, and to return a loan, from London, which had been just sent out for Miguel's use. At this moment great alarm was experienced by the English residents in Lisbon. Pamphlets were daily published, in which the writers, in the interest of the usurper, overwhelmed them and their country with the most outrageous abuse. Wealthy merchants were in daily expectation of seeing their property rudely pillaged; and humbler individuals were far from being assured of personal safety. Miguel, it was known, was much irritated at the course pursued by Sir Frederick Lamb, who frankly declared that he had received instructions from his country thus to act. He moreover signified, in the most energetic language, to Don Miguel, that his highness possessed no power but that which had been delivered to him by the king, Don Pedro; and that beyond that he ought not to extend his views. Notwithstanding this, no step was omitted by Miguel that seemed likely to advance his interest. Nine regiments were stationed in the garrison in the capital; and seven of their commanders being known to favour constitutional principles, were superseded to make way for officers attached to the new system of despotism. Movements like these formed an appropriate prologue to what was to follow. Miguel soon began to show himself in his true colours. Rumours got abroad that he meant to claim the crown:

and undoubtedly the man was popular. In a despatch, dated March 1st, the English ambassador wrote thus:—"His royal highness is incessantly assailed with recommendations to declare himself king, and reign without the Chambers. It depends entirely on his will to do so. The Chambers would offer no opposition; and the measure would be popular with the great majority of the people; but, as yet, he remains firm, and says it would be a breach of faith, of which he will not be guilty."

In the middle of March, Miguel abruptly dissolved the Chambers, in order, it was said, to avoid voting thanks to the British army, which embarked for England April 2nd. Their longer stay, it was thought, might be construed into a tacit recognition of the usurper's claims. Already he had got himself to be proclaimed king in many provincial towns; and, after the English troops had left, he caused a proclamation to that effect to be made at Lisbon. On the same day the national flag was suspended from the roof of the city hall; while the authorities presented themselves in the balcony, and proclaimed the new king. At noon a repetition of the ceremony took place, and the citizens were called upon to sign a document, praying Miguel to assume the functions and powers of royalty; which memorial, not very numerously signed, was presented to Miguel the same evening. The list of subscribers appears to have been neither numerous nor respectable. He hesitated to comply with the prayer of the memorial, as the foreign ambassadors had announced to him, that they must take their departure if he were declared king. The ambassadors, the next day, met; and, after due consideration, resolved to suspend all official intercourse with the new government till they should receive fresh instructions from their respective Courts. It appears, by this time, that Don Miguel had quite made up his mind that the charter, granted by his brother, and which he had sworn to defend, was to be set aside. At length Miguel considered that the mask which he had worn might be thrown off; and, on the 3rd of June, he was, in the assembly of the three estates, declared king.

The constitutionalists were now rebels: Saldanha, late minister of war, was confined in prison. In an encounter which took place near Pædaçals, the Miguelites obtained a victory, and the defeated party retreated to Oporto.

The ministers of Don Pedro, in London and Vienna, hastened to protest against the usurpation; and, as there was no government which they could recognise as such, they addressed themselves to the Portuguese party. For some time appearances justified a hope that their call would be loyally responded to by the nation. In May there was a general rising in favour of Don Pedro in Oporto; but there were no generals, unfortunately, to guide and command. Their former leaders were then refugees in England, from whence their arrival was anxiously expected. They came; but had been delayed six days longer than they anticipated. This was most unfortunate. The alarm which the outbreak had at first caused in the capital had subsided; Oporto was blockaded; and the English, though Miguel was not recognised, respected the blockade, as it was, *de facto*, effected by a competent naval force. In the meanwhile the foreign ambassadors left the country, and a formidable party in the land affected to rejoice on the establishment of an absolute king.

Great pains were taken in Lisbon to make it appear that England was favourable to the cause of the usurper; and, in many quarters in this country, it was believed that the Duke of Wellington looked upon Don Pedro with a too favourable eye.

Don Pedro, assured of Miguel's loyal acceptance of the regency, prepared to abandon his claim to the Portuguese throne. He sent his daughter, Donna Maria, to Europe; but, before she could reach Portugal, the usurpation of Miguel being known, the Brazilian ministers, at Vienna and London, thought it right to withhold the act of abdication, which had been forwarded to them. The queen, a mere child of nine years of age, reached Gibraltar on the 2nd of September. She was to have landed at Genoa, and thence proceeded to Vienna, to the Court of her

grandfather, the Emperor of Austria. It was deemed better to bring her to England, where she arrived on the 24th of September. At Falmouth, where she landed, she was received with all the respect due to her rank. The mayor and the corporation, at the instigation of Mr. Peel, hastened to present her with a congratulatory address. She was received by Lord Clinton and Sir William Freemantle, and the Brazilian and Portuguese nobility in England, and greeted with cordial shouts by the inhabitants of Falmouth. She was escorted to the king's private carriage, through a file of honorary police, who wore rosettes on their breasts, and preceded by a hundred little girls of her own age, dressed in white, with garlands round their heads, whose office it was to strew her majesty's path with flowers. The young queen was considered a handsome likeness of the Braganza family, retaining the sparkling fire of the eye, the dark hair, and the expressive countenance of her father. She reached London on the 6th of October, and was waited upon by a deputation from the Portuguese then in England. On the next day they were graciously received, and requited with the following answer:—"Faithful Portuguese, I am grateful for the sacrifices you have made for my sake. Believe me, I shall never forget the martyrs to legitimacy." The 12th of October was the birthday of Don Pedro; and, on that day, an imposing ceremony was witnessed at the residence of the Marquis of Palmella, where the Portuguese and Brazilian legations being present, and the Brazilian and Portuguese ministers from Vienna and the Netherlands, the policy of Don Pedro was declared, and the oath of allegiance was taken to the young queen. It was, however, stated, on the part of the British government, that beyond acknowledging her sovereignty, and discountenancing the usurpation of her throne, they could do no more, as the treaties existing between the two countries bound England to defend Portugal against a foreign enemy, but did not authorise interference with contending parties in that country.

To a formal application for British aid from Don Pedro, the Earl of Aberdeen, in reply, admitted that England had, for centuries, been connected with Portugal by treaty, and mentioned that she had, on many occasions, rendered important services to the Portuguese nation; but his lordship denied that any existing treaties bound England to act in a case like the present. His lordship said, the only semblance of argument for the assertion advanced by the Marquis de Barbacena (the minister of Don Pedro), that this country is bound, under the treaties of alliance and guarantee, to co-operate in placing her most faithful majesty on the throne of Portugal, is to be found in the stipulation of the sixth article of the secret convention, concluded on the 22nd of October, 1807, by which Great Britain engages never to recognise, as King of Portugal, any other prince than the heir and legitimate representative of the royal family of Braganza. Faithful to her engagements, she had acknowledged no other prince; but, under existing circumstances, the proceedings of Don Pedro himself had put it out of her power to comply with the present demand. The ambassador was told, in the proclamation addressed to the Portuguese nation, dated the 2nd of May, 1826, his imperial majesty declared that his abdication should become complete as soon as the constitution had been sworn to, and the marriage concluded between Don Miguel and Donna Maria. The constitution was sworn to, as his imperial majesty had directed, upon its reception in Portugal; and the affiance was completed at Vienna, on the 29th of October, 1826. Earl Aberdeen then implied that the king had not fulfilled the promises he made. "Did not," asked his lordship, "his imperial majesty continue to interfere in all measures of detail of the Portuguese government? Did he not create peers, promote officers in the army and navy, interfere in the selection and nomination of ministers, and in all the interior arrangements of the kingdom? The Portuguese nation was disappointed in its hope and expectation of a final separation from Brazil; and this disappointment was still further decreased by the detention of their young queen at Rio Janeiro. Finally," his lordship added, "he could not conclude without expressing his regret that the counsels of Great Britain, when

offered, should have been received with so little confidence and alacrity. These counsels have never been adopted by his imperial majesty until the course of events had rendered any alternative impracticable; nor until, from this reluctance and delay, they had, in a great measure, been deprived of their beneficial influence. In truth, it may be affirmed that, so far from Great Britain having been instrumental in the production of the evils which have recently afflicted Portugal, they are mainly to be attributed to the want of a frank, consistent, and direct course of policy on the part of the Brazilian government itself."

As Great Britain refused her aid, Don Pedro determined to regain Portugal without it. In August, the Portuguese refugees in England applied to Lord Aberdeen, for permission to export a large quantity of arms and ammunition from England to Brazil. The permission was granted, on a pledge from the applicants that the arms and ammunition should not be employed in connection with the civil dissensions of Portugal. The pledge was given; but when embarked, the articles in question were sent, not to Brazil, but to Terceira, the largest island of the Azores, which had declared for Donna Maria. When this was found out, the ministry concluded that men would be sent after them, and that a force would thus be furnished from England to act against the then ruler of Portugal. In October, application was made for the means of conveying troops to Terceira; but the answer of the Duke of Wellington was, that England was determined to maintain her neutrality, and would not allow her ports and arsenals to be made places of equipment for hostile armaments. He caused it also to be made known, that 4,000 Portuguese troops, which were intended to be sent there, must not remain in any English port as a body ready for action. They might expect all reasonable hospitality; but they must be disbanded and distributed, instead of being concentrated at Plymouth. It was answered, that rather than disband they would sail for Brazil. The duke made no objection to that, and a convoy was offered to protect them from Miguel's cruisers; which, however, they declined. They sailed, and proceeded, not to Brazil, but Terceira. In December, an application was made to the English for transports, to convey unarmed refugees to Terceira; but the parties were told that the ministry had already been deceived; and the refugees knew that, if they sailed unarmed, they would find arms on their arrival in Terceira. An expedition, consisting of four vessels, carrying out 652 officers and men, sailed, with false clearances, under the command of General Count Saldanha. When this force was seen near Terceira, on the 16th of January, Captain Walpole, who had been sent there with a few armed vessels, made known to Saldanha that he had authority to prevent their landing. Two shots were fired from Captain Walpole's ship to bring them to; and he then fired a third, which killed one man, and wounded another. The determined resistance thus offered on the part of England, after she had recognised the young queen, created surprise throughout all Europe. In official circles in Lisbon, it was appealed to as a proof that this country had embraced the cause of Miguel; and her conduct, in this respect, is said to have been above all praise. The English ministers insisted that they only authorised what was done to maintain the neutrality they had avowed. Saldanha affected to consider himself a prisoner of war; but Captain Walpole replied that he was at liberty to go with his companions wherever they pleased: he only had instructions to oppose their landing at Terceira.

Saldanha then steered his vessels to the westward, Captain Walpole accompanying him. They continued together till the 24th of January, when the British commander, having sent a note to the count, requesting to know whether he intended to proceed to England, as the captain, who was himself to return to Terceira, wished to forward despatches. Saldanha replied—"Sir, I am astonished at your question. What, sir! you come to Terceira! To make us prisoners, you have escorted us these eight days. You have prevented me from fulfilling my orders; you have endangered the lives of so many faithful subjects of the most ancient ally of your sovereign; you have made us consume our scanty provisions; you have

positively obliged me not to separate my vessels; you have used over me the discretion of a conqueror; and at the end of all this you ask me whither I am going. I do not know, sir, whither. The only thing I know is, I am going wherever you will lead us, according to my positive assertions in every one of my official letters." Captain Walpole—whose instructions required that he should leave the Portuguese vessels when he had driven them a sufficient distance from the islands, and return to his station, in order to prevent any new attempts at landing, either from the same or other vessels fitted out by the Portuguese—rejoined as follows:—"Sir, I am confounded and surprised at the contents of your letter, just received, after my repeatedly declaring to you, in my correspondence, that you was at liberty to pursue your own course and discretion. I have now to inform you that your conduct has determined me to escort you no further." Thus, after having brought them back to within 500 miles of Scilly, and without troubling himself to inquire into the state of their provisions and water, did the British commander insult the injured feelings of the unfortunate and expatriated wanderers. In February, he stopped another vessel with about forty Portuguese officers and men, as it was entering Port Praga. It had been despatched from London. Captain Walpole supplied her with water and provisions, and sent her away. After being left by the British ships, Count Saldanha proceeded to Brest.

This extraordinary conduct, on the part of the Wellington administration, was shortly after brought under the notice of the British parliament, where it was represented, by the opponents of ministers, as a direct act of hostility against the Queen of Portugal, who, acknowledged and received as queen, was then actually residing in England. It was an armed interference in favour of Don Miguel, at the moment when we pretended that our strict neutrality allowed of no interference at all. If not bound by treaties to assist the queen in recovering her crown, whence arose our right to prevent her, by means of her own subjects, from making the attempt? Even if the armament had been fitted out for the purpose of reducing, by force, some settlement which acknowledged Don Miguel, or even invading Portugal itself, what right had Great Britain to oppose such an expedition? Or what could excuse the barbarous injustice of telling the lawful monarch, that, so far as we are concerned, she must work out her own restoration by her own strength; and then, when she put forth her own strength, telling her, that we would not allow it to be employed? But the case, it was said, was still worse. Terceira was not in possession of Miguel; it never had acknowledged him. It was governed in the queen's name, and garrisoned by the queen's troops; and this the captain knew; for, in his report to the Admiralty, he stated, that on his first arrival he anchored at Terceira, with the view of ascertaining who were in authority, and found the island in possession of the constitutionalists, under a constitutional governor and garrison. Yet Britain had actually prevented the Queen of Portugal's subjects from entering on her own territory. Recognising the right of the queen, refusing to admit the title of Miguel, we had actually interfered by force, to prevent the queen, whom we acknowledged, from strengthening her garrisons against the usurper, whom we disavowed, and that, too, at a time when it was known that the latter was preparing an expedition to attempt the reduction of that very island. To these arguments, the only reply of the government was, that this was an armament fitted out in a British port for a warlike object. The Duke of Wellington, in particular, persisted in describing the purpose of the Portuguese to be an *attack* on Terceira, just as he had previously done in his letters to the Marquis Palmella, notwithstanding the repeated statements of the latter, of the fact that Terceira was in possession of the queen. The bent of the Duke of Wellington's mind towards Don Miguel is very clear. The Portuguese troops, who embarked at Plymouth, were unarmed, and not intended to attack any of the Portuguese dominions, but to land in a portion of them in which they would have been received with open arms. To prevent this by sending an armed vessel, was a strange mode of maintaining neutrality. The opposition might well be sensitive

on this point. There was much in certain quarters tending towards a support of the odious usurpation of Miguel. It was, in reality, a contest between the friends of constitutional government and of despotism. Unfortunately, it was, for a long time, fought under very disadvantageous circumstances. Don Miguel was on the spot, and in possession of the throne; while Donna Maria was a child, and her father was far away. Don Pedro's resolution, which he carried into effect in the latter part of the year—of recalling his daughter from England to Brazil—did not tend to strengthen the hopes of his party, nor to impress foreign governments with confidence in her cause.

In the House of Commons, June 1st, 1829, there was a good debate on Portugal, initiated by Sir James Mackintosh. Lord Palmerston's speech on the question was a truly able one. "He blamed the British government for the course they had pursued. The civilised world rings with execrations upon Miguel; and yet this destroyer of constitutional freedom—this breaker of solemn oaths—this faithless usurper—this enslaver of his country—this trampler upon public law—this violator of private rights—this attempter of the life of a helpless and defenceless woman—is, in the opinion of Europe, mainly indebted to the success which has hitherto attended him, to a belief industriously propagated by his partisans, and not sufficiently refuted by any acts of the British government, that the cabinet of England look upon his usurpation with no unfriendly eye." His lordship then intimated the course which he would have pursued. "No war would have been necessary at all; a strong demonstration of our feelings, a decided expression of our opinions, would probably have been enough. If we had countenanced and supported the government at Oporto, instead of helping to blockade it; if we had given succour to the Portuguese at Plymouth, instead of expelling and cannonading them; if, instead of throwing our sword into the scale of Miguel, we had cast even our empty scabbard into that of his opponents, we should, probably, have accomplished our purpose, and his destiny would have kicked the beam."

On a still more important matter his lordship continued—

"I said that the delay in executing the treaty of July, 1827, had brought upon us that very evil of a war, in the east of Europe, which that treaty was intended to prevent. In that war, my opinion is, the Turks were the aggressors.

"Do I mean to infer, from this, that England and France ought to have made common cause with Russia? Far from it; but I do mean that England and France ought to have used exertions to bring about an accommodation, which I very much doubt their having employed. The opinion which I entertained upon this important matter when I retired from the government this time last year—an opinion which was known to my then colleagues, and which subsequent events in Europe have not changed—was shortly this—

"That Turkey was the aggressor; and that Russia had, therefore, a right to compensation for injury received.

"That the interests of Europe, and the spirit of the treaty of 1827, required that this compensation should be in money, and not in territory.

"That if the contest went on, it was obvious that it must either be waged between Russia and Turkey alone, or that other powers in Europe must be drawn in to take a part. That if other powers in Europe were drawn in to take a part, and the flame once spread to the west, no man could say where it would stop; and that it was impossible to contemplate, without the greatest uneasiness, the derangements of the present system and settlement of Europe, to which such a war, in which England must inevitably be involved, might lead.

"That if the war was waged between Russia and Turkey alone, Turkey would infallibly have the worst of it; and that, consequently, a regard for the interests of Europe, and a regard for the interests of Turkey herself, ought equally to impel France and England to urge Turkey, by all possible means, to make fair terms as soon as she could, since the sooner she made them the easier they would be.

"It was also my opinion that Austria should be made clearly to understand that the days of subsidies are gone by; and that it should have been distinctly explained to Turkey, that the people of England would be little disposed to pay for the recovery of unpronounceable fortresses on the Danube, after they had been lost by the obstinate perverseness of Turkey."

Very finely did his lordship define the two great parties in Europe: one endeavouring to bear sway by the force of public opinion; the other by physical control.

"The principle on which the system of this party is founded, is, in my view, fundamentally erroneous. There is in nature no governing power but mind: all else is passive and inert. In human affairs this power is opinion; in political affairs it is public opinion: and he who can grasp this power with it will subdue the fleshly arm of physical strength, and compel it to work out his purpose. Look at one of those floating fortresses which bear to the furthest regions of the globe the glory and the prowess of England: see a puny insect at the helm, commanding the winds of heaven and the waves of the ocean, and enslaving even the laws of nature, as if, instead of being ordained to hold the universe together, they had only been established for his particular occasion. And yet, the merest breath of those winds which he has yoked to his service, the merest drop of that fathomless abyss which he has made into his own footstool, would, if ignorantly encountered, be more than enough for his destruction: but the powers of his mind have triumphed over the forces of things, and the subjugated elements have become his obedient vassals. And so, also, it is with the political affairs of empires; and those statesmen who know how to avail themselves of the passions, and the interests, and the opinions of mankind, are able to gain an ascendency, and to exercise a sway over human affairs, far out of all proportion greater than belong to the power and resources of the state over which they preside; while those, on the other hand, who seek to check improvement, to crush opinions, and to prohibit the human race from thinking, whatever may be the apparent power they wield, will find their weapon snap short in their hand when they most need its protection."

Immediately, or almost immediately, upon Canning's death, Palmerston was generally recognised as the especial inheritor of that statesman's mantle on matters of foreign policy. As an independent member, he spoke much on this class of subjects, devoting himself with especial zeal to the question of the enfranchisement of Portugal and Greece; and he was quickly admitted to be the greatest parliamentary master of this class of subjects. The main purport of Palmerston's speeches on foreign policy was the most pertinacious urgency that the Wellington administration should remain loyal to its engagements with Portugal against the usurper Miguel, and should insist upon a sufficient amount of their ancient territory being conferred upon the emancipated Greeks, as would make their state sufficiently compact and extensive, and secure their thorough independence. After Navarino, Russia had continued a separate cause of quarrel between herself and Turkey. She had sent Diebitsch across the Balkan. He had the Porte at his mercy, and dictated the humiliating treaty of Adrianople. This was quite in excess of the desires of the western powers, who sought the emancipation of the Hellenes, not the utter subjugation of the Turks; and the three powers, represented by their plenipotentiaries in London, devised the singular expedient of offering a salve to the sultan for the wounds inflicted by the Muscovite, in the shape of a contraction of the territory to be abstracted from Turkey, and constituted the Greek kingdom. As it was, they succeeded too well; and the most fertile portions of ancient Greece, if not those associated with the most illustrious historic names and incidents, remain a portion of the empire of the Porte to this day. But it was even proposed to go further in this direction of Greek deprivation, and to limit the new state to the Morea and certain of the Greek isles. Against any such contracted frontier Palmerston warmly protested; thus expressing himself in his great speech, from which we have already quoted:—

"Shall I be told that this purpose is accomplished—that the Morea and the Cyclades are to be this liberated Greece? and that the Isthmus of Corinth is to be its northern boundary? I say that will not be—that cannot be—it is impossible that it should be; a larger and wider limit, extending at least to the line drawn from Volo to Arta, is indispensably necessary for Greece. It is indispensably necessary for reasons which I shall not now go into, but reasons political, commercial, and military. Every man who has any local knowledge of the country, and whose judgment is worth having, agrees now, I believe, about this; be he English or French, or Russian or Greek; be he naval or military, or diplomatic; and even those who were the greatest sticklers for the Morea simply, must now abandon the notion of establishing a Greece which should contain neither Athens nor Thebes, nor Marathon nor Salamis, nor Platæa nor Thermopylæ, nor Missalonghi; which should exclude from its boundaries all the most inspiring records of national achievements, whether in ancient or in modern times. But in this, as in clearing the Morea, France will hold the first, and England the second place. The merit of giving this extended limit will, in public opinion, be ascribed to the enlightened liberality of France. France will have the credit of being supposed to have dragged England reluctantly after her; England will bear the odium of having vainly attempted to clog the progress of France. But why do not the allies deal with the country north of the isthmus, as they have done with that to the south, and occupy, at once, all that which must be assigned to Greece? I have seen that it has been said elsewhere that the allies are negotiating upon this subject with Turkey. I should have thought that the allies had had enough of negotiating with Turkey about Greece; and that they had, by this time, discovered that even Turkey herself would rather that on this subject they should dictate."

A little later, on the same subject, Palmerston continued—"It is impossible," said he, "for any man of late to have set foot beyond the shores of these islands, without observing, with deep mortification, a great and sudden change in the manner in which England is spoken of abroad; without finding, that instead of being looked up to as the patron, no less than the model, of constitutional freedom, as the refuge from persecution, and the shield against oppression, her name is coupled by every tongue on the continent with everything that is hostile to improvement and friendly to despotism, from the banks of the Tagus to the shores of the Bosphorus; and that she is represented as the key-stone of that arch of which Miguel, and Spain, and Austria, and Mahmoud are the component parts.

"Time was, and that but lately, when England was regarded by Europe as the friend of liberty and civilisation, and therefore of happiness and prosperity, in every land; because it was thought that her rulers had the wisdom to discover that the selfish interests and political influence of England were best promoted by the extension of liberty and civilisation. Now, on the contrary, the prevailing opinion is, that England thinks her advantage to lie in withholding from other countries that constitutional liberty which she herself enjoys. Not that they fancy that the rulers of England can be insensible to the blessings and the energy which spring from those popular institutions which they themselves are daily administering: if any man were to say so, he would not be credited; but they think that because our government know the full value of these advantages, therefore, from political jealousy, they seek to retain the monopoly for England. It is thus that they imagine that the atrocities of Miguel in Portugal, are redeemed, in our eyes, by his merit in destroying the constitution: it is thus that they suppose we are making Austria an instrument, while she fancies us her tool: it is thus that they see, in the delay in executing the treaty of July, not so much fear of Turkish resistance, as invincible repugnance to Grecian freedom. I trust that when the time shall come when the government shall feel itself at liberty to lay before parliament the whole course of its negotiations, and to explain the tone, and the spirit, and the objects of its communications with foreign powers, all these unfavourable

impressions will be dispelled; and I rejoice that, through the present motion, such a development may be afforded, at least in the case of Portugal."

The affairs of Portugal were, on the 11th of March, 1830, pressed on the attention of the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, who moved for the production of further papers than had yet been communicated respecting the negotiations between the two countries. "His majesty's government," his lordship remarked, "admitted that Miguel was tyrannical, cruel, and treacherous; but they said that this country was not so mixed up with Portugal as to call for or justify British interference. It had always been the policy of England to keep Portugal separate from Spain; but, he asked, was not the success of Miguel the triumph of Spain? How greatly altered was the state of things since 1826. All Europe then proclaimed that England had given a free constitution to Portugal. Mr. Canning denied that it was the work of England; but, in 1829, Europe considered that a government supposed to be hostile to free institutions, was the work of English interference. This was denied: but was the denial equally efficacious with that of Mr. Canning? The high character of England had been tarnished; her future peace endangered; and, if asked for what they had made so many sacrifices, they could only say that constitutional liberty in Portugal might be destroyed." Lord John Russell supported the motion; as did also Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Huskisson. It was, however, defeated by a majority of 150 to 73.

Don Pedro still continued his designs; and not only employed agents to secure the Portuguese on his side, but many Englishmen were prevailed upon to enter his service, or that of Donna Maria; and, in various parts of England, they were secretly trained to the use of arms.

Don Miguel was, however, unintimidated. It was clear he was resolved, at all hazards, to keep the throne he had usurped. The insurrections attempted in favour of the young princess, at Oporto, and which had been speedily put down by Miguel's troops, were used as a pretext for persecuting and punishing all who were supposed to be on her side; and parties against whom anonymous accusations were preferred, were promptly arrested, and immured in the dungeons of Limiæro, or those of the castle of St. Julien. The judges before whom the Oporto revolters were tried, sentenced many of the offenders to banishment. This did not satisfy the revengeful feelings of the usurper, who, on his own authority, punished them capitally. The prisons were crowded, and the parties thus incarcerated were subjected to the greatest cruelties. There were, amongst the prisoners, persons of affluence, who gave from their means to relieve their humbler fellow-sufferers. They were, as soon as possible, divided, that the misfortunes of the poor might not be so kindly mitigated. The prisoners were denied all communication with their families, but not brought to trial. Many of them sank beneath the cruelties to which they were exposed; and some, it is said, were poisoned. Don Miguel's acts appear to have been those of a maniac. Neither age nor sex found favour in his sight, or mercy at his hands. Among his prisoners was a little boy, but five years of age. The lad was detained several days in solitary confinement, with a view of frightening the child into giving evidence against his father and mother. There was, in Lisbon, a refugee Spanish bishop, who had been a member of the Cortes in 1812. He had latterly lived in obscurity in Portugal, but was now cast into the cells of St. Julien, where the ill-treatment he had received from the governor terminated his existence in the course of a few days. The queen-mother was believed to prompt and abet the violence of her son. She was the elder sister of Ferdinand VII.; a woman of good capacity, but endowed with little of the gentleness of her sex. The priests encouraged the prince in his dreary career of misgovernment. One of them, the Court preacher, a monk, named Jose Argostino, in a publication entitled the *Beast Flayed*, dwelt upon the vital importance of exercising a salutary severity. He undertook to prove that all who favoured the constitution "ought to be hung up by the feet, that the people might be joyfully treated daily with fresh meat from the gallows." The sister of Miguel, who had

acted as regent, having made some representations in vindication of her fame, which served to show that she was not the author of the arbitrary proceedings of the usurper; and having, moreover, despatched a servant to England, as he considered, to report on his proceedings, raised his wrath so excessively, that he burst into her chamber with a pistol, to which a bayonet was attached, and attempted to strike the princess. Her chamberlain interposed, and received the blow. Miguel then fired. The bullet missed the lady, but killed a servant who was in attendance. The domestics then hurried the princess away, and saved her from further violence. Such were the facts published at that time respecting the conduct of Don Miguel. Notwithstanding he had a party in England, who insisted, in the public journals devoted to their views, that he, being actually King of Portugal, England was bound, by treaty, to defend his throne against any foreign enemy in general, and Don Pedro in particular.

Meanwhile Don Miguel was himself raising up enemies. British subjects and British property were, in many cases, outraged and seized. Their vessels cruising off Terceira were captured by a Portuguese squadron. One of the frigates boarded the *St. Helena* packet, and subjected the passengers and crew to much ill-treatment. For these wrongs the British government claimed reparation, but in vain. In the beginning of 1831, the outrages to which the British residents were subjected became still more serious. A merchant, named O'Neile, was cast into prison without any cause being assigned. A civil and military force, at night-time, violently entered the house of Mr. Roberts, another merchant. The manufactory of Mr. Caffray, a third, was similarly entered, and his foreman taken to prison, ostensibly by the express order of Miguel himself. These, and other excesses, filled the British residents with the greatest apprehension for their persons and property. The consul-general at length declared to the government at home, that as long as the authorities of this country are permitted to entertain the conviction that his majesty's government would be appeased by the mere protestations of regret for the acts which were unparalleled among any people pretending to conciliation, neither the persons nor the property of British subjects could be considered as secure in Portugal; nor must they be surprised if not a week passed without bringing similar results. The rule, or rather the misrule, of Miguel in Portugal continued without change. The death of his mother, the queen-dowager, whose bad counsels were said to exercise such a pernicious influence on his character, does not appear to have had any ameliorating effect.

A regency, in the name of the young queen, was established at Terceira by Don Pedro. At the head of it were Palmella and Villa Flor, who anxiously waited for an opportunity to recover the dominions of their mistress.

A stupid step had been taken by Don Pedro. As we have already intimated, Donna Maria had arrived in this country, and been graciously received. Tom Moore describes her in favourable terms; and so does the Duchess of Gloucester, who, in a letter to the Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, says—"On the 21st, the king received the little queen, or Princess of Portugal, Donna Maria da Gloria, at Windsor Castle, the apartments of which were fitted up with great elegance and magnificence. The duchess was there with the duke; and the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, the Duke of Wellington, &c. All thought the little princess remarkably like poor Princess Charlotte, though on a smaller scale. She is nine years and a-half old, very fair, with blue eyes. She was dressed like a young person of eighteen, and had fine jewels, with her father's portrait. She breakfasted with the king, and behaved very properly." In England she would have been a centre for her party; but, forgetful of this, Don Pedro recalled her to Brazil. The British government, inconsistently enough, considering their late proceedings at Terceira, remonstrated against the policy of a step which could only tend still further to discourage the loyal subjects of the queen, and to relieve Miguel from the apprehensions which continually galled him, so long as she remained within a few days' sail of Lisbon, ready to take advantage of contingencies.

Her abrupt return to Rio Janeiro after her unsuccessful voyage to Europe, would furnish to the enemy plausible grounds for believing that she had abandoned all pretensions to the crown of Portugal, and had left Don Miguel an undisputed master of the field. Strange to say, this unfortunate step led to Don Pedro's abdication of Brazil. For some time past it was known that much irritation had been felt by the Brazilians on account of the partiality with which the emperor treated, or was supposed to treat, his countrymen the Portuguese, who had emigrated in the train of Donna Maria. The indignation of the community had been excited by the attempt to involve Brazil in a war for the recovery of Portugal; from which, if successful, they could anticipate nothing but an accession of burden to themselves, and of power to their ruler—both of which it had long been their object to diminish. The changeable counsels and tyrannical conduct of Don Pedro did not tend to conciliate the favour of his subjects, who had not yet forgotten the legislative assembly in 1820, any more than his double dealing in the negotiations with his father, at the time when the separation of the colony from the mother country was effected.

Such being the state of public feeling, a wise man would have been careful in so guiding his career as to avoid creating unnecessary opposition and discontent. Actually Don Pedro had received, in the shape of an address from some members of the Chamber of Deputies, a distinct intimation that a continuance of the partiality he had long shown to his European friends, would induce the country to re-claim the administration of its own affairs. Yet, notwithstanding, he removed a popular ministry for one quite the reverse; and a general rising was the consequence. The disaffected advanced to the palace; Pedro appealed to his troops; and their answer was, to throw down their arms. Nothing but a speedy flight or an unconditional surrender remained: he chose the former. The change of ministry took place on the 5th of April, 1831; on the 7th, the emperor and empress, with a few attendants, were received on board the *Volage*, English frigate, commanded by Lord Colchester. Pedro had previously issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he abdicated in favour of his son, a child of five years of age. The members of the Chambers, who happened to be in Rio, or in its neighbourhood, immediately assembled, and appointed a temporary regency.

Thus driven from the New World, Don Pedro returned again to Europe. He made immediate preparations for the purpose of obtaining Portugal for his daughter; fitting out an expedition from Terceira, enlisting men, and providing arms in various parts of England. He and his daughter were received with royal honours at the Courts of England and of France; Don Miguel having, in his reckless stupidity, managed to embroil himself as much with that country as with us. It appears he could not conceal his ill-will towards the new French monarchy, though conscious of his inability to cope with it by force of arms. Some Frenchmen, however, who came within his reach on a pretended charge of conspiracy, were severely treated, without any form of trial having been adopted by which their innocence or their guilt could be determined. Accordingly, immediate measures were adopted to obtain redress. A French fleet appeared in the Tagus, and captured eight of his ships—nearly the whole of his fleet; and Don Miguel had, at last, to give way.—We shall return to this subject when Lord Palmerston has become Foreign Secretary. In the meanwhile, we may note that, on the 24th of September, 1834, Don Pedro died. Though his life had been fruitful in adventure—for he had abdicated sovereignty twice, and had acquired it three times; besides inheriting, first for himself, next for his son, and, lastly, for his daughter, Donna Maria—he died in the palace of Quetor, in Lisbon, and received a royal funeral. His entire career proved him to be a man of little talent, and less principle. Occasionally, however, he managed to say a good thing. Miss Cornelia Knight, in her *Autobiography*, writes—"Don Pedro, Duke of Braganza, ex-Emperor of Brazil, told a lady of very high rank, who repeated it to me, that the misfortune of the present age was, that none of the sovereigns had a head

to manage affairs." It may be that this unkind reflection on his brother monarch irritated one of them. At any rate, Miss Knight tells us—"The king, William IV., said the other day, in speaking of Don Pedro, 'To be sure, we are both sovereigns—at least he was one; but there is a great difference between us for all that; for I am an honest man, and he is a thief.'" It is to be questioned whether Portugal was much benefited by Don Pedro. "Although," writes the Duke of Buckingham's editor, "there was little difference between the brothers, in respect to moral fitness for rule, a certain portion of the people of England took an extraordinary interest in the success of Don Pedro, simply because he professed to enter upon the conflict in the character of reformer." Yet surely the people of England were right in thus directing their sympathies. Don Miguel aimed at reaction. He would have taken away from his country the little freedom she had won: he would have rendered it unfit for more. It is hard to tell how to deal with a people who have been tyrannised over for ages, and till they have almost become unfit for free government; but it is clear that the true remedy lies not in the continuance of the tyranny which has created and maintained a state of things so undesirable in every point of view.

In Spain, things were rapidly passing from bad to worse. The Carlists, in 1827, commenced their ravages for the purpose of placing Don Carlos on the throne —who was better fitted to be the tool of the church than Ferdinand. During May and June, the rebel chiefs had gained possession of nearly all Catalonia. The royalist volunteers, and the household troops of the church, everywhere joined them. All this was done in the name of "the king and the church;" and the cry of the rebels was for the liberation of the king, and the restoration of the Inquisition. They maintained, moreover, that they had the secret orders of the king himself, and the special approbation of the pope. The cabinet of Ferdinand, who were, in comparison with the apostolicals, called the moderate party, laid the blame of the insurrection on the *camarilla* and the church: the *camarilla* ascribed it to the obstinate refusal of the moderates to yield the just claims of religion, and maintain the rights of legitimacy by declaring war against Portugal, and the effects of that refusal on "a pious and loyal population." "Restore the Inquisition," said the *camarilla*, "and you re-establish tranquillity." The rebels, in their progress, cried, "Down with the police, and up with the Inquisition!" The king refused the latter request; but he sacrificed to the rebels the department of police, transferring its powers and duties to the head of the *camarilla*. The rebellion still continued to spread, and became more formidable. The king, in person, had to appear, and aid in suppressing the revolt, which had now assumed threatening proportions. Many of the rebels were shot, and some took refuge in France. In the end, however, several of the points were gained to the ultras, at which they had aimed in exciting the insurrection. To their great relief, too, the departure of the French troops took place. By the end of 1828 they had all been withdrawn.

About this time, also, was resumed, or, as it was hoped, was settled, one of those pecuniary transactions which have made Spain notorious throughout Europe. For several years negotiations had been pending between the Spanish government and the British merchants, who had a claim against it for between three and four millions sterling, on account of losses sustained, on its account, in the struggle against France in 1808. In 1823, it had been agreed, by treaty between the two governments, that these claims should be referred to a mixed commission of Spanish and English commissioners, when the justness of the sum admitted was proved. But the Spanish government went on, from year to year, raising all the impediments possible; sometimes offering a small sum in liquidation of all claims; and, at others, denying that there were any claims against it. In 1828, the affair was brought before the British parliament, in a petition detailing the disgusting train of chicanery and falsehood by which a crowned king was evading the payment of just debts, recognised by a solemn treaty. This proceeding led to the

conclusion of an agreement between Lord Aberdeen and Count Ofalia, by which it was agreed that the sum of £900,000 should be paid by Spain in lieu of all claims. The claimants acted wisely in preferring to take this, rather than lose all. As a writer of the time says—"The Spanish government was as poor in pocket as it was beggarly in disposition and dishonest in practice."

In 1829, Spain rejoiced in the attempts of Miguel to re-establish despotic power in Portugal; and when all the powers withdrew their ambassadors, renewed her friendship with Portugal, by sending, in October, a minister plenipotentiary there. That Miguel had become king by the destruction of free institutions, formed, in the eyes of the Spanish despot, the most sacred title to royalty; and the impression was deepened by the unbounded influence of the queen-mother over the family of Ferdinand.

In 1829, Spain reached a lower depth of baseness. Directly subsequent to his restoration to absolute power in Spain, in 1823, Ferdinand raised a loan, in Paris, of 16,700,000 dollars of nominal capital, divided into 83,500 bonds, of 200 dollars or 1,000 francs each, at 5 per cent., each redeemable annually at Madrid by twentieths. It was called, after the name of the person who contracted for it, the Guelhard loan. On the 15th of December, 1825, a Spanish decree was issued, authorising the conversion of this loan into a *rente perpetuelle.* In the prospectus of that conversion, subsequently published by Burgos, the Spanish agent at Paris, there was made to the bondholders, in order to induce them to agree to the conversion, an offer of an increase of 5 per cent. on the nominal capital, and consequently on the interest. To satisfy the bondholders that every provision was made against the extension of the debt, it was proposed that a stockbroker, selected by one of the Parisian bankers, should deface the bonds redeemed, and thus render them unfit for circulation; and, at the end of every six months, the amount of redeemed debts should be made public. Thus the increase of the debt, under the colour of its conversion, seemed carefully guarded against; and on the faith of the decree and prospectus, the French minister of finance, and the syndical chamber of the exchange of Paris, by an order dated 27th June, 1826, allowed the quotation, in the *Cours Authentique*, of "the Spanish *rentes perpetuelles*, proceeding from the conversion of the royal loan of 1823." In this way matters went on until 1829, when it was discovered, that instead of 6,000 of the bonds having been converted, only 274 had been thus treated; and for the remaining sum of 5,726,000 francs, new bonds had actually been given. To effect this fraud the Spanish government and its agents had resorted to something like forgery. They so managed the inscriptions for these 6,000,000 of *rentes*, that the bondholders were imposed upon; and while they believed they were only effecting a conversion of the loan, they were actually making new advances. To such a depth of perfidy and meanness had the necessities of Ferdinand reduced him. This was a clear case of obtaining money under false pretences; and from the French, to whom Ferdinand was under peculiar obligations. It is true that, by this fraud, Spain succeeded in raising money, which she would never have otherwise obtained. But at what a price! At the utter loss of her good name for integrity and honour—a loss which has done much to make Spain lag behind the rest of the world. There was a time when she was the leading power in Europe; when her flag floated proudly on every sea; when the treasures of the Old World and the New were poured into her lap. In the very dawn of constitutional government Spain had the start of us. The parliament of Burgos preceded ours by a hundred years. How came it to pass, then, that she, who was great, had sunk so low? The answer is soon given. In England the parliament always retained the purse. Grants from the Commons were always accompanied with concessions from the crown. Without money, the ambition of the priest, or the encroachments of the king, are of little avail. But let the coffers of the king be full, and, with the aid of the army and the church, despotism is sure, in time, to work out its deadly will; and the strong nation becomes weak, the rich one poor.

Towards the end of the year Ferdinand provided himself with a third queen, a princess of the house of Naples. The king and queen accompanied their daughter to Spain, and the marriage was celebrated at Madrid. This union was strongly opposed by the ultras, by whom even the despotism of Ferdinand was still thought too liberal, and who regarded everything which tended to shut out the succession from their idol, Don Carlos, as a calamity. Ferdinand had no family; but his queen being by this time pregnant, he determined on the abolition of the Salic law, to preserve the succession in the event of his child being a daughter. The king's anticipations proved not unnecessary; for the queen shortly after gave birth to a daughter. The discontent of the Carlists was now at its height, and showed itself in open revolt among some of the lower orders of Madrid, who attempted to proclaim Don Carlos king, as Charles V. This movement, however, fell to the ground: the ringleaders were arrested and punished, and many of the higher ranks, particularly ecclesiastics, who were supposed to have instigated these proceedings, were involved in their punishment.

But, at this time, the French revolution took place; and the constitutionalists, under Mina and Valdez, appealed to arms. Spain ill-responded to the appeal. Mina and Valdez could not agree in their plan of operations; and there was no superior power to control these separate and independent chiefs. In consequence of this, Valdez crossed from the French frontiers with his own followers, amounting to not more than 1,000 men, without Mina's sanction. He was attacked by the king's general, and totally defeated. Mina endeavoured to extricate him from the danger in which he had involved himself, and succeeded in protecting his retreat, but with considerable loss to his own small band, which was much too reduced to render any further attack practicable. To complete the disasters of the exiled constitutionalists, upon their arrival again in France, the government of that country (which, in permitting them to organise themselves at first, had gone further than the law of nations sanctioned) now found it necessary to order them to be disarmed, and removed into the interior. This measure met with the disapprobation of some; but it was obviously impossible for Louis Philippe to permit invasions to be planned and matured in his dominions against a king with whom he was, diplomatically, at peace.

Next year Mina renewed his attempt: but he met with no support, and was under the necessity of making an immediate retreat. More unfortunate still was the attempt made by Torrijos, another of the constitutional leaders. He, and a party of his companions, had taken refuge on the African coast. From this they made an attempt on Spain; but, being repulsed, took shelter in Gibraltar. Of course their residence here was complained of by the Spanish government; and an intimation to that effect was made to them by the British authorities, who offered to protect them to a place of safety. In the meantime, they received intimation that the governor and people of Malaga were ready to rise in the constitutional cause; and thither, accordingly, they went. The information, it appears, was false, and given for treacherous purposes. No sooner had they landed than they were overpowered by a superior force, and made prisoners. Without any form of trial they were all shot. Amongst them was an adventurous Englishman, named Boyd, who was thus fatally made to feel the folly of fighting the battles of other people. Spain evidently needed no better government than the one she had, or there would have been a better formed. One would have thought that, with the constitutionalists on one side, and the Carlists on the other, Ferdinand might easily have been driven from his throne, especially as he was now reduced almost to a state of bankruptcy. It might have been supposed that, under such circumstances, a favourable opportunity would have presented itself for accomplishing the overthrow of his government. That none of the attempts made for that purpose succeeded, is a sure proof that the Spaniards were not ripe for freedom.

Many stories are told of the death of Ferdinand, and his will. Miss Cornelia

Knight says—"Some say that he had signed a codicil, revoking his disposal of the crown, and restoring Don Carlos to his rights; but that the queen, on her return from hunting, finding him dead, and having been told of the codicil, sought for it in the secretaire, and in the drawers of a table where he kept his papers. Being unable to find the secret place in which it was deposited, she ordered the two pieces of furniture to be burned. Others go still further, and pretend, that had she been brought to bed of a son, Ferdinand would have lived a *little longer*, &c., &c. It must, however, be remembered, that where great personages are concerned, and party spirit prevails, there are many inventions. The character of Don Carlos is certainly that of an honest man, even by the account of his enemies. I recollect hearing the late Duke of Gloucester say, that Mina told him that, although he was not himself of the party of Don Carlos, he believed him to be the honestest man of the family."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST OF THE GEORGES.

On June 26th, aged sixty-eight, died George IV. As king and prince-regent, he had ruled the land since 1811.

The decease of the king had long been anticipated. His originally "fine constitution," as Sir Henry Halford termed it, had suffered much from the excesses of earlier years. For many months before his death, life must have been to him a burden heavy to bear. As early as the 27th of April, the king's government, and the royal family, were apprised that his majesty's disease was seated in the heart, and that an effusion of water into the chest was soon to be apprehended. It was not until the end of May that an opportunity occurred of acquainting his majesty with his real situation. He then appointed an early day for receiving the sacrament, and expressed himself as having derived great consolation from this exercise of devotion. After this, Sir Henry thought himself warranted in interpreting the symptoms as favourably as they would admit; and was thus enabled to rally the spirits of the royal patient in the intervals of his suffering, and prevent him from dwelling on the painful contemplation of death until a few minutes before he expired.

On the 24th of May, parliament was informed, by a message from his majesty, "that he is labouring under a severe indisposition, which renders it inconvenient and painful for his majesty to sign, with his own hand, those public instruments which require the sign-manual. His majesty relies on the dutiful attachment of parliament, to consider, without delay, of the means by which his majesty may be enabled to provide for the temporary discharge of this important function of the crown, without detriment to the public service." Parliament, of course, returned a sympathetic answer to this address, and an act was passed enabling a commission to affix the king's signature, by means of a stamp prepared for that purpose, to all such instruments as should require it.

The cotemporary accounts of the last days of this monarch, describe his pain to have been severe, and his fortitude great. His cough was so violent as to shake his whole frame, to interrupt his rest, and threaten the extinction of his life. Yet, while in this pitiable state, he was not content wholly to withdraw from public affairs. He saw several of his ministers; and his calmness and self-possession, under such circumstances, were remarked with surprise. On Wednesday, the 23rd of June, three days before he died, the Duke of Wellington waited on him at

Windsor, with a list of treasury warrants and other public documents, which were submitted to his majesty, who authorised their receiving the royal signature. He afterwards received a visit, the same afternoon, from the Duke of Clarence. His case hourly became more hopeless. His languor increased; and on the Friday he experienced great difficulty in breathing. The physicians were now convinced that their patient could not survive. This was communicated to the Bishop of Chester, and afterwards to the king himself, in the presence of that prelate, who had, for some weeks, resided in the castle. The king heard the awful announcement without manifesting any symptom of dismay, and expressed himself resigned to what was to follow, calmly exclaiming, "God's will be done." The bishop prayed with the royal sufferer, and then desired to know if he felt himself sufficiently collected to partake of the sacrament. His majesty answered in the affirmative. The solemnity was then proceeded with, and his majesty seemed to derive comfort from its administration. The bishop withdrew; and the physicians, after some consultation, determined to try the effect of stimulants. These, in some degree, revived the patient; but respiration became more difficult, and there were moments when he was in danger of suffocation. His voice became faint, and he could scarcely articulate. The night of Friday was hot, and was strongly charged with electric fluid; but the king slept, occasionally disturbed by a cough. In this state he remained till three o'clock in the morning, when he beckoned to his page in waiting to alter his position. He was obeyed: his couch was raised, and he was lifted to his chair. In that moment the sufferer burst a blood-vessel. The effect of it was immediately perceived, and the physicians were hastily called in. It was evident that the last moment of life had come. The king was himself sensible of it; and the words, "Oh God, I am dying!" came from his lips. A few minutes after, he added, in a whisper, "This is death!" The physicians then entered, and found that George IV. was no more.

The royal corpse was replaced on the couch, and covered with a sheet, turned down so as to leave exposed a portion of the bust. The whole of the domestics of the royal household were allowed to enter; as also the out-door servants, with their families; and the royal tradesmen, resident at Windsor. They were admitted, to view the royal remains, from five o'clock in the morning until after eight. Several hundred persons passed through the apartments; many of them taking the dead king's hand, and expressing great sorrow for the event. The news of his majesty's death was immediately forwarded to the minister, and the Lord Mayor of London. It was, according to custom, when any important communication is made from the government, placarded, without delay, in front of the Mansion-house; and the bell of St. Paul's Cathedral, which is always tolled when a member of the royal family dies, spread the expected intelligence far and wide.

In the official account, published after death, it was stated that "the original disease of his majesty consisted in ossification of certain large blood-vessels in the neighbourhood of the heart, which must have existed for many years, and which, by impeding the passage of the current of blood flowing from the heart to the other parts of the body, occasioned effusion of water into the cavities of the chest, and in other situations. This mechanical impediment in the circulation of the blood, also sufficiently explains those other changes in the condition of the body, which were connected with his majesty's last illness, as well as all the other symptoms under which the king had laboured. The immediate cause of his majesty's dissolution was the rupture of a blood-vessel in the stomach."

And thus passed away—certainly not deeply lamented—not wept with a nation's tears—George IV.; the first gentleman of the age, as his admirers termed him: the scorn of this present highly enlightened one. Undoubtedly the truth lies half-way. He was not so bad as drawn by some; and not so good as he is painted by others.

"Train up a child," says the Bible, "in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." George IV. was trained up badly, and

his career was accordingly bad. His learning appears to have been respectable; his abilities were better; his application to business greater, we have reason to suppose, than was at one time believed; and his accomplishments and graces were worthy of his royal rank. We all love to pay homage to the rising sun. A prince is, of course, perfection; and then when his reign is over, when another takes his place, how poor and despicable he seems; and how pitiable and contemptible the puny tribe of courtiers—of noblemen who applauded his vilest acts—of high-born dames who, for a smile of his, sacrificed the honour of a life. It is said George IV. was false to his friends: they certainly were false to him. His father, the good old king, has much to answer for. He might have preserved his son from many of the excesses into which he fell; he need not have forced him into an imprudent marriage; and he might have given him a career: more than once the son earnestly implored occupation, which the old king obstinately refused. None of the royal family turned out well. They were all in debt; surrounded by disreputable companions; a grief and a scandal to all sober-minded men.

There is something very sad in the spectacle of that once gay prince sinking into his grave that hot summer night, with no wife or daughter to soothe his dying struggles, and to catch his parting word. Of his own queen we need not speak: her story is already told. Of his daughter, young and beautiful (that is, if we may trust Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of her), cut off in her early prime, Miss Cornelia Knight tells us she was so afraid of her father that she always stammered in his presence. Little remained to him of that "fine, square-shouldered, magnificent-looking, agreeable person at the head of the table," whose voice and expression so attracted George Coleman when he paid a visit to Carlton House, that he said—"I'll be damned if I don't engage him for my theatre." Disease has done its work upon him. Alas! poor Yorick! has it come to this?

Few mourned George IV. June 28th, Moore writes—"Tempted out from my work by the fine day, and the death of his majesty, both of which events have set the whole town in motion. Never saw London so excited or so lively. Crowds everywhere, particularly in St. James's Street, from the proclamation of the new king being expected before the palace. The whole thing reminded me of a passage in an old comedy—'What makes him so merry?' 'Don't you see he's in mourning.'"

And what of his friends? We have already told the story of Beau Brummell, and Sheridan, to whom, in his last hour, the king sent a sum of money, which was indignantly returned. Among the early associates of the prince, was George Hanger, a man of the most eccentric character; not destitute of talent, but of dissipated habits, and fond of low company. In his latter years he resided in a small cottage, in or near the Hampstead Road; but, though he ordinarily spent his evenings at an alehouse, he was not an unfrequent visitor at the palace. A short time before the regency, the prince laughingly said—"George, in all the years we have been acquainted, you have never asked me to dine with you: now I should like to do so for once." "Sir," said George, "if you will dine as I do, no person will be more welcome; only fix your time, that I may be prepared." The prince mentioned his day, and was punctual. There was little sign of cooking; but, at last, the cloth was laid by a female servant, and a baked shoulder of mutton, with potatoes, constituted the whole meal; to which was added simple porter; but whether any wine followed remains uncertain. The colonel succeeded to the title of Coleraine in 1814, on the death of his brother; but a greater affront could not be offered him than to address him, in word or writing, as my lord. He always wore a silk handkerchief round his neck, and a short club-stick under his arm. He died in 1817, at the age of seventy-three, having been, for some time, discarded from the prince's parties on account of his low propensities.

Another of the convivial companions of the prince was Henry Bate Dudley, commonly called "the fighting parson." His name was, originally, Bate, to which, in 1784, he added that of Dudley. He succeeded his father in the rectory

of North Farmbridge, in Essex; but never resided there, living constantly in London, where he wrote for the stage, and conducted the *Morning Post.* In 1780, he established the *Morning Herald*, which became the gazette of fashion. Bishop Louth having called upon him to reside, or discharge clerical duty, near London, he, to avoid the former, took the curacy of Hendon. Here he used to attend on Sunday, with his friend Parsons, the comedian; and, between the morning and afternoon service, play at cribbage in the vestry! When the Duke of Bedford became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he gave Dudley the Chancellorship of the Cathedral of Jesus, and other preferments. In 1816 he obtained a prebend of Ely. The prince-regent made him a baronet in 1812. But when, in 1807, application was made to Lord Grenville to promote him to the episcopate, his lordship referred the applicant to the words of St. Paul—"A bishop must be no *striker*."

The Marquis of Hastings was certainly the steadiest of his majesty's friends; but he was an improvident man, and, therefore, ill calculated to be the adviser of the prince. He was continually in debt, and taking up money on *post-obit*, and other securities, at enormous rates. He had also a number of pensioners, most of whom were blood-suckers. One of these was Felix McCarthy, an Irish adventurer, who once absented himself longer than usual from St. James's Place, on which his lordship sent to know what was the reason. Felix returned an old pair of shoes, worn out at toe and heel, asking "whether those were fit for him to enter his lordship's house in?" That his lordship was really attached to the prince is evident. Miss Knight, in describing her interview with Lord Moira, respecting the education of the Princess Charlotte, continues—"As I spoke, I saw the tears roll down the cheeks of Lord Moira; and he said, 'This is what I felt for her father; he was everything that was amiable: and still I cannot help loving him.'"

Of the Marquis of Hertford, who lived on till a later day, can any good thing be recorded? We fear not. "In the last act and deed," wrote Captain Jesse, "of the noble marquis to whom I have alluded, is to be found the index of his life: and if the reader should require illustrations of that life, he will find them among the licentious frescoes of Pompeii. We gaze on the splendid efforts of Poussin's classic pencil, representing the fabulous scenes taken from pagan lore, and fancy that the old recumbent satyr, surrounded by a group of lewd and intoxicated *bacchantes*, pouring over and around him, from chalices brimful, the juice of the purple grape, are but the coarse brutalities of that mythology, and that alone. Not so. These scenes of heathen profligacy are but the type of those that have been enacted in the nineteenth century, in the *Tempio di Venere* of one of the patrician order of this country; of one who, educated in the principles of Christianity, and having the means of blessing and being blessed, died without a claim on the genuine gratitude of his fellow-creatures. For who were they that surrounded the death-bed of this miserable mortal? Menials, and those who had profited by his ill-regulated passions. There was not one individual near him that could be said to have felt a disinterested sorrow. Of this man, it has been observed, that he left the world without doing one really kind or generous action. A dreadful epitaph! Had Hogarth lived in these days, his burin would, probably, have handed down to posterity the deeds of our Charteris—this Pan of our times. The Shakespeare of engravers would have delineated a 'Reading of the Will,' inferior, perhaps, in execution, but more pointed in its moral than that of the British Teniers. If that impure document had really been read in the presence of all those whom it concerned, the scene would have been one to which his bold and graphic crayon would have done justice. He would, probably, have placed us in the chamber of death, with the coffin dressed out in all the rich trappings of ceremonial mourning. We should have seen the noble relatives, hearing, with indifference, the recital of those clauses which deprived them of wealth won, not only in the hells of London and Paris, but from their needy, though gallant, countrymen at Verdun. He would have immortalised the features of 'that excellent man who administered to his appetites;' and round the man of law he would

have grouped the disappointed time-servers, and the base recipients of his favours."

"*Noscitur ab sociis.*" If this be true, what must George IV. have been? What a bitter commentary are their lives, at their termination, on the vanity of an existence devoted to pleasure, of which self alone was the aim. Brummell, although but sixty-two when he died, was in a state of childish imbecility. The clergyman who attended him in his last moments says—"Mr. Brummell was in an imbecile state when I arrived at Caen, and remained so until his death—incapable of remembering any occurrence five minutes together; but occasionally recalling some anecdotes of days long past. Mr. Brummell appeared quite incapable of talking on religious subjects. I failed in every attempt to lead his mind (if he can be said to have retained any power of mind) to their consideration. I never, in the course of my attendance upon the sick, aged, and dying, came in contact with so painful an exhibition of human vanity, and apparent ignorance and thoughtlessness of, and respecting, a future state." And the marquis and the king had little cause for congratulation on their superior condition to that of their friend and companion of gayer years. We all know how they were struck with paralysis, and deprived of all control over the ordinary functions of nature. No wonder they withdrew from society, and shunned the gaze of man.

It is clear, however, that the prince must have had worse companions than Brummell. An apologist of the Beau writes—"On my introduction to Carlton House during the favour of Brummell, Alvanley, and that set, there shone on the mill-pond a gleam of sunshine, such as Ruysdael or Hobbima would throw over their landscapes." Again he observes, that "the Brummell school, if effeminate, conceited, and frivolous in their pursuit of pleasure, pursued it, at least, with less peril to his majesty's lieges than the rufflers of more recent times. Melton, which owes its origin to their sportsmanship, still attests that they were good riders and good fellows, though they smashed neither turnpike gates nor policemen; they drank their claret without forcing buckets of gin down the throats of the swell-mob; and, like certain insect tribes which prey upon each other, their victims were sought and found in their own order of society. It is not always that the scum floating on the surface of every great capital is of so innoxious a nature; theirs was the foam of champagne, not the frothing of *cocculus indicus*."

Miss Cornelia Knight's glimpse of the prince-regent is not flattering. In her *Diary* she writes—"The prince-regent's birthday was kept at the new military college at Sandhurst, where the queen was to present new colours to the cadet battalion. * * * When the queen was about to depart, the prince-regent was not to be found; but we afterwards learned that he, with the Duke of York, Prinee of Orange (the father, first King of the Netherlands), and many others, were under the table. The Duke of York hurt his head very badly against a wine cellaret. In short, it was a sad business." "The prince-regent," said the Duke of Wellington, "was, indeed, the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy, and good feeling; in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good, that I ever saw in any character in my life."

Mr. Grantley Berkeley tells us of an act of generosity on the part of George IV., when Prince of Wales, to a sporting Dorsetshire parson; and adds—"It has been alleged that Butler was the only man to whom the prince behaved well; but from all I have been able to learn, this was not the case. A good many participated, not only in the royal bounty, but in a general kindness of heart, by which, notwithstanding grave faults, his royal highness was characterised." Of the prince's young days, one of the best anecdotes was that told by the late Lord Melbourne, on a memorable occasion: it shows smartness and readiness; and, in spite of its gross profanity (the dandies were all awful swearers), may be briefly condensed as follows:—

Sheridan, it appears, was anxious to become a member of Brookes', but was always excluded by one particular ball, which was found to be that of the cele-

brated George Selwyn. The prince determined that, on the next election, the black ball should be absent. Accordingly, on the evening, he managed to make himself unusually gracious to the ancient wit, who was, of course, greatly flattered by such royal condescension.

"'Now, Sherry,' exclaimed his royal highness, with increased heartiness, 'Do tell Mr. Selwyn that capital story. By G——, George,' he added, turning familiarly to the old gentleman, 'You must hear Sherry tell that. D——m me, if it isn't the drollest thing you ever heard. But I must leave you, my dear fellow, for a few minutes. Don't go away; by G——, I've got something d——d particular to say to you when I come back.'

"The prince hurried out of the room as if he had suddenly recollected an appointment; and George Selwyn, having had the royal command laid upon him, readily gave attention to the promised narrative.

"Sheridan lost no time in plunging into an Irish story of such excessive absurdity that his listener could not avoid showing a lively appreciation of its extravagance. The old gentleman was laughing heartily when the Prince of Wales returned.

"'Sherry, my boy,' he exclaimed, as he entered with a well-affected air of hurry and impatience, 'by G——, Fitzpatrick has laid a wager with Fox, and d——m me if they have not agreed that you shall decide it for them. By G——, Sherry, you must go at once, else there'll be a quarrel.'

"'With all my heart, if your royal highness will go on with my story.'

"'To be sure. You must make haste; they're at high words. By G——, I can't afford to lose such valuable friends.'

"Away went Sheridan, leaving Selwyn anxiously awaiting the end of the tale.

"'Well, George, what is it?' inquired the prince.

"'You promised, sir, to continue the story Mr. Sheridan was telling.'

"'Oh, yes; Sherry's story,' said the prince, in a most hesitating manner—'Of course—of course, my dear George. Where did he leave off?'

"'When Father Tim was going to pocket the bottle of whiskey.'

"'Father Tim!' repeated the prince, evidently ignorant of what was to follow. 'So Father Tim took the whiskey.'

"He began slowly, as if to gain time for recollection.

"'The Irish priests are partial to that beverage, my dear George. D——m me, sir, they prefer it to Burgundy or claret; they do, by G——.'

"'Yes, sir. But this Father Tim—what was he up to, and where was he going when he took the bottle?'

"'Up to, my dear fellow? Going? Of course he was taking it home, to warm his heart with a glass of punch.'

"Selwyn did not appear satisfied with this rational explanation.

"'Well,' continued the narrator, 'the priest went quietly along the road till he came up to a man driving a pig.'

"'Stop, sir. I don't quite comprehend. Your royal highness will be so good as to excuse me: I havn't heard how Father Tim got out of the bog.'

"'The bog!' repeated the prince, a little bewildered with the conviction to finish a story of which he had never heard a word—'the bog! the bog! d——m me, George, I had quite forgot the bog. Of course, he found out his way at last, though not without considerable difficulty, you may depend.'

"'But what became of Biddy Mulroony's gander, and the cock, and the bull, and the roasted soldier?'

"The prince stared at the questioner. Then the absurdity of his position struck his royal highness irresistibly, and he burst into a loud laugh, to his companion's increased mystification. At this crisis Sheridan re-entered the room. 'Congratulate me, my dear Mr. Selwyn,' he heartily exclaimed, shaking him by the hand. The old man thought the quarrel had been settled; but could not quite comprehend the necessity of his joining in so cordial a demonstration.

"'I am very glad, Mr. Sheridan,' he began courteously.

"'Of course you are. I've been elected, unanimously, a member of the club. There was not even one black ball.'

"'Confound you, and your cock-and-bull story,' replied Selwyn, now awaro how completely he had been duped. But his sense of the humorous presently got the better of his mortification, and he joined the prince in laughing at the clever hoax."

In the *Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Hon. George Rose*, considerable light is thrown upon an unpleasant subject—the unfriendly feeling which existed between George III. and the Prince of Wales. It appears that, from his earliest youth, the prince had been a source of pain and sorrow to his father. When he was fourteen years old, the king was very ill. Lord Hertford said—"Think what he must feel at finding already that his son is so headstrong, that he has not the least authority over him." His tutors, too, were driven away by his ungovernable temper. When he was eighteen, and became emancipated from the surveillance under which he had lived, he is described by Walpole as getting drunk, swearing, and intriguing with various women. Mr. Grantley Berkeley tells us that the *liaison* of the prince with Mrs. Robinson commenced before he was twenty. This was the period of the following complaint, quoted by Lord John Russell in his *Memoirs and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*:—"'When we hunt together,' said the king, 'neither my son nor my brother will speak to me; and, lately, when the chase ended at a little village, where there was but a single post-chaise to be had, my son and brother got into it, and left me to get home in a cart, if I could find one.' He complained, too, that the prince, when invited to dine with him, came an hour too late; and all the servants saw the father waiting an hour for the son." From the same authority, we learn that "the Prince of Wales had of late thrown himself into the arms of Charles Fox, and this in the most undisguised manner:" and "in this school did the heir of the crown attend his lessons, and imbibe them. Fox's followers, to whom he never enjoined Pythagorean silence, were strangely licentious in their conversations about the king. At Brookes' they proposed wagers on the duration of his reign; and if they moderated their irreverent jests in the presence of the prince, it was not extraordinary that the orgies might be reported to have passed at Fox's *levées*, or that the king should suspect that the same disloyal topics should be handled in the morning, that he knew had been the themes of each preceding evening." It was believed that he had demanded of the Lord Chancellor and of Lord Ashburton, "what redress he could have against a man who had alienated from him the affections of his son."

In an interview with the prince, in 1785, Sir James Harris proposed to get Mr. Pitt to obtain from parliament an income of £100,000 a year, on condition that he would set £50,000 aside, and cease to be a party man. The prince's answer was—"It will not do. I tell you the king hates me. He would turn out Pitt for entertaining such an idea; besides, I cannot abandon Charles (Fox) and my friends." It is clear, as the prince never found any difficulty in abandoning his friends, this scruple of conscience was, in reality, merely a desire on his part to spite his father. But there is other evidence of the unworthy and unscrupulous behaviour, which provoked the severity of the king, in their private correspondence. That correspondence the prince proposed to publish, because his requests were refused, and his extravagant and dissipated manner of living reprobated. So callous was he, that he said to Lord Malmesbury, who had seen the letters—"I cannot bring myself to say that I am in the wrong, when I am in the right. The king has used me ill; and I wish the public knew what you now know, and had to pronounce between us." His lordship replied—"I should be very sorry indeed, sir, if this was known beyond these walls; for I am much mistaken if the public would not pronounce a judgment widely different from what you think. It is not sufficient for the king to be wrong on one point, unless you are in the right in all;

and as long as any part of your conduct is open to censure, the voice of the public will always go with the king." Nevertheless, the prince published the private correspondence. "Who can wonder," writes Mr. Rose's editor—the Rev. E. V. Harcourt—"that this act of baseness rankled in the royal mind, and proved the only bar to a perfect reconciliation." When, at a subsequent period, a symptom of a better spirit touched the tenderness of a father's heart, the king said to Lord Eldon—"The Prince of Wales' making the offer of having the dear little Charlotte's education and principles attended to, is the best earnest he can give of returning to a sense of what he owes to his father, and, indeed, to his country; and may, to a degree, mollify the feelings of an injured parent. But it will require some reflection before the king can answer how soon he can bring himself to receive the publisher of his letters." Mr. Harcourt adds—"There was another correspondence published in 1803; but that contained only one short letter from the king, and cannot be accepted for the letters to which he alludes." But the manifest incivility which the prince's letters breathe throughout; the almost irony with which he entreats an *affectionate* father to open his ears to the supplications of a *dutiful* son—supplications to which he knew, full well, that the king could not, would not, and ought not to listen—and the prevaricating spirit of altercation with his brother, the Duke of York, who steadfastly resolved to obey his father—show more desire to plague the king, and embarrass his government, than any serious wish to gain his confidence. The old king had reason enough to dislike his eldest son, without being jealous of him, as Lord Brougham insinuates.

George III. had, it seems, according to Mr. Rose, another reason for his dislike to his eldest son. In 1804, his majesty paid Mr. Rose a visit at his country seat, Cuffnells, in Hampshire. On one occasion, as they were out riding, the conversation appears to have been of a peculiarly interesting character. Mr. Rose writes—"Of Lord North, his majesty was beginning to speak in very favourable terms, when we were interrupted by the Princess Amelia (who, with the other princesses, was riding behind us) getting a most unfortunate fall. The horse, on cantering down an inconsiderable hill, came on his head, and threw her royal highness flat on her face. She rose without any appearance of being at all hurt, but evidently a good deal shaken; and notwithstanding an earnest wish to avoid occasioning the slightest alarm, was, herself, not desirous of getting on horseback again; but the king insisted that she should, if at all hurt, get into one of the carriages, and return to Cuffnells to be bled, or else mount another horse, and ride on. She chose the latter, and rode to Southampton, where she lost some blood unknown to the king. I hazarded an advice (that no one else would do) for her royal highness's return, which was certainly not well received; and provoked a quickness from his majesty that I experienced in no other instance. He observed that he could not bear that any of his family should want courage. To which I replied—'I hoped his majesty would excuse me, if I said I thought a proper attention to prevent the ill-effects of an accident that had happened, was no symptom of a want of courage.' He then said, with some warmth—'Perhaps it may be so; but I thank God there is but one of my children who wants courage, and I will not name HIM, *because he is to succeed me.*' I own I was deeply pained at the observation; and dropped behind to speak to General Fitzroy, which gave a turn to the conversation." It must, however, be admitted, that the prince had anxiously sought, or professed to seek, military occupation, in those days of fighting everywhere by sea as well as by land. It may be that the prayer was merely made for the sake of the denial. Let us trust, however, that the prince was in earnest; resolving, in the words of our national dramatist—

"I will redeem all this;
And in the closing of some glorious day,
Be bold to tell you that I am your son;
When I will wear a garment all of blood,
And stain my favours in a bloody mask,
Which, washed away, shall scour my shame with it."

Mr. Raikes gives the following story, on the authority of the Duke of Wellington:—"He said, that among other peculiarities of the king, he had a most extraordinary talent for imitating the manner, gestures, and even voice of other people. So much so, that he could give you the exact idea of any one, however unlike they were to himself. 'On his journey to Hanover,' said the duke, 'he stopped at Brussels, and was received with great attention by the King and Queen of the Netherlands. A dinner was proposed for the following day, at the palace of Lachen, to which he went; and a large party were invited to meet him. His majesty was placed, at the table, between the king and queen. I,' said the duke, 'sat a little way from them, and next to Prince Frederick, of Orange. The dinner passed off very well; but, to the great astonishment of the company, the king and queen, without any apparent cause, were, at every moment, breaking out in violent convulsions of laughter. There appeared to be no particular joke; but every remark our king made to his neighbours threw them into fits. Prince Frederick questioned me as to what could be going on. I shrewdly suspected what it might be, but said nothing. It turned out to be, however, as I thought. The king had long and intimately known the old stadtholder when in England, whose peculiarities at that time were the standing joke at Carlton House, and, of course, the object of the prince's mimicry, who could make himself almost his counterpart. At this dinner, then, he chose to give a specimen of his talent; and at every word he spoke, he so completely took off the stadtholder, that the king and queen were completely thrown off their guard, and could not maintain their composure during the whole of the day.'"

The Duke of York was the king's favourite brother. The most flattering account of him is that given in Mr. Raikes' *Diary*. "His agreeable dinners in the Stable-Yard, St. James's, and constant hospitality at Oatlands, must always be recollected with pleasure, though past, and never to return. The *entourage* of their royal highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, was indeed a little Court, but blended with all the ease and comfort of private life. * * * When assembled under this hospitable roof, every one did as he pleased; and if any exception could be made to such an agreeable existence, it was that we had sometimes rather too much whist. It was, indeed, the duke's passion, and he never would get up as long as he could make an excuse for another rubber. Few characters, in any situation in life, could be placed in competition with the late Duchess of York: she was not only a *très grande dame*, in the fullest sense of the word, but a woman of the most admirable sound sense, and accurate judgment; with a heart full of kindness, beneficence, and charity. After the lamented death of her royal highness, the duke never returned to Oatlands; and, in the course of two or three years, it was sold for £180,000, to Mr. Ball Hughes. The duke then, almost entirely, lived in London; and his chief amusement was planning and building that splendid palace in the Stable-Yard, on the site of his old residence; which he never lived to inhabit, and has since become the property of the Duke of Sutherland. His kindness and good-nature to all around him was beyond expression. When Colonel Berkeley, his aide-de-camp, died, he cried like a child in my presence. As to taking offence, it did not seem to be in his nature. I remember once, at Brighton, he asked Keatinge—a good-natured Irishman, but not very refined in his ideas—to dine with him, and make up his rubber at whist. Keatinge won; and not having received the money, being accustomed to punctuality, he wrote, some days afterwards, to remind his royal highness of his debt, which was immediately paid. Keatinge, in return, by way of expressing his gratitude, began his letter with the following quotation:—

> "'Now is the winter of my discontent,
> Made glorious by the summer sun of York.'

"It was a liberty which would not have suited many princes of the blood; but the duke only laughed. * * * It was also a peculiar quality in the duke, that

he never was known to desert an old friend. Tom Stepney, I believe, tried him as high as any one; but still they were never entirely estranged: and though Brummell, on his departure from England, had given too much cause to the world, and, indeed, to his friends, to speak harshly of him, and remarks even of this nature were at times, by some people, brought forward, even at his royal highness's own table, I never knew or heard of an instance in which he did not immediately check them. It was not in his nature to speak ill of those he once liked; neither could he bear the feeling in others. The duke took, at all times, much pleasure in the amusements of the turf; and had, at one time, a string of very good race-horses at Newmarket, under the management of Mr. W. Lake; but I never heard of his deriving much profit from those speculations, owing, perhaps, to that strictly honourable feeling by which he was guided in this as well as in every other transaction of his life. * * * With those of us who then kept house—Yarmouth, Alvanley, Foley, Worcester, myself, and others—he would always readily come and dine without ceremony, as a private individual; but in London, we, by common consent, avoided the whist-table among ourselves. Other hosts, who were more anxious to flatter the taste of his royal highness, were probably left up till four in the morning. His constitution, at last, began to give way; and though his disorder appeared to be asthma, from the difficulty of breathing in bed (which increased to such a degree, that he latterly slept in his arm-chair), it was, at length, pronounced to be dropsy. His private surgeon, Macgregor, who attended him, from first to last, with the greatest attention, has often told me that he imputed the complaint of his royal highness, not only to late hours, but to the want of necessary rest, which ultimately exhausted him. Hence his tendency to sleep after dinner, and, in travelling, the instant he was in his carriage; which arose from pure lassitude and exhaustion. He always rose early, at whatever hour he may have gone to bed; and that constant sedentary position tended to cramp and check the circulation of the blood, particularly in one of so full and gross a habit. In other respects, he was by no means given to any excess; and had he allowed himself that proper, wholesome sleep which nature requires, he might have been alive at this day (1833). What between his vigils at night, and his early attendance, as Commander-in-Chief, at the Horse-guards in the morning, he sacrificed a life most valuable to the country and his friends. His last illness was not painful, except from the punctures in his legs, to relieve the accumulation of water; and he sunk quietly, without a struggle, in his arm-chair, at the Duke of Rutland's house, in Arlington (which was lent to him). The body was removed to St. James's Palace, where it lay in state; and was interred with the usual funereal pomp. It was a mournful ceremony. The night was cold in the extreme, and the whole scene very affecting to those who *really* felt on the melancholy occasion. It is not for me to write the character of the Duke of York; his rank and his services claim for him a page in history. In his politics, he was a Tory; in his religion, a high churchman; in his profession, a most assiduous Commander-in-Chief; in his public life, a warm supporter of the British constitution; and in his private life, a staunch friend, a kind master, and a most amiable, kind-hearted man. Had he lived to the present day, his firmness would have guarded us from many of the visitations which have since been inflicted on this country." Here we may reasonably differ from Mr. Raikes.

In spite of the monstrosities of the Brighton pavilion, George IV. was a man of taste.

His patronage of art was genuine and profound. It was displayed almost as soon as he had the power to render it beneficial. While forming a collection of the great masters of painting, when Prince of Wales, he said—"We have lost the magnificent collection of Charles I. I will do what I can to supply its place." And when he had succeeded in getting together a series of *chef-d'œuvres*, of which any sovereign might be proud, he is said to have observed—"I have not formed it for my own pleasure alone, but to gratify the public taste, and lay before the artist

the best specimens for his study." This enlightened and patriotic resolution he fulfilled by exhibiting these fine pictures, for two successive seasons, in the galleries of the British Institution, in Pall Mall. With the same enlightened judgment he encouraged the plan, and materially assisted, in founding the National Gallery. His magnificent patronage of Lawrence, Wilkie, and other English painters—of Chantrey, Westmacott, and other English sculptors—of Nash, Soane, and other English architects—shows how genuine and active was the interest he felt for each department of art. His patronage of literature was equally enlightened and liberal. In the year 1800, he sent the Rev. Mr. Hayter to Naples, to facilitate the unrolling and transcribing certain rolls of papyri, that had been discovered while making excavations in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and presented four of these MSS. to the University of Oxford. The Literary Fund was established under his auspices, and supported by him with an annual grant of 200 guineas. He took a lively interest in establishing the Royal Society of Literature. In 1823, he sanctioned the reprint of a series of our ancient historians; and, in 1825, placed at the disposal of the Royal Society, two gold medals, to further their labours for the advancement of science; and, lastly, he presented to the British Museum the fine library of George III.—upwards of 85,000 volumes of well-selected works—as a free gift to the nation. Nor ought the important precedent he established, by the dignity he bestowed on Walter Scott, to be forgotten. To many he was a liberal patron. He did a number of generous things, and in a handsome way. If he had a little of what Miss Knight terms "the bad style of Windsor manners," that was not his fault.

Opinions about his majesty seem divided. "Although," writes one contemporary, "the habits, and perhaps the artificial polish in the manners of George IV., prevented him from ever becoming an object of enthusiastic attachment to his people, still there was much in his character which gratified the national pride. He was magnificent, generous, and, above all the princes of his house, great and prosperous. The annals of this island contain no period superior in glory to his regency, and few so distinguished for liberality as his reign. England may boast of kings more renowned for personal achievements; but the united throne of the three kingdoms has never been occupied by so splendid a prince. He was greatly fortunate beyond the ordinary lot of man. He was esteemed the handsomest man of his time; and his accomplishments were celebrated for their refinement. In benignity of manners, as well as in the graces of social life, he had no equal: his superiority, in all these respects, justly obtained for him the title of the first gentleman of the age." Says another—"It might sound sarcastic or ironical to pretend that the associates of George IV. were selected by that prince from a manly confidence in his own capacity for repelling vice, and resisting the temptations of the profligate. George IV. may, indeed, have felt that confidence; but rugged must have been the virtue which could have justified such perpetual exposure. We do not wish to press hard upon the weakness of human nature, nor insist on it as an argument so much of anger as of sorrow, that the late king, before his twentieth year, was supposed to have been initiated in all the vices by which an advanced, and affluent, and corrupt society is infected. We do not complain with a too morose rigidity, that the gaming-table—which exhausts the most immeasurable resources, and which creates and feeds the vilest and most hateful passions—was familiar to the youthful prince. His royal highness could throw off, and did, successively, all the companions of his earlier years; except, perhaps, those habits of life which are the sole, but brief and precarious, bond of such immoral intercourse. Nor would it, but for what follows after, be our duty to bring forward the mortifying fact, that not one, but a series of licentious favourites, are understood to have presided over the royal household of George IV., and to have affixed upon his Court a character the reverse of that by which his father's reign was distinguished. The late king had many generations of intimates with whom he led a course of life, the character of which rose little higher than that of animal indulgence. The royal taste, in the

choice of male companions, usually exhibited its changes at the same period which marked the transfer of his affections from one fair favourite to another. But never, we lament to say, except in the instance of Lord Moira, with whom the friendship was of the holiday kind—showy, not solid; and in that of Sheridan, where the alliance was a traffic of dexterous and familiar services against the hope of patronage—never have we seen recorded, among the prince's associates, the name of one man distinguished in the world for any intellectual attributes; we say nothing of the moral, which it would not have been charity to forget." A third writer steers a middle course—"The late king is allowed to have been of a kind and benevolent disposition, and to have taken much delight in promoting the happiness of all around. We consider the events which grew out of his unfortunate marriage to form no exception; because here he resented an attempt to abridge his own happiness; and he acted, throughout, under the influence of strong excitement. But he took no delight in abridging the happiness or pleasure of those who did not come into collision with himself. He was born the heir to a throne, and taught to believe that he was entitled to every indulgence. Hence the defects in his character, which became the source of so much misery to him in after-life. Though averse to interfere with the course of the administration, yet this well-known love of moderation was not without its effect on his public servants. To the love of repose, therefore, in the late king, coupled with his moderation and benevolence, we owe the simple and straightforward march of the government; the absence of Court intrigue; the toleration which allowed public opinion to attain confidence and strength; and many other national blessings."

From a pen seldom given to flattery, we take the following sketch. In his *History of the Whigs*, Mr. John Arthur Roebuck writes—"But George IV. was dead; his reign was at an end; and the historian may, at this epoch, be permitted to pause for a moment, and remark on the character of a man with whom the Whigs, during his early life and manhood, had been allied as personal friends and political advisers; and against whom, in his later years, they had exhibited a bitter political animosity, rendered fierce, rancorous, and unremitting by a sense of personal wrong, resulting from his grievous disappointment of their long-cherished and ambitious expectations. The generation whom he has injured has now, for the most part, passed away; and we are far enough removed from the interests and passions of the times in which he lived, to be impartial in our judgment respecting him, and those with whom he acted, in so far as impartiality depends upon the absence of all mere personal feelings. The picture, as we regard it, is one simply of historic interest. No one now regards George IV. with more of personal feeling than if he were one of the Tudors and Stuarts; and the fact of this utter absence of every sign or symptom of sympathy towards a powerful king, who died, comparatively, but a few years since, is a damning proof of the worthlessness of the man who is, even now, only remembered because he was once a king.

"From the commencement to the end of his career, there was one thing, and one thing only, which he regarded, and that was himself. Sympathy with another he never felt; love he never knew, and, we suspect, never inspired; of friendship he was equally ignorant. When a boy, and fancying himself in love, just at the age, and under the influence of emotions which would have kindled in him some generosity, if any spark had existed which could have been fanned into a flame, he was base, sordid, and cruel. But his mistress, poor Perdita, was not better used than the most illustrious of his friends, Mr. Fox; his conception of the duties of friendship being not more exalted than his view of that passion which he was pleased to denominate love. His own gratification was all he sought; and that he sought, utterly reckless of every consideration but his own wishes and desires. Of truth he was wholly regardless himself; and, without scruple, led Mr. Fox to assert, solemnly, in his own name, that which he (the prince) knew to be a falsehood. Mr. Fox is said never to have forgiven the insult, and to have withdrawn himself from a companionship which required such degrading services,

so soon as he discovered the falsehood of the denial, which, in the name of the prince, he had given to the assertion, that a marriage had been celebrated between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert. This indignant renunciation of this unworthy friendship does Mr. Fox honour. Had the party of which Mr. Fox was the acknowledged head, followed his example, their fame would not have been tarnished as it is now by the foul fellowship to which they submitted; neither would they have suffered that bitter disappointment of their hopes which occurred upon the insanity of King George III., and which proved the fitting punishment and retribution of that base subserviency which their diseased ambition led them to evince. The Whigs, for their own party purposes, allied themselves against the king. In their scramble for power, they highly valued him as an auxiliary; they extenuated his vices; excused his extravagance; endeavoured to persuade parliament to pay the debts which this wild extravagance had entailed on him. Spite of his gross conduct to his wife, they countenanced and supported him; and, at last, only discovered his baseness and his vice when he treated their unworthy services as they deserved to be treated—contemptuously flinging them off the moment they ceased to be necessary and useful.

"In the conduct of George, after he became monarch, there is little, excepting that which regarded the queen, which distinguished him from the common herd of ordinary sovereigns. Age and dissipation had, by that time, so tamed his passions, that mere ease was his chief enjoyment. This ease he best consulted by yielding to, and floating with, the current of opinion. He therefore determined to allow the leaders of the great Tory party, in both houses of the legislature, to decide upon what the exigencies of the state required. To the people he rendered the best and only service he could, by withdrawing from the world, and shutting himself up in Windsor, with such associates as suited his crapulous tastes and faded desires. Decorum was at least maintained by the secrecy which he sought; and the less he interfered with the business of the state, the better was his rule. From the great events which occurred while he was prince-regent, he derived no honour. He contributed no more to the victories of the Duke of Wellington than his father did to the discoveries of Watt. Posterity will regard him simply as a chronological mark, useful as showing when certain great deeds were achieved; but in no other way deriving from them either honour or renown."

George IV. was nearly forgotten by his former subjects, when he was recalled to their memory by the pomp of a royal funeral, which took place at Windsor, on the 15th of July; William IV. acting as chief mourner, supported by all his royal brothers.

In both houses of parliament there were votes of condolence, and the usual amount of routine and insincere talk. The Duke of Wellington went so far as to say, that "the manners of George IV. had received a polish, his understanding acquired a degree of cultivation, almost unknown to any individual." He further added, that "his late majesty, on every occasion, displayed a degree of knowledge and of talent not often to be expected of an individual holding his high station." Sir Robert Peel gravely said—"Posterity will regard his late majesty as a sovereign who, during war, maintained the honour and advanced the glory of England; and who, during the whole period of his delegated trust, or of his reign as sovereign, never exceeded, or wished to exercise, a prerogative of the crown except for the advancement of his people. I am not overstepping the bounds of sober truth, when I state that his majesty was an enlightened friend of liberty; that he was an admirable judge and liberal patron of the fine arts: and I can, from my own personal experience, assert that his heart was ever open to any appeal which could be made to his benevolence, and to the saving of human life, or the mitigation of human suffering." To this eulogy Mr. Brougham assented. Yet, later, as Lord Brougham wrote and published to the world—"It is impossible to separate from the history of George IV. that of his wife; for it is united with the most remarkable features of his character—boundless caprice; his arbitrary

nature; his impatience of contradiction and restraint; his recklessness of consequences, when resolved to attain a private end—qualities which, if guided by a desire of compassing greater ends, and sustained by adequate courage, would have aroused a struggle for absolute power, fatal either to the liberties of the country or to the existence of monarchy." If this was his lordship's feeling—if he thus thought, how could he have joined in the unmeaning eulogy which all parties expressed?—eulogy not creditable to those who uttered it, and very cruel as regards kings, queens, and princes, who are taught to believe that, whatever may be the faults and excesses of their lives, over their graves moralists and statesmen will utter nothing but the language of praise.

And now let us speak of the times of George IV. It has been said that the reign of George III. was that of public and private virtue; the reign of George IV., that of national fame and glory; the reign of William IV., that of domestic kindness and happiness. There is here an omission, which has been lost sight of as regards the reign of George IV.; and which we now propose to supply. If asked for the great characteristic of George IV.'s reign, we should point to the canals, bridges, railways, and mechanical improvements, which have since been continued on a scale unsurpassed and undreamt of. At Rotherhithe, in 1825, Mr. Brunel commenced the great work of the Thames Tunnel. For a long time the public were sceptical as to the possibility of the construction of a street or road, for carriages and horsemen, beneath the bed of the river Thames. Twice the river broke in, and the work had again to be resumed. A further difficulty was the want of funds; and an appeal was made to the head of the government, which met with a favourable reception. A meeting was called at the Freemason's Tavern, which was attended by the Premier, the Duke of Cambridge, and other persons of distinction. The Duke of Wellington addressed the company on the importance of the undertaking, and stated that a sum of £200,000 was wanted to ensure its completion. He proposed that the sum should be raised by subscription, and debentures of from £20 to £100. The proposition was cordially received. The Duke of Cambridge warmly advocated the subscription. He stated that, having lived many years abroad, he knew that the Thames Tunnel was looked upon as the greatest work that was ever undertaken. The pride of the country was at stake; and, therefore, it could not fail of being completed. The propositions at the meeting were unanimously passed; the Dukes of Wellington and Cambridge each subscribing £500. The way being thus smoothed, progress was made of a rapid description: and George IV. lived to see the Thames Tunnel fast advancing to completion.

In 1830, a terrible disaster marked the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, and removed out of the world the great free-trader of that time. Mr. Huskisson, as it is known, was knocked down by an engine as he was attempting to speak to the Duke of Wellington; and had to endure an amputation, from the shock of which he never recovered. Mr. Huskisson's political career commenced at Paris. He was not only present at the taking of the Bastile, but at a sitting of the Jacobin Club. He shortly after accepted the post of private secretary to the English ambassador at Paris (Lord Gower). In 1792 he returned to England; and, in 1795, succeeded Sir Evan Nepean as Under-Secretary of State. At the general election, in the following year, he was returned to parliament for Morpeth. Mr. Huskisson was fond of farming on a large scale, and devoted himself to it at his estate at Eartham, near Chichester, Sussex. He lost his post when Mr. Pitt retired from the government in 1801; but had a pension of £1,200 a year. After an unsuccessful contest for Dover, he remained out of parliament till 1804, when he was returned for Liskeard, and became one of Mr. Pitt's Secretaries of State. When Mr. Fox joined the administration, he went into opposition. He took office under Mr. Perceval; but retired with Mr. Canning. In 1812, he became colonial agent for Ceylon, with £4,000 a year; and, two years subsequently, was sworn of the Privy Council, when he received the appointment of Commissioner of the

Woods and Forests. From this time he took a prominent part in every important discussion; and succeeded Mr. Canning, as representative of Liverpool, in 1822. In the following January he became Treasurer of the Navy; and, a few months later, President of the Board of Trade. On the formation of Lord Goderich's administration, after the death of Mr. Canning, he accepted the office of Colonial Secretary, in which post he was retained by the Duke of Wellington till the misunderstanding to which we have already referred took place. Mr. Huskisson published, in 1810, a pamphlet, entitled *The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined.* The awful suddenness of his death produced general sympathy: his funeral, at Liverpool, was attended by nearly 20,000 persons; and a public subscription was entered into, for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory. He deserved especial remembrance from the Liberal party, as one of the earliest advocates of free-trade and financial reforms. He was sensible and lucid in his speeches, but never ranked as an orator of the first class. This disaster was the first that had occurred under the railway system—the system that has lavished on modern England such wealth and fame. A generation has barely elapsed since the death of Mr. Huskisson, and now the railway interest is, perhaps, the strongest in the land; and not a nation exists but is familiar with the muscular form and gigantic labours of the British "navvy."

It is not so very long since all wise and practical men, and all men of good common sense, laughed at railways. In the time of George IV., the increasing commerce of the country had become so great, that the established channels of communication were found insufficient for its transit. This was especially felt in those great seats of industry, Manchester and Liverpool; and an iron road was planned, extending from one to the other, along which passengers and goods were to be carried by the power of steam. Every report which could promote a prejudice, every rumour which could affect a principle, was spread. The country gentleman was told that the smoke would kill the birds as they passed over the locomotive. The public were informed that the weight of the engine would prevent its moving; and the manufacturer was told that the sparks from its chimney would burn his goods. The passenger was frightened by the assertion that life and limb would be endangered: the promised speed held to be a perfect delusion. Mr. Stanley undertook to prove that the railway would take ten hours in its journey, and that the trains could only be worked by horses. Sir Isaac Coffin denounced it as a most flagrant imposition: he would not consent to see widows' premises invaded. Even Mr. Huskisson was unable to reply to an opponent, who asked—"What was to be done with all those who have advanced money in making and repairing turnpike roads? What with those who may still wish to travel in their own or hired carriages, after the fashion of their forefathers? What was to become of coach-makers, coachmen, innkeepers, horse-breeders, and horse-dealers? The beauty and the comfort of country gentlemen's estates would be destroyed by it. Was the House aware of the smoke, and the noise, the hiss and the whirl which locomotive engines, passing at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, would occasion? Neither the cattle ploughing in the fields, or grazing in the meadows, could behold them without dismay. Leaseholders and tenants, agriculturists, graziers, and dairymen would all be in arms. * * * * Iron would be raised in price 100 per cent.; or, more probably, it would be exhausted altogether."

As a further illustration of the scepticism on the subject, especially with regard to speed, let us quote the opinion of a well-known engineer, who deprecated "the ridiculous expectations that we should see engines travelling at the rate of twelve, sixteen, eighteen, or twenty miles. Nothing could do more harm towards their general adoption and improvement than the promulgation of such nonsense." Or let us quote the *Quarterly Review*, which exclaimed—"What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous, than the prospect held out of locomotives travelling twice as fast as stage-coaches! We should as soon expect the people of Wool-

wich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine, going off at such a rate." Nor was this folly confined to these few. An eminent parliamentary lawyer affirmed that it would be an impossibility to start a locomotive in a gale of wind, "either by poking the fire, or keeping up the pressure of steam till the boiler is ready to burst."

How Stephenson was badgered by Alderson is worth recording here. "Of course (the question is put with reference to the proposed speed), when a body is moving upon a road, the greater the velocity, the greater the momentum that is generated?" "Certainly." "What would be the momentum of forty tons, moving at the rate of twelve miles an hour?" "It would be very great." "Have you seen a railroad that would stand that?" "Yes." "Where?" "Any railroad that would bear going four miles an hour." "Taking it at four miles an hour, do you mean to say that it would not require a stronger railway to carry the same weight twelve miles an hour?" "I will give an answer to that. Every one, I dare say, has been over the ice when skating, or seen persons go over, and they know that it would bear them at a greater velocity than it would if they went slower: when it goes quick, the weight, in a manner, ceases." "Is not that upon the hypothesis that the railway is perfect?" "Yes, and I mean to make it perfect," was George Stephenson's triumphant reply. The town wit was no match for the northern mechanic.

The lawyer continued—"Do not wrought-iron rails bend? Take Hetton Colliery, for instance." "They are wrought-iron, but they are weak rails." "Do you not know that they bend?" "Perhaps they may, not being made sufficiently strong." "And if made sufficiently strong, that will involve additional expense?" "It will." "You say the machine can go at the rate of twelve miles an hour. Suppose there is a turn upon the road, what will become of the machine?" "It would go round the turn." "Would it not go straight forward?" "No." "What is to be the height of the flanch of the wheel?" "One inch and a quarter." "Then, if the rail bends to the extent of an inch and a quarter, it will go off the rail!" "It cannot bend. I know it is so in practice." "Did you ever see forty tons going at the rate of twelve miles an hour?" "No, but I have seen the engine running from eight to ten miles round a curve." "What was the weight moved?" "I think little except the engine." "Do you mean to tell us that no difference is to be made between those forty tons after the engine and the engine itself?" "It is scarcely worth notice." "Then, though the engine might turn round and follow the turn, do you mean to say that the weight after it would not pass off?" "I have stated that I never saw such a weight move at that velocity; but I could see, at Killingworth, that the weight was following the engines; and it is a very sharp curve; it is a sharper curve there than any I should ever recommend to be put upon a railroad." "Have you ever known a stage-coach overturn when making not a very sharp curve, when going very fast?" "That is a different thing; it is topheavy." "Will none of your waggons be topheavy?" "They will not."

As early as 1813, Sir Richard Phillips had watched a horse-railway, near Croydon. He says—"I found delight in witnessing, at Wandsworth, the economy of horse-labour on the iron railway. Yet a heavy sigh escaped me as I thought of the inconceivable millions of money which had been spent about Malta, four or five of which might have been the means of extending double lines of iron railway from London to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Holyhead, Milford Haven, Falmouth, Yarmouth, Dover, and Portsmouth. A reward of a single thousand would have supplied coaches, and other vehicles of various degrees of speed, with the best tackle for readily turning out; and we might, ere this, have witnessed our mail-coaches running at the rate of ten miles an hour, drawn by a single horse; or impelled fifteen miles an hour by Blenkinsop's steam-engine. Such would have been a legitimate motive for overstepping the income of a nation; and the completion of so great and useful a work would have afforded rational ground for public triumph in general jubilee."

In 1814, Stephenson's "Puffing Billy," as it was called, began to run on the Killingworth railway.

It appears, as early as 1816, a project then in contemplation for making a canal from Charleroi to the mining districts of Belgium, first suggested to one Mr. Thomas Gray the superior alternative of a railroad—a proposal which, it is curious to observe, has since received the sanction of the Belgian government, as the "Entre, Sambre, and Meuse Railway." Gray shortly afterwards published his *Observations on a General Iron Railway, or Land Steam Conveyance, to supersede the necessity of Horses in all Public Vehicles.* This publication was followed by several petitions from the author to the various ministers of state, from 1820 to 1823; yet, though the book went through five editions, the petitions were disregarded both by the government and the commercial and mercantile interests to which they were addressed. Gray's first recommendation was to make the railway experiment between Manchester and Liverpool, which shows how well he appreciated both the merits of the scheme, and the want of rapid communication between manufacturing and export towns. In his work he minutely details the advantages derivable from railway transit for cheap supplies of fish, and other perishable produce, to the interest of the country; the regulations and accelerations of post-office carriage by morning and evening mails, so as to ensure two deliveries and despatches in each day. Yet poor Gray's work was ridiculed in the *Edinburgh Review*, and the author pronounced to be a madman, who ought to be shut up in Bedlam.

In a few short years all this was changed. Instead of ducking railway engineers in horse-ponds, they were honoured with statues; railways covered the land; and every one with money invested in them. According to a parliamentary return, on the 31st of December, 1863, there were 12,322 miles of railway open in the United Kingdom. During the year there had been an increase of 771 miles; in 1862, 682 miles; and, in 1861, it was only 466 miles; and that was a very large increase on 1860. In 1865, no fewer than 296 railway bills were brought before parliament (without reckoning such as were entitled Railway Bills, but related to steam-boats, and other extraneous objects); and, of these, 201 became law; consequently we may consider the demand for railways an increasing one. As it is, it is calculated that the lines already in existence have a gross capital of £500,000,000; an annual income of more than £31,000,000; and an expenditure of £15,000,000. Ten years ago, Mr. Robert Stephenson stated that there were then nearly seventy miles of railway tunnels; 25,000 bridges, besides numerous viaducts, one of which, at London, extended for nearly eleven miles. The earthworks alone average 70,000 cubic yards a mile, which Mr. Stephenson estimated would amount to 550,000,000 cubic yards; and which, reared in the form of a pyramid, would dwarf St. Paul's cathedral into the merest pigmy, since it would be half a mile in diameter, and a mile and a-half in height. Four years ago, it was calculated that the lines then in existence required no less than 2,765,500 tons of iron; would rest on 60,000,000 iron chairs; and would consume more than 3,660,000 tons of iron for the permanent way. At that time it was also estimated (the wear and tear of the rail being half a pound a yard annually), it required, every year, 24,000 tons to be replaced, and 240,000, every year, to be rolled again. These rails were supported by some 30,000,000 timber sleepers, which must be renewed at the rate of more than 2,400,000 a year; to provide which, 360,000 trees must be felled, each yielding six sleepers, and occupying, for the purposes of growth, 6,000 acres of land. The supply of locomotives is about one for every two miles. These locomotives, weighing five or six tons, drawing thirty passenger carriages, at thirty miles an hour, cost £3,000 each. Before starting, such an engine is supplied with a ton of coals, and from 1,000 to 1,500 gallons of water, for the journey. These railways have altered the face of the country. Little could George IV., or the men of his day, have understood the change which would be effected by the railway system, or the wealth and industry it would create and vivify.

In 1862, the total number of passengers, in the United Kingdom, was 180,429,071. In 1863, it was 204,635,075, an increase of over 24,000,000, though 1862 was the year of the Great Exhibition; and, as might be supposed, an exceptional year. The eagerness with which any new railway facilities are seized, is strikingly displayed by the fact, that the average number of passengers by the Metropolitan Railway during the year (it was opened in January, 1863), was 21,000 daily; and, during the first six months of 1864, about 28,000 daily. Again, the opening of the London and Chatham and Dover Railway, from the "Elephant and Castle" to the new station at the south side of Blackfriars Bridge, was immediately followed, say the directors, in their report, "by a very large extension of traffic, both upon the Metropolitan extension line, and upon the lines of the general undertaking." The number of passengers passing in and out of the Blackfriars station, since its opening, has averaged considerably over 60,000 per week; and the directors experienced a proportionately large increase when they continued it to the central terminus at the foot of Ludgate Hill.

Of the 204½ millions of passengers who travelled by railway, in the United Kingdom, in 1863, 26,068,000 were first-class; 57,476,669 second-class; and 121,617,917 third-class; the increase being, of the first-class, 12·90 per cent.; of the second, 10·81; and of the third, 14·81 per cent. By a comparison of the passenger traffic of the three kingdoms, some suggestive differences are brought out. As might be expected, the Irishman travels least, and the Englishman most. In Ireland the proportion of first-class passengers is highest; whilst in Scotland, as we may suppose, from the greater economy of the people, third-class preponderate very much. In Ireland, the number of journeys to each individual of the population is only two; in Scotland, six-and-a-half; and, in England and Wales (the latter must tend to keep down the average), eight-and-a-half. The total receipts of the railways in the United Kingdom, from first-class passengers, during 1863, were £3,368,676; from second-class, £4,201,105; and from third-class, £4,933,073. It is strange, indeed, that railway directors generally treat their third-class passengers the worst. It seems a direct violation of all the rules of trade.

That all this travelling must have a great influence on the habits, occupations, and tastes of the labouring population, is too plain to admit of doubt. The skilled artisan is no longer tied, even in his hours of labour, to the immediate vicinity of his home. If employment fail in one town, he can readily turn to another; if he find temporary employment at a distance, he need neither remove his family nor break up his home, nor altogether lose its comforts; if he is too far off to return home every evening, he can, at a trifling cost, spend his Saturday night and his Sunday at home. The agricultural labourer is also, in his measure, reaping the benefit of the rail. How much has the health of the middle classes been improved by the rail! The merchant, the banker, or the wealthy trader has long forsaken London as a place of abode, and lives where he and his family can breathe a purer air.

Accidents on railways may be said to be on the decrease. In 1863, there were fifty-two happened to passenger trains: of these, ten were the result of collisions between passenger trains; twenty-two, of collisions between passenger and other trains and engines; six, of trains running off the line through tho points being wrong; ten occurred from trains, or portions of trains, getting off the line; three from accidents to wheels or machinery; and one from couplings breaking. The total number of passengers killed by these accidents was thirteen; wounded, 400. In the previous year, the total number of killed was twenty-four; injured, 536.

But the subject of most importance as regards our commercial relations, and on which we must lightly touch, is that of the goods traffic. Its stupendous extent is evinced by the fact that, in 1863, the receipts from it exceeded those from the passenger traffic considerably over £2,000,000; an increase of £1,500,000

of the previous year. In ten years they had increased considerably more than £7,000,000. The total receipts from goods traffic in the United Kingdom, in 1863, were £16,634,869. Towards this great total, England and Wales contributed, as may be supposed, by far the larger portion—£13,950,406; Scotland next, £2,108,088; and Ireland least, £442,111. Again, the different character of the countries is shown in the very different proportions of the several classes of the goods under which the sums are made up. They are—England and Wales—general merchandise, £8,980,818; minerals, £4,504,434; live stock, £465,154. Scotland—general merchandise, £1,155,500; minerals, £885,080; live stock, £67,508. Ireland—general merchandise, £442,111; live stock, £104,111; minerals, £30,153. The main items of quantity composing the enormous goods traffic of England and Wales, were—general merchandise, 26,741,928 tons; minerals 55,613,641 tons: of which, coals were 39,737,074 tons; horses, 226,439; cattle, 2,123,833; sheep, 6,076,908; pigs, 1,270,561. In Scotland, the cattle and sheep were in about the same proportion as in England; whilst pigs were a small minority —the cattle numbering 502,765; sheep, 1,214,771; and pigs only 71,218. In Ireland, on the other hand, the cattle were more numerous than the sheep, and above those in Scotland; and pigs, of course, far above either: cattle being, 528,743; sheep, 470,205; and pigs, 770,941. It is noticeable, also, that the horses conveyed by railway in Ireland, exceeded those in Scotland by nearly 1,000: the numbers being, respectively, 24,826 and 23,973. Further, it is to be remarked, that though the receipts from goods in the United Kingdom were so much larger than from passengers, the number of goods trains which ran through the year was less by about 1,100,000. The number of miles travelled by them was not very different (passenger trains, 61,032,143; goods, 55,560,018): the explanation is, that goods trains are generally through trains; whilst a large proportion of the passenger trains run only short distances.

There is another aspect of railways not to be overlooked. The tax-paying public must regard them with some complacency. Not only do they, by the sums assessed on lines and stations, contribute largely towards local rates, but they are, to a degree not commonly suspected, sharers in the burdens of the property-tax. "The land occupied by railways in Great Britain," said the president of the Institution of Civil Engineers, a few years since, "is under 200,000 acres, including stations and other conveniences. The land used for agricultural purposes is about 40,000,000 acres: and yet the railway system, occupying only about ½ per cent. of the total area of the land, pays nearly as great an amount of property-tax as is paid by the farmers." This is remarkable, though there is a fallacy in the implied comparison. "The railway system," as Mr. James Thorne has remarked, "does not pay income-tax on the products of the land it occupies, but on the profits arising from the work it accomplishes. It would be as accurate to reckon the acres occupied by certain manufacturers, or for certain city offices, and point out, for comparison, that the bankers and stockbrokers, who occupy only about one-hundredth or thousandth per cent. of the total area of the land, pay nearly as great an amount of property-tax as is paid by farmers. The railway system needs no such strained comparisons. Its greatness is palpable and acknowledged. That, like every other capitalist and producer, it pays its full share of the taxes, both local and national, is what every tax-payer devoutly trusts: at the largeness of the sum he will admire and rejoice. The amount paid by the companies in this way, was, in 1863, a round million."

Thus the benefits of railways are extending far and wide, drawing together the whole family of man. The schemes that were suggested a few years since, in derision, are now being executed. The Thames Tunnel is to be turned into a railway. A submarine line between England and France is seriously contemplated. Europe is uniting its great cities and ports by links of iron. Whilst we write, the prospectus appears of the Mount Cenis Railway Company, of which the Duke of Sutherland is chairman, to work a locomotive railway from St. Michael, in Savoy,

to Susa, in Piedmont, a distance of forty-eight miles, connecting the railways of France with those of Italy, whereby an improved route will be created from France and England to Italy, Egypt, and the East, and a saving of two days effected in the transit of the Indian mail. The directors—men versed in such matters, such as Sir Morton Peto and Mr. Brassey—anticipate a profit of 18 per cent.

Nor, since the Peace Society has not induced men and monarchs to forego the art of war, must we overlook the influence of the railway in military matters. It helped the French to achieve the victories of Marengo and Solferino; it aided North America in its determination utterly to destroy the power and pride of the South.

The immense industrial progress, under the regency and the reign of George IV., was by no means confined to railway matters. "Puffing Billy" was a fact; and a wonderful one too. Mr. Smiles has remarked—and the remark is an appropriate one—"It may possibly excite the reader's surprise to learn how very modern England is in all that relates to skilled industry, which appears to have been among the very youngest growths of our national life."

"There was no mail-coach north of Aberdeen," says Lord Cockburn, "till, I think, after the battle of Waterloo." In 1802, the government requested Mr. Telford to make surveys of Scotland, and report on the means of improving the bridges and roads; and he stated, in detail, the wretched condition of the country, and the means necessary for its amelioration. In the following year, a series of practical improvements were commenced, which led to the construction of 921 miles of roads, and 1,200 bridges through the Highlands—half at the cost of the government, and half to be defrayed by local assessment. The impulse thus given led to the formation of numberless country roads, the landowners of Sutherland alone making 300 miles at their own cost. The effects of these improvements were immediate. Agriculture was developed: instead of manure being carried on women's backs, it was conveyed in carts; for the roads were practicable. Cottages took the place of mud biggins; the dunghill was put outside the house; tartan tatters were exchanged for the woollens of Glasgow and Manchester; the plough superseded the crooked sticks, headed with iron, that had been employed; improved tools were introduced; wheelwrights, cartwrights, and skilled artisans came into existence; trade flourished in new directions; illicit distillation gave way to honest callings; indolence was exchanged for industry; and the moral habits of the working classes were ameliorated. Referring to the beneficial results thus produced, Mr. Telford said—"I consider these improvements among the greatest blessings ever conferred on any country. About £20,000 has been granted in fifteen years. It has been the means of advancing the country at least a century." Wales was similarly improved. As an illustration of the state of the roads, we may mention that, so late as 1803, when Lord Sudeley took home his bride from the neighbourhood, only thirteen miles distant, their carriage stuck in a quagmire, and they had to proceed on foot. In 1808, the post-office authorities wished to put on a mail-coach between Shrewsbury and Holyhead; but it was found that the road was dangerous, even for a riding-post, the legs of three horses having been broken in a week. The badness of the ways kept the people poor; and the poverty of the people prevented their mending the roads. At length, in 1815, a commission was appointed to make a new Shrewsbury and Holyhead turnpike, and no pains were spared to render it as perfect as possible; and, from that time, the physical well-being of the principality has been rapidly advancing.

"Those who are born to modern travelling," said Lord Cockburn, "can scarcely understand how the previous age got on." Our first lessons in manufactures were taught us by foreigners. French and Flemish refugees instructed us in cloth, and silk, and lace-work. Our earliest ships were built by Danes, or Genoese. We are under special obligations to the Dutch. Some Dutch settlers began the art of pottery: a Dutchman brought the first coach into England: the Dutch made our wind and water-mills, dug our great works of drainage, and

repaired our river-banks; and the art of bridge-building had sunk so low, that, in the middle of the last century, we were under the necessity of employing the Swiss engineer, Labelye, to erect Westminster Bridge. In the Georgian era native talent cropped up, and achieved wonders.

For instance, there are the canals, which have aided and fostered our trade and commerce to an extraordinary extent. It is not more than a hundred years since the Bridgewater Canal was opened. It ultimately yielded an income of £80,000 a year, and reduced the charge for water-carriage between Liverpool and Manchester one-half. But the effects of their construction were not restricted to that locality, or even to the towns and trades of Manchester and Liverpool. Their introduction to the pottery districts accomplished a revolution. They soon carried 50,000 or 60,000 tons of clay and flint into Staffordshire every year; and the total outward and inward tonnage is now upwards of 300,000 tons. Nor was the impetus confined to those districts exclusively. Extensive manufactories sprang up, or enormously increased in the Potteries, in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and the surrounding localities. Agriculture was benefited, instead of being injured, as some had anticipated. The augmented inland navigation promoted both the coast and foreign shipping trade; so that, in the thirty years which followed the opening of the first canal, during which the main canals had united the inland towns with the seaports, the tonnage of English ships increased threefold, and the number of sailors had doubled. Since the Bridgewater Canal has been opened, the country has been traversed by 2,600 miles of canal in England, 276 miles in Ireland, and 225 in Scotland, at a cost of about £50,000,000. Nor has the value of our canals been diminished by the subsequent introduction of railways. It was predicted, that within twelve months of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, the Bridgewater Canal would be closed, and would be filled with rushes; but these anticipations have been falsified. In 1835, before the opening of the London and Birmingham line, the through tonnage of the Grand Junction Canal was 310,475 tons; and, in 1845, after the railway had been opened for ten years, the tonnage on it had increased to 480,626. Not less than 20,000,000 tons of traffic are estimated to be conveyed annually upon the canals of England alone; and the amount steadily increases.

Let us now turn to bridges. Waterloo Bridge was erected during the regency; and the new London Bridge had almost reached its completion before the close of the reign of George IV.

The modern revival of the art of bridge-building was inaugurated by William Edwards, a self-taught genius, of Glamorganshire; born in 1789. As a young man, he spent much of his time in studying the neighbouring ruins of Caerphilly Castle, the massive remains of which still excite the wonder and the curiosity of the spectator. Subsequently, despite extraordinary difficulties and discouragements, he constructed the beautiful rainbow bridge, of one arch, that spans the Taff, at Ponty Prydd. He afterwards built a bridge over the Usk, and several others; his later productions being a manifest improvement over the earlier. "Not even on Sundays," says Mr. Smiles, in his *Lives of the Engineers*, "did he cease from his labours: but though the sabbath was no day of rest for him, his labours then were all labours of love. In 1750, he became an ordained preacher amongst the Independents. Shortly after, he was chosen minister of the congregation to which he belonged; and he continued to hold the office for about thirty years, until his death. He occasionally preached in the neighbouring meeting-houses; amongst others, in that of Abraham Rees, the father of Abraham Rees, editor of the well-known *Encyclopædia*. Holding it to be the duty of every religious society to contribute liberally of their means to the support of their minister, he regularly took the stipulated salary which his congregation allowed to their preachers, but distributed the whole of it among the poorer members of his church, often adding to it largely from his own means. This worthy Christian labourer died at the advanced age of seventy, respected and beloved by men of all parties.

John Rennie (for it is of him we now write) was born in an old farmhouse, at Phantasie, in East Lothian, on the 7th of June, 1761. He early evinced great aptitude for mechanical pursuits. When about ten years old, he made a fleet of miniature ships, and constructed models of a windmill, fire-engine, and pile-engine. And when only nineteen, he planned the machinery and buildings of some new mills near Dundee, and superintended their construction. Rennie's master was one Andrew Meikle, whose father was the inventor of a machine for an artificially created wind—in other words, a winnowing machine. The Scotch clergy argued that "winds were raised by God alone; and that it was irreligious for man to attempt to raise wind for himself, and by efforts of his own." One clergyman consistently refused the communion to the raisers of "devil's wind." Rennie, being desirous of a higher professional position, now joined the University of Edinburgh. He subsequently went over the manufacturing districts of England, and visited James Watt, at Birmingham.

Rennie was soon hard at work, gaining money, experience, reputation; and doing an immense amount of good. He fitted engines to the Albion Mills, at Blackfriars Bridge; and, on the retirement of Smeaton, was engaged on canals: among others, on the Kennet, and Avon, and Rochdale. In 1789, he recommended that the steam-engine should be set to work to drain the Fens. Much had been accomplished, but much yet remained to be done. An immense area of Lincolnshire, north of Boston, often lay under water for months together. One of the most important of the districts which Mr. Rennie first completely drained, was that known as Wildmore and West Fens, consisting of 40,000 acres of land. East Fen, with its formidable chain of lakes, was next attacked; and where fish and wild-fowl had reigned, the plough turned the furrow. The cost of executing this work amounted to £580,000; but in 1814, the improved rental of the land was estimated at £110,561; and, allowing interest for the capital sunk, the increased net value of the drained lands was not less than £81,000 per annum; which, at thirty years' purchase, gave an augmented value of nearly £2,500,000.

In the construction of his bridges, Mr. Rennie paid greater attention to a just theory than his predecessors, to whom it was a matter of chance whether their erections would stand when the centres were removed. His level roadway appears to have excited the surprise of those who objected to innovation; and the contempt of at least one observer. When the new Musselburgh Bridge was opened, a countryman, passing with his cart, was asked how he liked it. The reply was—"Brig! its nae brig ava! Ye neither ken whan ye're on 't nor whan ye're afft!" To Waterloo Bridge we have already referred. Of Southwark Bridge, also constructed by Mr. Rennie, Mr. Robert Stephenson says, that "as an example of arch construction, it stands confessedly unrivalled as regards its colossal proportions, its architectural effect, and the general simplicity and massive character of its details." To chronicle all Mr. Rennie's successes would exhaust the patience of the reader. He was engineer of the London and East India Docks; he amended the navigation of the Clyde; effected great improvements at the Grimsby Docks; designed the harbour at Holyhead; constructed the Hull Docks; planned the new quays and docks at Greenock and Leith, &c., &c. He perfected the diving-bell; advised the Bank of England on the manufacture of their notes; improved the methods of dredging, and making gunpowder and ropes; urged the Admiralty to employ steam-power in the navy; erected the Bell Rock Lighthouse, and made war-docks, and other works for the government.

The Plymouth Breakwater was one of the most interesting of Rennie's many undertakings. In 1806, at the request of the Admiralty, he visited Plymouth, long renowned as one of the first commercial, naval, and military stations in Great Britain; but very much exposed to the fury of the equinoctial gales. In its original state, Plymouth Sound could be entered by three channels—east, central, and west—separated from one another by rocks; the middle one being the most dangerous, and, consequently, least used. Mr. Rennie proposed that a breakwater

should be stretched across this middle one, by which there would be little detriment to the navigation; while the tidal waters flowing would deepen the other channels. He stated that the breakwater should be made of large angular blocks of rubble, of from two to twelve tons weight, forming a mass, broad at the base to the extent of twenty yards, and ten at the top, extending 5,100 yards, the two ends bending inward. In June, 1811, the requisite powers were obtained. Twenty-five acres of limestone were purchased up the Catwater; the quarry was opened; railways were laid down to the wharves; barges were built to convey the stones to their future resting-place; and the lines of the breakwater were marked out by buoys. For two years the work proceeded, until portions of the ridge became visible at low-water; and by March, 1814, vessels began to seek the protection which was evidently afforded. By August in the following year, 615,057 tons of stone had been deposited, and 1,100 yards of the breakwater were visible above low-water of spring tides; and so gratifying were the results obtained, that it was determined to carry the ridge twenty feet, instead of ten, above the level of low-water of spring tides, so that protection would be furnished both to large vessels and small. The success of the scheme, however, produced undue confidence. Mr. Rennie wished that the seaward slope should be at five to one; the authorities, from economical motives, regarded three to one as adequate. But some severe gales solved the problem; displaced the stones; threw many, of several tons weight, over the embankment into the Sound, and reduced the sea-slope to the angle indicated by Mr. Rennie. The total amount of rubble deposited, to the end of 1848, when the work was considered to be completed, was 3,670,444 tons, besides 22,149 cubic yards of masonry—an amount at least equal to that contained in the Great Pyramid. The total cost of the work was about £1,500,000.

Work was, with Rennie, not only a pleasure, it was almost a passion. He sometimes made business appointments at as early an hour as five in the morning, and would continue incessantly occupied until late at night. He realised a competency; not, as he deserved, a large fortune. His charge of seven guineas for an entire day's work, was objected to by General Brownrigg, the head of the Ordnance. "Why, this will never do," said the general: "seven guineas a-day! It is equal to the pay of a field-marshal." "Well," was the reply, "I am a field-marshal in my profession." "Mr. Rennie," adds Mr. Smiles, "was a great and massive, yet a perfectly simple and modest man; and though his engineering achievements may, in some measure, have been forgotten in the eulogies bestowed upon more recent works, they have not yet been eclipsed, or, indeed, equalled; and his London bridges, not to mention his docks, harbours, breakwater, and drainage of the Lincoln Fens, will long serve as the best exponents of his genius. The death of this eminently useful man was felt to be a national loss, and his obsequies were honoured by a public funeral."

In 1834, died Telford, the engineer; the illustrious artificer of those great national works—the Caledonian Canal, the Conway Bridge, the Holyhead road, and the Menai Bridge; and found an appropriate resting-place in Westminster Abbey. Like Rennie, he hailed from the north. He was born in a herdsman's cot, in one of the loveliest nooks of the narrow vale of the Esk, on the 9th of August, 1757; and, before the end of the year, he was an orphan.

The career of the orphan boy was a prosperous one. He soon made friends. A hearty, cheerful lad, he was known in his native vale as "Laughing Tom," where he tended sheep. At the age of fifteen he became apprentice to a stonemason. During his apprenticeship, Miss Pasley, a kind elderly lady, was pleased with the ruddy-cheeked, merry, mason's apprentice, and lent him books from her library. One of these was *Paradise Lost*, and his delight with it was beyond his powers of expression. "I read," he said, "and read and glowered, and then read again." He taught himself to write, and sometimes helped his friends by penning letters for them. Time passed on: he rapidly improved, not only in skill in his craft, but in mental strength. He visited places of interest; sketched and composed

both prose and poetry. "At length," he tells us, in his *Autobiography*, "having acquired the rudiments of my profession, I considered that my native country afforded few opportunities of exercising it to any extent; and therefore judged it advisable, like many of my countrymen, to proceed southward, where industry may find more employment, and be better remunerated." All wished him God speed on his journey. One neighbour lent him a horse, on which to ride to London; and a cousin supplied him with a pair of leathern breeches. In 1784, we find him engaged in superintending the erection of some buildings at Portsmouth dockyard. The Eskdale mason had suddenly risen. Yet he declared that he would rather have it said of him "that he possessed one grain of good-nature, or good sense, than shine the finest puppet in Christendom." And his good feeling is well illustrated in a message to one of his correspondents. "Let my mother know that I am well, and that I will print a letter soon;" for it was his practice to write his letters to her in printed characters, that she might the more readily peruse them. Mr. Smiles well remarks, that "as a man's real disposition usually displays itself most strikingly in small matters—like light which gleams most brightly when seen through narrow chinks—it will, probably, be admitted that this trait, trifling though it appears, was truly characteristic of the simple and affectionate nature of the hero of our story." He took care, also, to provide more material comfort for her declining years. His language was—"She has been a good mother to me, and I will try and be a good son to her."

The Caledonian Canal, and the Ellesmere Canal, were the result of Mr. Telford's labours. In the course of the formation of the latter, Telford designed two magnificent aqueducts; one across the vale, near Chirk, described as one of the boldest efforts of invention in modern times. It consists of ten arches, of forty feet span; and the canal is carried by it seventy feet above the level of the river beneath. The other, called Pont Cysylltau, was spoken of by Sir Walter Scott, to Southey, as the most impressive work of art he had ever seen. It crosses the Dee, in the vale of Llangollen, and rises 127 feet above the level of the valley. Upon the top of the masonry is a cast-iron trough for the canal, with its towing-path and side-rails, all bolted together. The total cost of this part of the canal was £47,018; and it occupied nearly eight years in construction. "Thus," says Telford, "has been added a striking feature to the beautiful vale of Llangollen, where formerly was the fastness of Owen Glendower, but which now, cleared of its entangled woods, contains a useful line of intercourse between England and Ireland: and the water drawn from the once sacred Devon, furnishes the means of distributing prosperity over the adjacent land of the Saxons."

The Caledonian Canal was opened in 1823; and it forms a noble monument of the skill of the engineer. The locks are stated to be the largest ever constructed at that time, being forty feet wide, and from 170 to 180 feet long. Of other canals constructed, wholly or partially, under his superintendence, it is sufficient to mention the Glasgow, Paisley, and Ardrossan; the Macclesfield, the Birmingham and Liverpool Junction; the Gloucester and Berkeley; the Birmingham, which was completely remodelled by him to the requirements of an increased traffic; and the Weaver navigation in Cheshire. On the continent he likewise superintended the construction of the Gotha Canal, in Sweden—a navigation of about 125 English miles, of which fifty-five are artificial canal. From the Lake Wener, at one extremity, this navigation rises 162 feet to the summit level, and falls 370 feet to the Baltic at the other. The rise and fall are effected by fifty-six locks; and the canal is forty-two feet wide at the bottom, and ten feet deep. Upon its completion, Telford received the Swedish order of knighthood; and, as a further mark of the royal approbation, received the King of Sweden's portrait, set with diamonds.

The Menai Bridge is, however, unquestionably one of the noblest monuments of Mr. Telford's genius; and it may be said to have inaugurated the era of the extensive introduction of wrought-iron into great permanent structures exposed to

heavy strains. This bridge was commenced in 1819, and opened for traffic in 1826. The distance between the two piers is 550 feet; and the whole roadway, which is carried over four arches on the one side, and three on the other, has a length of 1,000 feet, and a breadth of thirty feet. The total cost of the work was £120,000.

Brunel was a Frenchman, driven from his country on account of his royalist principles. After many delays he got the British government to erect the beautiful and effective machinery, which has continued until the present time without any alteration or improvement, to produce nearly all the blocks used in the royal navy. The construction of this block machinery, completed in 1808, was entrusted to the late Mr. Henry Maudsley, from whom Brunel had already derived considerable assistance in the execution of his models, and working out of his designs. It was erected in Portsmouth dockyard; and the economy produced by the first year's use of these machines, was estimated at about £24,000, two-thirds of which sum were awarded to the ingenious inventor, who was soon after engaged by the government to erect extensive saw-mills, and carry out other improvements at Chatham and Woolwich. Brunel was essentially an inventor: many machines might be enumerated which owed their origin to him. He likewise introduced the system of cutting veneers by circular saws of a large diameter, to which is mainly due the present extensive application of veneers of wood to ornamental furniture. A short time before the termination of the war with France, he devised a plan for making shoes by machinery; and, under the countenance of the Duke of York, the shoes so manufactured were supplied for the use of the army, on account of their strength, cheapness, and durability; but, at the peace of 1815, the machines were laid aside, manual labour having become cheaper, and the demand for military equipments had, in a great measure, ceased. Steam-navigation also attracted Brunel's attention, and he became deeply interested in establishing the Ramsgate steam-vessels, which were among the first that plied effectively on the river Thames. About this period, after much labour and perseverance, he induced the Admiralty to permit the application of steam for towing vessels to sea, the experiments being made chiefly at his own expense; a small sum in aid having been promised, but eventually withdrawn before the completion of the trials, the Admiralty considering the attempt too chimerical to be seriously entertained. After the completion of the Tunnel, Brunel's health became seriously impaired by the labours he had undergone in its execution, and he was unable to mix in active life. He expired in 1849, after a long illness, in his eighty-first year. He had received the honour of knighthood in 1841, and the Legion of Honour in 1829. Brunel's mechanical genius early displayed itself. At eleven years of age, his love of tools was so great that he once pawned his hat to buy them; and at the age of twelve, he is said to have constructed different articles with as much precision as a regular workman.

The list might be extended; but we forbear. Enough has been given for our purpose, which is to indicate that the true glory of the reign of George IV. was not so much political or military, as mechanical; to show that a great revolution was then being accomplished, of which the world took little heed; and that whilst people were illuminating for victories, and statesmen quarrelling for place, and courtiers intriguing for the smiles and favour of him whom they termed their king—far away, in obscure towns and villages, were growing up unlettered men, ungainly, perhaps, in aspect, and rude of speech; who were to inaugurate a new order of things; to turn marsh lands into fruitful fields; to plant busy life where before there had been only solitary wastes; to call new industries into existence; and to give to England a power and wealth which would have been deemed impossible to the preceding age. With this grand development of national energy and enterprise the king had little to do. The time had arrived when the people were seeking their true leaders in other places than courts and camps. The fact remains, and is the great characteristic of his age, nevertheless.

But in every way, when contrasted with the reign of George III., that of the son was really glorious. It is remarkable, as to the reign of the father, that although he felt, and frequently expressed, an anxious desire to obtain and preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace with other nations, and was untainted by any lust of military power, yet that he was involved, for nearly one-half of his long reign, in wars more expensive, sanguinary, and costly than any upon record. With the exception of the war which commenced in 1756, before his accession to the throne, the rest may be traced, in a great degree, to the disposition of his majesty to assert and maintain his own opinions; hence many of them were unpopular, and unavailing as well. There was no reasoning with his majesty. It was hard work to get an idea into his honest head; but when it was once there, it was never to be got out. But the worst of these wars was, that they invariably concluded as badly as they had begun. In the treaties of peace which were negotiated, his ministers were remarkably injudicious and unfortunate. It is a long lane that has no turning. Brighter days were in store under the regency; and then, when peace came, she brought a thousand blessings in her train. Population increased; education was promoted; poverty alleviated; capital began to accumulate; the stone at the door of the sepulchre was rolled away; and knowledge and freedom stepped forth on their divine mission of goodwill and love.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NEW KING.

IMMEDIATELY after George IV. had ceased to live, a messenger was despatched to Bushy Park, the residence of the Duke of Clarence, who forthwith left for St. James's Palace, which he reached about noon. A number of peers, with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, tendered their allegiance to his majesty, who remained up to half-past three. He was proclaimed in the council-chamber as William IV.

His majesty read a declaration expressing his grief on account of the loss of the late king, under whose sway the country had maintained, during war, its ancient glory, and, for a long period, its happiness and internal peace. Besides losing a most beneficent and gracious king, he had to lament the death of a beloved and affectionate brother, with whom he had lived on terms of the most cordial and uninterrupted friendship. Adverting to his own position on being called to administer the government of this great empire, he stated himself to be fully aware of the difficulties which he had to encounter; but, he added, "I possess the advantage of having witnessed the conduct of my revered father, and my lamented and beloved brother; and I rely with confidence upon the advice and assistance of parliament, and upon its zealous co-operation, in my anxious endeavours, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain the reformed religion, as established by law; to protect the rights and liberties, and to promote the prosperity and happiness, of all classes of my people." The Lord Chancellor administered to the king the usual oaths; and his majesty ordered the two stamps—one containing "George R.," and the other the initials, "G. R."—which had been, under the authority of an act of parliament, applied to official papers as the king's signature, to be destroyed. They were, accordingly, broken in his presence. On the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning, the park guns fired a salute; the bells of the neighbouring churches were rung merrily; and the new king was proclaimed at the palace by the King-at-Arms. When his majesty presented himself at the window of the palace, accompanied by the Dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Sussex, and the Duke

of Wellington, the proclamation was answered by shouts from the assembled crowd; and a formal procession then moved from the palace, up Pall Mall to Charing-cross, where the proclamation was repeated; which was also done at Temple Bar; at the end of Wood Street, Cheapside, and at the Royal Exchange. The commencement of the new reign was marked by no instant change of importance. The prescribed oath was taken, and the other formalities observed on such occasions. The judges and great officers of state were reappointed, by William, to the places which they had previously filled. To the members of the cabinet the king expressed his wish to retain their services. The usual routine business of parliament was got rid of, and it was dissolved as soon as possible.

A lady of quality speaks very contemptuously of William IV.; and intimates that he was barely tolerated at Stowe. With the people, however, he was popular. Prince William Henry commenced his naval career as a midshipman, under Captain Digby, in the *Royal George*, of ninety-eight guns, as far back as the year 1779; and, having ascended the subsequent steps, was appointed a Rear-Admiral of the Blue, by an order in council. He had previously been created Duke of Clarence. In 1827, he was appointed Lord High Admiral—an office which he resigned next year, when the Duke of Wellington became Premier: and this step made him very popular with Whigs and Radicals. In reality, he was very little of a partisan; and cared more for the navy than for Whig, Tory, or Radical.

On the 11th of July, 1818, he had married Adelaide Louisa, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen; a princess of singularly amiable disposition. Of this marriage, one daughter, who died in infancy, was the result. The "bluff sailor-king" was a striking contrast, in manners and habits, to "the first gentleman of the age." He was everywhere to be seen, and monarchy began to be popular. Almost immediately after the supreme power had been placed in his hands, he gave very pleasing evidence of the kindness of his heart. An application was made to him on behalf of Mrs. Fitzherbert, of whose intimacy with his brother, when Prince of Wales, he must have been aware. The king invited her to Windsor; treated her with the greatest respect; placed implicit reliance on all her statements; and, having sanctioned an arrangement by which all private papers were to be destroyed, settled upon her an income of £6,000 a year. His majesty's activity and attention to business were said to astonish every one. It was confidently stated that he rose at six every morning, and got through despatches, and other documents, with incredible celerity. Lord Eldon, of course, was frightened. Writing to Lord Stowell, he says—"I hear the condescensions of the king are beginning to make him unpopular. In that station such familiarity must produce the destruction of respect. If the people don't continue to think a king somewhat more than a man, they will soon find out that he is not an object of that high respect which is absolutely necessary to the utility of his character." Lord Eldon bears testimony to his goodness of heart. Before his accession, the prince had been on unfriendly terms with the Lord Chancellor. The latter, having occasion to go to the palace with an address, writes—"As I was passing, the king stopped me, and said, 'My lord, political parties and feelings have run very high; and I am afraid I have made observations upon your lordship which now——'" Lord Eldon interrupted him, begging his majesty's pardon; but he could not permit the language of apology to come from the lips of his sovereign. Equally cordial was his majesty's reception of the Duke of Wellington, with whom, at one time, he is reported to have had a little unpleasantness.

Indeed, the king was especially gracious to the Duke of Wellington, who had caused his dismissal from office.

The duke, in a letter to Mr. Peel, dated August 13th, 1828, thus describes his part in the affair:—

"I return you your correspondence with the Duke of Clarence; and I send you mine in regard to his recent cruise, which has ended in his resignation of his office of Lord High Admiral.

"After writing to the king on the 1st, as we had settled in the cabinet that I should write, I intended to take no more notice of what had passed, unless the duke should, by his conduct, render some notice necessary upon his arrival in London.

"He came to London on the 7th, and behaved very rudely to Cockburn: in short, laid him aside altogether—sending his orders to the council through Sir Edward Owen. I saw Cockburn and Croker on that afternoon and next morning; and both agreed in stating that the machine would no longer work. I therefore consulted the cabinet on the 8th, and, with their concurrence, wrote to the duke the letter of the 8th.

"It was quite obvious that the duke had misunderstood the king's letter, which certainly held out an alternative to obey the law or resign; and, as I saw the king yesterday, I suggested to his majesty to explain the meaning of his letter to the duke.

"The king made his explanation in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, and urged the duke not to decide that he would not obey the law. The truth then came out, that his royal highness would not remain in office unless Sir George Cockburn was removed.

"His royal highness repeated the same, afterwards, to the Lord Chancellor. He said that he would do whatever was wished; that he had no reason to complain of me, or of the king; but that of Sir George Cockburn he did complain, and that he must be removed.

"I spoke to the king after dinner, and explained to his majesty that his royal highness had now put the question upon its true footing, but that I must tell his majesty that it would not answer to remove from his office a gentleman who had performed his duty, for no reason excepting that he had remonstrated against a breach of law by the duke."

The chief gratification of his majesty was playing the hospitable host: and in this he indulged so liberally, that he entertained, on an average, 2,000 persons a week. He was delighted if he could find out a former messmate—a naval officer with whom he had formed an acquaintance during his professional career. The latter was sure to be welcome at the palace. Every admiral in the service was equally certain of finding a place at the royal table. The good-natured sovereign, as we may suppose, was, in consequence, often pressed for favours which he sometimes found it as difficult to grant as refuse. On one occasion his majesty related, to a select circle after dinner, the manner in which he had recently been persecuted by a persevering applicant; and said ardently, with a feeling of relief—"I got rid of him. I made him a knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order." "Served him right!" exclaimed an admiral famous for his conversational escapades. The laugh was general.

Economy was the order of the new reign. Mr. Raikes says—"I hear that the late coronation only cost £37,000. The queen was so anxious that no expense should be incurred on her account, that she would not permit either the purchase or hire of a crown from Rundell's for her, but ordered that it should be composed of her own jewels, and made up at her own expense. At the prior coronation of George IV., Rundell's charge for the loan of jewels only, was £16,000, as interest on their value."

The king was not a little rash and sailor-like in his speech. "The other day," writes Mr. Raikes, "a large party dined at the Pavilion. Among the guests was the American minister. The king was seized with his fatal habit of making a speech, in which he said it was always a matter of serious regret to him that he had not been born a free, independent American: so much he respected that nation; and considered Washington the greatest man that ever lived."

In March, 1834, Mr. Raikes says—"The accounts from London of the king are rather extraordinary; his mind appears to be under excitement; every day is occupied with some fresh scheme or party to visit some place or establishment,

which generally, as at Sandhurst, concludes with a speech, not always the most appropriate. At the *levée*, a considerable sensation was created, the other day, by his insisting on an unfortunate lieutenant in the navy, who had a wooden leg, kneeling down to kiss hands: it was impossible; but the sovereign would not concede the point, and the other was obliged to hobble away without going through the ceremony." In June of the same year we have another characteristic anecdote. "Mr. D —— showed me a letter from ——, which says—'I went, yesterday, with their majesties to the private exhibition at Somerset House. We were received by the president of the Royal Society, who, among other portraits, pointed out to the king that of Admiral Napier, who has been commanding the fleet for Don Pedro. His majesty did not hesitate to show his political bias on this occasion, by exclaiming immediately, 'Captain Napier may be d——d, sir, and you may be d——d, sir; and if the queen was not here, sir, I would kick you down-stairs.'" The popular press tried to persuade the public that he was a reformer; but it is difficult to reconcile this with the king's frequent statements with regard to his Whig ministers, that he was afraid he was in bad hands.

Posterity will wonder how the king ever passed muster as a sincere reformer. Lord Brougham describes him as frank, just, and straightforward. Mr. Roebuck says—"I believe him to have been very weak, and very false; a finished dissembler, and always bitterly hostile to the Whig ministry, and their great measure of reform. He pretended to have great confidence in them, and great respect for their opinion, even while he was plotting their overthrow, and adopting every means in his power to hamper them in their conduct, and depreciate them in public estimation. All the documents which I have seen which relate more immediately to the king—and they have been, for the most part, written by his command, and at his dictation—have led me to this conclusion. As a looker-on, scanning carefully every word, and comparing letters written at different periods, and under different states of mind, I could not resist the evidence which forced this upon me; though I can well understand why Lord Brougham finds it impossible to share it with me. The kindness and generosity of his own nature made him give easy credence to kind professions in others. The off-hand, hearty manner of the king, therefore, imposed upon his Chancellor. The very weakness of the king, too, gave him strength. His capacity was notoriously contemptible, and Lord Brougham could not for a moment believe himself the dupe of parts so inferior. And yet he was deceived. The trained artifice of a mean spirit misled and cajoled the confiding generosity of a great and powerful mind; and to this hour, Lord Brougham asserts that the king was a sincere reformer, and earnest throughout the struggle which followed the introduction of the Reform Bill, in his expressed desire to have that measure passed in all its integrity." The ministry were very anxious to get the public to believe this. Tom Moore gives us a peep at Lord Holland engaged in the composition of a song, to be circulated to that effect; but we incline to think Mr. Roebuck right in this matter, and Lord Brougham and the ministry wrong.

This popular king had his share of troubles. He was to have dined with the Lord Mayor on November the 9th. Hand-bills were circulated, of the most mischievous character. One of them was as follows:—"To arms! to arms! Liberty or death! London meets on Tuesday next; an opportunity not to be lost for avenging the wrongs we have suffered. Come armed, and victory must be ours." Another was—"Liberty or death! Englishmen, Britons, and honest men, the time has at length arrived. All London meets on Tuesday. *Come armed.* We assure you, from ocular demonstration, that 6,000 cutlasses have been removed from the Tower, for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang. Remember the cursed speech from the throne. These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?" The Lord Mayor (Key) was alarmed, and apprised the Duke of Wellington that an attack upon his person was meditated. The intelligence so communicated, led the ministers to think it would be prudent

to refrain from attending the feast; and they recommended the king to do the same. Preparations of an alarming character were made. Troops and artillery moved in various directions through the city, or in its vicinity. The Tower ditch was filled with water; huge timbers were mounted on its walls, between which and the brick coping musketry could be used against its assailants, without exposing the soldiers to the missiles of the latter. Extra guards were placed at the Bank, and at the magazine in Hyde Park, and a powerful military force was ready to act at a moment's notice. The funds fell nearly 3 per cent. in an hour and a-half; and trade was almost wholly at a standstill. When the expected day had passed, the public laughed at the precaution which alarm had taken, as wholly unjustified. And, truly, such was the case; for when the king opened London Bridge on the 1st of August, he was received with deafening cheers: and on the occasion of the coronation, which took place in the following September, the king and his consort were loudly cheered.

In attending Ascot races the succeeding year, his majesty was exposed to some danger. While he was looking out from the window of the stand, two stones were thrown at him from the crowd below, one of which struck him on the forehead; but his hat saved him from any serious injury. Again the king presented himself to view, and was received with cordial cheers. The culprit, named Collins, was immediately seized. He stated that he was a discharged Greenwich pensioner; and that having sent a petition to his majesty, to which no attention had been paid, he "determined to have a shy at the king; and had put three stones in his pocket for that object." On being examined before the magistrate, he represented that, up to the 16th of December, he had been an in-pensioner of Greenwich Hospital, and that some trifling observation he had made to the ward-keeper, caused the governor to expel him. He added, that he had then petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty, and afterwards the king, to restore the pension which he had received before entering the hospital; and that his application was unsuccessful. The fact was, that Collins had only served two years and eight months on board the king's ship *Atalanta*, where an accident befel him, which rendered amputation of the left leg necessary. He was invalided on a pension of £10; and was admitted, early in 1800, as an in-pensioner of Greenwich Hospital. His conduct was generally bad, and he had been several times expelled from the hospital, into which he had been readmitted five times. He was eventually ejected on the 16th of December, for creating a disturbance in the ward, and using contumacious language. The prisoner was committed to take his trial for high treason.

Very short-lived was the new king's term of office. In the year 1836, the king suffered from indisposition. The anxieties inseparable from his royal position had apparently undermined his majesty's health. He had lived so long a calm, irresponsible life, that he found it difficult to reconcile himself to the great change his elevation had rendered necessary. Latterly his majesty had taken less and less interest in state affairs. He had submitted to what he could not help, but evidently with a sense of weariness respecting political questions.

In April, 1837, the king's eldest daughter, Lady de Lisle, died, as well as the queen's mother, the Duchess-dowager of Saxe-Meiningen. Their loss made a serious impression on his mind; and this appears to have aggravated the symptoms of disease under which he had been labouring. His majesty suffered from an affection of the chest, which, on the 9th of June, had become so serious, that a bulletin was issued by his physicians. The queen attended him with untiring assiduity and affection, without changing her dress for twelve days; but his majesty grew worse and worse. On the 29th he breathed his last. He had reigned nearly seven years; and was in the seventy-third year of his age.

His known goodness of heart, and simplicity of character, caused him to be sincerely lamented. His majesty had put forward no shining qualifications; yet he had endeared himself greatly to all classes of his subjects. At a time of singular peril to the royal authority, he had been content to steer a middle course, as far

removed from the habitual seclusion of George IV., as from the ostentatious familiarity of Louis Philippe.

The courtier idea of the monarch may be gathered from the speeches delivered in the House of Lords. Lord Melbourne referred to his death as "a loss which had deprived the nation of a monarch always anxious for the interest and welfare of his subjects; which had deprived me of a most gracious master, and the world of a man—I would say one of the best of men—a monarch of the strictest integrity that it had ever pleased Divine Providence to place over these realms. The knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his professional education was found exceedingly valuable, and all the details of practical business were displayed by him in the most familiar and advantageous manner." Lord Melbourne stated, that "since he had the honour of being his majesty's servant, he often had access to him; and a more fair and just man he had never met with in his intercourse with the world. His majesty gave the most patient attention, even when his own opinion was opposed to what was stated, being most willing to hear what could be urged in opposition to it. These," he said, "were great and striking qualities in any man; but more striking in a monarch." The Duke of Wellington, with whom his intercourse had been more confidential, said—"It has been my lot to serve his majesty at different periods of difficulty. My lords, upon all these occasions his majesty manifested, not only all those virtues described by the noble viscount, but likewise that firmness, that discretion, that candour, and that justice and spirit of conciliation towards others, placed as he was in circumstances in which probably monarch was never placed before." Earl Grey and Sir Robert Peel added similar testimonies.

Nor did courtiers and statesmen alone combine to testify to the virtues of the deceased. At a public meeting, held in behalf of the Metropolitan Church Fund Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury stated—"It was not many days since I attended on his late majesty during the few last days of his life; and truly it was an edifying sight to witness the patience with which he endured sufferings the most oppressive; his thankfulness to the Almighty for any alleviation under the most painful disorders; his sense of every attention paid him; his absence of all expressions of impatience; his attention to the discharge of every public duty, to the utmost of his power; his attention to every paper that was brought him; the serious state of his mind; and his devotion to his religious duties, preparatory to his departure for that happy world where he had hoped that he had been called. Three different times," added the prelate, "was I summoned to his presence the day before his dissolution. He received the sacrament first; on my second summons I read the church service to him; and the third time I appeared, the oppression under which he laboured prevented him from joining outwardly in the service, though he appeared sensible of the consolations which I read to him out of our religious service. For three weeks prior to his dissolution the queen sat by his bed-side, performing for him every office which a sick man could require, and depriving herself of all manner of rest and refection. She underwent labours which I thought no ordinary woman could endure. No language can do justice to her meekness, and to the calmness of mind which she sought to keep up before the king, while sorrow was preying on her heart. Such constancy of affection, I think, was one of the most interesting spectacles that could be presented to a mind desirous of being gratified with the sight of human excellence."

The king's disease was enlargement and ossification of the valves of the heart, attended with a distressing cough, and difficulty of breathing. Towards the close, respiration and circulation became more and more faint: the queen rested his head upon her shoulder, her hand upon his breast; and in that position his majesty dropped into a gentle sleep, from which he never awoke.

By his will, the king bequeathed £2,000 to each of his children, as well as equal shares in a policy of life assurance for £40,000—a modest provision. His family were—I. *Sophia,* married August 13th, 1835, to Philip Charles Sidney, only

son of Sir John Sidney, of Penshurst Place, Kent, Baronet. He had been a captain in the Guards, and M.P. for Eye; was made equerry to the king, and G.C.H., July, 1830; Surveyor-general of the Duchy of Cornwall, March, 1833; and a Lord of the Bedchamber; and on the 8th of January, 1835, was created an English peer, by the titles of Baron de Lisle and Dudley. His lady had, in May, 1831, been raised to the rank of a marquis's daughter; and was made housekeeper to Kensington Palace in January of 1837, where she died.—II. *George*, who served with the British army in France, and subsequently in India. He became captain and lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards, July 16th, 1825; colonel, and aide-de-camp to the king, and deputy-adjutant-general, July 26th, 1830. In the following May, he was created Earl of Munster, Viscount Fitzclarence, and Baron of Tewkesbury. He was afterwards appointed lieutenant of the Tower of London, and governor of Windsor Castle; and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. Lord Munster published a book of travels in India, and took great interest in the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was vice-president. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society.—III. *Henry*, captain in the 87th foot; died in India, 1817.—IV. *Mary*, married June 19th, 1824, to Lieutenant-Colonel Fox (son of Lord and Lady Holland). He was appointed equerry to the queen, July, 1830; was promoted to be captain and lieutenant-colonel of the 1st foot-guards in the following October; was appointed aide-de-camp to his majesty two years later, in which year he became Surveyor-general of the Ordnance. He was also M.P. for Calne, for Tavistock, and for Stroud, between 1831 and 1835. His lady was raised to the rank of a marquis's daughter; and in September, 1835, appointed housekeeper of Windsor Castle.—V. *Frederick*, commanded the detachment of the Coldstream Guards that surprised the Cato Street conspirators; and rose to be lieutenant-colonel in the 11th foot, and afterwards in the royal fusiliers; was appointed equerry to the king, July, 1830; and extra aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, in the following May, when he was raised to the dignity of a marquis's son. He received other appointments subsequently, and was made a Knight of the Grand Cross of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order.—VI. *Elizabeth*, married December 4th, 1820, to William George, seventeenth Earl of Errol, who was appointed Master of the Horse to the queen, July, 1830; and a Privy Councillor the following year.—VII. *Adolphus*, in the royal navy, in which he rose to the rank of post-captain. In July, 1830, he was made captain of the royal yacht, and Groom of the Robes. In the following year was advanced to the rank of a marquis's son; and made a Lord of the Bedchamber in 1833. He was also a deputy-ranger of Bushy Park.—VIII. *Augusta*, married July 5th, 1827, to the Hon. John Kennedy, equerry to the king in 1830. He died in 1831, in which year she was raised to the rank of a marquis's daughter. She again married Lord Frederick Gordon, third son of the Marquis of Huntley, equerry to the king in 1830; who was a commander in the royal navy; and made a Lord of the Bedchamber in 1836. Lady Gordon became housekeeper at Kensington Palace after the death of her sister.—IX. *Augustus*, rector of Maple-Durham, and chaplain to the Duke of Clarence, 1829; chaplain to the king the following year; and raised to the rank of a marquis's son in 1831. He took the degree of D.C.L. in 1835.—X. *Amelia*, married, in 1830, Lucius, ninth Viscount Falkland—a Lord of the Bedchamber; created Baron Hunsdon, in the English peerage, May 10th, 1832. He was also a Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order.

These were all children of Mrs. Jordan, the celebrated and unfortunate actress. She had already died in a state of misery in Paris. The surviving family of the king, at the time of his decease, consisted of eight children, and seventeen grand-children. His majesty had no living legitimate issue.

The duke's connection with Mrs. Jordan, in one way, involved him in a considerable amount of undeserved obloquy. This lady, who was first known to fame as Miss Francis, an Irish actress, in 1782, crossed the Channel, and then, barely twenty, took rank as a married woman. Mr. Jordan was considered to be a

very near relative to a certain popular novelist's "Mrs. Harris." In 1785, Mrs. Jordan appeared at Drury Lane, as Peggy, in the *Country Girl*. Her success here established her as a public favourite, and placed her in a position of affluence. The beauty of her face, the symmetry of her figure, and her remarkable talents, attracted many admirers; among them, one of the youngest of the royal princes, for whom she deserted them all. His royal highness took her to live with him at Bushy Park, which royal residence remained her home for twenty years. As Mrs. Jordan died in France, in the summer of 1816, rumours were at once circulated that she had been left to perish in a foreign land, of a broken heart, after enduring intolerable privations. "The real facts of the case, I believe," writes Mr. Grantley Berkeley, "are, that the Duke of Clarence, in the year 1811, was forced to put an end to an intimacy that had been a source of the greatest possible happiness to his royal highness. Before doing so, however, he had made an arrangement for the benefit of the ten children he had had during its existence, and of their mother. The sons had been already provided for: three in the army, one in the navy, and one in the church. His royal highness provided—

For the maintenance of the four daughters	£1,500
For a house and carriage for their use	600
For the mother	1,500
And for her daughters born before the duke's intimacy commenced ...	800
	£4,400

"By this arrangement the care of the duke's daughters was to revert to his royal highness, in case Mrs. Jordan should again appear upon the stage. This was carried into effect a few months later, on her accepting a theatrical engagement. A violent attack was made upon her in one of the morning papers, that shamefully misrepresented the cause of her return to her profession. This elicited from her a letter, published in the same journal, stating the truth with much candour and moderation. Mrs. Jordan performed, occasionally, till the summer of 1815, when she discovered that a near relative, who had obtained from her blank acceptances for small obligations, had turned them into sums of large amount. She could not ascertain the total for which she had made herself answerable; but fearing that it was beyond her means of liquidation, fled to France, till a satisfactory arrangement could be effected. It was the annoyance caused by this base breach of trust that undermined her health; and she died, apparently in great distress of mind, at St. Cloud, the following year, but surely not otherwise distressed, for she was known to wear a diamond ring worth a hundred guineas, and was in the enjoyment of a settlement of at least £2,000 a year. Her demise took place about the period of my entrance into the Coldstream Guards; but Mrs. Jordan had, long before this, been a favourite subject for animadversion in my hearing. An outcry arose against the royal duke when her death was made public; but I am certain that nothing could be more unjust. As long as his royal highness lived, he displayed the most affectionate regard for her children. When he was elevated to the throne as William IV., he did all that was in his kingly power to advance their interests; and they, in consequence, were raised to rank as well as opulence. There never was a kinder or a better heart than that which beat in the breast of the sailor-king."

In the spring of the year 1821, their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Clarence lost their only child, the infant Princess Elizabeth. Lord Eldon writes of her—"She is christened by the name of Elizabeth Georgiana. I hope the bairn will live. It came a little too early, and is a very small one at present, but the doctors seem to think it will thrive: and to the ears of your humble servant it appears to be noisy enough." Her loss affected the king, between whom and the duke there was a very great affection.

The remains of his majesty lay in state in the Waterloo Chamber, in Windsor Castle. On the 8th of July, he was buried in St. George's Chapel. The mourners were the Duke of Sussex, Prince George of Cambridge, the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, the Prince of Leiningen, and Prince Ernest of Hesse-Philipsthal-Barshfield. After the service had been performed, and the royal body deposited in the vault, Sir William Wood, Clarencieux Deputy to Garter Principal King of Arms, pronounced over the grave the following address:—

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life, unto His divine mercy, the late most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch William IV., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter; King of Hanover, and Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg. Let us humbly beseech Almighty God to bless and preserve with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness, the most high, most mighty, and most excellent princess, our sovereign lady, Victoria, now, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter. God save Queen Victoria!"

In consequence of the crown of Hanover descending exclusively to males, the Hanoverian succession, with the dukedoms of Brunswick and Lüneburg, had passed to the Duke of Cumberland, as next male heir, who, with his family, had left England to take possession of his dominions. It is clear the Tories were very glad to get rid of him, as he was a little too ultra even for them. Ultimately he was found too despotic for Hanover.

Finally, the great officers of the royal household broke their staves of office, and deposited them in the vault, and the entire assemblage retired from the chapel. The queen-dowager was present in the royal closet, as well as some of the members of the Fitzclarence family.

We have little to add to what we have already implied of the character of the deceased monarch. Like most of the sons of George III., he ran a career of dissipation in his young days, which plunged him into debt, and left him many subjects for painful reflection in his declining years. He was more than sixty-five years of age when he came to the throne; and it cannot be denied that, as sovereign, he manifested real anxiety to meet the wishes of his people. But it has been contended that he was more anxious for popular applause than for real statesmanship; and it is clear that, with regard to the great question of reform, he wavered; and his wavering seemed to threaten it with total shipwreck. The dissolution of parliament, which took place in 1831, may be said to have been forced upon him. In the scene which led to it, as since related by those who alone could describe it, the sceptre is shown to have, on that occasion, been almost snatched from the hand of the monarch. Mr. Roebuck is our authority for the following graphic account:—

"The necessity of a dissolution had been long foreseen and decided on by ministers; but the king had not yet been persuaded to consent to so bold a measure: and now the two chiefs of the administration were about to intrude themselves into the royal closet, not only to advise and ask for a dissolution, but to request the king, on the sudden, on this very day, and within a few hours, to go down and put an end to his parliament in the midst of the session, and with all the ordinary business of the session yet unfinished. The bolder mind of the Chancellor took the lead, and Lord Grey anxiously solicited him to manage the king on the occasion. So soon as they were admitted, the Chancellor, with some care and circumspection, propounded to the king the object of the interview they had sought. The startled monarch no sooner perceived the drift of the Chancellor's somewhat periphrastic statement, than he exclaimed, in wonder and anger, against the very idea of such a proceeding—'How is it possible, my lords, that I can, after this fashion, repay the kindness of parliament to the queen and myself? They have just granted me a most liberal civil list; and to the queen, a splendid annuity

in case she survives me.' The Chancellor confessed that they had, as regarded his majesty, been a liberal and wise parliament; but said that, nevertheless, their further existence was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom. Both he and Lord Grey then strenuously insisted upon the absolute necessity of their request; and gave his majesty to understand that this advice was, by his ministers, unanimously resolved on, and that they felt themselves unable to conduct the affairs of the country in the present condition of the parliament. This last statement made the king feel that a general resignation would be the consequence of a further refusal. Of this, in spite of his secret wishes, he was at the moment really afraid; and therefore, he, by employing petty excuses, and suggesting small and temporary difficulties, soon began to show that he was about to yield. 'But, my lords, nothing is prepared; the great officers of state are not summoned.' 'Pardon me, sir,' said the Chancellor, bowing with profound humility, 'we have taken the great liberty of giving them to understand that your majesty commanded their attendance at the proper hour.' 'But, my lords, the crown and the robes, and other things, are not prepared.' 'Again I must humbly entreat your majesty's pardon for my boldness,' said the Chancellor; 'they are all prepared, and ready.' 'But, my lords,' said the king, reiterating the form in which he put his objection, 'you know the thing is wholly impossible; the guards, the troops have had no orders, and cannot be ready in time.' This objection was in reality the most formidable one. The orders to the troops, on such occasions, always emanate directly from the king; and no person but the king can, in truth, command them for such service; and as the Prime Minister and daring Chancellor knew well the nature of royal susceptibility on such matters, they were, in no slight degree, doubtful and anxious as to the result. The Chancellor, therefore, with some real hesitation, began as follows:—'Pardon me, sir, we know how bold the step is; but, presuming on your great goodness, and your anxious desire for the safety of your kingdom, and happiness of your people, we have presumed to take —— I have given orders, and the troops are ready.' The king started in serious anger, flamed red in the face, and burst forth with—'What! my lords, have you dared to act thus? Such a thing was never heard of. You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that such an act is treason—high treason, my lord.' 'Yes, sir,' said the Chancellor, 'I do know it; and nothing but my thorough knowledge of your majesty's goodness, of your paternal anxiety for the good of your people, and my own solemn belief that the safety of the state depends upon this day's proceedings, could have emboldened me to the performance of so unusual, and, in ordinary circumstances, improper a proceeding. In all humility, I submit myself to your majesty, and am ready, in my own person, to bear all the blame, and receive all the punishment which your majesty may deem needful; but I again entreat your majesty to listen to us, and to follow our counsels; and as you value the security of the crown, and the peace of your realm, to yield to our most earnest solicitations.' After some further expostulations by both his ministers, the king cooled down, and consented." Having consented, he became anxious that everything should be done in a proper manner, and gave minute directions respecting the ceremonial. The speech to be spoken by him on the occasion was ready-prepared, and in the Chancellor's pocket. To this he agreed; desired that everybody might punctually attend, and dismissed his ministers with something between a menace and a joke upon the audacity of their proceedings. Audacious it certainly was; but it was justified; nay, imperatively required by the circumstances of the case. Indeed, there was no other alternative left.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTINENTAL REVOLUTIONS.

In France we have to record another revolution. As we have already intimated, Charles X. was not the man for his place. In his old age he was better fitted for a convent than a throne.

The year 1829 closed on France in a state of great prosperity as regarded trade, but with disaffection to the government, existing in every direction. Charles and the ultras had done all that they could to create that disaffection. In the autumn, Lafayette, with a view to give additional fervour to the popular feeling, made an excursion to the south, where he was hailed with enthusiasm, his every move being a triumph. At Grenoble he was escorted by a cavalcade; at Vizille he was presented with a silver crown; at Lyons his reception was still more enthusiastic. There, on entering the city in an open chariot, drawn by four white horses, he was met by the municipality and the inhabitants, whom he addressed rather as if he were a foreign prince than one of the people like themselves. After a few complimentary words, gracefully delivered, he continued—"To-day, after a long diversion of brilliant despotism, which has almost extinguished constitutional hopes, I find myself in the midst of you at a moment which I should call critical, had I not perceived everywhere on my journey, and if I did not see, in this great and powerful city, the calm and even disdainful firmness of a great people, which knows its rights, feels its strength, and will be faithful to its duties. It is, above all, at this very moment that I love to express to you a devotion to which your appeal will never, to my latest hour, be made in vain." After his address he was escorted to the hotel of the municipality, and all Lyons appeared ready to take any step which he might have indicated. Such was the impression made in Paris by the accounts of the popularity of M. de Lafayette, that it was proposed, in the cabinet, that the king should make a tour in Normandy, in the hope of eliciting some demonstrations of loyalty, to counteract the effects of those made on behalf of the leader of opposition. Inquiry into the state of public opinion, and the fear that the presence of Charles would produce a different effect from that wished for, caused this proposal to be abandoned. France had been gradually robbed of her new-born liberties; and the author of all the mischief might well fear to present himself to his people.

Charles X. appears to have come to the conclusion that the time had gone by for attempts at conciliation with his people. His appointment of Prince Polignac as director of his government—a man notorious for his ultra-royalist and clerical sympathies—made it evident to all France that the king was about to inaugurate a coercive policy, with the object of putting down all opposition. That of Labourdonnaye, minister of the interior; and of Bourmont, war-minister, was still more unpopular. The results were what might have been anticipated. A large and influential portion of the press commenced the most bitter attacks upon the government; while, everywhere, there appeared an intention of withholding the taxes, and of combining to support such persons as might be prosecuted for their non-payment. The Chamber of Deputies having displayed much sympathy with the popular cause, was dissolved; but an assembly still more opposed to the king was returned. The ministry then recommended a reconstruction of the Chamber, and the suppression of the press. The ministerial report was published in the *Moniteur* on the 26th of July, simultaneously with an *ordonnance* from the king, intended to realise both its suggestions. Immediately twenty-eight editors and proprietors signed a declaration, in which they stated boldly—"In the situation in

which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. We are relieved from obeying. We resist the government in what concerns ourselves. It is for France to determine how far her resistance should extend."

Neither of the disputants were kept long in a state of defence. There was a military force of 11,500 men in Paris, and these were to be employed in carrying out the spirit of the *ordonnance.* A portion of them visited the offices of the obnoxious journals, broke the presses, and scattered the types.

Of course the excitement increased. The manufacturers discharged their workmen, and formidable mobs appeared in the streets, shouting "*Vive la Charte!*" The next day it was attempted to disperse them by repeated charges of horse and foot, in which, it is said, both sabres and fire-arms were used freely. The first combatant on the popular side was an Englishman named Foulkes, who fired at the soldiers from his apartments in one of the hotels. This was replied to by a volley, and Foulkes paid for his temerity with his life.

On the night of the 27th, active preparations were made for a deadly struggle. Barricades were raised; and the citizens, assuming the uniform of the national guard, appeared in great strength defending them. Marshal Marmont, who had the command of the king's troops, found it necessary, on the following morning, to make a combined attack; but, after a partial success, the fire from the windows and the barriers forced him, in less than twenty-four hours, to abandon his position with a very heavy loss. The marshal sent to the king for instructions, and was directed to attack with masses. Persons of influence proceeded both to the commander and to the minister, with the object of striving to effect a pacific arrangement; but Prince Polignac would not withdraw the *ordonnance,* and Marshal Marmont was obliged to follow his instructions.

Paris was declared in a state of siege, and martial law proclaimed. The night of the 28th was passed in increased activity by the entire population of Paris. More barricades were raised, and a much larger force defended them. As early as half-past three in the morning the tocsin was sounded, and, in all directions, the cry "*Aux armes!*" was raised; and not in vain. The stern patriot and the enthusiastic youth eagerly responded; the people flocked to attack the palaces, and were joined by two regiments of the line. After a desperate conflict, the Louvre and the Tuileries were in their hands; and Marmont, finding his troops beaten at every point, withdrew on the afternoon of the 29th. His losses were 578 men killed and wounded. Of the people, 390 were killed on the spot, and 4,500 wounded; of whom 306 died. The revolution, however, was completed by the marshal's retreat; for the king fled, and the dissolved Chamber of Deputies met on the 31st. Their first legislative act was to offer the government of the kingdom to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had only been in Paris a few hours; and the duke, having consulted with Prince Talleyrand, accepted the office of lieutenant-general. Paris was in ecstasies; and, amidst universal self-congratulation, the Chambers were opened, on the 3rd of August, by their chief magistrate.

The Duke of Orleans fully came up to the public expectation. He addressed the Chambers in a forcible speech, in which he dwelt emphatically on the recent violation of the charter, and no less powerfully on the guarantees that had been provided against future encroachments. He declared that he was attached to the principle of a free government by inclination as well as by conviction; and he expressed his readiness to accept the consequences that might arise from the introduction of such a form of government into the management of French affairs. The orator added—"The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes I could have wished to prevent; but, in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness, after a resistance free from all excesses, a just national pride nerves my heart, and I look forward, with confidence, to the future destiny of the country. Yes, gentlemen, France, which is so dear to me, will be happy and free. It will show to Europe that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity,

it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbours." In conclusion, the speaker announced the abdication of Charles X., who had fled to Rambouillet, and was then *en route* to the sea-coast, from whence he fled, we may add, to England, much to the annoyance of the English government, who had, by this time, seen quite enough of the Bourbons.

In France, the next thing done was to offer the throne, in perpetuity, to the Duke of Orleans and his male descendants.

Polignac, and two others of Charles's ministers, were committed to prison. The ex-king landed in England, and took up his residence at Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, the property of Cardinal Weld. He subsequently moved to Holyrood Palace; but, after a short sojourn there, left England for the domains of the Emperor of Austria, where he remained till his death.

Miss Cornelia Knight tells us—"Charles says that his conscience acquits him of having had anything in view contrary to the good of the people, whose lives he wished to spare, and whom he was only anxious to save from the artifices of faction. He was made to believe that there would be 29,000 troops in Paris, and that all would pass over quietly." This was the great blunder; and it is to the Prince de Polignac's great incapacity and unfitness for business, that, when he and his colleagues resolved to counsel the king to adopt such violent measures, he did not provide for the safety of the capital. As minister of war *ad interim*, the direction of the military force rested with him, and he ought to have known that the number of troops then in Paris was quite inadequate to the task of putting down any decided popular tumult. There were nearly 12,000 men in the various cantonments and quarters round Paris; but not more than 5,000, composing the royal guard, could be relied on as sincere adherents to the crown. They had twelve pieces of cannon, with six rounds of ammunition to each. This was the entire force which it was expected could maintain order in a city whose adult population numbered 200,000 males, of whom 40,000 had been members of the national guard, which the king had disbanded in the previous year, leaving them in possession of their arms. If the cause of the king and royalty were to have been defended, it was the more reprehensible to leave the capital in this state; because, at the time, there were, at Caen, Rouen, Versailles, St. Denis, Vincennes, and Orleans, seventeen battalions of infantry, and thirty-four squadrons of cavalry; amounting, in all, to near 20,000 men, who could have been summoned to Paris, and posted there when the *ordonnances* were issued. It was the opinion of Prince de Polignac, expressed to his colleagues, that "no popular movement was to be apprehended; but, if any did take place, at all events Paris was sufficiently garrisoned to crush any rebellion, and guarantee the public tranquillity." He was wrong—inexcusably wrong—on both points.

But what could be expected from Polignac, the pet of the English Tories and the *Quarterly Review*—a man into whose limited brain it was simply impossible for the slightest idea of what pertains to true kingship and good government to penetrate? The prince was amiable in disposition, and possessed of many good qualities; he was also honest and sincere: but, wedded as he was to the principles of the *parti prêtre*, this very honesty made him more objectionable to the opposition. The godson of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, he had never deviated from his royalist predilections, for which he had endured persecution and exile; and he now hoped to see them triumphant. His manners were graceful and courteous; and he could devote himself to business, as far as administrative details were concerned; but he wanted the genius of a statesman. "I never could have believed," said Chateaubriand, "that I should see M. de Polignac invested with supreme power. His limited intellect, fixed yet ardent; his fatal and unpopular name; his religious opinions strained to enthusiasm, were sufficient causes for his eternal exclusion."

Fortune had been unkind to Charles, but bountiful to the Duke of Orleans. The latter had been for some time residing at his beautiful palace of Neuilly; and

there he had remained during the stirring and startling events of the three days. He was greatly indebted to the king, who had obtained for him an *irrevocable title*, as it was deemed, to his large domains; and he had also given him the title of royal highness, which he so much desired. Gratitude ought to have retained him on the side of his relative; but he remained secluded, exposing himself to the charge of favouring the designs of his friends, though he did not actively participate in them. This was the general opinion, both in France and in this country. M. Guizot, however, thinks differently. He says—"Many will disbelieve me; and yet I do not hesitate to affirm that the Duke d'Orleans was unambitious. Moderate and prudent, notwithstanding the activity of his mind, and the changeable vivacity of his impressions, he had long foreseen the chance which might elevate him to the throne; but without seeking it, and more disposed to dread than desire its fulfilment."

After the long calamities of emigration, and the recent trial of the hundred days, he was determined not again to be involved in the errors which the elder branch of his house might commit, and in the consequences to which those errors might lead. On the 31st of May, 1830, he gave a *fête* at the Palais Royal, to his brother-in-law, the King of Naples, who had arrived in Paris a few days before. Charles X. and all the royal family were present. The display of magnificence was great; the assembly brilliant and animated. "Monseigneur," said M. de Salvandy to the duke, as he passed near him, "this is truly a Neapolitan festival; we are dancing on the edge of a volcano." "Be it so," replied the duke: "I think with you; but, at least, the fault is not mine. I shall not have to reproach myself with making no effort to open the eye of the king. But what am I to do? Nothing is listened to. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months! But I well know where I shall be. Under any circumstances, my family and I remain in this place. No matter what danger shall arise, I will not stir from hence. I will not separate my own lot, and that of my children, from the fate of my country. Such is my fixed determination." This thought had held the foremost place, in the conduct of the Duke d'Orleans, through the whole course of the Restoration: he was equally decided not to become a victim or a conspirator.

A similar idea was entertained in well-informed quarters in Paris. Mr. Raikes, living there in 1834, met with "M. Buchon, an *homme de lettres*, very intimate with the most distinguished of the Liberal party here. He denied that Louis Philippe had any idea of the approaching crisis. The promulgation of the *ordonnances* was so sudden, that none but the ministers themselves, and the very intimate *coterie* of the royal family, were aware of the fact; and that only so late as the preceding night, when the measure was finally resolved on. He, moreover, partook of the general alarm; and during the struggle of the three days, shrunk in retirement at Neuilly from public observation. Louis Philippe, though noways wanting in that physical courage which would consult personal danger, is not endowed with that moral courage which can preserve coolness in difficult moments, and take advantage of events which present a threatening aspect. His course has always been of a more tortuous character; and to effect his plans, he will always prefer the byways of wily cunning to the straight road of manly resolution. He is notoriously designated as *faut comme un jeton*. But for a long period back, he had foreseen, and prepared to avail himself of, the entanglement into which the prejudices of Charles X., and his infatuated attempts to restore the old monarchical system of France which had existed before the great revolution, infallibly tended to precipitate him and his branch of the family. His object, therefore, was to draw a line, and separate himself as much as possible, in the eye of France, from that infatuated branch. While he, on one side, paid assiduous court to the king, he, on the other, privately communicated with the Liberals: to them he deprecated the insanity of the measures going on; and, as if he considered himself as far removed in blood as in principles from the reigning dynasty, he has often been heard to remark—'*Mais c'est que les Bourbons, ont toujours fait comme ça.*' * * * *

So little prepared was the public mind for this revolution of July, that even the chiefs of the republican party were almost all absent from Paris on the Monday, the day of the explosion. Lafitte was on a visit in the country; Lafayette was at La Grange; and Benjamin Constant at Bayeux, where he was confined to his room by a severe illness (an affection of the spine), for which he had lately undergone a severe surgical operation."

In some quarters it was thought that the duke's conduct supported an opposite opinion. M. Lafitte had sent to him on the 27th, to inform him that Scheffer and Thiers were coming to offer him the crown. To avoid the messenger, he left Neuilly, and retired to Rancy. It seems to us that the wily old king was acting a part when MM. Thiers and Scheffer arrived at the *château* on the 30th. Accordingly they only saw the duchess and Madame Adelaide. The former displayed much emotion and genuine feeling when the object of the mission was explained to her. She turned to Scheffer, and asked him how he could undertake such a mission. That M. Thiers should have undertaken thus to act was not surprising: "but you," she added—"you, who have been admitted to our intimacy, and who served us so well—ah! we can never forgive it." The envoys would have been dismissed without any hope, had not Madame Adelaide entered the apartment. Her energies were at once excited when she heard of the state of Paris, and what was likely to be the fate of the royal family. "Oh!" she exclaimed, "let them make my brother a president—a commander of the national guards—anything, so that they do not make him a proscribed." When she was told that it was a throne they came to offer him, she slightly demurred, saying, "it would strike a panic into all royal houses, and endanger the peace of the world." M. Thiers' arguments dispelled these fears, and Madame Adelaide determined to go to the capital. "A child of Paris," she said, "I will entrust myself to the Parisians." "And you secure the crown to your family," was the reply of M. Thiers. One of the household was then despatched to Rancy for the duke. On the arrival of the messenger, his royal highness ordered his carriage, and set out for Paris. He had not, however, proceeded far before he directed the horses' heads to be turned, and was driven back. After some delay his royal highness again set out, and this time reached Paris, but unknown and unnoticed. He immediately went to the Palais Royal; and instead of announcing his arrival, he appears to have gone up to one of the attics, and thrown himself upon a servant's bed. Another account says that he performed the journey from Neuilly on foot, in the dress of a *bourgeois*, attended by three persons similarly disguised, and entered Paris greatly distressed. When there, he had to make his way to the Palais Royal through crowds of republicans, to whose cries he was obliged to respond. It is hard to believe that Louis Philippe did not go to Paris to get a crown.

The people certainly did not desire him. When it was announced that he was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the Parisians were greatly excited, and by the addresses of the republican orators, putting questions respecting the lieutenant-general; such as, "When did he fight for France?" "Where was he during the three days?" "When did he enter Paris?" And to the latter it was said, "On the 30th, when victory was won, and it remained only to bury the dead." When the duke left the Palais Royal to proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, he was on horseback, the deputies following on foot: they had to cross the barricades which were in their way, few of which had been touched, even for the purpose of effecting an opening. The people pressed round them as they passed on, using no violence, but showing no respect; and the deputies were compelled, for their own preservation, and to protect the duke, to grasp each other firmly by the hand, and thus to form barriers on his right and left. As they reached the quay of the Louvre, a mass of women and children rushed upon them, exclaiming, "Long live our deputies!" At the Place de Griève they danced and sang the "Marseillaise;" and in the further progress of the *cortége*, various cries and questions were heard. Pointing to the lieutenant-general, one person asked, "Who is the mounted gen-

tleman? Is he a prince? Is he a general?" To which a female replied, "I hope he is not a Bourbon." Such was Louis Philippe's first progress through the streets of his future capital. It is clear that his election to the throne was in obedience neither to the *vox populi* nor *vox dei*. But the thing was done somehow; and, for a short time, there was peace in Paris under the reign of her citizen king.

Miss Knight tells us, at the time when Louis Philippe was shaking hands with everybody in the street, he held out his hand to a man, who said, "Stop a little." Thrusting both hands in the mud, he offered them to the king, saying, "They are now fit for you." Another of her stories is worth repeating. A stranger happening to be in Paris soon after the revolution, was stopped by a young chimney-sweeper, who asked him if he had seen the King of the French: the other replied in the negative. "Would you like to see him?" continued the chimney-sweeper: "only give me a piece of five francs, and you shall see him." The stranger offered to do this, and they went away together to the Palais Royal. As soon as they were in sight of the balcony, the boy began to call out, "Louis Philippe! Louis Philippe!" in which cry he was joined by the rabble near him. The King of the French came out to make his obeisance, and the gentleman gave a five-franc piece to the sweeper. "Now," said the boy, "if you have a mind to hear him sing, only promise me five more, and you shall be satisfied." The stranger assented; and his majesty, at the command of the mob, joined in the "Marseillaise Hymn," with all the appropriate grimaces.

In a little while, Louis Philippe was as unpopular as Charles X.; though he certainly endeavoured to be on good terms with his people. English gentlemen were very much surprised at the company he thought it politic to keep. If we are to believe all the gossip of the time, he richly deserved the title of the "citizen king." Mr. Raikes writes—"I was amused by hearing an account of the balls misgiven by Louis Philippe at the Tuileries, which are very splendid as to decorations, but not very select as to company. In order to gain popularity, a certain number of tickets are sent to each of the ten legions of the national guard. Great part of the society is therefore composed of the shopkeepers of Paris, who, even in this scene of festivity, do not lose sight of their own interests. It is said, that a lady happened to complain, the other night, that her shoe pinched her, when her partner immediately presented his card of address as *cordonnier du roi*, and offered to wait upon her the next morning." Again—"There was a grand ball at the Tuileries last night; near 4,000 persons were present: the apartments were splendidly illuminated, and the supper very magnificent. To give an idea of the company, Yarmouth said that he called in the morning on his coachmaker, to desire that his carriage, which required some little repair, might be ready at night, as he was going to the ball. The coachmaker said, 'That puts me in mind that I am also invited, and I must get my own carriage ready likewise.'"

Of Charles X. history has little more to say. He expired at Goritz, in Styria, between the 5th and 6th of November, 1836. He had entered upon the eightieth year of his age in the preceding month. He was active and cheerful to the moment at which he was seized by the fatal malady, which closed his existence in less than thirty hours. During this time he had suffered greatly; but died tranquil and resigned, forgiving his enemies—those who had injured, and those who had misled him. He had visited the Princess of B——, and his nephews, the sons of Don Carlos, on his way to Goritz, where he was about to establish himself with his family. The 4th of November, St. Charles's day, and his own *fête*, he had celebrated with a few friends, and he had been received with great cordiality by the inhabitants of Goritz. "It has always appeared to me," wrote Miss Cornelia Knight, who knew him well, "that Charles X. was the true model of a gentleman. He was agreeable, unaffected, and amiable in the best sense of the word, and an affectionate and faithful friend. His look came from the heart; and whatever he said, however gratifying, could not be suspected of flattery. In his youth he was gay; his conduct, in his mature age, was respectable without prejudice

or ostentation. His piety was sincere and fervent, and without presumption. I think we may venture to say that he has made a blessed exchange. The Duchess of Hamilton told me, that he said to her, at Holyrood, speaking of the revolution of 1830—'I meant well, therefore I lay my head peacefully to rest.'"

Of his supplanter, Louis Philippe, not so much could be said; yet no one ever had a stranger or more romantic career. He was the eldest son of Philippe Egalité, whose deference to the popular prejudices of the day did not preserve him from the guillotine. His son, who, till that period, had been called the Duke de Chartres, then took the title appertaining to that branch of the house of Bourbon. Louis Philippe was born on the 6th of October, 1773, and was educated by the far-famed Madame de Genlis. Like most Frenchmen of rank, he embraced the army as a profession, joining it in 1785, at the early age of twelve. He was colonel of a regiment when the revolution broke out; and, in obedience to the command of the National Assembly, he went to Vendôme, and placed himself at its head. He did not remain there long, being ordered to Vincennes, of which place, as the eldest officer present, he took the government. He was soon called into active service; and, at Jemappes, in 1782, where he was major-general, contributed materially to the victory of the French under Kellerman. In the early part of the fatal year of 1793, he was inactive; but having incurred the suspicion of the Committee of Public Safety, and being, with General Dumouriez, ordered to appear before that body, he resolved to leave France; and, in April, entered Belgium, then under Austrian rule. The government at Vienna offered him a commission in the Austrian army; but he refused to fight against France, though the revolutionary leaders had declared him an outlaw, and had set a price upon his head. He proceeded to Switzerland; and, at Schaffhausen, he found his sister Adelaide and Madame de Genlis. They had quitted France in order to avoid the guillotine, and were nearly penniless. He placed them in a convent, and had to hide himself among the surrounding peasantry. In October, 1793, under the name of Chambaud, he applied for, and obtained, the post of professor of geography and history, in the college of Reichenau, where he remained eight months. After the execution of Robespierre, he left Reichenau and the profession of learning for Baumgarten and the army, remaining at that place till the commencement of 1795, as Monsieur de Corby, aide-de-camp to the refugee, General Montesquiou. There some emissaries of the French government discovered him, and he was again compelled to become a wanderer. He made his way to Hamburg, where he expected to find a vessel for America: he was disappointed; and as it would have been dangerous for him to remain at that port, he travelled, on foot, through Sweden, Norway, and Lapland, as far as the North Pole, where he made some important astronomical observations. In this journey the duke had to support himself by the labour of his hands and head; and, early in 1796, he returned to Hamburg, where he maintained himself by teaching. The French government had succeeded in seizing the persons of his brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais; and having ascertained where Louis Philippe was, made him an offer to liberate the two princes if he would emigrate to America. He at once acceded to the proposition, and sailed for that country, with his brothers, in 1789. At Washington they were received in the most friendly manner. In 1800 they came to England, taking up their residence at Twickenham, where the duke maintained himself by his scientific labours. In 1807, the Duke de Montpensier died. The duke and the Count de Beaujolais soon after went to Malta, where the latter died in 1808; and Louis Philippe then proceeded to Palermo, where his mother and sister were settled. At that time Ferdinand IV. had established himself in Sicily, under British protection, which he ill deserved; and, in 1809, on the 25th of November, the duke married his daughter, Mary Amélie, who was born on the 26th of April, 1782. He did not remain long at the Court of Palermo, as his politics were opposed to those of the queen; but he continued to reside in that city, with the exception of a short visit to Spain, till the downfall of Napoleon. When that took place he returned to Paris,

and, in connection with Marshal Mortier, took the command of the northern districts. When Napoleon landed from Elba, the duke sent his family back to Twickenham, whither he followed them; but returned again to his native country after the battle of Waterloo. The jealousy with which Louis XVIII. regarded him, induced the duke once more to seek shelter in England, where he remained several years, till a reconciliation with the king led to his return to France. There he lived as a private individual, partly on his estate at Neuilly, and partly at the Palais Royal—immensely rich, for all the vast estates of his family were restored to him: and he was thus enabled to gather around him many of the *savans* and literary men of the day. Madame de Genlis becomes enthusiastic. "The whole family of the Duke of Orleans," she writes, "is truly the most interesting I ever knew. The members of it are charming by their personal attractions, their natural qualities and education, and the reciprocal attachment of parents and children." Again she writes—"The enemies of the monarchy will struggle in vain, for the great body of the nation have a strong attachment to the royal family. It would be extremely difficult to find, in any private family, more virtues and good examples than the royal family have displayed since the Restoration. The Duchess of Angoulême and the Duchess of Berri are admirable, from the purity of their life and conduct. The Duke of Orleans is the model of husbands and fathers. The Duchess-dowager of Orleans was generally admired. Her royal highness the duchess, and Mademoiselle d'Orleans, are revered and beloved by all who approach them." Alas! alas! Tried in the balance, even the Orleans family will be found wanting.

The second revolution, as it has been called, was mainly brought about by the newspapers. In reality, Paris rules France; and, in Paris, the king of men is the man with ideas. In England, the fate of the nation has always been in the hands of a few great landlords. One duke holds one county in his hand, another another; and, except when the public mind is intensely aroused, the real management of affairs is under their control. To such men it is a disadvantage to have brains, as brains imply thinking; and thought is the very opposite of happy and Bœotian content. A revolution in this country is an impossibility, except such a one, and under such circumstances, as we had in 1688. With the exception of Chateaubriand, all the eminent literary men of the day were ranged around the Orleans banner; and Charles X. had only to run a tilt at the press, and he was instantly unseated. In France, there were no great landlords to step in, and save such a man from the fate which his folly had provoked. Prince Polignac was powerless, compared with such men as Thiers or Guizot. The Duke of Orleans had wisely secured the friendship of such; and the influence of the journals they were connected with had a great effect on the populace, and very materially aided the efforts of Lafitte and his other friends; and then Charles X. was a man no one could save.

In vain his friends remonstrated; in vain even the Emperor Nicholas remonstrated, when the rumour of the intended issue of the *ordonnances* against the press reached St. Petersburg. "I have lived longer than you, gentlemen," was the language of the king to his ministers. "Your age does not permit you to recollect, as I do, how revolutions and the revolutionists proceed. I have over you the unenvied advantage of years. I recollect what occurred in 1789. The first step which my unhappy brother made before the revolutionists of that day was the signal of his ruin. They, too, made protestations of fidelity to the crown: they, too, limited their open demand to the dismissal of the ministers. He yielded, and all was lost. They pretend now to aim at nothing but your dismission. Their language to me is, 'Dismiss your ministers, and we shall soon come to an understanding.' Gentlemen, I will not dismiss you. In the first place, because I am attached to, and have confidence in you: in the next, because, if I dismissed you, they would end in treating you as they have done my son and myself, and us all; and as they treated my brother. No: let them conduct us, if they please, to the

scaffold; but let us fight for our rights: and if we are to fall, fall sword in hand. I would rather be led to execution on horseback than in a cart." History does teach a lesson: if it does not, it is no better than an old almanac: but woe be to the man who reads its lesson wrong! It was because Charles X. did this that he had to abdicate his throne.

Nothing can make the folly of Charles X. appear greater than the issue of the odious *ordonnances*, which commenced the revolution. They were six in number. 1. Suspended the liberty of the press. It decreed that, from that date, no newspaper or periodical, whether then published or to be established thereafter, nor any volume of less than twenty sheets of letterpress, should appear, either in Paris or the departments, without the permission of the king, to be specified in a licence duly stamped: the licence was to be renewed every three months, and might be suspended at pleasure; and works subject to the licence, and published without one, to be seized, and the types used in the printing to be destroyed, or placed in some public depôt. 2. "Charles X., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, having resolved to prevent the return of such manœuvres as have exercised a pernicious influence on the last operations of the electoral colleges; desiring, consequently, to reform, according to the principles of the constitutional charter, the rule as to elections, of which experience has shown the inconvenience; and having seen the necessity of making use of the right which belongs to us, to provide, by acts emanating from ourselves, for the security of the state, and for the repression of every attempt against the dignity of our crown, do decree as follows:—That the Chamber of Deputies from the departments and arrondissements is dissolved." 3. The first article of this *ordonnance* declared—"That, conformably to Articles 15, 36, and 50, of the constitutional charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall, henceforth, only consist of deputies of departments"—thus reducing the number of members from 430 to 258. The ballot was abolished, and the electoral franchise limited to the possession of property paying the requisite amount of taxes, by the abolition of the suffrage founded on patents. The prefects were also reinvested with the authority they possessed previous to 1828, which gave them, in fact, absolute power over the preparation of the electoral lists. 4. By this decree, the 6th and 13th of September were appointed for the meeting of the two classes of the electoral college (the members for both having to vote for the same candidates); and the 28th of the same month was fixed for the meeting of the newly-elected Chamber. 5 and 6. Nominated to the dignity of councillor of state, a number of those adherents of the old Villèle administration, who had shown the greatest attachment to ultra-royalist principles. All those named were most unpopular persons; and, whether it was intended or not, certainly they were men "whose only recommendation to royal favour seemed to be the large share they had secured to themselves of the hatred of their fellow-subjects."

As soon as it was formally settled that Louis Philippe was to be the successor of Charles X., several peers gave up their seats, and retired into private life, sacrificing, at the same time, their pensions—all many of them had to live on. The great towns, Lyons, Bordeaux, Rouen, and Marseilles, submitted to the choice of Paris. There was more delay in the western departments; but, before the end of August, they also had acknowledged their new king. "A phalanx of rising talent, partly aristocratic and partly plebeian, clustered round the throne. It was chiefly found among the editors or contributors to newspapers, who had been so instrumental in contributing to Louis Philippe's elevation. Some of them were incorporated in his first ministry. The following were the appointments:—Minister for Public Instruction and President of the Council, the Duke de Broglie; Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Dupont de l'Eure; Secretary at War, Count Gerard; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Count Molé; Minister of Marine, Count Sebastiani; Minister of Finance, Baron Louis; and Minister of the Interior, M. Guizot. The ministers without *portefeuilles*, were MM. Lafitte, Casimir Perrier, Dupin *aîné*, and Baron Bignon. This ministry was a coalition of three parties—the

doctrinaires, the burghers, and the republicans. Like all coalitions it wanted dignity and firmness." Guizot says of his colleagues, that "they had no unity beyond that which their first steps absolutely required during the first days. They were all sincerely anxious to consolidate the constitutional monarchy which sprang up from the revolution. But when, from this general desire, it became necessary to pass to defined and daily action—when they were called upon to settle in detail the government of this monarchy, and to put it in practice, animated and important differences burst forth, and were repeated at every minute. Not only were they divided between two tendencies, which had exhibited themselves ever since the revision of the charter—progress and resistance, the desire of reform, and respect for traditional laws—but in each of these distinct sections combination was alike deficient; important varieties of opinion presented themselves, as rendering it apparent that men outwardly agreed would speedily differ, and, perhaps, contend, and which deprived the existing authorities of the power of escaping from the same confusion of ideas, pretensions, and chances that fomented around them." The king himself had, amongst them, a difficult part to play. As Guizot confesses, "his real confidence and outward deportment were not always in harmony: hence enemies and shallow observers accused him of premeditated duplicity; but this was simply the result of a complicated position still undefined, and the working of a spirit as yet inexperienced in government, and seeking with hesitation its course and its friends."

In spite of the alarm created by the very name of a French revolution, the new monarch was soon recognised by the leading powers of Europe. He sent General Baudrand to England, who was at once admitted to an audience with King William IV. On the return of the general from his special mission, Prince Talleyrand was sent as ambassador to the Court of London. Russia was more chary; but Austria was equally prompt as ourselves. At a ball given in Vienna, M. de St. Aulaire, then French ambassador at the Austrian Court, said to the princess—"Your crown is admirable, princess—in such good taste, and becomes you so well; but is it secure?" "Impossible to say in these days, Excellency; but at least it is not stolen."

The name of Talleyrand reminds us that we have not yet chronicled the career of that extraordinary man. No one ever lived so long in such eventful times. He was born in 1754; descended from a good family, but very poor. He defrayed the small expenses of his college education out of the produce of an *abbaye*, which he received on going into the church. He at last was made Bishop of Autun. On the breaking out of the French revolution, he joined the popular party, abjured his ecclesiastical profession, and was for some time secretary to Chauvelin, the French minister in England. On his return the massacres and proscriptions had commenced. The Jacobin party was waging war against nobles and autocrats: his doom was sealed, and he was forced to emigrate. His previous conduct had rendered any asylum where he might meet his brother emigrants dangerous to his personal safety; and America presented the only retreat from the rage of all parties, who were now equally incensed against him. Thither he went with what little money he could collect: and bitter must have been the time he spent there. Straitened circumstances in an infant republic, must have been peculiarly galling to one accustomed to all the luxuries and refinements of the late French Court. At one time he meditated, and had almost engaged his passage for a speculative establishment at Calcutta; but another lot was already designed for him. The government in France, under the Directory, began to wear rather a more settled aspect. His friends in Paris exerted themselves strongly in his favour; and, at length, his name was erased from the list of emigrants. He quitted America without regret, and arrived in his native land with only fifteen louis in his pocket. There his various talents and natural *finesse* soon gained him an ascendancy with the people then in power; and, in a very short time, he became Minister for Foreign Affairs of the republic. His account of this period was very

amusing. Installed in one of the magnificent hôtels of the old *noblesse*, which had been appropriated to the use of the new government, and, after being gutted during the excesses of the revolution, had been partly re-furnished by promiscuous gleanings of finery and magnificence from the Garde Meuble, he found himself lodged like a prince, without a shilling of revenue; surrounded by servants whose wages he could not afford to pay, and who were using the most costly services of old Sèvres china for the common purposes of the kitchen and offices, because they really had not the money to purchase utensils of earthenware.

Talleyrand's first step for extricating himself from these difficulties was the treaty with Portugal, then on the *tapis*. The negotiation was soon brought to a favourable conclusion; by which it was stipulated, that in return for certain concessions on the part of France, Portugal should pay an indemnity of 8,000,000 francs. Of this sum Talleyrand gave 1,000,000 to each of the five directors, and appropriated the remaining 3,000,000 to himself. This was the origin of that amazing fortune which he afterwards accumulated, but which declined to such an extent as to induce Mr. Raikes to suppose that he was in moderate circumstances. One reason for that, however, was the expense of maintaining the Spanish royal family at Valençay—a penalty inflicted upon him by order of Napoleon. Considering his start in life, Prince Talleyrand cannot, however, be considered to have played his game badly in a pecuniary point of view. He left a large property behind him, the bulk of which was bequeathed to the son and daughter of his niece, the Duchesse de Dino: an estate at Valençay, left to the former, who became Duke de Valençay, was valued at 8,000,000 francs. It had been purchased at something more than a fourth of that sum.

Talleyrand died in May, 1838. As it became evident to his relatives that his end was approaching, they were very anxious that he should make his peace with the church. His young and beautiful grand-niece, Mademoiselle de Dino, who had great influence with the old man, exerted herself so effectually, that he wrote, on the 10th of March, a recantation, with his own hand, of his errors, alike religious and political; but he would not sign it till a few days before his death. After he had affixed his name to the document, he was visited by the Abbé Doupauloup, and he appeared to be revived to a sense of those truths he had so long abjured. "The recollections which you recall," he said to the abbé, after one of their conversations, "are dear to me, and I thank you for having divined the place they have preserved in my thoughts and in my heart." He was visited by the king just before his death, and appeared deeply sensible of the honour, which, he said, was the highest his house had ever received. When he died the Abbé Doupauloup was by his bed-side, administering the ceremonies, and offering up the prayers of his church. The members of his family were also present. After the sacred offices were performed, the abbé remarked to one of the persons who surrounded the bed, that the Archbishop of Paris had said he would give his life for M. Talleyrand. The dying man heard him, and rejoined, "he might make a better use of it." He had scarcely uttered the words when he expired. His funeral was conducted with the pomp which Frenchmen ever appreciate and admire.

In England, the rise and progress of the revolution in France were watched with the utmost interest. The Wellington administration was a common name for the Polignac ministry; and Sir R. Peel thought it necessary, in the House of Commons, to give a formal denial to the assertion. Mr. Brougham spoke the feelings of the people when he said—"My heartfelt admiration, my cordial gratitude, is due to the patriots of that great nation, for the illustrious struggle they are making; for the war which they are now waging with arbitrary power; and which, for the sake of the peace of France, of England, of Europe—most of all for the sake of the Bourbon king—I hope will not proceed beyond the point to which bigotry and bad passions have already driven it. I hope that those counsels will yield, in time, to the coming breeze; at least before they are swept away by the gathering storm." On the 2nd of November, after its accomplish-

ment, he spoke of it in parliament, as "that revolution which, in my conscience, I believe to be the most glorious in the annals of mankind." The *Morning Chronicle*, the acknowledged organ of the Whig party, said—"The battle of English liberty has really been fought and won at Paris." "The *Times*," says Mr. Roebuck, "spoke out more fiercely." Elsewhere, the same historian remarks—"The conduct of the French nation was, in England, greeted with one universal shout of admiration; unbounded praise was bestowed, not only on the courage and skill with which the people of Paris rose upon and expelled their delinquent king, but also on the wisdom and clemency which accompanied their heroic victory. When the news first came of an insurrection by an armed populace, and of the combats in the streets and places of that great city, which had witnessed, within the memory of many then living, the most terrible and sanguinary proceedings to be found in the history of the world, a sort of instinctive terror took possession of men's minds, and they trembled lest the cause of freedom and good government should be again disgraced by the horrors and cruelty which had accompanied the first revolution. But Paris of 1830 was not the Paris of 1789. The results of the terrible convulsion which had, at that period, desolated France, and filled her cities and fields with carnage, misery, and terror, were now seen in the beneficial change which was manifest in the habits and feelings of her people. As merciful as they were brave, the heroes of 1830 tarnished not the lustre of their victory by any ferocity, while, in hot blood, resisting to the death the violent decrees of their infatuated king; or, after their victory, by the forms of law, or by means of a subservient judicature. Law immediately resumed her place, indeed; but it was a law of mercy and of wisdom. The Chambers, like our convention in 1688, decided for the people, and again established monarchy in the person of the chief of the younger branch of the Bourbons, by conferring the crown upon the Duke of Orleans, who, by the name of Louis Philippe, was created King of the French."

Society, of course, was very much shocked. Charles X. was such a magnificent horseman, and so polite to the ladies! Miss Knight, who arrived in Paris towards the end of August, says—"On the road from Paris to Calais, I perceived no signs of gaiety or enthusiasm. A person disposed to criticise the nation would, perhaps, divide it into three classes—knaves, dupes, and people—intimidated by their recollections of the horrid scenes of the former revolution. Certain it is that the prosperity of France was great, and yearly increasing; and now all has become precarious—thanks to designing ambition and infamous journals. I am sick of the subject; and what I did not while in the country from prudence, I now avoid writing from disgust." Again, on the 28th of December, she enters in her journal—"This miserable year is almost at its close. * * * * On the 29th of July Charles X. lost his throne. * * * * The Duke of Orleans was crowned by four marshals, in a very small assembly of the representatives of the nation, and without any religious ceremony. No etiquette, no distinctions allowed."

Here, as we have intimated, a better feeling prevailed. Public meetings were held, in various parts of England, to express sympathy with the French people. One was held in the metropolis, in the City of London Tavern; Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P., in the chair. At another, held the next day, at Freemasons' Tavern, Sir F. Burdett presided. Tri-coloured ribbons, or cockades, were worn by some persons present; and the sentiments were in unison. Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh followed the example thus set them; and at all the meetings an appeal was made on behalf of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the contest on the popular side. The Duke of Wellington not only promptly acknowledged the new government, but our ambassador, Lord Stuart de Rothsay, proceeded in state, from his hotel to the palace, for that purpose. Our recognition was peculiarly acceptable; and, to show the *entente cordiale* that existed, a grand banquet was given by the prefect and municipality of the capital, at the Maison de Ville, at which General Lafayette, and other celebrated leaders in the recent revolution, attended. Dr. Bowring, who had been the bearer of an English address

from a London meeting, and such Englishmen as happened to be in Paris, were invited. Everything there was said and done that could increase the harmony existing between the two nations. A similar banquet was given by the first legion; and one of the toasts was—"The English nation: thanks for their generous exertions, and peace and union with them for ever."

"A revolution in France is a revolution in Europe." Such was the expression of the first Napoleon; and it was realised in the present instance. As the news spread, an impulse was given to the people, and feeble monarchs trembled and tottered on their thrones.

Belgium was the first to imitate France. All its principal towns partook of the movement, which commenced at Brussels, where a burgher guard shortly displaced the troops of the King of the Netherlands. A conflict ensued: the royal guards were defeated; and, notwithstanding the personal exertions of the Prince of Orange to reconcile the Flemish people to the rule of his dynasty, a separation of Belgium from Holland was insisted on. Alarming riots broke out in several places; the people appealed to arms wherever they could get possession of them; and the most bitter feeling of animosity was created between the Flemish and the Dutch. The forces of the king were, step by step, expelled, till at length nothing of Belgium remained to him but the citadel of Antwerp.

On the 13th of September, the king convened an extraordinary meeting of the States-General; but by this time all hope of any arrangement between the two people had disappeared. The Dutch, as well as the Belgians, were heartily tired of the connection: at the same time, neither of the parties could come to an amicable arrangement. In this hopeless condition of affairs the king determined to seek the assistance of his allies.

The Belgians managed matters adroitly, and kept steadily before themselves the idea of nationality, in which they were aided by the Catholic clergy, who dreaded the contagion of French infidelity. M. Van de Weyer was sent by the provisional government to London, in order to obtain the intervention of England. He was told, by the Duke of Wellington, that this country would not interfere in their affairs so as to control the people in their choice of government, but that we desired much the establishment of one by which peace and good order might be maintained; and that, as respected hostilities, England was quite ready to aid in putting an end to the then existing disastrous state of things. A protocol was consequently signed, on the 4th of November, by the ministers of five powers represented in London, by which an entire cessation of hostilities was agreed on; and to that end they determined that "the respective troops should retire, reciprocally, behind the line which, previously to the treaty of May 30th, 1814, separated the possessions of the sovereign of the United Provinces from those which were added to his territory to form the kingdom of the Netherlands by the treaty of Paris, and by those of Paris and Vienna in 1815." This was to be done in ten days. Eventually, by this arrangement, the King of Holland was required and compelled to evacuate Antwerp; and the Belgian territory was retained in its entirety for the king, who was eventually selected to rule over that country.

The people, however, in the meantime, had summoned, through the provisional government, a national congress. On the 16th of October, a decree of the provisional government was issued, by which a congress was convoked, and the manner of electing it determined. On the 10th of November it met.

We thus see that the independence of Belgium was acknowledged by the Duke of Wellington while Lord Palmerston was out of office.

About the same period, another revolutionary outbreak commenced at Brunswick, whence the reigning duke, after a fierce contest with the citizens, was obliged to fly for his life, his troops having been defeated, and his castle set on fire. At Dresden, the populace rose, and drove the military out of the town; and the King of Saxony was obliged to resign his crown, which passed to his nephew, Prince Frederick, after his father had renounced his right of succession in his

favour. Disturbances of a similar nature broke out at Hesse-Cassel, Chaunitz, Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and other large towns. Indeed, the revolutionary wave went spreading rapidly over the German continent; while, in the Peninsula, there was so much excitement, that a repetition of the scenes of Paris was daily expected both in Madrid and Lisbon. Sir Henry Wynn writes to the Duke of Buckingham—"If the Portuguese do not take this opportunity to get rid of Miguel, they are more despicable than I even take them to be."

In Ireland the prospect was equally alarming. A movement had been commenced for the repeal of the legislative union, under the auspices of Mr. Daniel O'Connell; and a common toast at public meetings was, "The cause of the Belgians; may others imitate their bright example!"

The insurrectionary movement on the continent next extended to Poland, where the Grand Duke Constantine, by the violence of his proceedings, had excited a general spirit of dissatisfaction to Russian authority. A banquet having been given at Warsaw, in honour of Kosciusko, which was attended by some of the students of the military college of that city, Constantine ordered several of them to be flogged, and others to be sent to prison. So brutal a sentence could scarcely fail to excite their fellow-students, and the whole body rose in arms to protect them. This occurred on the 29th of November; and as the Russian guards marched to attack the students, the Polish regiments proceeded to declare in their favour. A contest ensued, in which the people shortly joined; and having obtained arms from the arsenal, helped to drive the Russian troops out of the city. The result was, a revival of Polish nationality. The Emperor of Russia was not, however, disposed to part with one of the finest provinces of his empire, and threatened the revolters with the severest punishment. He made great preparations to get together an overwhelming armament; and the people of Poland, unprepared for so colossal a struggle, and without the slightest prospect of assistance from other countries, were left to wait the issue; or, in other words, had to realise all the horrors of exile, imprisonment, and death.

> "Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
> And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell;
> Yet thy proud lords, unpitied land, shall see
> That man hath yet a soul, and dare be free.
> A little while, along thy saddening plains,
> The starless night of desolation reigns;
> Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
> And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of Heaven.
> Prone to the dust, Oppression shall be hurled,
> Her name, her nature withered from the world."

The distinguished leader of the Poles was Prince Adam Czartoryski, who died in Paris three or four years since. He took an active part in the affairs of his country as early as the period of Kosciusko's attempt to liberate her from Russian dominion. After the partition of Poland, in 1795, he and his brother were sent to St. Petersburg, by command of Catherine II., as hostages. Here Alexander was so charmed with the noble and manly character of the young Pole, that he became his intimate friend; and, upon his accession to the throne, appointed him Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which post Czartoryski conducted himself with so much prudence, that the army, which was at first excited, gave way. In 1805, he subscribed, in the name of Russia, the treaty with Great Britain. He then demanded his dismissal, but nevertheless accompanied Alexander in the campaign of 1807, having previously assisted at the battle of Austerlitz. After the peace of Tilsit, he retired almost entirely from public life, declaring that his connection with Russia was only to be referred to the person of the emperor. When the war broke out in 1812, he was again by the side of Alexander, whom he accompanied to Paris in 1814. In 1815, he was appointed senator-palatine of the kingdom, and in 1817, married the Princess Anna-Sapieha. He attended the first Diet, and spoke boldly

in favour of a constitution; but all his hopes were disappointed. In 1821, some students of the University of Wilna, of which he was curator, were accused of revolutionary movements; and in spite of his efforts, sixty of them were imprisoned without trial; many of the sons of the first families were drafted as soldiers into the Russian regiments, and others were banished to Siberia and the military colonies. Czartoryski thereupon resigned his post. When the revolution of 1830 broke out, he devoted all his energies to the service of his country. He was appointed president of the provisional government, and summoned the Diet to meet on the 18th of December, 1830. On the 30th of January, 1831, he was placed at the head of the national government, and offered half of his property for the service of his country. After the terrible days of August 15th and 16th, he resigned his post, but served as a common soldier in the corps of General Romarino during the last fruitless struggles. When all was lost, he made his escape, and reached Paris, where he ever since resided, and busied himself for the benefit of his homeless countrymen. He was expressly excluded from the amnesty of 1831, and his estates in Poland were confiscated. During the Polish insurrection of 1846, his Gallician estates were put under sequestration by the Austrian government; but this was removed in the spring of 1848. In March of that year, he issued a proclamation, urging the German representatives to unite with those of France to demand the restoration of Poland. In April, 1848, he enfranchised the peasants upon his estate of Sieniawa, in Gallicia.

In England, and indeed throughout Europe, great interest was felt in the Polish struggle. A secret society, with independence for its object, had existed for some time at Warsaw, with corresponding branches in other parts of the old kingdom. This society was in communication with the French clubs before their suppression; and when the revolution broke out at Warsaw, the cry of aid for Poland was raised in Paris, and all parts of France. The French government, however, dared not interfere. Louis Philippe was not established on his throne with sufficient firmness to allow him to brave the hostility of the other constitutional powers, which would most certainly have been provoked by active interference in Poland (it may also be remarked, that for the same reason, and much to the disgust of the French nation, France made no attempt to annex Belgium); and thus the appeal of Poland to France was in vain. In England, interference in the affairs of Poland was still more out of the question. All classes disliked Russia cordially, and wished to see Poland free: but there we stopped. Poland was in no way connected with England. We had promised her people nothing; we had asked or received from them nothing: we had given her exiles shelter and food, but we had never promised to raise them up into a nation, nor taken advantage of their warlike enthusiasm; nor, as the French had done, reaped the fruits of their heroism and valour. "From us, therefore," writes Mr. Roebuck, "they had nothing to hope; neither could they impute to us any breach of faith, any base or dishonourable deception. Their misfortunes excited our sympathy; their mistaken heroism demanded and received our admiration; but between our fortunes and theirs no tie or connexion existed. We sorrowed when they failed, but silently acquiesced in the decree of fate by which they were overwhelmed." This is not exactly the whole truth. The Poles had a right to expect aid from us; and England, by the treaty of Vienna, had a right to grant it. Nicholas, however, was left to enjoy his triumph; and the revolution—to employ a phrase much in vogue at the present time—was "stamped out." Some thousands of patriots escaped over the border, whom Europe hastened to condole with alms. Large contributions were raised for them in Paris and London; and they have ever since been in exile—the migratory army of revolution; conspicuous in nearly every tumult in every capital since they were expelled from home and fatherland.

All England was affected by the example of the continent: people raised the cry for reform; and the duke and the ministry became more and more unpopular. "They were believed," says Mr. Roebuck, "unfriendly to a free press, and were

supposed to have found in Sir James Scarlett an Attorney-general who was not only willing, but eager to employ the law as an engine of oppression." During the late session of parliament, the conduct of Sir James had been severely scrutinised, and blame, by persons of every party, abundantly bestowed upon him for his arbitrary, persecuting prosecutions of Mr. Alexander, the editor of the *Morning Journal*; and the French ministers were thought to have adopted the principles of Sir James Scarlett, only employing them on a larger scale, and with a bolder hand. The number and extent of these prosecutions might well alarm people. Sir James Scarlett first prosecuted the paper for a libel on Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor. A second *ex officio* information was filed against the editor and proprietors, because an article in it charged the Duke of Wellington with being an ambitious, unprincipled, and dangerous minister, and with keeping his majesty under degrading and unconstitutional control; and his majesty, with being a king who could be so controlled. This was described as a libel on the king and his government. Not content with this, another *ex officio* information was filed against the same defendant, for a "libel tending to degrade the king, and bring his majesty's government into contempt, and inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects against both houses of parliament." Even this did not satisfy the appetite of the Attorney-general. He proceeded in a fourth case, by preferring a bill of indictment against the printer of the *Morning Journal*, for a libel which appeared in a letter addressed to the editor of the paper, and which accused the duke of "despicable cant, and affected moderation;" of showing "a want of compassion, and of those more kindly and tender sympathies which distinguish the heart of a man from that of a proud dictator and tyrant." The libel also charged the duke with being guilty "of the grossest treachery to his country, or else the most arrant cowardice or treachery—cowardice and artifice united." And all this rodomontade was indulged in, and nonsense uttered, because the duke had proposed and carried the act for the emancipation of the Catholics. No sooner was this indictment preferred, than the real author declared himself, and his situation fully explained why the raving and rant had been used against the Duke of Wellington, the author being chaplain to the Duke of Cumberland, one of the most unpopular men—and deservedly so—in England at that time. The declaration of the name and character of the actual author did not at all affect the course pursued by the Attorney-general, who still prosecuted the printer, and allowed the parson to remain unmolested. Such actions as these tended much to alarm the friends of freedom, especially when the manifestoes of the Tory party of those days were all couched in the most vehement phase of despotism. Charles X. was declared by them to be entirely in the right. Their language was everywhere the same. "The system of concession will not avail; the revolutionary spirit must be crushed in every country, or it will overturn every throne." The people, it is clear, had very good reason to be alarmed. At the general election, which took place at this juncture, a heavy blow was dealt to government, and the way was prepared for the great struggle which ended in the triumph of parliamentary reform.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE HISTORY OF REFORM.

FROM Great Britain, in 1830, there was a unanimous and irresistible demand for political reform. The nation was ripe for it; and it was required by the exigencies of the times.

It was right that Manchester and Birmingham, with their intelligence, wealth, and industry, should be represented in the House of Commons. It was wrong that boroughs should be private property, and that rich landlords and haughty noblemen should sell them for money, or a step in the peerage, or for the emoluments of office. No wonder was it, that when the people found themselves over-taxed; when trade was crippled and destroyed by obnoxious excise regulations; when the national expenditure was extravagant and profligate, that men should see that the root of the evil lay in the system of representation, which was utterly rotten and corrupt.

Mr. Pitt had seen this, and had devised a remedy; but the French revolution created such a terror here, that parliamentary reform came to be regarded as the mad dream of a fanatic or a leveller.

During the long and dark reign of war, the Tories were in office; and the chief question left for the opposition to trade on was Catholic relief.

Peace came, and Toryism flourished, as was to be expected under the circumstances. During the sway of the Tories, England had humiliated the pride of France, and laid the usurper low. It was only natural, then, that the reign of that party should be prolonged.

At this time the Tories were under the guidance of two of its greatest men, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel.

The first was no mere soldier. He was one of the ablest administrators of modern times. He had a training for statesmanship such as rarely falls to the lot of men; and had a profound acquaintance with all the rulers and diplomatists of the continent. "In India, and in Spain, and in Portugal," says Mr. Roebuck, "he led armies, and he governed nations. To feed his armies, and to keep the people for whom he was nominally engaged, obedient to, and favourable to his cause, he was obliged to bring into action all those great qualities of mind which are needed for the practical government of mankind. Every intricate question of finance; the various and perplexing operations of trade; the effects of every institution, commercial, political, of law and administration—all had to be understood, weighed, watched, and applied while he led the armies of England, and, in fact, governed the people of Spain and Portugal. The vast combinations needed for his great campaigns, made him familiar with every operation of government; and the peculiar relation in which he stood to the people of Spain and Portugal, and their various rulers, called into action every faculty of his mind, and made him profoundly skilled in the difficult art of leading and controlling men of all classes and of all characters." The reader who desires to acquire a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the duke's difficulties in the Peninsula, and the mode in which he conquered them, should study Napier's history of his campaigns, and his own despatches. A great authority, and an opponent—Mr. Brougham—stated that the duke, in the art of exposition in a deliberative assembly, wanted neither power nor skill. "It was said," observed the great Whig orator in the House of Commons, during a debate on the address, January 29th, 1828, "that the noble duke was incapable of speaking in public, as a first minister of the crown ought to do. Now, I conceive there is no validity in that objection. I happened to be present last year when the noble duke had the modesty and candour to declare, in another place, that he was unfit for the situation of minister; and I really think I never heard a better speech in my life. Nothing could be more suited to the occasion. I never saw less want of capacity in an individual who might be called on to take an active part in debate. This, therefore, is not my objection to the appointment."

"The more I see," writes Mr. T. Raikes, in his *Diary*, "of this extraordinary man, the more I am struck with his singularly quick apprehension; the facility with which he seizes the real gist of every subject, separates all the dross and extraneous matter from the real argument, and places his finger directly on the point which is to be considered. No rash speculations, no verbiage, no circumlo-

cution; but truth and sagacity, emanating from a cool and quickly apprehensive judgment, fortified by great experience, and conversant with each and every subject; and delivered with a brevity, a frankness and simplicity of manner, and a confidential kindness which, without diminishing that profound respect which every man must feel for such a character, still places him at ease in his society, and almost makes him think he is conversing with an intimate friend. His whole mind (this was written in 1832) seems engrossed by the love of his country. He said—'We have seen great changes; we can only hope for the best; we cannot foresee what will happen: but few people will be sanguine enough to imagine that we shall ever again be as prosperous as we have been.' His language breathed no bitterness, neither sunk into despondency. He seemed to be aware of everything that was going on; watching, not without anxiety, the progress of events; and constantly prepared to deliver his sentiments, in the House of Peers, on all subjects which affected the interests of England."

In the House of Commons, the leadership was placed in the hands—the appropriate hands—of Sir Robert Peel.

The honourable baronet had come of a good stock. We trace his family back to a small yeoman, occupying land near Blackburn, in the middle of the last century. He was honest, hard-working, and thrifty. He, finding farming not sufficient for the employment of all his family, engaged in the domestic trade of calico-making. He was also enterprising, and was one of the first to adopt the carding cylinder, then recently invented; but the chief result of his success was the improvement he effected in printing calico. His character is thus described by his son, the first baronet:—"He moved in a confined sphere, and employed his talents in improving the cotton trade. He had neither the wish nor the opportunity of making himself acquainted with his native country, or society far removed from his native county of Lancaster. I lived under his roof till I attained the age of manhood, and had many opportunities of discovering that he possessed, in an eminent degree, a mechanical genius, and a good heart. He had many sons, and he placed them all in situations where they might be useful to each other. The cotton trade was preferred, as the one best suited to attain this object; and by habits of industry, and by imparting to his offspring an intimate knowledge of the various branches of the cotton manufacture, he lived to see his children connected together in business, and, by their successful exertions, become, without one exception, opulent and happy. My father may truly be said to have been the founder of our family; and he so accurately appreciated the importance of commercial wealth in a national point of view, that he was often heard to say, that the gains to individuals were small, compared with the national gains arising from trade."

Sir Robert Peel, the first baronet, and the second manufacturer of the name, inherited all his father's enterprise, ability, and industry. His position, on starting in life, was little more than that of a labouring man. When Robert was only twenty years of age, he determined to begin the business of cotton-printing, which he had by this time learnt with his father, on his own account. His uncle, James Haworth, and William Yates, of Blackburn, joined him; the whole capital which they could raise among them amounting to only about £500, the principal part of which was supplied by Mr. Yates. Robert Peel, though comparatively a mere youth, supplied the practical knowledge of the business; but it was said of him, and proved true, that he carried an old head on young shoulders. A ruined cornmill, with its adjoining fields, was purchased for a comparatively small sum, near the then insignificant town of Bury, where the works, long after, continued to be known as "The Ground;" and a few wooden sheds having been run up, the firm commenced their business, in a very humble way, in the year 1770, adding to it that of cotton-spinning a few years after. The frugal style in which the partners lived may be inferred from the following incident in their early career. William Yates, being a married man with a family, commenced housekeeping on a small scale; and to oblige Peel, who was single, he agreed to take him as a lodger. The

sum which the latter paid for board and lodging was only eight shillings a week; but Yates, considering this too little, insisted on the weekly payment being increased a shilling, to which Peel at first demurred, and a difference between the partners took place, which was eventually compromised by the lodger paying an advance of sixpence a week. This Robert Peel married his partner's daughter, who became a noble and beautiful woman, fitted to grace any station in life. She died in 1803, only three years after the baronetcy had been conferred upon her husband. The career of Peel, Yates, and Co., was, throughout, one of great and uninterrupted prosperity. Sir Robert was himself the soul of the concern: to great energy and application he united much practical sagacity, and first-rate mercantile abilities. He was a man of iron mind and frame, and toiled unceasingly. "In short," says Dr. Smiles, "he was to cotton-printing what Arkwright was to cotton-spinning, and his success was equally great."

The great statesman began life under many advantages. The father, who had never been beaten, was determined that his son should be a political success; and such, undoubtedly, he became. When a boy, at Drayton Manor, his father was accustomed to set him up at table to practise extemporaneous speaking; and he early accustomed him to repeat as much of the Sunday's sermon as he could carry away in his memory. Little progress was made at first; but, by steady perseverance, the habit of attention soon became powerful, and the sermon was repeated, at length, almost *verbatim*. When afterwards replying, in succession, to the arguments of his parliamentary opponents—an art in which he was, perhaps, unrivalled—it was little surmised that the extraordinary power which he displayed on such occasions had been originally trained under the discipline of his father, in the parish church of Drayton.

The career of Mr. Peel, at Harrow and at Oxford, was creditable alike to his industry, his talents, and his perseverance. In 1820, he married Julia, youngest daughter of the late General Sir J. Floyd; but, long before this, he had acquired parliamentary position and fame. Having been Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Chief Secretary for Ireland, he succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Secretary of State for the Home Department, in 1822, and held that office till 1827, when he resigned, and remained out of place till the formation of the Duke of Wellington's administration. He then returned to the Home Department, and continued there till the accession of Earl Grey to power, in 1830; was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, from December, 1834, till April, 1835; and First Lord of the Treasury alone, from September, 1841, to July, 1846. In 1850, his career was suddenly cut short by a fall from his horse. He sat for Oxford University from 1818 to 1829, when he was thrown out by Sir Robert Inglis: he then sat for Westbury till 1830, when he was elected for Tamworth, of which place he was the representative when he died—mourned sincerely and bitterly all over the land. Statues were voted to him by parliament, and eagerly subscribed to by the public.

The late Lord Hardinge, who knew Peel intimately, and loved him with a warm and lasting affection, once lamented to Sir Lawrence Peel, in India, "Peel's unexpansibleness (for those were his words) as the head of the Conservative party." He said that Croker had complained, "*il ne se déboutonné pas;*" adding to that remark, "that his reserve impaired the usefulness, and was injurious to the interests of the party." "If he would," said Lord Hardinge, "but show himself as he is!" Peel's oratory lacked force for the same reason. His style was diffuse; and his diction, disfigured occasionally by official vagueness, had also too much, as Sir Lawrence confesses, of the smooth regularity which early cultivation of the power of expression is apt to give. He rarely gave his imagination her head. In his speeches there are no pointed thoughts, no bursts of impassioned eloquence.

In 1811, Mr. Plumer Ward speaks of "one of the most beautiful as well as argumentative speeches ever delivered in the House by young Peel, which gave another proof that there was ability on our side." Mr. Charles Wynn writes

to the Marquis of Buckingham, on the retirement of Canning, in 1820—"My estimate of Peel is, I am aware, higher than yours. I agree with you that he cannot supply the effect of one of Canning's glittering, eloquent speeches. Talent, independent fortune, official habits, and reputation, have, I am persuaded, disposed more men to unite with him than any person whom you could name amongst us." People began to think much about him. In 1824, Ward writes—"It is certain Peel is a very shadow, and there is great fear of his lasting." Nevertheless he did last, and did the state some service.

Of the real, sterling genuineness of his character, a well-informed writer, in the *British Quarterly*, has given an illustration. "At one time it seemed as if there were no love lost between Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden. Before the free-trade struggle, however, was over, Sir Robert Peel addressed to him a letter, as remarkable for its contents as for the signature and superscription; in which he reiterated the acknowledgments he had made in the House of Commons, that from Mr. Cobden he had tardily learned the wisdom and necessity of free trade in corn. He explained, with his accustomed clearness and completeness, the considerations by which he had been governed in breaking with his party, and renouncing power for the sake of accomplishing a great national good; and concluded by expressing a wish that he and his correspondent might in future meet as private acquaintances, if not friends. Mr. Cobden replied in befitting terms to this communication; but he went abroad before any opportunity arose of meeting the ex-minister; and on his return, from some cause unexplained, no further step, we believe, on either side was taken towards a *rapprochement*." Such conduct was equally creditable to Sir Robert Peel's head and heart.

With Canning Peel was never very friendly. Such entries as the following are often met with in the Buckingham correspondence:—"Peel and the duke lean together." "The subalterns have noticed an indifference of manner, by no means concealed, on the part of Peel towards Canning. At the same time the latter never charged Peel with behaving badly to him—a charge made frequently in after-life." "Ward says," writes one of the duke's correspondents, "Canning always exempted Peel from the charge of unfair opposition—always did it in a fair, open, manly manner."

Another of the Tory party thus describes Sir Robert Peel in 1833:—"There is one thing which appears to me very striking in the present new aspect of affairs; and that is, the important position to which Sir R. Peel seems now to direct his views. In his opening speech, which was highly applauded, he has shown considerable address. He went down to the House that night with the public feeling certainly against him. He returned home with the tide of popularity fully in his favour, even from the *ministerial* benches, the members of which seemed grateful for his obedience. He has declared himself to belong to no party; but his object is insensibly to make *one*, of which he himself shall be the centre and the chief. He is an ambitious man; and to this great object his endeavours will invariably tend. Now, when we consider his talents, his knowledge of business, his eloquence, and, above all, his twenty years' experience in the forms and usages of the House of Commons, joined to that *guarded conduct* which his present new position forces upon him—a position quite different to his former triumphant post, where the confidence in an obsequious majority might at times have rendered him more buoyant, less cautious, and less sensitive as to public opinion—I say, all those circumstances considered, and, on the other hand, looking to the complexion of this new parliament, a large proportion of which consists of men really and *de facto* bound to no party—of loose Tories, loose Whigs, loose Conservatives, and loose Radicals—acknowledging no head, but wishing to become influential by some means or other not yet ascertained by them—it is not very rash to anticipate, that to his talents it may be given to unite their discordant interests; and that, under the plausible character of a liberal Tory, the conviction may imperceptibly steal into the House of Commons, that *Sir Robert Peel* is the fittest man to govern this country."

Undoubtedly such was the feeling. Even Mr. Disraeli admits that, as a member of parliament, Sir Robert was great and unrivalled; and when the news of his untimely death was told, the calamity was indeed felt to be a public one, and there was mourning as for a friend taken away in the humblest home. Sir Robert was evidently a growing man. As the times advanced he went with them. It was clear, the longer he lived, that his conduct was regulated, not so much by party considerations as with a view to the public good.

"Sir Robert Peel," writes Mr. Roebuck, "in his political career, committed great mistakes: he was, nevertheless, from the very character of his mind, peculiarly fitted to be a potent leader of the English people. He was not a rapid learner; but he was continually improving. He was ever ready to listen to the exposition of new ideas; and, though slow to adopt them, slow to understand and appreciate their truth and importance—if true they were, he was always prepared to entertain and discuss them. His strongest sympathies, too, were with the nation, and not with a small dominant section or party; and in this he was pre-eminently distinguished from the Whig statesmen, whom he, through life, opposed. They may rule *for* the nation; but they certainly rule *by* a clique. If they are liberal sometimes in opinion, it is because, to be so suits their party purposes. If they adopt a new idea, it is for the same immediate end. They refuse to be associated with any but their own peculiar set; and deem no one capable of conducting wisely the affairs of the nation, unless he be allied to their own party, and thus born to dominion. Sir Robert Peel had none of this exclusive feeling. He was great enough to perceive and appreciate worth in others; had the wisdom to receive instruction, even from opponents, and candour to acknowledge the obligation. Thus he went on to the end, improving with the nation to which he belonged; never outrunning, and certainly not, of late years, lagging much behind the national mind. Had his intellect been of a bolder and more original cast, he would probably have been a less successful minister; as, in that case, he might often have proposed reforms before the nation was ripe for them, and thus have diminished his power as a minister while earning the renown of a philosopher. His chief danger, however, was from an opposite quarter. On two momentous occasions he lingered too long in the ancient ways, and was too tardy in following public opinion. He ran no risk of being ever before it. But the pioneer who prepares the way, is not he who reaps either the immediate benefit or honour resulting from his labour. The philosopher who discovers great truths, and collects the evidence by which they are eventually established, must be content to have his reward in the reverence and gratitude of posterity, and must be satisfied with the real value and importance of his discoveries. But the statesman, to be useful, must be powerful; and, in a government like ours, and among a practical people like the English, the safest course for a reforming minister is never to be before his age. * * * Sir Robert Peel, twice in his life, erred in being too much of a laggard; and, upon the Catholic question, so committed himself in opposition to emancipation, that no road of decorous retreat was open to him. He, indeed, broke through the trammels which his party connections had created, and which his own ingenuity had materially strengthened. The lesson was severe; and, to a mind so sensitive as his, must have been extremely painful. The effect was, in the end, greatly conducive to the superiority to which, in a few years afterwards, he attained. He was made a new man by the trial and suffering to which he was thus subjected; and although, upon the question of parliamentary reform, he again committed the same mistake, that false step was not without its advantages, as he was thereby enabled to rally around him the fragments of the old Tory party, and, by their aid, to win his way again to office and to power. His conduct, during his last administration, though it gave great offence, never to be forgotten, to some of his immediate partisans, made him the most popular minister and the most powerful statesman known in England since the days of William Pitt. The nation had confidence in his prudence. They believed him sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of his

country, and to have real sympathies with the industrious millions of our people. There was a feeling, every day growing stronger, that he was destined to be the people's minister; that he would be able, by means of popular support—to which at length he could alone look for aid—to depart from the rule by which the whole government of the country had hitherto been placed exclusively in the hands of the aristocracy, and to unite, upon the Treasury bench, a really national administration—one in which the practical sagacity, and the multitudinous interests of the mercantile, manufacturing, and labouring classes should have representatives who would not appear in the degraded character of lackeys, but as independent and equal colleagues—not receiving office as a favour, and holding it upon sufferance, but taking it as a right, and retaining it, not in accordance with the will of an exclusive clique, but in obedience to the wishes and commands of a nation. Entertaining the hope that such was to be the ultimate mission of Sir Robert Peel, the nation looked with eager expectation to his future career. He rose in their affections in proportion as he lost the favour of his party; and he never was so powerful as when by that party he was at last scouted, and deemed to be for ever dismissed. But, unfortunately, this hope was not to be fulfilled; and the intensity of the national sorrow, upon the death of Sir Robert Peel, gave a practical proof of the extent of those expectations which had been thus unhappily frustrated."

Such were the two men who, by their opposition to it, precipitated parliamentary reform. In October, 1830, a new parliament met; and in the debate on the address to the king's speech, the Duke of Wellington not merely defended the conduct of the government, but, in words well weighed, and delivered with the utmost premeditation, in the strongest manner possible declared himself an enemy to parliamentary reform. In that memorable speech, the duke said—"The noble earl (Grey) has stated that he is not prepared himself to come forward with any measure of the kind; and, I will tell him, neither is the government; nay, I will go further, and say that I have not heard of any measure, up to this moment, which could in any way satisfy my mind, or by which the state of the representation could be improved, or placed on a footing more satisfactory to the people of the country than it now is. I will not now enter into a discussion upon this subject, as, I dare say, we shall have plenty of opportunity for so doing; but I will say, I am thoroughly convinced that England possesses, at this moment, a legislature which answers all the good purposes of a legislature in a higher degree than any scheme of government whatever in any country in the world; that it possesses the confidence of the country; that it deservedly possesses that confidence; and that its decisions have, justly, the greatest weight and influence with the people. Nay, my lords, I will go yet further, and say, that if at this moment I had to form a legislature for any country, particularly for one like this, in the possession of great property of various descriptions, although I should not, perhaps, form one precisely such as we have, I would endeavour to produce something which would give the same results—a representation of the people containing a large body of the property of the country, and in which the great landed proprietors have a preponderating influence. In conclusion, I beg to state, that not only is the government not prepared to bring forward any measure of this description, but that, as far as I am concerned, whilst I have the honour to hold the situation I now do amongst his majesty's councillors, I shall always feel it my duty to oppose any such measures when brought forward by others."

This candour was fatal to the Wellington administration. Only one thing more was to be done; and that was done by Mr. Brougham, who gave notice of motion on the subject.

Let us now pause to look at the progress of parliamentary reform.

Mr. Pitt, as we have already said, was a parliamentary reformer; so, also, was Mr. Grey. In 1797, he, for the last time, brought the question before the House of Commons. His plan was to leave the number the same as before, but to increase the county representation from 92 to 113. A division of counties was also sug-

gested; and he proposed to extend the right of voting, not merely to freeholders, but to copyholders and leaseholders paying a certain annual rent for a certain number of years. The right of voting in boroughs was to be in householders; but of what value the house was to be was not stated. Two other provisions were important. A voter was only to vote for one member; and the elections were to take place throughout the whole kingdom at one time. The motion was lost by 91 to 256.

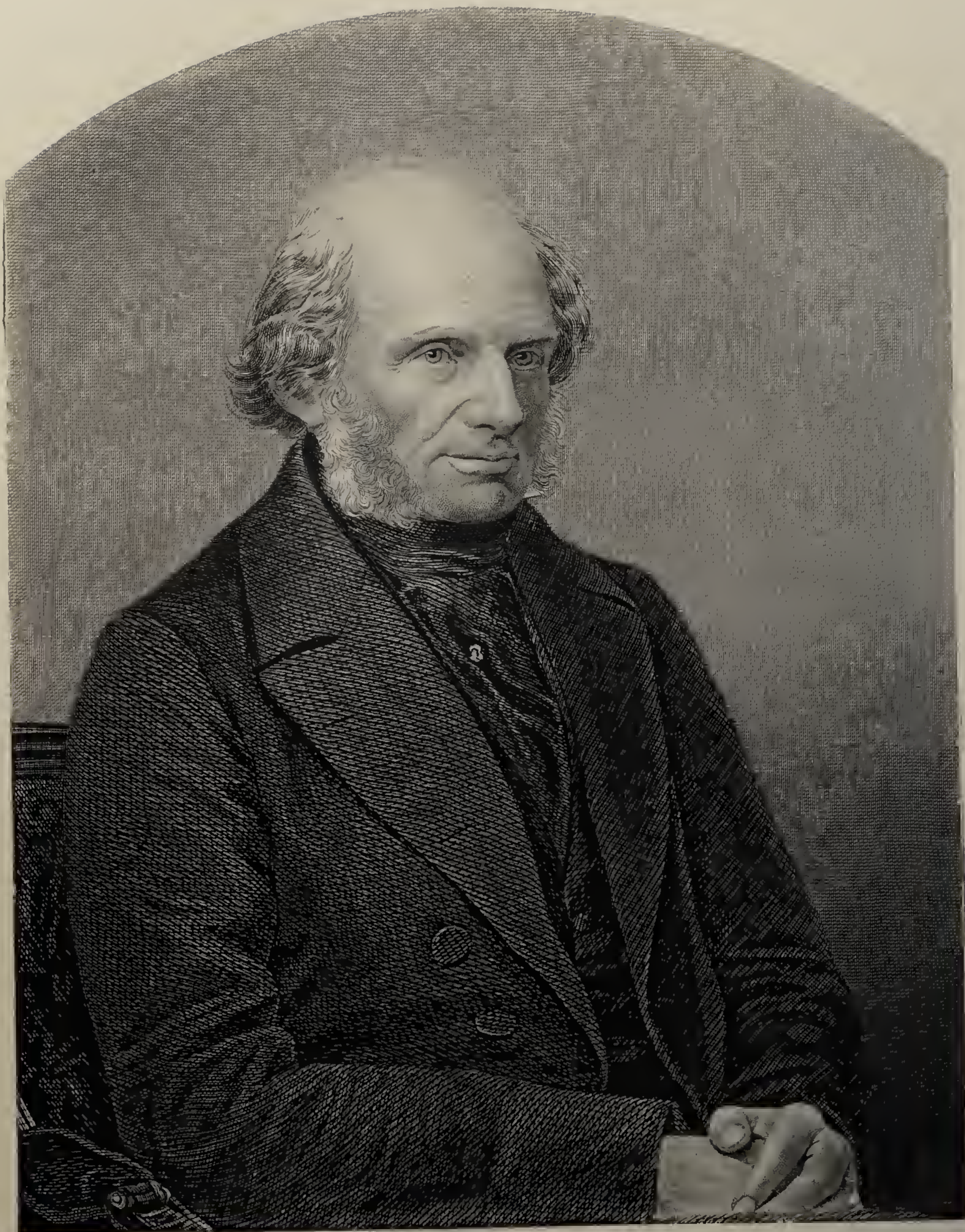
But a new party had grown up in the land—the Radical reformers, headed by Sir Francis Burdett, demanding universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot.

The Whig view was represented by Lord John Russell. On the 1st of July, 1819, he said, in the House of Commons—"I agree in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as are notoriously corrupt; and I will give my consent to any measure that will restrict the duration of parliament to three years. I cannot, however, pledge myself to support a measure that goes the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry is calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms." On the 14th of December, his lordship unfolded his plan. "I come now," he said, "to the resolutions which I shall have the honour to propose. The two first declare, that when a borough is convicted of gross and notorious bribery and corruption, it shall cease to send members to parliament; and that a great town or county shall enjoy the right it has forfeited. The third declares, that it is the duty of this House to consider of further means to detect and prevent corruption in the election of members of parliament. The last resolution is to the effect that the borough of Grampound ought to be disfranchised." At this time the Whig families had entirely seceded from the ranks of the reformers. "Any one," writes Mr. Roebuck, "who will give himself the trouble to look carefully at the speeches of the several members of these powerful families, will find this assertion, to the very letter, accurate. The Cavendishes, with the Duke of Devonshire at their head; Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Milton, Lord Carlisle, Lord Morpeth, Lord Holland, the Duke of Norfolk, together with the men of ability who formed their intellectual *condottieri*—such as Burke, Sheridan, Tierney, Romilly, and others—never adopted reform as the chief topic of their discourse, or made it the chief object of their labours, except when driven, by party necessities, to employ what always appeared to them a most dangerous weapon of offence. Lord Grey, however, was still a reformer."

When the Whigs joined Canning, they abandoned all idea of reform. But when Catholic emancipation had been carried, and they were left without a rallying-cry, reform was again placed upon their banners.

The people, however, were apathetic. Mr. Croker said—"I find that, in 1821, nineteen petitions only were presented in favour of reform. In 1823, twenty-nine; in 1824, none; 1825, none; 1826, none; 1827, none; 1828, none; 1829, none; 1830, fourteen." Such was the state of the public mind up to that date. Sir Robert Peel, in the last debate on the English Reform Bill in the House of Commons, thus spoke of this apathy:—"When I asked the noble lord (Althorp), how he could support Mr. Canning, who was the decided enemy of all reform—who refused even to permit the franchise to go to Manchester—what was his answer? His answer was, that the people of England had become so indifferent to reform, that he never intended to bring the question forward again. I think this is sufficient to justify me for not having been very willing, a year or two subsequent to 1827, to open this important subject."

In 1828 and 1829, reform was discussed in parliament, chiefly in connection with the borough of East Retford and Penryn, which had been convicted of unblushing corruption. In the case of Penryn, the right of electing two members was to have been transferred to Manchester; but the Lords threw out the bill.



EARL RUSSELL.

In the case of East Retford, ministers proposed to settle the question by extending the franchise to the hundred. It was on this vote that Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston, and the rest of the Canningites, went out as anti-parliamentary reformers. The opponents of these small reformers had the best of it. They openly avowed that the corruption which had been proved with regard to these boroughs existed in all: they denounced, as hypocrisy, the pretended horror of corruption which members evinced; and broadly asserted that, notoriously, every seat was a subject of traffic, and that a borough sending members to parliament was a regular marketable commodity; that the voters of Penryn and East Retford, who sold their votes for a few shillings, did no more than the proprietors of close boroughs every day; and Lord Howick, in plain terms, appealed to Mr. Peel, the member for Westbury, and asked him whether his seat had not been regularly purchased of Sir Manasseh Lopez, the proprietor, and former representative of that borough? No reply was made to this question, as every one admitted its truth. The opponents of the proposed change not only declared that seats were regularly bought and sold, but they went further—defended the system, and appealed to the various instances of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, Mr. Brougham, and many others, to show that the ability, as well as the wealth and feelings of the country, found representatives in that House. These discussions attracted attention to parliamentary reform. The opponents of Catholic emancipation were frightened, by the success of that measure, into being reformers. In 1829, the high-church-and-state man, the Marquis of Blandford, moved a series of resolutions on the subject. The motives which actuated him were, he confessed, different from those by which the reformers were generally actuated. "An imperious necessity," he said, "had been added to the already existing propriety of putting down the boroughmonger and his trade; all the rights and liberties of the country were in jeopardy so long as majorities were to be gained by a traffic of seats and services. After what had happened, the country demanded some statutory provision to secure its trade, and its agriculture, and manufactures; and more especially to secure the interests of the Protestant community against the influx and increase of the Roman Catholic party." The resolutions were rejected by a majority of 401 to 118.

The next move was that by Mr. Calvert, who asked leave to bring in a bill to prevent bribery in the borough of East Retford. Mr. Tennyson moved, as an amendment, "To exclude the borough of East Retford from electing burgesses to serve in parliament, and to enable the town of Birmingham to return two representatives in lieu thereof." The effect of this constant discussion was now seen in the increased anxiety of the more sagacious—"the more long-headed and crafty," as Lord Brougham calls them—of the enemies of reform (the Canningites, headed by Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston), that some scheme of partial reform should be adopted, in order to guard against what Mr. Huskisson termed the growing danger of sweeping reform, on principles too abstract and general. Lord Howick had, early in the debate, expressed his own peculiar views on the subject, to which after-events gave an interest; his opinions appearing to have been shared by his father, and by him put into practice in the great reform which took place during his administration. He (Lord Howick) lamented that, by the forms of the House, he was prevented moving certain resolutions which he had prepared, and which he read; the last and most important of which was, "That this House, therefore, finding that the passing of specific bills, directed against particular cases, has neither had the effect of removing the existence, or arresting the progress of corruption, is of opinion that its character may be best vindicated by abandoning these useless and expensive proceedings, in order to adopt some general and comprehensive measure, as the only means of checking so scandalous an abuse." Sir Robert Peel, with astonishing confidence, denied the truth of the noble lord's accusation. He insisted, much to the amusement and edification of the House, on the virtue of the borough constituencies. "I cannot agree," he said, "with the noble lord in the declaration of general bribery and corruption among the cities and

boroughs. I cannot bring myself to include in such an accusation the borough of Westbury, which I have the honour to represent." Of course, the amendment was lost.

Very timid reformers were the Whigs originally. On the 23rd of February, 1830, Lord John Russell asked leave to bring in a bill "to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to return representatives to serve in parliament." A milder measure could not well have been proposed. The debate was instructive, as evincing how little, in the way of parliamentary reform, was desired by the Whigs; and how blind was Sir Robert Peel to its importance and necessity. He began by remarking, that although he had been in parliament so many years, that was the first occasion on which he had expressed, in words, an opinion on reform. With fatal perversity he chose this moment as the most opportune for the declaration of a sweeping, decided, uncompromising opposition to change of every sort. Mr. Brougham closed the debate by a speech of great power, and of admirable temper. He answered the objections raised to reform in general, and to the proposed plan of Lord Russell in particular. He set forth, in temperate phrase, the benefits which he hoped would be the result of parliamentary reform. "His friends," he said, "wish to see the machine of government better regulated than at present; to substitute influence for force; love for fear; confidence for distrust. They wish to see all these latter things rendered nugatory and needless by a popular representation. By this we shall confirm the stability of existing institutions, not weaken the popular attachment to them." Lord John Russell's motion was rejected; the numbers, on division, being—for it, 140; against it, 188.

The intentions of the Whigs were still further illustrated when, in May of the same year, Mr. Daniel O'Connell moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the effectual radical reform of abuses in the representation of the people in the Commons' house of parliament." His proposals were—universal suffrage, triennial parliaments, and vote by ballot. Lord John Russell, upon this, moved an amendment, because he was unwilling to give the motion a direct negative, and thus vote against all reform; and because he was not prepared, by an affirmative vote, to sanction opinions which, in reality, he disapproved. The resolutions were—"That it is expedient to extend the basis of representation of the people in this House: that it is expedient to give members to large unrepresented towns, and additional members to counties of greatest wealth and population. That, in order to obtain this object without inconvenience, it is expedient that a number of smaller boroughs, not exceeding sixty, and not containing more than 2,500 inhabitants each, should, for the future, return only one member to serve in parliament. That it is expedient that compensation should be granted to the boroughs which shall lose their right of returning two members to parliament, by means of a fixed sum, to be applied to that purpose annually, for several years." Mr. O'Connell complained, as he had every reason to do, of the unfair character of this Whig amendment. The truth was, the discussion was taken at an inconvenient time for the Whigs: they were, as Mr. Roebuck says, "unwilling yet to give up all hopes of office in alliance with the Duke of Wellington. The king was known to be dangerously ill; his immediate death was, indeed, expected; on which they hoped (the king's personal objection to Mr. Brougham being no longer in the way) that the duke would frankly join those by whose aid he was retained in office. At all events, they desired, before open hostility was formally declared, to ascertain whether the reluctance shown by the duke to ally himself to their party, arose from the king's dislike, or their own; whether, in fact, the king's antipathies were not made a pretence by which the minister was enabled to hide, yet pursue, his own desires. The Whigs, therefore, employed the resolutions of Lord John Russell as a means by which they might avoid a direct rupture with the administration, and still preserve the character of reformers. These resolutions did not prevent their adopting, at an after period, if they should think fit, any, even the widest, measure of parliamentary reform." Mr. O'Connell's motion was lost by a majority

of 306. For Lord John Russell's, the numbers were—117; against, 213: and thus, for that year, ceased the struggle for parliamentary reform.

A little later, the bill for the disfranchisement of East Retford was carried. The expenses in connection with it amounted to £10,000. "This," said Lord John Russell, July 22nd, "and the manner in which the East Retford Reform Bill has been conducted in the House of Lords, will form a good argument, in a future session of parliament, for the adoption of some better mode than the present for the correction of corrupt boroughs." The absurdity of the whole transaction was ably shown by Lord Grey, July 19th. "Why, my lords," said he, "is it not notorious, at this moment, that while we are affecting all this purity with respect to this borough, some of whose burgesses are said to have received forty guineas, there are peers in this House avowedly receiving £1,200 or £1,800 a year from the representatives of boroughs, who have positively purchased the right to a seat in parliament, in the representation of places under their immediate influence? Then I say, do not be cajoled by this hypocrisy any longer."

A new king came to the throne, and party strife became fierce. As Mr. Roebuck says—"The ill-temper of the opposition was evinced by the marked change which took place in their language." Notices of hostile motions abounded. The corn-laws and colonial slavery were the subjects selected. In the debates on the address, the civil list and the regency were dwelt on. The Princess Victoria was a child, eleven years of age. The Duke of Cumberland, the most unpopular man in the country, was the eldest of the remaining brothers of the king, and, supposing the latter dead, heir-presumptive of the throne of England, and actually King of Hanover. In ultra-Tory quarters, it had been already whispered, that it were desirable that he should ascend the throne in preference to the Duke of Clarence; and at that very moment the Peninsula was ravaged with war on account of a disputed succession. Lord Althorp and the Whigs had every reason, then, to force upon the administration an immediate settlement of a question so difficult and momentous. "We are now calm," said Mr. Brougham, "and can discuss, without heat, the various claims of the several princes of the blood: but who can answer for our being able, at some future period, with the same deliberation, to decide upon the rival claims to the regency for the seven years of minority? Can we promise ourselves a calm discussion of the subject when there should be an actual accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover, and parliament suddenly called upon to decide upon his election to the regency, to the supreme rule in this country, to which, according to the principle of Mr. Pitt, he has a paramount claim, although he has a strict legal right?"

In October a new parliament met. By this time the dissatisfaction with the Wellington ministry had reached its climax. Deserted by the ultra-Tories on one side, and attacked fiercely by the Whigs on the other, it was clear its days were numbered. The economical administration of the duke had also alienated many of the supporters who worship the powers that be, if their loyalty is remunerative. Besides, as we have intimated, the revolutionary disturbances abroad had materially accelerated the demand for reform at home, and induced the people to give an attention to foreign politics such as, in this country, is seldom bestowed on them. Unfortunately the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in this country, was held by Lord Aberdeen, known to the public chiefly by Byron's verse—

> "First in the oat-fed phalanx shall be seen
> The travelled thane, Athenian Aberdeen."

His lordship had begun life as a high Tory. In 1811, he made his maiden speech in the House of Lords, on the occasion of moving the address in answer to the prince-regent's speech. Two years afterwards he was despatched to Vienna, to endeavour to win over Austria to the side of the allies. The mission was successful, and he remained in attendance on the Austrian emperor, with few exceptions, till the end of the war. His residence abroad, at that time, afforded him ample oppor-

tunity of becoming acquainted with the policy and resources of Austria and other foreign states, of which he made excellent use. It was at this time, also, that he made the acquaintance of Metternich, and other statesmen, who subsequently rose to supreme power in Germany; and there is little doubt that his connection with these ministers of absolute power gave a colouring to the policy which, as Foreign Minister of England, he felt it his duty to pursue. On the formation of the Wellington cabinet, his lordship was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but, in a few months, he was installed in the Foreign Office, at a critical crisis, when it was hardly possible for him to act without giving offence to the Liberal party in England. It was considered that he looked coldly on the new-born independence of Greece, and that he sided with Don Miguel—a man, in this country, everywhere abhorred. On the continent his lordship was very unpopular. In France, more especially, was he looked upon as the enemy of freedom, because he was believed to be, not merely the friend, but the intimate adviser of Prince Polignac. As a debater his lordship was no great gain to any administration. He was a man of few words—cold, cautious, reticent. It would be absurd to deny that his foreign policy was, in some degree, open to the charges made against it. His residence abroad, his sympathies with the despotic powers of the continent, had narrowed his views, and rendered them unfriendly to popular power. On the other hand, it would be unjust to deny that much of his policy had a foundation in a principle which his lordship adopted early, and to which he steadily adhered through the whole course of his political life—the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign states. At the period to which we refer, in spite of his immediate recognition of Louis Philippe—a step which had the effect of inducing the despotic powers of Europe to take the same course—Lord Aberdeen's foreign policy was intensely unpopular. In his love of despotism, the English minister was supposed to have overcome his dislike to usurpation in the instance of Don Miguel, who, though confessedly a usurper, was supported by the despotic, who are usually what is termed the legitimate party, in the various countries in which those epithets are employed to distinguish political factions. But the fact of legitimacy happened to be, in Portugal, on one side, despotism on the other; and, for the sake of the latter, as represented in the person of the atrocious Don Miguel, Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington were supposed to have deserted the cause of the legitimate and helpless Donna Maria.

At the recent elections, the opposition had been most materially strengthened by the return of Mr. Hume for the county of Middlesex, and of Mr. Brougham for Yorkshire. In ordinary times these great constituencies usually selected persons connected with, and proposed by, the great landed proprietors of the county, and who might be deemed, therefore, rather the representatives of certain great families than of the so-called freeholders. "A contest," says Mr. Roebuck, "for a small county, even in those days, was so fearfully expensive, that none but a rich man could pretend to present himself as a candidate: and what are called liberal opinions seldom found favour with great landed potentates. In the two cases here mentioned, however, neither of the candidates was connected with the landed proprietors of the counties for which they were chosen; nor had they themselves possessions which gave them personally any claim to, or influence over, the suffrages of the freeholders. Mr. Hume was, moreover, not a Whig—not, in any way, a party man; nevertheless, he was now put forward by the Whig party as the most popular candidate whom they could select to fight the battle of reform in the great metropolitan county: and although he had always professed opinions far more democratic than was agreeable to the Whigs, they now sought his aid, and did not hesitate to make common cause with this uncompromising Radical reformer." In a note, Mr. Roebuck adds—"There was, indeed, a reason not avowed for putting Mr. Hume forward for Middlesex, which, though a private one, still proves that Mr. Hume's opinions and conduct had found favour with the county. The electors for Westminster would certainly have chosen him. This

gave Mr. Hobhouse an interest in the Middlesex election, as a means of preventing Mr. Hume from being his rival at Westminster. The Whigs had very lately made up their quarrel with Mr. Hobhouse, and now looked upon him as one of themselves. But Mr. Hobhouse was not of sufficient popularity to carry the county election. If he were removed from Westminster, the Whigs would lose a vote. They had thus another reason for persuading Mr. Hume to stand for the county."

The new member for Middlesex was no common man. He owed all his success in life to his industry and honesty. His father dying while he was a mere child, his mother opened a small shop in Montrose. Joseph was put apprentice to a surgeon. Having got his diploma, he made several voyages to India in his medical capacity, and then obtained a cadetship in the Company's service. As he worked hard and lived temperately, he soon made friends. In 1803, he was with the division of the army under General Powell, in the Mahratta war; and the interpreter having died, Hume, who had in the meanwhile studied and mastered the Mahratta language, was appointed to the office. He was also made chief of the medical staff. But, as if this were not enough to occupy his full working power, he undertook, in addition, the offices of pay-master and post-master, and satisfactorily performed their duties. After about ten years' unremitting labour, he returned to England with a competency; and one of his first acts was to make provision for the poorer members of his family.

His next step was to prepare himself for public life. He visited every town in the United Kingdom which enjoyed any degree of manufacturing celebrity: he travelled abroad with the same purpose. When he entered parliament, which took place in 1815, he was equally untiring and energetic. He rose at six; wrote letters, and arranged his papers for the House: after breakfast, he received persons on business, sometimes as many as twenty in a morning. The House rarely assembled without him; and however long the debate was, there he generally remained till it was over. No man was more abused in his time. Mr. Hume's proposals for the reduction of expenditure, were, in reality, as little agreeable to the Whigs as to the administration. The sweeping reductions that he suggested; the principles of government which he at all times enunciated with most pertinacious and annoying consistency, had hitherto only excited the indignation of the Whig opposition. They were ever most careful to separate themselves from this Radical reformer; ever ready to sneer at his schemes; to laugh at his vulgar and pitiful notions of saving; and to describe his plans of reform as anarchical and visionary. Now the good-natured and courageous M.P. for Montrose, much to his surprise, found himself an object of almost unbounded panegyric. "The hopes of the opposition," says Mr. Roebuck, "could always be accurately appreciated by a careful observation of the language they employed when speaking of Mr. Hume, and his schemes for the reduction of expense, or the improvement of our financial regulations. As their hopes rose, their praise diminished; but when they determined to force the duke into an alliance by proposing popular plans, the extravagances of Mr. Hume were of great assistance, and laudation was the order of the day. As the hope of an alliance with the Duke of Wellington grew every day less, the sweeping reforms of the member for Montrose rose in value, because they greatly contributed to make the public regard the administration with disfavour, and the opposition, which supported Mr. Hume, as the earnest friends of economical government. Throughout the session, the friendship of the opposition increased to him in fervour; and when, at length, the dissolution came, and hostility to the administration was openly declared, it suited Whig policy to propose Mr. Hume as the popular candidate for Middlesex, and to support him with the whole weight of their party authority. This friendship continued until the defeat of the Duke of Wellington; then it ceased at once, and completely."

The time has now arrived when we must chronicle the character, and estimate the influence, of Mr. Brougham. His election for Yorkshire was the climax of his fame.

Lord Brougham—as lawyer, philosopher, statesman, critic, orator, the most remarkable man of our time—was born in Edinburgh, in 1778. He was educated at the high school of his native city; and at the age of fifteen entered the university, where he distinguished himself by his mathematical pursuits. After completing his studies there, he made a tour in Holland and Prussia; and, on his return, settled down for a time in Edinburgh, practising, till 1807, at the Scottish bar, and employing his leisure time by debating in the Speculative Society, and helping to establish the *Edinburgh Review.* In 1807, he was called to the English bar, where he soon acquired considerable practice; and, in 1810, he entered for the borough of Camelford (then under the influence of the Earl of Darlington), and attached himself to the Whig opposition. In 1812, he contested Liverpool with Mr. Canning, and was defeated; but, in 1816, the Earl of Darlington's influence procured him a seat in parliament for the borough of Winchelsea. His defence of the queen made Mr. Brougham a popular idol, but personally obnoxious to George IV. On the sudden death of Mr. Tierney, Mr. Brougham became M.P. for Knaresborough, a borough belonging to the Duke of Devonshire; his former patron having become a supporter of the Wellington administration.

It is impossible to chronicle Mr. Brougham's labours in parliament on behalf of the abolition of slavery, the education of the people, Catholic emancipation, and other liberal measures. His indefatigable industry has become almost proverbial. His public labours have extended over a period of sixty years, in which he has achieved distinction in law, literature, politics, and science. He has been a mystery to all. Once, when Sir Samuel Romilly was requested to undertake some new work, he excused himself, saying he had no time: "but," he added, "go with it to that fellow Brougham; he seems to have time for everything." "The secret," says Dr. Smiles, "is, that he never left a minute unoccupied, and that he had a constitution of iron." When arrived at an age at which most men would have retired from the world to doze away their time in an arm-chair, Lord Brougham commenced and prosecuted a series of elaborate investigations as to the laws of light, and he submitted the results to the most scientific audiences that Paris and London could muster. Sydney Smith once recommended him to confine himself only to the transaction of so much business as three strong men could get through. The superhuman energy of Mr. Brougham was indeed marvellous. It is recorded that, on one occasion, during the progress of the queen's trial, he had dined and slept at Holland House. The next morning, before breakfast, his host found him writing in the library. "Are you," said he, "polishing off your peroration?" "No," was the reply, "I am drawing up a clause of my Education Bill." One day, at Paris, he read a paper on Optics, at the Institute; occupied the whole forenoon with his colleagues of that distinguished body; and, at seven, was the chief and best talker at a dinner party, comprising Count D'Orsay and Dumas. He told an acquaintance, who was with him at that time, that he slept soundly for an hour after leaving the Institute; and could do so at will, during any interval of rest, at any time.

Mr. Brougham's position was singular. He was at the head of the Whigs, and yet he was not their acknowledged leader. The aristocratic party never have recognised ability as constituting a claim to leadership. However, they received his assistance, intending, when the victory might be won, to forget him altogether in the division of the spoils. "Even," says Mr. Roebuck, "during the two succeeding years of 1829 and 1830, although Mr. Brougham was the chief debater on opposition benches, he was never formally chosen as the Whig leader, Lord Althorp being usually deemed such; though Mr. Brougham's activity and superiority displeased the Whig aristocracy; and they, in after years, seized the opportunity which events offered of punishing Mr. Brougham, and separating themselves entirely from him. This was not done till he ceased to be useful to their party views."

Mr. Buxton gives an amusing idea of the versatility of Lord Brougham, when,

as Lord Chancellor, he came to dine at the brewery, in Spitalfields, with several members of the government. The Chancellor is described as "in high glee. He came in a shabby black coat, and old hat—very different from the starred, gartered, and cocked-hat dignity of the venerable Premier." Mr. Buxton led them to the steam-engine. "Brougham ascended the steps, and commenced a lecture upon steam-power, and told many entertaining anecdotes. And when we left the engine, he went on lecturing as to the other parts of the machinery; so that Joseph John Gurney said he understood brewing better than any person on the premises. I had Mr. Gow up, with his accounts, to explain how much our horses cost each per annum; and Brougham entered into long calculations on the subject. To describe the variety of his conversation is impossible. The Chancellor lost not a moment; he was always eating, drinking, talking, or laughing: his powers of laughing seemed on a level with his other capacities. Talking of grace before dinner, he said—'I like the Dutch grace best; they sit perfectly still and quiet for a minute or two. I thought it very solemn.' Again—'I am a great admirer of the church; but the clergy have one fault—they grow immortal in this world. You cannot think how they trouble me by living so long. I have three, upwards of ninety years old—bedridden, bereft of understanding, incapable of enjoyment, and of doing duty; but they will live, and are keeping men I long to provide for out of their benefices.' * * * * We then talked of the Court of Chancery, and I said—'I hope to see the day in which you shall be sitting in your court, and calling for the next case, and the officer of the court shall tell you that all the cases are disposed of: that will be the most glorious hour in your life.' 'Well,' said he, 'that you shall see; and see it, too, before the close of the session. Depend upon it, there shall not be an appeal case in the House of Lords in two months time.' He inquired the wages of the draymen. I told him about forty-five shillings weekly; and we allow them to provide substitutes for a day or two in the week; but we insist on their paying them at the rate of twenty-six shillings per week. 'Yes,' said he, 'I understand; these rich and beneficed gentry employ curates; and the curates of the draymen get as much salary as those of the clergy.' After dinner, we took them to see the horses. Somebody said—'Now the Lord Chancellor will be at a loss; at all events, he knows nothing about horses.' However, fortune favoured him, for he selected one of the best of them, and pointed out its merits. Someone proposed that he should get upon his back, and ride him round the yard; which he seemed very willing to do. And thus ends my history of the Lord Chancellor." "No wonder," as Mr. Gurney wrote, "we were all delighted with his entertaining rapidity of thought, ready wit, and evident good feeling."

Mr. Charles Knight supplies us with further illustrations of the versatility and industry of Mr. Brougham. He can scarcely realise the withering orator of 1820, as "he listened to the unpretentious and often playful words of one of the best table-talkers of 1826." On another occasion he sits in the House, under the gallery, while Mr. Brougham speaks on the subject of reforms in the courts of common law. "During the whole time, from five o'clock till eleven, there were no signs of impatience in an audience always impatient of tediousness. The speaker's power of memory in dealing with technical facts; his readiness in massing these complicated details, so as to make them tell upon his general argument; his delivery, now familiar and jocose, now impressive and almost solemn—these qualities held many of the listeners from the first hour to the last, when the magnificent peroration sent many home with the hope, if not the resolve, that law should be no longer dear, but cheap." Mr. Knight says that Lord Althorp almost forced the great seal upon Mr. Brougham, who exclaimed, again and again—"What, leave the House of Commons!" And he gives us an amusing peep at his lordship thus suddenly, in the midst of a great political crisis, elevated and entrusted with responsibilities of the most pressing and momentous character. His lordship had only been a week in office, when he had ready for publication,

Paley's Natural Theology, with Notes, and an Introductory Discourse, by himself. "Having," says Mr. Knight, "received a note from Lord Brougham to come to his private room in the House of Lords before the afternoon meeting of the House, I had a very hurried interview. The time was expired for his moving into the House; the mace and purse were in the passage; anxious ushers were about the door. 'I can only stay to say a word,' he exclaimed; 'advertise *Paley* to-morrow morning.' He rushed along as nimbly as that officer of Elizabeth, of whom it was said—

"'The grave Lord Keeper led the brawls.'

The panting mace-bearer toiled after him in vain. I stepped out of the room, and saw the officials looking somewhat as the royal ushers of Versailles might have looked when shoestrings heralded the revolution, and bastiles and buckles were doomed. I ventured to say to one of these solemn men in black, 'Is that quite regular?' 'Regular, sir! oh dear!—the last was bad enough; but this one—oh dear!' Chaos was come again." Mr. Knight then pays him a visit at Brougham Hall, where he is delighted with the great Chancellor's "regulated industry;" his "constant good-humour;" his "high hopes for the improvement of his fellow-creatures."

The fatal declaration of the Duke of Wellington has already been referred to. The subject of parliamentary reform was fixed for the 16th of November, when Mr. Brougham's motion was to be considered. The plan he intended to propose was communicated formally to the Whig party, and was very generally known, and openly canvassed. It was as follows:—

1. All copyholders and leaseholders were to have votes.
2. All householders were also to have votes, regardless of the rent or value of the house.
3. The great towns—such as Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, and others—were to have members.
4. All the rotten boroughs were to be deprived each of half of their present number of members; leaving, at least, one member to each.
5. All out-voters of towns were to be disfranchised; but in counties it was intended to permit them still to have votes.
6. Freemen to vote if resident in the borough for six months.
7. Elections were, in all cases, to be effected in one day.
8. A further point, but not so formally propounded as the seven first mentioned, was, that the number of the House of Commons was to be restricted to 500.

As regarded Scotland and Ireland, the same principles were to be applied.

The relative numbers, as regarded Scotland, were to remain as at present. Ireland was to have 100, if the whole number were to be, as now, 658; but if that were reduced to 500 members, then Ireland was to have eighty members.

The universities were to remain as at present.

When the time had come for the motion to be brought forward, Sir Robert Peel formally stated to the House the resignation of ministers.

Lord Althorp, who acted as leader of the Whigs, then suggested to Mr. Brougham the propriety of adjourning his motion. He was, indeed, wholly unprepared; was without notes or documents of any kind; and had abstained from going through the labour of preparation, because he had learned from one of the retiring ministry their determination to resign. At this time he must have felt, as all the world believed, that the wish of the Whig leaders was, if possible, to frame an administration without him. Mr. Brougham felt the difficulty of his situation. He agreed to allow the motion to be postponed. He stated, in reply—"I beg it, therefore, to be understood, that if I yield, I do so in deference to the wishes of the House. *And further, as no change that may take place in the administration can by any possibility affect me*, I beg it to be understood, that in putting off the motion, I will put it off to the 25th of this month, and no longer. I will

then, and at no more distant day, bring forward the question of parliamentary reform, whatever may be the condition of circumstances, and whoever may be his majesty's ministers." Clearly Mr. Brougham was displeased, as he had every right to be.

The negotiations at this period of our parliamentary history are obscure. It is said, when Lord Grey was commanded by the king to form an administration, he undertook the task, believing that, without Mr. Brougham's aid, he could not form an effective government, and that the king had no objection to Mr. Brougham receiving some important office. With this view, the list submitted to his majesty contained the name of Mr. Brougham, as Master of the Rolls; to which, it is said, the king at once objected. The story is not consistent with the tale told of Mr. Brougham's rejecting the office of Attorney-general, and of Lord Grey thereupon stating the failure of his attempts to form an administration to the king, who said—"Why not make him Chancellor? Have you thought of that?" It is clear no Liberal administration could have lasted a day without the splendid talents of Mr. Brougham being enlisted in its support; and yet he had to bide his time, instead of being at once sent for. Another day passed over, and Mr. Brougham was still unaccountably neglected. In making some observations on a speech by Sir W. Ridley, relative to the postponement of certain inquiries into election petitions, Mr. Brougham implied there was no need for postponement; adding—"I speak this with all due respect for the future administration, and with all due respect for the distinguished persons of whom it may be composed, and who will undoubtedly govern the country upon right principles. *I have nothing to do with them except in the respect I bear them; and, as a member of this House, I state this for the information of those who may feel any interest in the matter.*" On the Monday after making this statement, to the astonishment of all the world, Mr. Brougham appeared as Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords. Noble lords had pleaded the cause of the ministry; had shown how hopeless was their position without his aid; how even he himself had little chance of carrying parliamentary reform unless he aided them. And thus Mr. Brougham gave up his proud position as M.P. for Yorkshire, and all his gains at the bar (which were large), to help the Whigs to power, from which he was ejected by them directly an opportunity offered. However, he passed the Reform Bill, and, so far, deserved well of his country.

Thus we see a reform cabinet in office. Its leader is Earl Grey, a nobleman of unsullied reputation. He had been, early in life, and during the terrible tragedy of the French revolution, an avowed reformer. "His declaration of principles," says Mr. Roebuck, "in those days, went somewhat further than the leading Whigs chose to follow. There was, however, in Lord Grey's manner, at every period of his life, a certain stateliness, which induced both his friends and his opponents to class him as a very aristocratic Liberal. There was nothing in his mental or moral character which fitted him for the career of a demagogue; and all his efforts in support of an extension of the suffrage, though sometimes, in argument, supported and enforced by wide generalities respecting popular rights, never made him a favourite with the people. Later in life, when he became a peer, his fervour on the question of reform was very much diminished, and his attention, like that of all other men of those days, was directed to the great struggle maintained with Napoleon. Lord Grey was inclined to peace so long as it was possible; and never failed to give expression to his peaceful desires upon all fitting occasions. When, at length, peace came, and Napoleon was subdued, he again, from time to time, expressed his opinion as to the necessity of a reform in parliament. This opinion was stated with a certain grave earnestness which made men believe it to be that really entertained by the noble lord. There was, however, nothing beyond the decorous gravity which always attended him, which induced the world to put faith in these professions. He spoke without passion, and never evinced much sympathy with the people." At the time of his taking office, he had been nearly forty-five

years a senator, as he went into parliament for Northumberland when he was twenty-two. An accurate observer described him as "the dignified, stiff, sedate, British nobleman of the old school." Wilberforce had a high opinion of his lordship: he writes to Mr. Babington—"Earl Grey I value very highly indeed." In a little while his lordship was popular; in a little while the ministry was so overrun with Greys that they became unbearable. Under the date of 1831, Miss Cornelia Knight enters in her *Diary*—"Somebody having said, in conversation, that ministers had advised his majesty to dismiss his household troops, a gentleman answered—'In that case, he should begin by dismissing the Greys.'" Mr. Bulwer is our authority for the following:—"A gentleman without a shilling proposed to an heiress. Her father delicately asked his pretensions. 'I have little at present,' said he, 'but my expectations are very great.' 'Ah! indeed.' 'Yes; you may easily conceive their extent when I tell you that I have one cousin a Grenville, and another a Grey.' The fond father was satisfied. Nothing more was required."

We return to the cabinet, the remaining members of which, with the exception of Sir James Graham and Lord Palmerston, were persons of very narrow ability, of small reputation for talent, and without influence with the people, either on the ground of capacity, or that of earnest popular leaning. The aristocratic character of this Liberal administration also excited remark; and men observed that there were only two members of the cabinet who were not peers, or the sons of peers. The list was as follows:—

Lord Grey	First Lord of the Treasury, and Premier.
Lord Brougham	Lord Chancellor.
Lord Althorp	Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons.
Marquis of Lansdowne	President of the Council.
Lord Durham	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Melbourne	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Palmerston	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Goderich	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Sir James Graham	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Mr. Charles Grant	President of the Board of Control.
Duke of Richmond	Postmaster-general.
Lord Holland	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Carlisle	Without office.

In office, but not of the Cabinet, were—

Lord John Russell	Paymaster of the Forces.
Lord Auckland	President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint.
Mr. Charles W. W. Wynn	Secretary at War.
Sir James Kempt	Master-general of the Ordnance.
Duke of Devonshire	Lord Chamberlain.
Marquis Wellesley	Lord Steward.
Mr. Agar Ellis	First Commissioner of Land Revenue.
Mr. C. P. Thomson	Treasurer of the Navy, Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Sir Thomas Denman	Attorney-general.
Sir W. Horne	Solicitor-general.

In Ireland.

Marquis of Anglesea	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Plunkett	Lord Chancellor.
Sir John Byng	Commander of the Forces.
Mr. Stanley	Chief Secretary.
Mr. Pennefather	Attorney-general.
Mr. Crampton	Solicitor-general.

In Scotland.

Mr. Jefferey	Lord Advocate.
Mr. Cockburn	Solicitor-general.

Some of the above appointments excited surprise. Lords Melbourne, Palmerston, Goderich, and Mr. Charles Grant, were old friends of Mr. Canning, and had formed part of the administration against which Lord Grey had declared open war. The Duke of Richmond, again, belonged to the old Tory party: and, more wonderful to relate still, Sir Edward Knatchbull, the bitter opponent of the Reform Bill, would have been included in the new government, had his seat for Kent been secure. The public was not in a critical mood, and waited patiently for the meeting of parliament next year.

In the meanwhile, a committee, consisting of Lord Durham (Lord Grey's son-in-law), Lord Duncannon, and Sir James Graham, was appointed to frame a comprehensive plan of reform. Their instructions were, to prepare a measure which should at once satisfy public opinion and be final, and which yet, at the same time, should be based on property, and regardful of existing territorial divisions and rights. As point after point was agreed on, Lord Durham, on behalf of the committee, recorded the decisions in writing. Lord John Russell furnished the materials of Schedules A and B, and took care that Tavistock should escape the disfranchisement dealt to boroughs equally insignificant, but less respectably connected. Lord Durham eagerly pressed the proposal to give members to the metropolitan districts; and the question of the town franchise was the subject of anxious consideration by the whole of the committee. The measure resulting from these labours was explained, in writing, by Lord Durham, in the form of a report to the cabinet. Their task was not an easy one, as they had to bear in mind the reluctance of the king, well known to them, but strenuously denied; and the unpleasant fact that, in the cabinet itself, were to be found stubborn opponents as well as timid friends. At Brookes', 1831, Tom Moore writes—"On my expressing my curiosity to know how such men as Lords Lansdowne, Holland, and Melbourne—to say nothing of the Canningites—came to let themselves be hustled into such a measure, Lord —— said it was certain that Lord Durham was at the bottom of it all; that, from his influence with Lord Grey, he got it into *his* mind; and then Lord Grey's influence with his colleagues, representing it must either be this measure or resignation, did all the rest. Lord Lansdowne, while at all times disposed to liberalise the working of our institutions, has, individually, been for leaving their machinery as it is; and Lord Melbourne's view of reform has always been that which, in politics as well as religion, most defies conversion; and that is, the scoffer's view." At all the clubs the ministerial plan was regarded with terror and despair.

On the 30th of January, 1831, the scheme was submitted, by Lord Grey, to the king, by whom it was discussed from point to point, and eventually sanctioned. The whole was then reduced to the shape of the bill, which was eventually proposed to parliament. The two Houses reassembled on the 3rd of February, the day to which they stood adjourned. Lord Grey, in the Lords, and Lord Althorp, in the Commons, gave on that evening the same information respecting ministerial intentions on the subject of reform. Parliament was informed that the ministers had framed a measure, to which they had unanimously assented; and that this carefully-matured plan would be submitted to the House of Commons on Tuesday, the 1st of March. This gave time for the public to become excited, and to deluge the House with petitions. The honour of unfolding the ministerial plan to a crowded House was conferred on Lord John Russell.

The diminutive figure, and the chilling presence of Lord John Russell, are by this time familiar to the British public. Circumstances early placed his lordship on the pedestal. He is the third son of the late Duke of Bedford, and was born in 1792, in Hertford Street, May Fair. His lordship is an hereditary politician; and as a scion of the noble house of Bedford, and a student at Edinburgh, under Professor Dugald Stuart, ripened into that mild liberalism in which he has ever since rejoiced. After spending a few years in foreign travel, we see him, in 1813, returned as M.P. for Tavistock; but, on finding himself repeatedly in a minority, he appears to have determined to relinquish a political career. His

friend, Tom Moore, allured him back by a poetical remonstrance, in which he begged him never to think that—

"Thy country can spare
Such a light from her dark'ning horizon as thou."

It was well for his lordship that he took his friend's advice. By his annual motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, he endeared himself to the dissenters; and the success of the reform movement made him, for a time, one of the most popular men in the United Kingdom. But he could not avail himself of his good fortune, and his popularity soon passed away. The aristocratic nature of the man had, of course, much to do with this. To be genial is to be popular. Earl Russell cannot be genial. There is an icy tone in his voice and manner which repels rather than attracts. You may work for him, canvass for him, shout his praises till you are hoarse, and from his lordship you can get barely civil recognition. It is true he is a Liberal statesman; but in much the same manner as the Spartan ephor, who, when charged by his wife with having abandoned half the privileges of his children, replied that he had done so in order that he might preserve for them the other half. Then, again, it must be remembered, that, through a long parliamentary career, he has been little, and troublesome, and spiteful in opposition. Tom Moore, in his *Diary*, wrote of his lordship, that he, on a particular occasion, was mild and sensible; but often his lordship has been neither the one nor the other. When out of office, he has not had strength of mind to wait calmly till the nation has called him back to the helm; but has had recourse to all sorts of manœuvres, such as his conduct with regard to the celebrated appropriation clause, his Edinburgh letter on the corn-laws, and his Durham epistle. The frigid character of the man was clearly evinced in his oratory, which was never impassioned, and delivered with a drawling accent, and in a slovenly manner. In one of his numerous works, Lord John Russell says that the House of Commons, while it admires a man of genius, always gives its confidence to a man of character. It is on his character that his lordship has always taken his stand. Character, as we all know, is one of the most delusive phrases in the English language: one man may steal a sheep, while another may not look over a wall. Old Chartres was wont to declare that he would give any money for a good character. The biggest scoundrels tried at the Old Bailey, such as Redpath and Sir John Dean Paul, were men of good character. Earl Russell has certainly made no little capital out of his character. Herein was his speciality. He took his stand upon it. What a man he was for public meetings! How familiar were Exeter Hall and Freemasons' Tavern with his name! How characteristic is that account given by Mrs. Stowe, of her visit to his lordship at Pembroke Lodge! "We were received," she writes, "in the drawing-room, by the young ladies. Two charming little boys came in; and, a few minutes after, their father, Lord John. I had been much pleased with finding, on the centre table, a beautiful edition of the revered friend of my childhood—Dr. Watts' songs, finely illustrated. I remarked to Lord John that it was the face of an old friend. He said it was presented to his little boys by their godfather, Sir George Grey; and when, taking one of his little boys on his knee, he asked him if he could repeat me one of his hymns, the whole thing seemed so England-like that I began to feel myself quite at home."

On the 3rd of March, then, to a crowded House, Lord John Russell was selected to unfold the provisions of the new Reform Bill. The noble lord's address was unequal to the great occasion, to the remarkable assembly to which he addressed himself, and to the high position which he accidentally held. Tom Moore says it was "feeble and diluted." But the enthusiasm out-of-doors supplied every deficiency, and compensated for all his defects. The ministerial scheme was to disfranchise every borough having less than 2,000 inhabitants. The effect of this would be to destroy, in a parliamentary sense, sixty boroughs (this was Schedule A). Forty-seven had less than 4,000 inhabitants; and, for the future, were to

return only one M.P. (this was Schedule B). The number of members thus taken away, amounted to 168. The next proposition was, that the right of voting should be given to householders paying rates for houses of the yearly value of £10 and upwards. In counties, the suffrage was to be extended to all copyholders to the value of £10 a year; and to leaseholders, for not less than twenty-one years, of the annual value of £50 a year. The next step to be considered was that of new constituencies. Ministers proposed to give the power of returning two members to seven large towns—viz., Manchester and Salford, Birmingham and Acton, Leeds, Greenwich, Deptford, and Woolwich, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Sunderland and the Wearmouths. The following boroughs were to send one member each—viz., Brighton, Blackburn, Macclesfield, South Shields, Warrington, Huddersfield, Halifax, Gateshead, Whitehaven, Kendal, Bolton, Stockport, Dudley, Tynemouth, Cheltenham, Bradford, Frome, Wakefield, Kidderminster. The metropolis was to be divided into four districts, and each district was to have the power of returning two members. The districts were—Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Holborn, Lambeth. Yorkshire was to be divided into three ridings—east, west, north—and each riding was to return two members. The following counties were to have two additional members—Chester, Derby, Durham, Gloucester, Lancaster, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Yorkshire, Wilts, Warwick, Cumberland, Northampton, Cornwall, Devon, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Salop, Stafford, Sussex, Nottingham, Surrey, Northumberland, Leicester, Southampton, Worcester. All voters were to be registered; and, for their convenience, there were to be polling-places. The poll was to be kept open two days; closed on the third; and declared on the sixth.

In Scotland, the number of members was to be increased to fifty; the existing mode of election was to be utterly destroyed; and the system was to be assimilated to the English. In Ireland, likewise, the £10 householder was called into existence, and the number of members increased to 103.

Under this scheme, his lordship estimated that there would be, at least, 500,000 extra voters. The debates which followed upon this motion lasted the unprecedented number of seven nights. The leading opponent was Sir Robert Inglis, who said he was quite sure, "if this measure be carried, it will sweep the House of Lords clean in ten years." Mr. Twiss maintained it would let in revolution. Mr. Shelley looked upon the proposed measure as "the prelude of future misery." Lord Stormont intimated, that if the bill passed, "reform would be revolution; possession would be spoliation; and, sooner or later, religion would be atheism." Sir John Walsh did not impute any improper motives to ministers; but he did not think they saw clearly the consequences of their own measures. Lord Mahon contended that the measure was a revolutionary one. Sir Charles Wetherell plainly stated, that "the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs was corporation robbery."

In the course of the debate, Lord Palmerston contended that "the people of this country sought a change, because the state of the country demanded it. Among the many instances which he could cite in proof of that fact, he would, for the present, only mention one—that they, the ministers, were now seated on those benches which had been so recently occupied by honourable gentlemen opposite. Gentlemen might say what they pleased; but it was not the difference about the civil list, it was not the reduction of the salaries of some half-dozen offices which caused the overthrow of the late administration: the rock upon which they split was their defiance of public opinion; they went on spreading wide the canvass of patronage as they proceeded; but that patronage, and the use they made of it to accelerate their progress, and increase their power, proved their ruin. He would again repeat it—the besetting sin of the last administration was a disregard of public opinion; of public opinion at home, of public opinion abroad. The error of the course which, unfortunately, they pursued, did not end with their power; it had become the means of setting Europe in flames. It was the duty of government, when public opinion was so strong in favour of a change, to concede to it in such a manner as

not to impair the advantages we possess. In looking at the proposed change, let the House consider some of the evils it was intended to remedy. What had, for years, produced so much misgovernment, so much of disregard to public opinion? The gross bribery and corruption practised, and undue influence at elections; by means of which, either so many of them came in without constituents, or only with those whom they had purchased, and might sell again. When, then, by such practices the people were driven to tear away the veil of sanctity with which hereditary respect had invested even the imperfections of the constitution, it was impossible that they whose limited proposition of reform had been rejected, should not be led to demand wider and more extensive changes. There were many men in that House who wished things to remain as they were, and who would be willing to bear the faults of the constitution for its many excellences. He would tell them, that if they were now compelled to choose between a change which they feared, and the evil consequences of the refusal of that change, the blame must rest on those who, three years ago, refused to make even the smallest concession to public feeling. If, three years ago, advantage had been taken of the conviction of corrupt boroughs to bring gradually into connection with that House the great unrepresented towns; if, instead of drawing nice equations between the manufacturing and agricultural interests, they had turned reformers on ever so moderate a scale, the House would not have been discussing the plan of general reform proposed by his noble friend. He had supported all those proposals for limited reform, because he thought them good in themselves, and because he clearly saw, that if they were refused, we should be obliged to have recourse to wider and more extensive changes; but his predictions had been condemned and disregarded. For reasons similar to those for which he then supported those limited propositions of reform, he was now prepared to support the more extensive measure."

Sir Robert Peel followed his lordship. The tone of his speech did not, however, suit the opponents of the bill: it was far too rational for their angry appetites. Mr. Croker made up, in passion and extravagance, for the calmness of his leader. But we cannot give the names of the illustrious obscure, who wasted their breath in the vain attempt to stop the onward progress of reform. Out-of-doors a strong feeling was growing in favour of the ministerial measure. It was fuller and better than what the people expected. All classes of reformers united, as one man, in shouting in unison throughout the country—"The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!" Up to this time the immense majority of petitions had been in favour of vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and universal suffrage; but as soon as the ministerial propositions were made known, all these demands were merged into one—the prayer for the passing of the Reform Bill, as it was now emphatically called. The long debate being at lenth closed without any division, Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, Lord Palmerston, Sir James Graham, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Stanley, the Attorney-general, and the Solicitor-general, were ordered, on the 9th of March, to bring in the bill. The outside public now began to prepare for action. The political unions, taking that of Birmingham as their model, rose in all parts of the country, exciting great terror in the mind of the king, and effectually promoting thereby the cause of reform.

Inside the House the opponents of the bill also combined. A committee was formed for the purpose of arranging the mode, and deciding upon the steps to be taken in opposition to it. On the 21st of March, Lord John Russell moved the second reading of the bill. Sir Richard Vyvyan moved, as an amendment, that it be read that day six months. The combination, on the part of the opposition, succeeded. Ministers carried the question by a majority of one. In other words, they had, for the time, sustained a complete defeat. On the 18th of April, a further calamity befel them. When the motion was made for committing the bill, General Gascoigne, one of the members for Liverpool, endeavoured to get rid of it by submitting a motion which went to counteract one of its most essential

provisions—that relating to the diminution of the number of representatives. A sharp debate succeeded; and, on a division, the ministers found themselves in a minority of eight. One opinion upon that occasion excited no small surprise—viz., that of the celebrated Sir Robert Wilson, who sat as a most ardent reformer for the borough of Southwark. He, being seized with a sudden panic, declared that he could not support ministers in their proposal to reduce the number of English members; and left it with his constituents to decide whether, under these circumstances, they desired to retain him as their representative: whereupon, to use Mr. Baring's phrase, with relation to the incident, "they sent him notice to quit." His place was, at the general election which immediately followed, filled by Mr. W. Brougham, youngest brother of the Chancellor. On the 20th, the opposition was again successful, and ministers were in a minority, which had increased to twenty-two, on a motion for going into a committee of supply; to which an amendment had been moved, "That this House do now adjourn;" which amendment had been carried.

The Scotch and Irish bills had been received in much the same manner as the English, though, of course, not creating the same amount of opposition or debate in the discussion as the latter. Lord Palmerston took part. He asked "whether the disfranchisement of 200,000 freeholders by a single act of parliament, was not a much greater change in the constituency than any which the present bill contemplated? Yet that revolutionary measure, as it might well be called, was introduced and carried by Sir Robert Peel. The latter gentleman said he was friendly to moderate reform: of what degree of moderation? His arguments, so far as they went, struck at all reform, moderate or otherwise. He talked of the changes in the limits of counties as revolutionary: did he apprehend revolution from the king in council?"

There was but one resource left to ministers after all these defeats, and that was a dissolution. We have already shown that the king was prevailed upon to take that step. Never, in either House, had there been such a scene: the confusion was at its height, when the king appeared, and dissolved his angry Lords and Commons.

The struggle was now terribly in earnest. The ministers, not originally very sincere reformers, found no way of escape from their difficulties but fighting them out. The excitement, on the part of the general public, increased in intensity. In some places the dissolution was celebrated by illuminations. The Lord Mayor of London was favourable to such rejoicings, and was accused of unduly encouraging them; and of being, indirectly, the author of the mischief done by a mob, who broke the windows of many distinguished individuals who omitted to light up on the occasion. In London, a very rancorous feeling was manifested towards the known opponents of reform. The houses of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Baring, and the Marquis of Londonderry, were among those assailed by the missiles of reformers. An immense mob passed through the Strand, breaking all windows that were not illuminated. They extended their ravages to St. James's Square, where the dwellings of the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Cleveland, and Lord Grantham, suffered from their insolence. The Bishop of Winchester and Mr. W. Wynn, seeing the crowd approach, placed candles in their windows, and escaped. The houses of Sir R. Peel and Sir R. Wilson were likewise visited. However, little harm was in reality done, though the Tories made as much of it as possible. The rejoicing and illuminations were not, however, confined to London; Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and nearly all the towns of the United Kingdom, followed the example. From all quarters—from every city and every town—addresses were sent, thanking the king for the step he had taken in dissolving the late parliament, and expressions of confidence in Earl Grey and his colleagues.

The elections proceeded rapidly and satisfactorily. In every place which had the right of returning members, a reform committee was organised. In London, large sums of money were subscribed, and placed in the hands of persons of high

character, in order that reform candidates might be effectually assisted where money was wanted. Another society, which gave great offence to the Tories, was the Parliamentary Candidate Society, which professed, not indeed to supply candidates, but to provide information respecting all persons who appeared in that character; giving, if they had been previously in parliament, epitomes of their speeches, lists of their votes, and a history of their parliamentary career. If they were new candidates, all the information that could be discovered respecting them was ferreted out. The Whig landlords were strict in their orders as to the return of reform candidates; and then there were the political unions, which were a real source of terror to the opposition. Lord Eldon writes to Lord Stowell—"The thing that I most feel to be dangerous is the formation of bodies of men under the name of political unions, which I see are forming in London, and in every part of England and Ireland—the latter professedly to support English reform, as necessarily leading to the attainment of Irish as well as English objects. As to these political unions, I am confident, that if parliament does what it did between 1789 and 1794—put them down by act of parliament—they will put down parliament itself. I have seen a great deal of mischief going forward in the country; but till these institutions were becoming general, and till the government, by connivance and apathy, can be said rather to encourage than discourage them, I have had hopes that matters might get right." The proclamation against the unions appears to have been the result of a communication from the Duke of Wellington; indeed, more than one of the leaders of the opposition communicated with the government on this subject. Lord Eldon again writes—"The Duke of Wellington did not attend the House the other night. I sat with him near an hour the day before, in deep conversation; and most interesting letters that he wrote to a great personage, produced the proclamation against the unions."

The elections over, the ministers found their gains had been enormous, and their losses few. Lord Palmerston had been unseated for Cambridge University: he had, however, Bletchingly to fall back on in 1831: in 1832, he was elected for South Hants. In Edinburgh, Lord Jefferey was defeated by Mr. Dundas, a member of the Melville family, which had long held absolute sway in the corporation of that city; but while, in the electoral body (at that time numbering thirty-three) his lordship was in a minority, a petition, signed by 17,000 inhabitants of Edinburgh, had prayed the town-council for his re-election; and their disappointment led to a little rioting. Altogether, the popular feeling was almost irresistible. In London, Southwark, and Westminster, the M.P.'s were all pledged to the support of the bill. The great majority of the cities and large towns were equally decided. Of the twenty-four cities of England, sixteen were unanimous for reform; while the remaining eight sent a member upon each side of the question. In the forty counties of England, thirty-five sent their full complement of members friendly to the bill; four were equally divided, and one only was hostile to reform. The most remarkable contest was that in Northamptonshire, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, was opposed by the whole power of the Tories; and, after a prolonged struggle, was, together with his colleague, Lord Milton, ultimately triumphant. Indeed, nearly all the ministers of the crown were sent to parliament from counties or populous towns—a feature somewhat new in our political history. In the rotten boroughs, as was natural under the circumstances, the majority was not in favour of the bill. In Ireland, the influence of the Roman Catholic party, headed by Daniel O'Connell, gave the reformers a large majority.

On the 24th of June, Lord John Russell proposed the revised and second edition of the Reform Bill. His speech was a much better one than on the previous occasion, as he felt sure that he had an immense majority in that House, and of the public, on his side. Schedules A and B had been revised, and some few boroughs had changed places: that was all. No discussion followed, and no opposition was raised. Sir Robert Peel proposed (and his proposal was immediately acceded to), that the discussion should take place on the second reading, which was

appointed for July the 4th. About twenty members delivered their sentiments on each side. Among the opposition, the principal speakers were Sir John Malcolm, Sir George Murray, and Sir Robert Peel: of the reformers, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Sir Francis Burdett. No fresh arguments were advanced on either side; the reformers stating that the time had come to reform and improve the constitution—the anti-reformers declaring the bill to be dangerous and revolutionary. Sir Robert, in his conscience, believed so: he said that it went to diminish rather than increase "the security of the permanent liberties and happiness of the people of England." On division, the numbers were—for the second reading, 367; against it, 281. Majority, in favour of ministers, 136. This triumphant division was hailed with general rejoicing. The fate of the bill was thought to be secure.

However, a severe and protracted struggle took place in the Commons. The 12th of July was the day fixed for the House resolving itself into committee; and, on a motion being made to that effect, it was met by an amendment, proposing that the borough of Appleby, which stood upon the list for total disfranchisement, should be heard by counsel at the bar. Had such a motion been carried, the same right might have been demanded by all the other boroughs in Schedules A and B; and the bill would never have got through committee at all. The motion, therefore, was resisted; and, after a warm debate, a large majority decided against the claim of Appleby: but the motion that the House go into committee was still opposed, and the discussion continued till midnight, when the anti-reformers moved an adjournment; which was opposed by Lord Althorp. This motion being rejected, another, to the same effect, was made, which met with a similar fate. Thus motion after motion was put forward, from midnight until seven in the morning, when, the greater number of anti-reformers having left, the bill advanced one stage. This factious opposition was chiefly conducted by Sir Charles Wetherell, Sir Edward Sugden, and Lord Stormont, and served only to render the friends of reform in the House more determined to support it, at whatever sacrifice of personal ease. That evening's proceedings did serious injury to the opposition. After such an exhibition of ill-temper and rude manners, they could no longer descant upon the change for the worse that would take place if a really popular assembly were substituted for the well-bred nominees of the aristocracy. The prophecy as to the certain deterioration in the behaviour of the House of Commons that would result from the proposed change in its constitution had hitherto been a favourite, and by no means ineffective, argument against the Reform Bill. There was now an end put to the use of any such disparaging suggestions. It would be a futile and profitless task to detail all the discussions through which the bill dragged its slow length along. Every clause, nay, almost every letter, of it was cavilled at, criticised, and abused; but, on all sides, it was admitted that the opposition of Sir Robert Peel was candid and fair, and worthy of attention. During the passage of the bill through committee, three proposals were made, which deserve to be recorded. One by Lord Chandos—"That tenants, paying £50 per annum in the counties, should have a vote." By the carrying of this clause, the counties were, henceforth, placed in the power of the leading landlords; as the tenant farmer is not, and never can be, an independent voter. The other clauses were—one by Mr. Hume—"That our colonies should be represented;" which was negatived without a division: and one by Mr. Hunt—"That all householders paying rates and taxes should have votes;" which was equally unsuccessful.

On the 19th of September, Lord John Russell moved the third reading of the bill, which was carried by 113 to 58. On the motion that the bill do pass, a final debate ensued: this was ended on the 21st, when the numbers were—for the bill, 345; against, 236.

This protracted discussion had exasperated the public greatly; and it was determined, if possible, to alarm the Lords. As soon as the bill passed the

Commons, an illumination of London was proposed; and a formal application was made to the Lord Mayor, in order to obtain his sanction for the proceeding. He acceded to the request, and the mob pretty generally broke all such windows as were not lighted up. Certain persons, distinguished as opponents of the bill, suffered thus in their property. The more timid friends of the measure were alarmed, fearing lest these excesses should be considered as the commencement of revolution. A placard was forged, and published in the *Morning Post*, purporting to be a proclamation by the Lord Mayor. In this, threats of violence appeared against those who would not illuminate. This was done for the purpose of alarming the possessors of property generally, in the hope of thus disgusting them with the bill and its proposers. In every part of the country the people met, and passed very vehement resolutions respecting the bill and its purposes. In many places the populace gave very strong intimations of riotous intentions; and, in some instances, riots actually occurred.

On the 22nd of September the bill went up to the Lords, accompanied by about a hundred of its supporters, headed by Lords Althorp and Russell. The attendance of the Lords was unusually numerous. The Lord Chancellor came to the bar with the usual formalities, and received the bill from the hands of Lord Russell, who said—"This, my lord, is a bill to amend the representation of the people of England and Wales, which the House of Commons has agreed to, and to which they desire the concurrence of your lordships." These words were followed by a loud cry of "Hear, hear," from the members of the House of Commons, who had come up with the bill; and this unusual proceeding was met by a faint cry of "Order" from some of the lords. Instead of retiring from the bar (which is usual in such cases), the members of the House of Commons preserved their position. The Lord Chancellor, holding the bill in his hand, retraced his steps to the woolsack, and communicated, with unusual solemnity of tone and manner, the nature of the message of the Commons. He was listened to with a silence as rare as it was deep. No doubt many in that House honestly believed that the reign of terror and blood was to commence.

On the 3rd of October the second reading of the bill commenced. On that day, Lord Grey, in a grave, sustained, and elaborate speech, submitted the whole subject of the bill and its provisions to the consideration of their lordships. Thereupon followed a debate, which extended to the 7th of the same month; and which, in the language of Mr. Roebuck, "for the general ability of the speeches delivered upon the occasion; for the variety and height of eloquence then displayed; for the dignity, vigour, and elegance of the language; and for the cogency, completeness, and ingenuity of the arguments of almost every speaker, was a most admirable, striking, and memorable example of finished excellence and parliamentary discussion." No new arguments were advanced on either side; but the peculiar excitement, during the whole course of the debate, brought out the two great champions of the contending parties. The forensic triumph was the Lord Chancellor's; the parliamentary, Lord Lyndhurst's. At six, on the morning of the 8th, the House divided. Non-contents, 150; proxies, 49—199. Contents, 128; proxies, 30—158. Majority against the bill, 41.

The defeat was not unexpected; nevertheless it was regarded as a great misfortune. In London, in many places, the shops were closed, as a signal of a great public calamity. The funds fell, and gloom was on the minds of most men. In the country (chiefly in the manufacturing districts) there was more or less of rioting. At Derby the gaol was broken open, and the prisoners liberated. At Nottingham, the mob attacked and burnt to the ground the castle, an unoccupied seat of the Duke of Newcastle, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the reformers by his unjustifiable interference in elections; and his question in defence—"May I not do what I like with my own?" The rioters, not content with this, carried alarm through the surrounding districts, and attacked the seat of Mr. Musters, the husband of Lord Byron's first, and, we

believe, only love—the Mary Chaworth, to whom we owe the *Dream*, and the stanzas beginning—

"Oh! had my fate been joined to thine."

In the fright occasioned by these tumults she died. At Bristol, also, terrible riots occurred. While all lovers of their country deplored these outrages, the friends of reform did not relax in their efforts. The general feeling was, that Earl Grey should insist upon a large creation of peers, sufficient to give him a majority in the upper house; and addresses, pressing this line of policy upon his lordship, together with petitions to the king, expressive of confidence in his majesty, and entreating him to support them, poured in from every quarter. The House of Commons, by a majority of 131, carried a vote of confidence in ministers, and thus strengthened the popularity-hunting monarch, now not a little alarmed. "Just at this moment, letters from Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell," writes Mr. Roebuck, "addressed to Mr. Thomas Attwood, chairman of the Birmingham Political Union, appeared—letters of no ordinary significance—giving extraordinary offence to the king, but serving materially to sustain the excitement out-of-doors." Just before the division in the Lords, a great public meeting was held at Birmingham, consisting, it was said, of 150,000 persons. This meeting passed resolutions, thanking Lords Althorp and Russell for their conduct in the Commons during the passage of the bill through the House; and, before the meeting separated, a resolution, by which a determination not to pay taxes if the bill were rejected by the Lords, was submitted to the multitude assembled. This revolutionary proceeding (for such it was) received at once the unanimous and vehement assent of the meeting. Mr. Attwood communicated the vote of thanks to the two noble lords, the closing resolution being made known to all the world through the newspapers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord John Russell, nothing daunted, replied in set phrases of gratitude and compliment to the meeting, in letters to Mr. Attwood, who was celebrated as the great leader of the Birmingham Political Union; and the expression of Lord John Russell's letter attracted universal attention and remark. "It is impossible," writes the noble lord, "that the whisper of a faction should prevail against the voice of the nation." These, in existing circumstances, were very significant words. The whisper of a faction was a large majority of the House of Lords; the persons addressed were men pledged to a resolution, by an open declaration that they would put a stop to the operations of government if that vote were carried. The vote had passed; and now a cabinet minister, and a member of the government, who might be considered a cabinet minister, communicated with these men, and wrote in terms of great contumely to the House of Lords, thus threatened and assailed Every one now understood that the great Whig aristocracy had set their fortune on a cast, and that they were determined "to stand the hazard of the die." No wonder that the king, in such a state of things, should be alarmed and indignant; or that he should, daily and hourly, call upon his ministers to check this dangerous outbreak of the popular indignation. He composed an elaborate paper upon the dangers resulting to the peace and safety of the kingdom from the existence of political unions, and desired that his law officers should advise him as to the means afforded by the present law for the suppression of those associations. Of the press his majesty was particularly afraid; and the prosecution of Cobbett, in which the Attorney-general, Sir Thomas Denman, signally failed, had received the warmest encouragement and approval on the part of the king. In fact, he continually pestered his ministers on the subject of the press, and the great danger resulting from its violence and audacity. The unstamped press was especially virulent and violent, and distasteful to the friends of order. As specimens of the contemptible class of literature by which men's minds were poisoned at this time, let the following extracts suffice. We commence with the *Poor Man's Guardian*:—"We maintain that the act of Messrs. Capet, Polignac, &c., which so deservedly lost Charles X. of France his throne,

and consigned Polignac to imprisonment, was not more arbitrary or atrocious than the present proceedings of Messrs. Guelph, Grey, Brougham, Denman, &c. The French tyrants intended to destroy the liberty of the press (which is the very key and safeguard of all other liberty). What difference, then, is there between the acts of Capet, &c., and this act of Guelph? Why, there is this, and this only difference—the act of Capet, &c., was the act of a hero; and the act of Guelph, of a cowardly assassin. But William Guelph and his minions, although they think they have the right, and also the power, to do as they please with their own people, yet have not courage enough to bite with their own teeth; they will not sully their own bright sword, but *they will mangle us with the teeth of a diseased bloodhound. They will stab us with the dagger of a deadly assassin. Cowardly tyrants!*" Most of the publications alluded to were published by a man calling himself *Citizen* Hetherington. In one of them, the *Republican, or Sovereignty for the People*, it is said of him—"He considers the damnable, knowledge-taxing mandate of the boroughmongering parliamentarians as much binding on the unrepresented people of England, as the contemptible, impotent ordinances of Charles Capet were binding on the people of France. He who approves or enforces them must be *a devilish, malignant fiend, and ought to be hunted out of civilised society.*" Again, in the *Prompter*, the writer stated—"The royal family of England is as great an evil in England as the royal family of Spain is in Spain; of Portugal in Portugal; of France in France; of Prussia in Prussia; of Turkey in Turkey. * * * With the voice of a man; with the spirit of a good man and citizen, struggling to be free, I cry out to all Europe, and more particularly to my own countrymen, *down with kings, priests, and lords!* Either in war or in peace, kingcraft, priestcraft, and lordcraft, is *a system of murder, plunder, and spoliation.* Then down with kings, priests, and lords!"

Parliament, which had been prorogued in October, reassembled in December. And now came the momentous question—what was to be done with the peers? Lord Durham and the Lord Chancellor had long made up their minds to the necessity of a large addition; but the measure was distasteful to the king, and to the leading Whig peers themselves. On January 12th, 1832, Mr. Raikes writes—"Notwithstanding the permission from the king to create peers, Lord Grey seems evidently unwilling to proceed to this unconstitutional remedy. The feeling today is, that a compromise may take place between the government and the Tories, in order to obviate this expedient; that a modification may still be made of the bill in the Commons, to which Lords Harrowby, Wharncliffe, Bristol, Haddington, and, it is said, the bishops, are not averse." On the 17th, he writes—"The ministry appears much embarrassed how to act. One of them said, the other day, 'The Tories must concede, as we cannot retract; the people would not let us.'" In this state of things, the ministry looked almost entirely to the Chancellor for advice and support. Lord Grey saw all the dangers and difficulties of his situation, and trembled before them. He was kept at his post; and his courage was sustained by the more active and resolute mind of his colleague. Had that failed him at this crisis, the ministry would have fallen to pieces: had it done so, we should have been plunged into civil war. At this time the ministers professed to have doubts as to the obedience of the army; and whether, if the middle classes stood aloof, and the mob should rise at the same time in different parts of the country, the peace could be preserved by a small number of doubtful troops.

"The state of the king's mind was, at this time," says Mr. Roebuck, "very different from what it subsequently became. He, with great reluctance, and much agitation at the state of the country, but with great kindness to Lord Grey, and general expressions of confidence and approbation of all the cabinet, acquiesced in the measure of peer-making, if, on reflection and examination, they should deem it necessary. He required, however, a written recommendation from his advisers, together with a statement of the necessity they felt, before he could take such a step; and he annexed a condition, that the new peerages, with the exception of

two, or, at most, three, should be either eldest sons or presumptive heirs of peers: and he seemed to admit of no exception, unless it were, possibly, in favour of Scotch or Irish peers. He preferred, he said, doing what was necessary at once to proceeding by driblets, and offered to create twenty-one new peers, which, he assumed, were sufficient to carry the bill. This matter much agitated him, and he accompanied his acquiescence with very earnest exhortations to the ministers to take their stand, in England and Ireland, against the disorganising principles which, through public meetings, demagogues, and, above all, the press, were directed against monarchy and aristocracy, and all established, particularly hereditary, authority."

Again a Reform Bill was introduced, further modified, but by no means improved. In the original bill, Schedule A contained sixty boroughs. Schedule B, forty-seven. In this, only fifty-six were in Schedule A, and thirty in Schedule B. On the second reading, the numbers were—ayes, 324; noes, 162: majority, 162. On the 10th of March, the labours of the committee ended. The bill, as amended, was reported, and ordered to be taken into consideration on the 14th. On the 19th the third reading was carried by a majority of 116.

Mr. Raikes' *Diary* shows the feeling of the Tories. He writes, March 20th—"Chalton, who dined with me, said, aptly enough, without some reform we shall have a rebellion in the country; but with the present extravagant plan we shall have a revolution." The Tories were beginning to give way. This is rendered still clearer by his next entry, March 26th—"This day the Reform Bill was brought, for a second time, into the House of Lords, from the Commons. Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe expressed their intention to vote for the second reading, reserving their comments for the committee. They might as well have said nothing. The duke firm."

In high quarters, intrigues of all kinds were going on, with a view to defeat the bill. The Duke of Buckingham gave notice of his intention to bring in a Reform Bill of his own. It was hoped, also, in some quarters, that Lord Brougham would throw over his colleagues, as he was understood not to approve of the disfranchising clauses of the bill. On a division, the numbers were, on the second reading—contents, present, 128; proxies, 56: non-contents, present, 126; proxies, 49: the ministers had thus a majority of 9.

The Duke of Wellington, in consequence of this vote, entered an elaborate protest against the bill upon the journals of the House of Lords, to which protest seventy-three peers attached their signature.

The appearance of the House on this critical occasion has been graphically described by an eye-witness:—"On both sides were to be seen the aged and infirm, evidently suffering under the greatest mental and bodily exhaustion, yet firmly maintaining their posts; and such of them as were of the party of the Premier, rousing themselves, ever and anon, to the exertion of a vigorous cheer in approbation of the sentiments that fell from him. The pale and agitated expression of their faces, rendered yet more striking by the strange mixture of the rays of the sun, with the light from the half-extinguished chandeliers, contrasted with the eager and anxious feelings exhibited in the countenances of the strangers in the gallery, and the members of the Commons below the bar, presented, altogether, a picture such as few who were present could ever forget." The Lord Chancellor, weak from recent illness, and bowed down with the effort of speaking, and the fatigue of the sitting, seemed peculiarly an object of compassion; while the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, seemingly asleep on one side, with his head leaning on the Chancellor's shoulder, and Lord Holland endeavouring, but with difficulty, to support himself on the other, afforded a spectacle such as few have ever before witnessed in that House. The peeresses, who were present in great numbers at the very commencement of the evening, remained even to the last; and their faded colour, when they retired, testified to the absorbing nature of their attention. The House divided at twenty-five minutes to seven; and, at seven,

expresses were on their way to every part of the empire and of the continent with the result of the debate. The change in the division was effected, partly, by lords who had absented themselves on the former discussion having voted for the bill; but still more by positive changes of votes, the number of which was not fewer than fifteen—making a difference of thirty.

Diplomatists waited the result with as much anxiety as the British public. It was matter of considerable moment to them whether or no Palmerston went out of office, and Lord Aberdeen came in. Under the date of April 19th, Mr. Raikes writes—"Prussia and Austria have, last night, exchanged their ratifications, with the stipulation that no coercion shall be used towards Holland. * * * Upon the same terms I conclude that Russia will also adhere, though the orders are not yet come to Prince Lieven. The division in the Lords, on the Reform Bill, has probably caused this decision, under the idea that the government here will be more likely to last, and therefore, in appearance, to be conciliated."

Unexpected dangers arose. The House of Lords, on the 7th of May, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the Reform Bill; and Lord Grey, after postponing, as of course, the title and preamble of the bill, gave notice that he should propose the omission of the words "fifty-six" in the first clause, "because he understood that there were noble lords who, admitting the principle of disfranchisement, were of opinion that the number of boroughs to be disfranchised should not be fixed until Schedule A had been considered." To obviate such objections, it was his intention to propose the omission of those words. Lord Lyndhurst proposed at once to defer the consideration of the two first and most important clauses of the bill. His real intention was to defeat the disfranchising clauses altogether. Upon a division, the numbers were—for the amendment, 151; against, 116: majority against ministers, 35. The latter felt that they were defeated, and the question was adjourned till the 10th. Lord Grey said to Lord Wharncliffe, with evident vexation, on going out of the House, "You may now take the bill and do what you please with it." "Ministers," writes Mr. Raikes, "must, it is supposed, now either make peers (and not less than sixty) or resign." They chose the latter alternative. Raikes writes, on the 9th—"The king has refused to make the peers; and this morning the ministers have given in their resignations, which have been accepted. Still they attended at the *levée*, and the king appeared cheerful. Brookes' club was full of weeping and gnashing of teeth, so little was the party prepared for this sudden catastrophe. No one knows to whom the king will turn for his new advisers; and the aspect of affairs is cloudy enough; but the funds have not fallen much, the three per cents. leaving off at eighty-four. Lord Grey, in the House to-night, announced the retreat of himself and colleagues, which had been graciously accepted by his majesty. Very little passed except some severe remarks from Lord Carnarvon, on the *atrocious coup-d'état* which had been meditated by Lord Grey against the privileges of that House. In the evening the king sent for Lord Lyndhurst; and some violent resolutions were passed at Brookes', to be brought forward to-morrow, in the Commons. Sefton told me that he knew the fact early this morning, and went instantly to communicate it to Talleyrand, who was thunderstruck at the news, and sent it off by express to Paris. It must make a great alteration in our foreign political relations, and be much to the satisfaction of Russia, Holland, &c."

In the House of Commons, a motion of confidence in the late ministry, and in favour of reform, was carried by a majority of eighty.

In the meanwhile the Tories were in high glee. On the 10th, Mr. Raikes tells us—"It was pretty well understood that the duke would undertake the formation of a ministry, under certain conditions." On the 11th, he says—"A great Tory meeting at Apsley House, when all party schisms were abjured by the ultra party, and a general reconciliation took place, with a determination to pull together for the common cause. A list was then formed by the duke, which was carried down to Windsor immediately by Lord Lyndhurst. The result is not

known to-night; but it is asserted that a strong measure of reform, as being absolutely necessary to the peace of the country, will be the basis of their policy. I have just seen Adolphus Fitzclarence, who told me that he had left the king at two o'clock, who was in excellent spirits, and said to him on parting—'I do not know who are my ministers; but I am determined to do that which I feel is right, without consulting any one.' The expresses from Manchester and Birmingham mention considerable excitement, of course, and a disposition not to pay taxes. This feeling will probably be increased when they hear the Tories are coming into power; and I fear much tumult may ensue in many places: but we must hope for the best.—*Saturday*, 12*th*.—The king came to town this morning at one o'clock, when he met the duke at the palace, who, after a short interview, kissed hands as Premier. None of the other appointments are known. The king is, it appears, in very good spirits. The first measure to which he has been advised by the duke is, not to receive the delegates from the political union at Birmingham, as an association not authorised by law.—*Sunday*, 13*th*.—There was a great Tory dinner at the new club (the Carlton), the duke in the chair. Many speeches after dinner, which concurred in admitting the necessity of reform. * * * * Yesterday, when Lord Foley went to the palace to give in his resignation as captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the king said to him—'I am an old man, and I don't think I shall ever live to see you in place again.' However, the matter does not progress quite so trippingly." On the next day, Mr. Raikes refers to a difficulty; and, on the 15th, he writes—"This morning, as was anticipated, the duke signified to the king that, owing to the excitement produced by the present crisis, he could not form an administration. The king wrote to Lord Grey, whose answer was very long, and, it is said, couched in haughty terms, demanding *carte blanche* to make peers; which the king still positively refuses to do. We are, therefore, still without any government. The feeling to-night was general that the Tories would no longer oppose the bill, but walk out without voting, and allow Lord Grey to carry the measure without a fresh creation; by which means they save the peers from being swamped. This is the line they ought to have taken at the commencement; it would have been consistent, and given a weight to the party which would, probably, have enabled them to oust the Whigs hereafter upon the valid grounds of their insufficiency and ignorance." It actually appears, from the duke's explanations, that he was prepared to introduce a Reform Bill, in spite of his declaration that no reform was necessary. So soon as Sir Robert Peel declared that he would be—that, after his emphatic opposition, he could be—no party to carrying a Reform Bill, the duke endeavoured to frame a cabinet without him. The Speaker, Mr. Manners Sutton, was to lead the House of Commons; the duke himself being Premier. But, as we have intimated, the scheme fell through.

Indeed, it was manifest, in the face of popular excitement, that the duke's task was an impossible one. He was the object of the bitterest resentment. The same feeling was displayed towards William IV., who was no longer "the patriot king." The queen, also, came in for her share of odium. "Only a week back," said Orator Hunt, in the House of Commons, "and omnibuses and coaches were christened Adelaide. Half the boys and girls, too, who were born were christened Adelaide: and now the name was, all at once, wiped out from the omnibuses; and the boys and girls were ashamed of it."

The following newspaper description shows how completely the feelings of the people had changed. The *Sun*, of May 12th, says—"It being known that the king would come to town to-day, the greatest popular feeling was excited, and the line of roads, from Windsor to St. James's Palace, was thronged with people to receive him. At a quarter past twelve o'clock the royal carriage reached Hounslow, where a strong guard of about twenty men of the 9th Lancers joined the royal carriage, in which were the king and queen. The postilions passed on at a rapid rate; and, on entering the town of Brentford, the people, who had assembled in great numbers, began to groan and hiss, and make the most tremendous noises

that can be imagined. The escort kept behind, and close to the carriage-windows, or, in all probability, mischief would have ensued, as we were told a number of clods of dirt were hurled at the carriage. Along the road to London, the people expressed their feelings in a similar manner; and when the carriage entered the park, the mob saluted their majesties with yells and execrations of every description, which we refrain from publishing. The moment the carriage entered the palace-yard, the gates were closed. Shortly after the arrival of the king, the Duke of Wellington arrived at the palace, and, if possible, the mob treated him worse than they did the king. The duke remained in conference with his majesty about twenty minutes, and then left the palace amidst the most astounding yells of the populace."

From one end of the country to the other, petitions were sent to the House of Commons, praying that House to stop all supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. The political unions everywhere began to organise their members for actual insurrection. Meetings in London were held by day and by night, in which the most violent language was used, not by people of insignificance, but by men of rank and substance. Lord Milton openly advised the people to resist the payment of taxes. Mr. Duncombe, M.P. for Hertford, joined the political union of London, and took part in their discussions. The advice was—"To stop the duke, go for gold." The Common Council of London met, and petitioned for reform, and a standing committee was appointed for the purpose, "in the present crisis, so pregnant with danger," to watch events, and take steps to insure the passing of the Reform Bill. At Birmingham, placards were exhibited in the windows, as follows:—"Notice!—No taxes paid here until the Reform Bill is passed." Others stated—"No taxes paid here, and no goods bought distrained for taxes." And, at a crowded meeting, a resolution was passed, intimating that the people would be prepared to arm if necessary. The union hymn, a favourite melody at political meetings, shows the spirit of the people at that time. The words were—

"Lo! we answer, see we come,
Quick, at Freedom's holy call,
We come! we come! we come! we come!
To do the glorious work of all;
And hark! we raise, from sea to sea,
The sacred watchword, Liberty.

"God is our guide! from field, from wave,
From plough, from anvil, and from loom,
We come, our country's rights to save,
And speak a tyrant faction's doom;
And hark! we raise, from sea to sea,
The sacred watchword, Liberty.

"God is our guide! no swords we draw;
We kindle not war's battle fires;
By union, justice, reason, law,
We claim the birthright of our sires.
We raise the watchword, Liberty;
We will, we will, we will be free!"

One of the Birmingham leaders said, when the tax-gatherer called on him—"If you dare, sir, to call again, I will have you nailed by the ear at my door, with a placard on your breast, saying who you are." Lord Durham confessed to Attwood that they owed their places to the Birmingham Union. Its members, however, were in greater jeopardy than they thought. Mr. Parkes told Haydon, "that warrants were made out against the whole of the union; and if Wellington had succeeded, they would all have been taken up; and then the people would have fought it out." Mr. A. Prentice claims for Manchester the credit of having been the first to stop the supplies. To such a crisis had matters arrived, that, Mr. Roebuck tells us, "the Birmingham deputation in London were preparing to pro-

ceed immediately home, in order to begin resistance, when the news of the Duke of Wellington's failure rendered this terrible proceeding unnecessary."

"At last," writes Mr. Raikes, under the date of May 18th, "this awful question is settled. Lord Grey announced, in the House, that he had received assurances which enabled him to congratulate the country on the success of the bill."

It appears that when Lord Grey was recalled, he, together with the Chancellor, had an audience with the king, "who," says Mr. Roebuck, "received them with evident emotion, being annoyed and angry, as well as alarmed." The interview took place; the king and the two peers, contrary to custom, standing all the while; Sir Herbert Taylor, the king's private secretary, being also present. Both Lord Grey and the Chancellor firmly declined to return to office, unless a promise was given by the king that he would create as many peers as might be necessary to secure a majority in the House of Lords. The king was now helpless, and obliged to yield. He did so with unmistakable reluctance, however. As soon as the promise was given, the Chancellor, by way of precaution, begged to have it in writing; which request was also acceded to. This Lord Grey deemed harsh and uncalled for. "I wonder," he said, as soon as they left the royal presence, to the Chancellor, "you could have the heart to press it, when you saw the state he was in." The Chancellor replied—"You will soon see reason to think I was right." This power, however, was not used. Sir Herbert Taylor is reported to have written to certain of the more vehement of the opposition peers, without the knowledge, certainly, of Lord Grey or the Chancellor, and, probably, without the privity of the king, giving a history of what had passed, and the fearful result of the interview; suggesting, at the same time, that the only way of averting this great misfortune, was for the peers addressed to withdraw their opposition, and allow the bill to pass—that being a smaller evil than a wholesale creation of peers: and thus the bill was made safe.

From this time forward, the situation of the ministry, in regard to the king, was of a less friendly character than formerly; and the queen was now evidently openly hostile. When the ministry resigned, her Attorney and Solicitor-general resigned also. She did not reappoint them on the return of Lord Grey, but chose others out of parliament, and, as she said, unconnected with politics.

The bill now went on its way rapidly. No amendments of any moment were carried; and the only speech of importance was one by Lord Durham, in defence of his own favourite provision, by which the metropolitan boroughs were enabled to return members to parliament. On Friday, June 1st, the labours of the committee ended. "On Monday, the 4th," writes Mr. Raikes, "the third reading of the Reform Bill passed in the Lords, with a majority of eighty-four; only twenty of the opposition peers remaining to vote. Thus the question is put at rest, and the bill, unamended, is the law of the land. A new era may be dated from this day for England; and who can tell the changes which may ensue? The House of Peers, as a deliberative body, is trampled under foot; it can never again be a check to popular innovation, as the same threat of a fresh creation may be used by a reckless minister to carry any other point in opposition to their opinion and feelings." We cannot excuse these lamentations and prophecies of evil; the more especially as they were all falsified by subsequent events. No reckless minister has degraded the lords; no obnoxious laws have been carried by means of political unions. Events have put the alarmists to shame.

The Duke of Wellington wrote, June 23rd, 1832—"The government of England is destroyed. A parliament will be returned, by means of which no set of men whatever will be able to conduct the administration of affairs, and to protect the lives and properties of the king's subjects." Lord Eldon says—"It seems now to be obvious that the political unions have found themselves strong enough to teach Lord Grey that his reliance on the good sense of the people is downright nonsense. They avow that they will force universal suffrage; vote by ballot; pledges from candidates to promote all their objects, rendering the

members pure delegates; and that nobility, or at least hereditary nobility, shall no longer exist." "The doctrine of 'no king' is reviving here," on another occasion writes Lord Eldon; "to which is added what Queen Charlotte, in George III.'s time, escaped—'no queen.' The unions all over the country are issuing their proclamations for further revolutionary measures." The Duke of Wellington more than once declared, that if the Reform Bill were carried, he should leave the House of Lords altogether; yet he lived, not only to alter his decision, but actually to be a ministerial leader in less excited times.

The division on the third reading was—contents, 106; non-contents, 22: majority, 84. The bill was at once sent down to the Commons. On the 5th, Lord John Russell explained the nature of the small and insignificant changes made by the Lords, and moved that they should be acquiesced in. This having been done, the bill was returned to the Lords, and the royal consent was given by commission, to the great delight of the Tories; and, as Mr. Raikes takes care to mention, to the great annoyance of ministers, who wished to induce the king to do it in person.

The commissioners were the Lord Chancellor, Marquis Wellesley, Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Grey, and Lords Holland and Durham. This absence, on the part of the king, was the result of his anger at the treatment he had received from the people, and more especially the press, upon the resignation of the administration. He declared that nothing on earth should induce him to go in person to give his assent to the bill, in deference to what is called the sense of the people, or in deference to the dictates of the press, their ruler, after the treatment he had received from both; that he had endeavoured to discharge his duty to the best of his judgment, and according to the dictates of his conscience; that he had been misrepresented, calumniated, and insulted; that the insults had not been confined to him, but they had been heaped upon the queen, and all belonging to him; and that the law had been declared not strong enough to protect him and them against such insult. He declared he would not cringe or bow; and, despising the applause of the mob, he would not, to regain his popularity, degrade himself by courting applause which he had learned to despise. "His ministers," says Mr. Roebuck, "earnestly entreated him to give his assent in person; hinting that, by doing so, he would at once dispel the ill-feeling which previous events had produced." But he resolutely resisted every entreaty, and fiercely expressed his anger at what he was pleased to term the mob, and vowed he would not truckle to those who had so grossly insulted him. "The question was," he said, "one of feeling, not of duty; and, as a sovereign and a gentleman, he was bound to refuse."

In due time, the Scotch and Irish reform bills passed, and became law. In the conduct of the latter, unfortunately, Mr. Stanley managed to make Mr. O'Connell an enemy, and thus to neutralise all the good effects of the intended measure. It was his duty to have attempted to conciliate the great Irish leader; to have given him no plausible excuse for agitation; and to have compelled him to confess, that, in manner at least, everything was done which his unfortunate countrymen could desire. "Unfortunately, Lord Stanley," writes Mr. Roebuck, "though a vigorous and fiery debater, is without some qualities which are essentially necessary in all who deserve the appellation of statesman; and more especially needed in one who has to govern an excitable, long-oppressed people—a people for whom law has always been tyranny, and religion an ever-active curse. A statesman should be an inquirer, not a disputant; with his mind always open to receive new ideas and fresh information. He should ever be ready to reconsider his own views and opinions. But Lord Stanley contemns what he does not understand; and, as his knowledge is small, his contempt is almost boundless. His manner is unintentionally arrogant and offensive. He deals with other men's prejudices as if he could have none himself, and would, at any time, recklessly insult a whole people for the small pleasure of making a vigorous sally in a speech, or risk a kingdom's safety, if, by doing so, he could wound an opponent in debate." The picture is not a flattering one. Age and experience have toned

down Lord Derby in the upper house; though he still is remembered as the Rupert of debate. But to return to Ireland. If she had to complain of her Secretary, she had quite as much reason to complain of her leader, who was bound, by the necessities of his position, to reject the olive-branch when held out, and to keep his countrymen in hot water. This was felt by Irishmen themselves. At this very time Tom Moore writes—"Agreed with me in opinion that O'Connell had done more harm to the cause of liberty in Ireland, than its real friends could repair within the next half century; and mentioned what Grattan had said of him, that he was a bad subject, and a worse rebel. Told me not a bad anecdote of Lord Cloncurry, who, in coming to town the other day, was upset in the snow; and some fellows lending their assistance, he was quickly set right again: on which he said to them—'Thank you, my lads. Now I shall treat you as O'Connell does.' 'Oh, long life to your honour for that!' they exclaimed with great joy; but were rather taken aback when Lord Cloncurry, holding out his empty hand to them, said—'I'll trouble you each for half-a-crown. O'Connell takes more from you; but, as you have been such good fellows, I'll only ask you half-a-crown.'" The fellows felt the fun of this, and, of course, got something else into the bargain. Mr. O'Connell unfortunately, out of the House of Commons, and more especially when addressing his own countrymen, was reckless in his language, and unpleasantly personal—Mr. Stanley being a very constant subject of attack. These sarcasms told upon the temper of the Irish Secretary, who gave evidence of his annoyance by constant and contemptuous allusions to them, and thus each became more embittered against the other, and all hope of good legislation was destroyed. However, the Irish Reform Bill received the royal assent, by commission, on the 7th of August.

In Scotland reform was needed more than anywhere. The opposition to the measure was by no means so protracted or severe. The number of voters did not amount to 5,000. Scotland was, in fact, one close borough. A ludicrous instance of a Scotch popular election was given by the Lord Advocate to illustrate the system. He said—"I will mention the case of one election for that county (Argyle), which took place long within the memory of man. When the day of election came, there was no person to attend but one; and he was the sheriff, or returning officer. This respectable person, being also a freeholder, first read the writ to the meeting as sheriff; he then constituted the meeting by calling over the roll; duly answered to his own name, and faithfully took down the *sederunt*. After this he put the vote for the election of præses and clerk, and reported himself duly elected as præses. As such præses he read over the minutes of the last meeting, and confirmed them; finally, he put the candidate in nomination, and seconded his own proposal. He then gravely took the vote by calling over the roll a second time; and, having given his vote for his nominee, reported to himself that the candidate was unanimously elected, and forthwith made the return in his favour." This system was, however, defended by Sir Robert Peel, on the plea that it became an antagonistic force to the influence of English democracy. An attempt was made to increase the number of representatives, and to introduce into the bill a property qualification. Neither attempt succeeded; and, on the 27th of June, the bill was read a third time, and passed the Commons. In the House of Lords, the measure met with little real opposition, though much heat upon the matter was manifested by certain of the Scotch peers. The Lord Chancellor, who had charge of the bill, and moved the second reading of it, gave an amusing and very vivid description of the mockery of a representation which was about to be swept away. But nothing of moment occurred, and the measure was agreed to by the Lords on the 13th of July.

And thus passed the Reform Bill. To the very last Sir Robert Peel was determined to foretel evil. In the debate on the estimates, in July, he said—"Political excitement may abate in England as well as in Ireland; but I tell the noble lord fairly, that I do not think the changes which have been made in the

constitution of this House will be calculated to produce an increase in the revenue. On the contrary, I think that the result of these changes will be, that apprehensions will prevail for the security of property—apprehensions which are likely considerably to affect the revenue and the productive powers of the country; and that the political excitement will continue as rife, and the political unions as flourishing as ever." "Croker," writes Mr. Raikes, "has lost his place by the change of government, and his seat in parliament by the Reform Bill. He has, therefore, ample personal reason to be dissatisfied with the present order of things; but no words can describe the desponding, hopeless view which he takes of all public matters. National ruin and bankruptcy, with him, are inevitable."

But wiser and better men were joyful that the Reform Bill had passed; and the nation participated in that joy. It was believed that the infamous trade of boroughmongering had been done away with, and that the corruptions which age had engendered would be removed from the body politic; that the national voice would be heard, and the national will respected. The people celebrated, all over the land, the triumph of the bill. There were dinners, and processions, and illuminations, and banners and songs. The dark reign of Toryism was over; the land was free. Taxation would be reduced; trade and commerce would revive; and knowledge, rich with the spoils of time, would come to all. We have seen and reaped the results of this wonderful and blessed change; but it was not effected so speedily as men thought it would be. It was a reform, the benefits of which extended to all. It did—

> "Ring out old shapes of foul disease."

It did—

> "Ring in the common love of good."

But its actual operation was slow; and the poor pined impatiently; and the enthusiast was angry that the evils of ages did not vanish at once: he did worse, he took refuge in indifference; and the ignorant began to think that in Chartism and physical force they should find the remedies they sought. All such erred greatly. In the drama of history the action is not rapid. Progress is made; but all great and lasting works are the results of time. Those who work for humanity must not expect an immediate reward. Old obstructives had to go down to their graves, weeping, and wailing, and gnashing their teeth. Old errors and prejudices had to be buried with them. A new generation had to arise. 1862 had to come before we could appreciate all the blessings of the reform of 1832. The nation did not understand this then, and the Whig administration soon became unpopular. There was another reason for this unpopularity. The leading ministers were not prepared to go to the extent their supporters desired. Immediately on the passing of the bill, the old parliament died, and a new election took place. In it there was an overwhelming majority in their favour, and the ministry were terrified by it. They fancied that there was about to arise a most formidable Radical party, the grand purport of whose endeavours would be to subvert the monarchy, and all that was respectable in the state and society; and to establish a democratic republic, from which nobility, and all distinctions of rank and property, were to be rigorously excluded. This notion was held pertinaciously by the king; and no day passed without eager declarations by him of anxiety, not to say terror, as to the fatal consequences about to result from the unwise concessions made to popular power by the Reform Bill. His majesty dared not dismiss his ministers; but he waited for the first opportunity—which was not long in occurring. Indeed, the latter, fancying that they had acquired an unlimited lease of political power, were tripped up sooner than they anticipated.

The Reform Bill is described by Mr. Roebuck, in a few words, as "confused, cumbrous, unequal, and inefficient." It adopted a narrow suffrage; it effected a most unequal representation; and it continued the predominance of the landed

interest. Manchester, for example, not only in the number of its voters, but in their wealth also, was, and is, superior to some fifty small boroughs united; but the fifty small boroughs are all exponents of the feelings of those who are landed proprietors, and are permitted to return to parliament one hundred members, while Manchester sends but two. Another evil resulting from the smaller boroughs was the gross corruption created. We cannot, indeed, affirm that the large constituencies are free from the taint of bribery and corruption; but we may assert that no small constituency can long remain so. The larger the numbers, the more difficult is the business of corruption; detection is more easy; and the motive, therefore, to commit the offence becomes weaker. The system so long practised at St. Alban's with impunity, would be found impossible in Manchester or Sheffield. As long as the small constituencies are preserved, it is clear we shall look in vain for anything like purity of election. But the faults of the bill must not make us blind to its advantages. It did not annihilate the Tories, as the Whigs believed it would. It gave no lasting supremacy to themselves, nor created a Republican party. The struggle in the House of Commons has been, since the Reform Act, not between those who have property and those who have none, but between the possessors of landed property on one side, and the possessors of manufacturing capital on the other; and it is by the successes of the latter that the public have chiefly reaped the benefits of the legislation of 1832. The Whigs soon found out their mistake, and began to think of popular measures; and the Tories were not long in following them. But in 1832 they were stunned; and, in the election of that year, unable to make head against popular enthusiasm.

As usual, Ireland was the difficulty in the path of both Whig and Tory for some time to come. The Tithe Bill of Mr. Stanley had diminished the influence of the ministry, and increased that of Mr. O'Connell. Great difference of opinion existed in the cabinet on the mode of governing Ireland. The Lord Chancellor was anxious not only to send Lord Wellesley, as Lord-Lieutenant, to supersede Anglesea, but also to introduce measures for the government of Ireland not agreeable to Mr. Stanley. Not being able to persuade Lord Grey to adopt this course, the Chancellor (Mr. Roebuck is our authority for the statement) suddenly, in December, expressed his determination to resign. This resolution alarmed Lord Grey, who at once stated, that if the Chancellor retired, he should himself retire also, and consider himself (to use his own language) politically dead. "It is impossible," said he, "that you could retire without the administration being dissolved: upon this my determination would be as firm as yours. There is little chance of my being able to go on as it is; certainly none that I can do so for any long period: but, on such an event, I must abandon public life at once and for ever." "All that I entreat you," he at another time said, with mournful earnestness, "is, that we may go on together as long as we can; and when the moment comes when any decisive measure must be taken, I feel confident that there will be no separation between you and me. Such an event, indeed, would be, personally, so painful to me, and so decisive as to my public utility, that from that moment I should consider myself as politically dead." And he added—"If such a breach, therefore, should now take place, I must repeat, as my solemn and unalterable determination, that I could not continue in the administration a single hour." Of course, to such an appeal there could be but one reply, and the cabinet remained firm and friendly. The Reform Bill has passed; the reformers are in office; and the reform parliament meets on the 29th of January, 1833; and henceforth public opinion will, more or less, rule the land. The history of the reform struggle shows that it is omnipotent—that class interests must fall before it.

Lord Palmerston's admirers will be glad to find that his lordship was considered, at this time, indispensable to the new administration. The Marquis of Londonderry writes—"When the Earl of Durham was staying at Wynyard, he accounted for his falling out with Grey thus:—He pledged himself to Nesselrode that Stratford Canning's appointment should be cancelled. Palmerston supported his own nomi-

nation, and alleged to Grey his party aided in carrying reform, and he was bound to uphold Canning's nomination. Grey had to choose between D.'s resignation, or rather secession, or Palmerston; and feeling gratitude for the Canning's section support of the bill, he retained Palmerston, and abandoned Durham; since which time D. has been none of my child with any of the present administration." Lord Durham was the son-in-law of Earl Grey, and he was sacrificed by the latter. No greater compliment to Lord Palmerston's worth could have been paid.

The Grey ministry came into power surrounded by circumstances of domestic politics that might well be considered alarming. After the harvest of 1830, there had broken out, in the southern agricultural counties, what, without exaggeration, may be called a servile insurrection. The ignorance of the labouring population of these districts was appalling; and it showed itself in rick-burning and machine-breaking. In November, 1831, that dreaded disease, cholera morbus, for the first time reached our shores. Cases terminating fatally had been reported at Sunderland; and, on the 6th of November, the people were kneeling in the churches, to join in an authorised form of prayer—"Lord, turn away from us that grievous calamity, against which our only security is in thy compassion." The contagion continued to spread throughout the country, until, in the middle of February, 1832, cases of cholera were first observed in London. Very melancholy was society at that time. The disputes and animosities arising out of the Reform Bill seemed to be forgotten, and a general fear came down on all. Some thought that the establishment of a general board of health was a wise measure; others, that it would be useless, for this new plague must run its course. Many took the selfish view advocated by a periodical writer—to isolate themselves entirely from their neighbours; send away all superfluous servants; lay in a large store of provisions; and wait the visitation in gloomy security. Some of the ministers were not content with trusting to parliament to remove ignorance, and the causes of disease, but had recourse to the press, as the real schoolmaster and legislator. For this purpose the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was established, of which Lords Brougham, and Russell, and Althorp were the leading members, and which did much to create the demand for, and supply healthy literature. There was then, for them, hope in the future. The dark cloud had a silver lining. As a party, the Liberals might be defective; but Liberalism, with all its blessings, was advancing nevertheless.

The history of the Reform Bill has yet to be written. In our chapter on King William IV., we gave an extract from Mr. Roebuck, which has been republished many times subsequently, as to the dissolution in 1832. The account has passed unchallenged till March 26th, 1866, when the whole story is denied by Earl Grey, in a letter to the *Times*. His lordship says—"The first mention I find, in my father's correspondence with the king, in 1831, of the question of a dissolution of parliament, is contained in a letter from Lord Grey to Sir Herbert Taylor, of the 20th of March. In speaking of the probable effect of the defeat of the government in the House of Commons on the 18th, on the timber duties, this letter refers to a conversation Lord Grey had held, a short time previously, with the king at Brighton, in which Lord Grey had perceived his majesty's 'repugnance' to a dissolution of parliament, though 'no direct or positive objection was stated to such a measure.' In consequence of the feeling thus expressed by the king, Lord Grey desired, by this letter, to prepare his majesty for the probability of a proposal to dissolve parliament being submitted to him by his ministers. The next day, the 21st, Lord Grey wrote to Sir H. Taylor, and also very fully to the king himself, explaining the reasons which would probably make it necessary for the ministers to advise a dissolution; but saying that such a proposal should be deferred as long as possible. In the answers to these letters, the king's objections to a dissolution are very strongly expressed. Several more letters followed, in which the reasons why a dissolution would probably be necessary were explained by Lord Grey, and the king's objections to it were insisted upon by himself, and were said, by Sir

Herbert Taylor, to be likely to prove 'final and conclusive.' The discussion ended on the 24th of March, by Lord Grey's engaging, on behalf of the cabinet, not to advise his majesty to dissolve parliament until it should be found absolutely necessary, but claiming the right to give that advice whenever he should be convinced that the good of the country required it. His majesty acquiesced; and there is no further reference in the correspondence to the question of a dissolution until General Gascoigne made his motion in the House of Commons, on the 18th of April, for an instruction to the committee on the Reform Bill. The ministers considered that the carrying of this motion would be fatal to the bill; and, on the 19th, after the first night's debate upon it, Lord Grey wrote to Sir Herbert Taylor, saying that, if the government should be defeated (which he did not then expect), it would probably be necessary to recommend a dissolution; and that he wished him to prepare the king's mind for its being proposed to him. He wrote another letter, at the same time, to the king himself, alluding more obscurely to the same probability. The king, having read the letter to Sir Herbert Taylor, as well as that addressed to himself, returned an answer expressing very strongly his continued objection to a dissolution. On the night of the 19th, General Gascoigne's motion was carried against the government; and early the next day this fact was communicated to the king by Lord Grey, in a short letter, in which he said the cabinet was about to meet. The cabinet met accordingly, and agreed to a minute advising a dissolution, which was personally delivered to the king the same day (Wednesday, April 20th) by Lord Grey, before the *levée*. In the course of the afternoon the king sent a short letter to Lord Grey, saying that he would reserve the subject for more mature consideration, and give his answer in writing. To this Lord Grey replied the same evening, expressing the wish of the cabinet not to press for an earlier decision than was consistent with the king's convenience, and the necessity for mature consideration. Early the next morning (the 21st), a very long answer to the cabinet minute was received from the king, recapitulating all his objections to a dissolution, and then explaining his reasons for acting on the advice of his ministers. Lord Grey, in reply, expressed the great satisfaction this letter had given him, and said he would communicate it to his colleagues, who were to assemble at twelve o'clock. A note, from Sir Herbert Taylor, desired Lord Grey to be himself the bearer of the answer of the cabinet to the king's communication; and he accordingly went to St. James's as soon as the cabinet was over, and informed the king, verbally, of the conclusion it had come to. The substance of this communication was afterwards, at the king's desire, embodied in the form of a cabinet minute, dated the 21st, though not written till the 24th. This minute contains little more than an expression of the gratitude of the ministers to his majesty for the confidence placed in them, and a further explanation of the grounds on which they had thought it right to recommend the dissolution of parliament. It does not appear, from the correspondence, how soon it was at this time proposed that the dissolution should take place; but I can state, from my own distinct recollection, that it was intended to be deferred for a day or two, in order to get some votes of money which were much required; and especially to have the report brought up on the ordnance estimates, in which several votes had been obtained in committee of supply, but were not available till reported. But on the evening of the 21st, when the report on the ordnance estimates was to have been brought up, a debate was raised upon a resolution respecting the Liverpool election, in which the conduct of the government was vehemently attacked, especially with reference to the dissolution, which it was known was intended; and it soon became evident that the opposition was determined to take up the whole night by this debate. The object of doing so was to prevent the report of the committee of supply from being received, and thus to render it impossible (as it was supposed) for the dissolution to take place before the House of Lords should have had time to carry the address against it, which Lord Wharncliffe had given notice that he would move the following day. The debate in the House of Commons was pro-

longed accordingly, and, at last, ended by the adjournment of the House being carried on a division against the government, to which Lord Brougham alluded the next day as 'a refusal of the supplies.' There was a dinner that evening at Lord Durham's, in Cleveland Row, at which some members of the cabinet were present, and no one not in the cabinet, except Lord Duncannon, Mr. Wood (Lord Halifax), and myself. Lord Althorp was to have been of the party; but when the unexpected debate arose in the House of Commons, he found it impossible to get away; and he desired Mr. Wood and myself to go, saying it was of no use our remaining; and to tell Lord Grey, from him, that from what was going on in the House of Commons, it was obvious that no more votes of money could be got, and that the dissolution ought to take place at once. We carried this message to Cleveland Row, where we found dinner going on; and, as soon as it was over, a consultation was held among the members of the cabinet present; and I believe (though of this I am not sure) that as many of the other ministers as could be hastily assembled were sent for. The subject of their consultation was, whether parliament ought not to be dissolved the next day in consequence of what was then going on in the House of Commons, and of what had taken place earlier in the evening in the House of Lords. More than one communication passed between the ministers who were in Cleveland Row, and Lord Althorp in the House of Commons, and also with Mr. Spring Rice (the late Lord Monteagle), who was engaged at the Treasury in ascertaining whether it was possible to carry on the government till a new parliament could meet, without having command of the money for which votes had been obtained, but not reported. Lord Duncannon, Mr. Wood, and myself, did not leave the room; but, of course, took no part in the consultation of the ministers, except by whispering some suggestions to the Duke of Richmond, who was sitting near us. The result was, that a letter was written by Lord Grey to the king, of which no copy has been preserved; but it appears, from the king's answer, that its purport must have been to ask his majesty to grant an audience to Lord Grey the next day, and to appoint a council to determine formally on the dissolution; obviously implying that it had been decided that it should take place at once. The king's answer, dated the 21st, says that he had that moment received Lord Grey's letter from Cleveland Row; that he would see Lord Grey next morning, at half-past eleven; and that the council was to be summoned for twelve—the members of the government coming in morning dress. The king went to the House of Lords at three on the 22nd, and prorogued parliament, 'with a view to its immediate dissolution.'"

A correspondent of the *Times* corroborates this letter, by stating, from his own knowledge, as an official, that, "before the division in the House of Commons had taken place, the advice to dissolve the next day had already been given and accepted; summonses had been issued for the meeting of the Privy Council; and all the necessary orders given."

At the end of the first session of the reformed parliament, the old Tories began to revive. The deluge had come, and they were not drowned after all. The government, it was clear, had not increased its popularity. In the autumn of 1832, a penny subscription had produced, for Lords Brougham, Althorp, and John Russell, gold cups, weighing eighty-five ounces, and made to contain five pints. Nothing of the kind was forthcoming in 1833. Great honour, too, had been done reformers in the gross by Haydon's famous picture, representing the reformed House of Commons, painted as regardless of expense as space; and now anti-reformers were being honoured, and Chantrey had been set to work on a marble bust of his grace the Duke of Wellington, for the University of Oxford. Nothing, however, could open the eyes of the Tories to the real necessity of the Reform Bill. To the very last they regarded it as a mere party manœuvre, and not as the result of national needs. Even in 1836, Mr. Raikes writes—"When the duke's government resigned on the civil list question, Lord Grey became Prime Minister. He was then only an advocate for moderate reform; or, as Talleyrand said of him,

only anxious to act consistently with what he said in parliament forty years ago. But here, again, he was overruled by ——— and ———, who worked him up to that sweeping bill which prevented him, and will prevent any other government, from ruling the country again. The Whigs had been so long excluded from office, and their constant defeats in the House of Commons, on every party question, had so exasperated them against the Tories, that when once they got into place, they determined to bring on a new order of things, which, if it did not maintain them in power, should at least for ever exclude their adversaries. Night after night I can remember the runners of the party coming up to Brookes' club from the House after a division, and exulting in a few votes gained to their never-ceasing minority; while their idol Thanet, who was playing his rubber at whist, would give them a sarcastic smile, and quietly say, 'I have been with them forty years, and never have seen them get a peg higher.' Had George IV. lived, or had the Duke of York succeeded him, we should never have seen the present changes in our constitution." Here is the old fallacy again—Canute can stop the rising tide. Earl Grey had the sense to know better.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE IRISH DIFFICULTY.

THOUGHTFUL observers early foresaw troubles coming on the Liberal administration. John Foster, the essayist, writing to Mr. Easthope, M.P., in 1832, says—"They will soon lose the favour of the people, and so be left bare to the unrelenting siege of their mortal enemies, if they do not dare and accomplish some grand exploits of almost revolutionary change. Think of *Ireland*." Alas! it is seldom that unhappy land has been out of a statesman's thoughts. As we have seen, it has already imperilled the existence of the ministry; and the selection of Mr. Stanley as Irish Secretary was a most unfortunate event.

The repeal of Catholic disabilities had not pacified Ireland.

The new Reform Bill was equally unsatisfactory. The Irish reformers complained, not only that, in direct violation of the promise made by Lord John Russell, the bill for Ireland was based upon principles totally different from the former as regarded the franchise, but that the mode of registration was essentially different.

The English Reform Act conferred the county parliamentary franchise on nine different classes of persons. 1. The owners and actual occupiers of a freehold estate of the annual value of forty shillings, for a life or lives. 2. The owners of a freehold of forty shillings annual value, held in perpetuity. 3. The owners of a freehold of £10 annual value, for a life or lives in fee. 4. The owners of a copyhold estate of the annual value of £10. 5. The original lessee or assignee of a term originally of sixty years, of the yearly value of £10. 6. The original lessee or assignee of a term originally of at least twenty years, of the clear annual value of £20. 7. The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease, of a term not less originally than sixty years, of the clear yearly value of £10. 8. The sub-lessee or assignee of a sub-lease, not less originally than twenty years, of the clear yearly value of £50. 9. Every tenant whatsoever who was *bonâ fide* liable to the payment of an annual rent, whether he derived any profit from his holding or not.

The Irish Reform Act conferred the franchise on only five classes: viz.—1. The owner of a freehold of the clear yearly value of £10, provided he was in actual occupation. 2. The lessee or assignee of a term not less originally than twenty years, having what the act termed a beneficial interest therein of the clear annual value

of £10, and provided he was in the actual occupation. 3. The owner of a freehold of the clear annual value of £20. 4. The lessee or assignee of a term not less originally than sixty years, and having a beneficial interest therein of the clear annual value of £10. 5. The lessee or assignee of a term not less originally than fourteen years, and having a beneficial interest therein of the clear annual value of £20. As regarded the registry, also, there was a difference in favour of the English. The same inequality existed in respect to the elective franchise in cities and boroughs. In vain did the Irish reform members remonstrate. Ministers were inflexible. The debates, too, on the subject were conducted with incredible acrimony, and often degenerated into a mere personal conflict between Mr. Stanley and Mr. O'Connell. Against the state of registration law the Irish people continued to protest for many years; and, in 1850, their remonstrance at length produced a remedy. For this change in the law the *Edinburgh Review* praises Lord Clarendon. The writer's words are—"The great measure of 1831 was not a more important enlargement of popular rights than the act we now speak of. The two monstrous evils of the former state of the law—the dependence of franchise upon tenure, and a vexatious process of registration—which made the attainment of the right of suffrage as troublesome as a law-suit, no longer disgraced the Irish representative system. The system established by the law of 1831, broke down under these two fatal defects."

A third source of dissatisfaction was the payment of tithes. The church of England, in Ireland, is the church of the minority. It is to the Irishman a badge of conquest, and he clings all the more fondly to the church of his forefathers—to the old faith which has covered Europe with the mansions of charity. At the period of which we write the payment of tithes was almost suspended; and scenes of the most sanguinary description were every day enacted in the struggles which took place between those who were legally bound to pay, on the one hand, and the persons employed to enforce the legal rights of those who were entitled to receive, on the other. As soon as the reformed parliament met, a committee was appointed by each House, to "inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland, and the state of the law relating thereto." After a very short inquiry, a report to the same effect was made by each of the committee, and was confined to what was most worthy of immediate attention—a provision for the clergy who had not, for more than a year, received any tithes whatever. To meet this pressing necessity, the committee recommended that his majesty should be empowered to advance to the incumbent from whom tithes, or the composition in lieu of tithes, had been illegally withheld, sums not exceeding the amount of the arrears due for the tithes for the year 1831, proportioned to the incomes of each, according to a scale, diminishing as their incomes increase; and that his majesty should be empowered to levy, by a law to be passed for the purpose, the amount of such arrears, and apply the money so to be received to reimburse the public, and to pay over the remainder to the legal claimant. The report further stated, that, with a view to secure the interests of the church, and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of the tithe system was required; and that such change, to be safe and satisfactory, should involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those payable to lay proprietors, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for, or investment in, land, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the church, so far as related to tithes; and, at the same time, to remove all pecuniary collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of land. We may observe that, ultimately, an act of a somewhat similar character had been passed. How much legislation was needed, is evident when we find such a piece of news as the following, taken from the *Galway Advertiser* of 1822:—"At the quarter sessions of government, one tithe proctor processed 1,100 persons for tithes. They were all, or most of them, of the lower order of farmers or peasants. The expense of each process was eight shillings!!"

In March, 1832, parliament proceeded to legislate in accordance with the

recommendations of the report. A bill was brought in, by which his majesty was empowered to advance £60,000 to the Irish tithe-owners, and to institute proceedings, through the Attorney-general for Ireland, to recover the arrears due for 1831. The money was advanced; the Attorney-general prosecuted, and recovered, at an expense of £26,000, only £12,000 out of arrears estimated at £104,000. Many of the peasantry, who were either unable or unwilling to pay, were committed to prison; and as the demands for which they were arrested had become debts due to the crown, they were precluded from obtaining the benefit of the Insolvent Act, and consequently remained in gaol for a length of time—their farms untilled, and their families reduced to pauperism. They were denominated "tithe martyrs."

The debate, angry and fierce, which heralded and accompanied this bill was a memorable one. As early as 1824, Mr. Hume had brought forward, in the House of Commons, a resolution that it was expedient to institute an inquiry into the revenues of the church of Ireland, with a view to their reduction; and was supported, on that occasion, by Lord John Russell, Mr. Brougham, and several other leading members of the Whig party: and now that they were in power, the Irish members very naturally asked them to give effect to the opinions which, eight years before, they had expressed. They contended that, if the church establishment in Ireland were cut down to a size more in accordance with the scanty numbers of its members, there would not be any occasion for the government to resort to a coercive policy. And, as if this demand were not sufficiently embarrassing to the government, the members of the Conservative party in the House of Commons, led by Sir Robert Inglis, insisted that no portion of the tithes could be withdrawn, even by the authority of parliament, from the Irish church. Actually he asserted, that although the title of the established church in Ireland was derived solely from acts of parliament, yet that the legislature did not possess the right to interfere with the application of it.

The next step taken by government was to make the act of 1823 permanent and compulsory; and, for that purpose, to empower the Lord-Lieutenant to appoint a commissioner to ascertain the annual value of the tithes, and fix their amount for the future, subject to a revision every seven years. It was also proposed to exempt from any personal liability to tithes, any occupier of land who held for a period less than ten years, and to render his immediate landlord liable, giving him a power to add the amount of the tithes to the rent payable to him; and so to construe the act as eventually to cast the liability to the payment of tithes altogether upon the owner of the inheritance, or such persons as might hold in perpetuity. The act passed, in spite of all the warnings as to its character—warnings which, of course, Mr. Stanley contemptuously rejected; and the consequence was, that many thousands of suits were instituted in Ireland within the next ensuing three years, for the double purpose of ascertaining who was liable to the payment of the composition, and enforcing the discharge of such liability. Nor is this all. In the attempt to do this, the people came into collision with the military, and many lives were lost in consequence.

When the new parliament met, in 1833, it was evident that their majority would not be made up by Irish M.P.'s. O'Connell succeeded in securing the return of at least forty members, pledged to support him, not merely in his advocacy of repeal, but on every other question respecting which a controversy should arise between him and the Whigs or Conservatives. Notwithstanding, however, it was manifest, by the speech from the throne, as well as by other symptoms, that ministers had resolved to be very firm with Ireland: and in this they were rather aided by the Conservatives, who were not sorry to see the Whigs making themselves unpopular.

On the 12th of February, 1833, Lord Althorp, as ministerial leader, applied for leave to bring in a bill "to alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the Irish church." But although his lordship's motion was not opposed, the bill was not brought in, or read a first time, until the 11th of March. The

motion was, in fact, brought forward prematurely, in order to afford the government an opportunity to state the leading provisions of one of the measures which they intended to propose for some of the grievances of which the Irish people had reason to complain, as regarded the established church. Their conduct had, indeed, very much the appearance of a political trick. During the subsequent stages of the bill, they managed, at the instance of what was supposed to be the church party (the church has often had reason to exclaim, "Save me from my friends!"), to divest it of almost all the provisions which had a tendency to conciliate the people of Ireland, having taken good care to carry first their celebrated Coercion Bill. This was introduced into the House of Lords on the 15th of February, and actually passed that House without occasioning a single division. It was dealt with, however, in the House of Commons in a very different manner, by a minority composed principally of the members returned under the influence of Mr. O'Connell, occasionally augmented by some of the English and Scotch members who usually supported ministers. The bill passed in March; but, until it did so, nearly all the other public business of the House was suspended.

Immediately after the passing of the act, the Lord-Lieutenant issued two proclamations under it. By one he declared illegal a society which had been established by Mr. O'Connell, to aid him in his agitation respecting the repeal of the union; and by the other, he proclaimed the city and county of Kilkenny, in which the opposition to the payment of tithes, or the composition established in lieu of tithes, continued to be carried on with greater violence than in any other part of Ireland.

In March, the Irish Church Temporalities Act came on for discussion in the House.

At this time, the total population of Ireland was ascertained to be 7,954,760.

Roman Catholics	6,436,060
Established Church and Methodists	853,160
Presbyterians	643,658
Other dissenters	21,882
	7,954,760

It was also ascertained, that of the 1,387 benefices in that country, there were forty-one which did not contain any Protestants; twenty, where there were less, or not more than five; in twenty-three, there were less than ten; in thirty-one, less than fifteen; in twenty-three, less than twenty; and in twenty-seven, the number was not above twenty-five. In each of 425 benefices the number of Protestants was less than a hundred. There were 150 benefices in which there was not any resident incumbent, nor was there any celebration of divine service, according to the established church. The gross annual revenue of the established church in Ireland, according to an average of the three years ending the 31st December, 1831, was estimated as follows:—

Four archbishops and eighteen bishops	£151,128
Deans and chapters	1,043
Economy estates of cathedrals	11,056
Subordinate ecclesiastical corporations	10,526
Dignitaries and prebends, with care of souls	34,482
Glebe lands	92,010
Tithes	555,000
Ministers' money	10,300
	£865,545

But the actual receipts did not exceed £750,000. Superabundant as the revenues of the established church were for the purpose of securing the enjoyment of religious instruction by its members, there was, however, an additional tax levied upon the occupants of all the houses and lands in Ireland, for the purpose of paying the lay officers of the church their yearly stipends, and supplying the elements of communion, as well as Bibles and Prayer-books, and keeping the churches in repair. This cess was levied and applied by vestries from which all Roman Catholics were excluded, but to which the members of all other sects, even Jews, were admitted. It thus appears that the Roman Catholic population were further taxed to the extent of at least £80,000 a year. The debates on the bill were, as we have intimated, severe. It was found that, by a fresh arrangement of leases, church property could be increased in value to the extent of three millions; and an effort was made to devote this to secular purposes. The church party, however, opposed this. Later in the session, a resolution was carried, enabling the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lend a million of money for arrears of tithes; and thus ended the legislative proceedings respecting Irish tithes and church property during the year 1833. But the Irish courts of law and equity continued, for several years, to be the scenes of angry litigation between the lay and clerical tithe proprietors on the one hand, and the persons who were, or were supposed to be, liable to the payment of tithes, on the other. Nor was this all. As the decision of each particular case was left to be decided, as in Ireland most questions are, not by the evidence, or the principles of law, but according to the political or religious opinions of the tribunal before which it is tried, this most disgraceful mode of dealing with legal rights and liabilities in respect of tithes, continued until the provisions of the statute in question ceased to operate, by the conversion of tithes and tithe composition into a rent-charge.

No sooner had these measures been passed, than Mr. Stanley was removed from the office of Secretary for Ireland—a post which he never should have filled, and in which he did incalculable mischief—to that of Secretary of State for the Colonies. In September, the Marquis of Anglesea was removed from the office of Lord-Lieutenant, not, however, to be placed in any other office; which wounded his pride deeply, and which he attributed to a desire on the part of government to conciliate O'Connell. Such, however, was not the fact. Lord Wellesley's conduct gave no more satisfaction than did that of his predecessor; for, beyond strongly recommending a change in the mode of distributing the official patronage of Ireland, and refraining from exciting popular discontent by active measures, he did nothing to promote a change for the better in the condition of the country. Yet his lordship was a man of considerable abilities, highly cultivated, and had ample experience of Ireland, of which country he had been Lord-Lieutenant from 1821 to 1828.

In 1834, in parliament considerable discussion took place with respect to Ireland. Mr. O'Connell, fearing he should be superseded by Mr. Feargus O'Connor, the M.P. for Cork, moved the omission from the king's speech, of the clause relating to, and opposing firmly, the repeal of the union. The motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 189 to 23. In April, but apparently with great reluctance, he brought forward a motion for the appointment of a select committee, to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the parliament of Ireland was effected; on the effects of that measure upon Ireland, and the labourers in husbandry, and the operatives in manufactories in England; and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between both countries. His speech was a failure. Those portions of it which consisted of a narrative of the sufferings of Ireland, and the iniquities of the British statesmen by whom they were inflicted, were passed over by his adversaries, and more especially by Sir Robert Peel, who took care, however, to bring under the consideration of the House the questions which Mr. O'Connell in a great measure evaded. The debate was protracted through several sittings, and terminated by the House adopting, by a

majority of 523 to 38, an amendment proposed by Mr. Spring Rice, to the effect that an address should be presented to his majesty, expressive of the fixed and steady determination of the House to maintain inviolate the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland—a determination justified not only upon general grounds, but for reasons of special application to Ireland—and that while the House should endeavour to remove all just causes of complaints alleged by the people of Ireland, it would, at the same time, promote all well-considered measures of national liberty. Still further, the Lords were invited to join in this address, which they did ; and an answer was returned by his majesty accordingly, expressive of his concurrence in the determination of parliament to maintain inviolable the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. Yet, in spite of this, Mr. O'Connell continued to agitate for a repeal of the union for fifteen years ; and it was to this agitation that the Whigs were subsequently indebted for the possession of office, with one exception of four months, until 1841. This extraordinary phasis in the political world was partly the result of a celebrated motion made in May, by Mr. G. Ward, then member for St. Alban's, and subsequently for Sheffield, which he held till he took a Whig appointment, and became Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands.

Mr. Ward's motion was to the effect, that the Protestant establishment in Ireland exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population; that it was the right of the state to regulate the distribution of church property in such manner as parliament might determine; and that the temporal possessions of the church of Ireland, as then established by law, ought to be reduced. Mr. Ward's task, as regarded argument, was not difficult; and his speech was a most effective one. He insisted that vital and extensive changes in the Irish church had become inevitable; that the tithe system was the source of all the disorganisation that prevailed in Ireland; that resistance to it had become universal; that commutation would be productive of no benefit; and that nothing less than a new appropriation of church property would produce even a momentary calm. The great grievance consisted in the levying of tithes on a Catholic population for the support of a Protestant church; and this could not be cured by any change merely in the manner of collecting the impost: the system, too, of advances and repayments had been tried, only to fail. The crown assumed the character of a creditor, but found debtors no less impracticable than when the demand was made by a clergyman. Mr. Ward then referred to the cost incurred in maintaining an armed force to keep Ireland quiet, and to uphold the establishment; and then entered into a calculation to show for how little the real work of the wealthy Irish church was done. The motion was seconded by Mr. Grote; upon which Lord Althorp rose, and to the astonishment of the House, moved its adjournment, stating that he did so in consequence of circumstances which had come to his knowledge since he had entered. They were, however, he said of such a nature that he could not state them then, but trusted that the House would believe that he would not make such a proposition without being convinced of its propriety. The House assented, and the adjournment took place till the 2nd of June. It immediately transpired, that the circumstances to which his lordship alluded, were the sudden resignations of Sir James Graham and Mr. Stanley, followed by those of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon. The cause of this step being taken by them was their inability to concur with their colleagues in the way in which Mr. Ward's motion should be met, as they could not consent to any portion of the property of the Irish church being devoted to secular purposes.

Immediately that these facts were known, an address was got up, and signed by a number of the members of the House of Commons, requesting Lord Grey to retain office, and expressing their confidence in him as the only minister in whom the country could safely confide. In reply, his lordship expressed his willingness to make every personal sacrifice that might be required of him in the support of the administration; but said he was forced to admit that great embarrassment and

mischief were produced by what he called "a reckless desire of innovation." The offices vacated by the resignation of the four seceding ministers, were filled up by the Marquis of Conyngham, the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Auckland, and Mr. Spring Rice.

However, the embarrassments of ministers were not got over. On the 28th of May, his majesty held a *levée*, at which the Irish bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Armagh, presented him an address against hasty innovations on the church, and signed by upwards of 1,400 clergymen, including seventeen out of twenty Irish prelates. On this measure his majesty is said to have departed from the usual custom—that of reading a written answer prepared by the minister; and to have said—"I now remember you have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the church. I have been, by the circumstances of my life, and by conviction, led to support toleration to the utmost extent of which it is justly capable; but toleration must not be suffered to go into licentiousness; it has bounds, which it is my duty, and which I am resolved, to maintain. I am, from the deepest conviction, attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this church, of which I am the temporal head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving through the land. I cannot forget what was the course of events which placed my family on the throne which I fill. Those events were consummated in a revolution, which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not, as has been sometimes most erroneously stated, merely for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the defence of that religion that the settlement of the crown was made; and that religion, and the church of England and Ireland, the prelates of which are now before me, it is my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain." A wiser man (the late Dr. Arnold), at this time, said—"The church, as it now stands in Ireland, no human power can save." His majesty, however, not content with the encouragement he had already given to those anxious to make Ireland peaceful and contented, is reported further to have said—"I trust that it will not be supposed that I am speaking to you a speech which I have got by heart: no, I am declaring to you my real and genuine sentiments. I have spoken more strongly than usual, because of the unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves upon the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the church, make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that church, to speak out. The words which you hear from me are indeed spoken by my mouth; but they flow from my heart." This speech must have done considerable damage to the government, and embarrassed his ministers.

When parliament met in June, Lord Althorp stated that his majesty had consented to a commission, to inquire into the state of church property, and church affairs generally, in Ireland. His lordship then stated the very comprehensive terms of the commission; and, after some further observations, intended to induce Mr. Ward to withdraw his motion, said that the government, by issuing the commission, had shown their own dispositions; and he left the question to the House as one of confidence in ministers. A very angry discussion followed, in which Mr. Stanley took part, and stated the reasons for his retiring from the cabinet to be, his dissent from the principle that the House had a right to deal with the property of the Protestant church for other than Protestant religious purposes. Lord John Russell also took part in the debate, and said that the principle upon which the government acted in issuing the commission was, that if the property of the church of Ireland should be found to be more than was sufficient for the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, parliament had a right to deal with the surplus. Mr. Ward having refused to withdraw his motion, Lord Althorp moved the previous question, which was carried by a majority of 396 to 120. The question, however, was not so summarily disposed of. In the meanwhile we must chronicle the resignation of Earl Grey, in consequence of another untoward event connected with the Irish administration.

The Marquis Wellesley was, as we have shown, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr. Lyttleton, his son-in-law, was Chief Secretary for that country. The time had now come to decide whether the act passed for preserving the tranquillity of Ireland, which was to expire on the 1st of August, should be re-enacted. The Lord-Lieutenant being required to state his opinion on the subject, strongly advised, in the month of April, that all its provisions, save those which related to courts-martial, should be re-enacted; but he was particularly emphatic in requiring the re-enactment of such of its provisions as prohibited the holding of meetings, if forbidden by the Lord-Lieutenant. While the question was under the consideration of the cabinet, Lord Brougham, without the knowledge of his colleagues, held a correspondence with the Lord-Lieutenant, in the course of which he pressed his excellency to reconsider his opinions with respect to the necessity of re-enacting the last-mentioned provisions. And it would appear that his lordship did so with the hope of conciliating certain members of the House of Commons, and facilitating the progress of government measures through that House. Yielding to the views of Lord Brougham, the Lord-Lieutenant, in his correspondence with Mr. Lyttleton, indicated his willingness to carry on the government of Ireland without the re-enactment of the act in question.

It happened that, at this time, there was a vacancy in the representation of Wexford, for which two candidates were started—one by the government, and another by Mr. O'Connell, who became aware of the intention of the government to seek a renewal of the Coercion Act. Mr. O'Connell's addresses were of the usual character of his proclamations. One was as follows:—"An audacious and imbecile ministry threatens to renew the act which annihilates constitutional rights in Ireland. The base and atrocious Whig factions dared to threaten Ireland with slavery, under the pretext of crimes which we hate more than they do. They would deprive Irishmen of that freedom which our virtues and patriotic exertions have wrung from unwilling taskmasters. Men of Wexford! what is your opinion of the Coercion Bill—of the weak and drivelling ministry, who presume, without a cause, or even without a pretext, to call for its renewal?" Mr. O'Connell also prepared an address to the reformers of England and Scotland, denouncing the conduct of the government. This address was never circulated; the proclamation to the people of Wexford was withdrawn; Mr. O'Connell's nominee was not put forward; and the government candidate was in a fair way of being returned without opposition. How was this change effected? Simply by a communication which had taken place between Mr. Lyttleton and Mr. O'Connell, in which the former assured him that all the obnoxious provisions of the Coercion Act would be repealed; or, if they were not, that he would not propose them; and give Mr. O'Connell timely notice.

Unfortunately, Lord Grey, in ignorance of all this, had been in communication with the Irish Lord-Lieutenant, and had made up his mind, in spite of the recommendation of the latter, to preserve and renew the bill in its obnoxious form. At a meeting of ministers, held for the purpose of taking the question finally into consideration, a division took place; the minority consisting of Lord Althorp, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. S. Rice; Mr. Ellis and Mr. Abercromby being of opinion that it ought not to be renewed: but the majority decided differently. Accordingly, in the House of Lords, on the 1st of July, Earl Grey moved the first reading of a bill, by which it was proposed to renew the Coercion Act in its integrity, save so far as related to the holding of courts-martial. Mr. O'Connell felt that he had been deceived, and took care to expose the trick. On the 3rd of July, he asked of Mr. Lyttleton, in his place in parliament, whether the renewal of the Coercion Bill, as it had been proposed in the House of Lords, had been called for, or advised, by the government of Ireland? To this question Mr. Lyttleton gave an evasive answer, alleging that it was unusual to make inquiries respecting a bill not before the House; but that the introduction of the bill in question had the sanction of the Irish government. Mr. O'Connell, well aware of his advantage,

Your faithful Servant

Daniel O'Connell

repeated his question; but Mr. Lyttleton's only reply was, that "he had not any answer but that which he had given already." "I now ask him," rejoined Mr. O'Connell, "if it is *his* intention to bring the bill forward in this House?" To which Mr. Lyttleton again gave an evasive answer, merely stating, "that it would be for the government to decide who should introduce it into the House of Commons; but that whoever might bring it in, he would vote for it." Upon which Mr. O'Connell exclaimed—"Then I have been deceived by him." Stung by this charge, Mr. Lyttleton stated the details of his communications with Mr. O'Connell, and charged the latter with a breach of confidence. To this charge Mr. O'Connell replied, "that as he had been deceived, he considered that all confidence was at an end. It was not I," he continued, "who sought the Irish Secretary; but he who sought me. I had nothing to ask from him; he sent for me: he had no right to send for me to go to his office; I did not want him: if he wanted me he knew where I lived. The election for Wexford was coming on; one of the candidates was a Whig. I thought it my duty to set up a repealer. I admit the conversation as confidential; and it would have remained so had I not been tricked. The honourable member more than once alluded to a communication with which the Marquis Wellesley had honoured me, on the subject of deepest interest to the country; and said that he had sent for me as one to whom he could apply with confidence. He then told me, that those concerned in the Irish government—meaning, of course, Lord Wellesley and himself—were opposed to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. This was after my letter to the people of Wexford. Let the House mark what use was made of it. In consequence, I wrote over to the county of Wexford; and the candidate whom I had started declined the contest. Another gentleman started upon the same interest, and requested me to send over one of my family to contest the county with him; but acting upon the right honourable gentleman's distinct declaration, I declined interfering; and the consequence was, that, on the first day, the Whig candidate was in a majority of 114. The election, however, is still going on, and that majority has already been cut down [the repeal candidate was, ultimately, returned]. If I had not been deceived, I could already have addressed the reformers of England on the subject of the renewal of the Coercion Bill. He not only deceived me, but many others; for I communicated to a great many Irish members, that there would be no necessity for a call of the House, as the bill to be brought forward would be one that every man could support."

The Coercion Bill having passed the Lords, Lord Althorp, on the 7th of July, presented papers to the House of Commons relating to the state of Ireland; and moved that they should be printed. Upon this, Mr. O'Connell moved that they should be referred to a select committee to report; insisting that much of the information they contained was untrustworthy, being nothing better than the reports and opinions of police officers—men not worthy of credit. This amendment was strongly opposed by government, aided by Sir Robert Peel. The amendment having been rejected, Mr. O'Connell immediately gave notice of a motion for the production of so much of the correspondence of the Lord-Lieutenant, as would explain why he, on or about the 20th of June, opposed the renewal of the Coercion Bill. The consequence of this notice was, to compel Lord Althorp to send in his resignation the same night; because, as he subsequently declared, he could not take upon himself the burden of resisting the motion. Upon the receipt of this resignation by Lord Grey, he did all in his power to induce Lord Althorp to withdraw it; but failing in his efforts to do so, he, on the 5th of July, tendered both resignations to his majesty; and on the 9th, announced, in the House of Lords, that he was himself no longer minister, as his resignation had been tendered to, and accepted by, the king. Immediately after the acceptance of these resignations, his majesty sent for Lord Melbourne, and requested him, by a written memorandum, "to communicate with the leading individuals of parties, and to endeavour to prevail upon them to afford their aid and co-operation towards the

formation of an administration upon an enlarged basis, combining the services of the most efficient members of each; and, further, to communicate with the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Stanley, and others of their respective parties, as well as with those who had hitherto acted with Lord Melbourne himself, and had otherwise supported the administration, and endeavour to bring them together, and establish a community of purpose." William IV., we believe, was only too happy to have done with the reformers, who had won for him such popularity. However, the time to get rid of them had not come. Lord Melbourne, of course, considered himself bound to comply with the king's request; but, on the next day, addressed a written communication to his majesty, in which he stated, that he felt himself bound to declare, that the difficulty his majesty had anticipated, appeared to him insurmountable; and that his objections to his personally undertaking the task were so great, as to render the successful termination of such an attempt utterly hopeless. The reasons assigned by his lordship were, that the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley, had all recently expressed, not only a general want of confidence in the then government, but the strongest objection, founded upon principle, to measures of great importance, either introduced into parliament, or adopted by virtue of his majesty's prerogative—to the bill for the better collection of tithes in Ireland, and to the commission of inquiry into the state of religion in that country—measures, particularly the last, which Lord Melbourne said he considered vital and essential in the then state of public feeling and opinion. On the next day, he was requested, by the king, to send a copy of this communication to the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley. He did so accordingly, with a letter, in which his lordship stated, that, in transmitting it, he acted solely in obedience to his majesty's commands.

In consequence of this communication, Sir Robert Peel addressed, and transmitted to his majesty, through Lord Melbourne, a written reply, in which he stated his opinion to be, that such a union as his majesty had suggested, could not, in the then state of parties and public affairs, hold out the prospect of an efficient and vigorous administration. Thus terminated the effort to form a coalition administration. It appears, however, from Sir Robert Peel's *Memoirs*, that had the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel been invited to form a government upon their own terms, they would have done so, and have exhausted every constitutional means of ascertaining whether the country, or rather the constituent body, would support an administration formed upon Conservative principles. That opportunity did not offer; for Lord Melbourne, to the amazement of the clubs ("whoever should have thought," writes Mr. Raikes, "of seeing Mr. Lambe Premier?"), became Prime Minister. His brother-in-law, Lord Duncannon, was made Home Secretary. Lord Althorp retained office, and that was considered to indicate the policy government intended to pursue with respect to the Coercion Act. On the 17th of July, Lord Melbourne appeared for the first time, in the House of Lords, after his appointment to his high office, and intimated the intention of government not to proceed with the Coercion Bill then before it, but to introduce another, from which the obnoxious clauses would be omitted. This announcement of the intention of the government brought on a very angry discussion; during which, Lord Grey addressed the House of Lords at great length, but added nothing to his former statement. When Lord Althorp announced, in the House of Commons, his intention to retain his office, he said he did so at the request of his majesty; and had been earnestly advised by Lord Grey to do so. Mr. O'Connell took occasion to express his satisfaction at the change which had taken place in the composition of the government, particularly as Lord Duncannon had been selected as the Secretary of the Home Department. The truth is, that Lord Duncannon and Mr. O'Connell had been, for years, on terms of the strictest political and personal intimacy; but, as it subsequently appeared, the latter expected a change in consequence with respect to Irish policy, which did imme-

diately occur. The modified Coercion Bill was carried through, not without a very strong protest, in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Wellington, and twenty-one other peers. The Tithe Bill was not so fortunate. After passing through the Commons, it was rejected by the peers. And thus terminated Irish affairs for the session of 1834.

O'Connell had been aided by his English allies. In May, 1833, at a meeting of the council of the Birmingham Political Union, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—"That his majesty's ministers—*Firstly*, by violating the constitution, and destroying the liberties of Ireland—*Secondly*, by denial of the general distress amongst the productive classes, and refusal of all inquiry into the means of relief—*Thirdly*, by refusing to make any perceptible reduction in the present overwhelming load of taxation; by persisting in the continuation of the partial and unjust taxes assessed upon houses and windows, notwithstanding the relief of which was imperatively demanded by the depressed state of trade; and especially by their absolutely forcing upon the country the odious and oppressive malt-tax without any diminution, although its partial abolition had been deliberately resolved on by a vote of the House of Commons only three days previously—have betrayed the confidence of the people, and turned their sanguine hopes into despair." The people were everywhere called upon to meet and petition against ministers. A few days after, a national convention was to meet in Coldbath Fields. As the government had issued a proclamation declaring it illegal, not more than 2,000 or 3,000 assembled.

The English Radicals had learnt a lesson from the great agitator. Society, it was clear, was in a dissatisfied condition. The appeals that had for some time been made to the working classes, and the gross manner in which they had been flattered into an opinion of their overwhelming influence, were now bearing appropriate fruit. In 1834, the men employed by the London Gas Companies demanded a rise in their wages from twenty-eight shillings to thirty-five shillings a week, with two pots of porter each day for each man. This being refused, they all left work, and their places were speedily filled up by men from the country. On the 17th, six agricultural labourers, two of whom were Methodist preachers, were convicted, at Dorchester assizes, of a felony for administering illegal oaths, and for being members of an illegal society. They were sentenced to seven years' transportation. In the course of the investigation, it was established, that the person sworn was admitted blindfold into a chamber containing the picture of a skeleton and a skull; and that the regulations were similar to those of trades' unions. The sentence created the greatest excitement among the working population in the kingdom, who appeared to think that the criminals had committed no offence. Immense meetings were held to petition the king in their favour, in London, Birmingham, and other manufacturing towns. On the following day, 3,000 workmen at the factories in Leeds struck, because their employers had expressed a determination only to employ men who were not, or had ceased to be, members of the trades' unions.

On the 15th of April there was a riot at Oldham; two men, who belonged to the trades' union of the town, having been apprehended: one factory was nearly destroyed, and one person killed. A troop of Lancers dispersed the mob. Several of the rioters were taken, subsequently tried, and sentenced to imprisonment from six to eighteen months.

On the 21st, a meeting of the trades' unions took place at Copenhagen Fields, for appointing a deputation to present a petition to the Home Secretary for the remission of the sentence on the Dorchester convicts. They afterwards paraded through the principal thoroughfares, to the number, it was said, of 25,000, to the Home Office. A triumphal car, constructed of light materials, decorated with festoons of blue and red calico, was the vehicle employed to carry the petition to the threshold of the Home Office. Dr. Wade, in full canonicals, attended it; and it bore thirty-three blue and red banners, on which were inscribed the number and initials of each lodge, and

the name it bore. On reaching the Home Office, the petition was removed from the car, which had been borne on the shoulders of twelve unionists. Lord Melbourne, however, refused to see them: the deputation were told that the petition would be laid before the king in the usual way. The petitioners then met in great force on Kennington Common: after which they all departed in good order—satisfied, we presume, with having had their day out, though disappointed of their interview with Lord Melbourne. On the 24th, the petition was presented to his lordship by a deputation from the trades' union, and laid before the king. This was but one of the many indications of the restless spirit of discontent which manifested itself at this time.

On the 28th, there was a strike of the London journeymen tailors, numbering 13,000. Their masters came to a determination not to employ men belonging to trades' unions; and, after a few weeks, the journeymen were content to return to their work on those terms.

A demonstration against the new poor-laws, held at Hartshead Moor, near Huddersfield, was attended by nearly 100,000 persons.

The same year, a great political demonstration against the Whig government, took place at the New Hall, Birmingham; Mr. C. Attwood in the chair: 100,000 persons were present.

The friends of order were alarmed. Everybody was very gloomy indeed. Strikes and combinations continued; and now and then an occasional assassination shocked all. At Chester assizes, on the 5th of August, two men were indicted for the murder of a manufacturer, and found guilty. It appeared that they had undertaken the job for a fee of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* each. To hold office in those days was by no means desirable. Ministers were glad when the parliamentary session was over.

"It may be questioned whether Lord Melbourne, with his careless indifference and political scepticism, was the man for his post at such a time. His pleasing features appeared to express the owner's idea that the first duty of a Premier was to take as much enjoyment out of his position as he could. His hair showed indications of advancing age; but his eyes were as bright as if glowing with the fire of youth. He looked as though he had been born smiling, and had ever since continued to wear the same sunny aspect; as if his sky had always been *coleur du rose*, and his countenance had caught its bright reflection. Unfortunately all this was superficial; at best, but a brilliant social electrotype. There was nothing solid in his pretensions; and of this he could not help sometimes becoming aware. He was essentially a man of pleasure, and deficient in the higher requisites of a man of business. He felt bored by the duties of office, but was completely at home in those of hospitality. Whether at Brockett Hall or in Downing Street, entertaining a select circle of friends or supporters, Lord Melbourne was sure to be seen to the best advantage." Thus writes Mr. Grantley Berkeley; and such appears to have been the general idea entertained of his lordship, who certainly took life easily, and to have cared for little beyond personal ease; and who was the very last person we should have expected to see Premier. It may be that his lordship has been misunderstood. Under the flippant and trifling exterior, may have been hidden a more earnest purpose than the unthinking public imagined. One letter of his lordship, published by Lord John Russell, in his *Life of Moore*, at any rate inclines us to think that Lord Melbourne must have been a far abler man than his contemporaries believed. It appears that Lord John Russell applied to Lord Melbourne for some assistance for Moore, by conferring some place or pension on his son. The reply is so good, and gives us such an exalted idea of his lordship's common sense, that we cannot but reprint it here. His lordship writes—"My dear John, I return you Moore's letter. I shall be ready to do what you like about it when we have the means. I think whatever is done should be done for Moore himself. This is more distinct, direct, and intelligible. Making a small provision for young men is hardly justifiable; and it is, of all things, the most prejudicial to themselves. They think what they have much larger than it really

is, and they make no exertion. The young should never hear any language but this :—You have your own way to make; and it depends upon your own exertions whether you starve or not.—Believe me, &c., MELBOURNE." Such a note as this gives us a high opinion of his lordship's sagacity and knowledge of the world.

The following table exhibits the constitution of the House before and after reform :—

		1830.	1832.
English.—	County members	82	143
,,	Cities and boroughs	403	324
,,	Universities	4	4
Welsh.—	County members	12	15
,,	Cities and boroughs	12	14
Scotch.—	County members	30	30
,,	Cities and boroughs	15	23
Irish.—	County members	66	64
,,	Cities and boroughs	35	32
,,	University	1	2

The Conservatives were considered to amount to 149, against reformers of all descriptions.

During one of the debates on the reform question, Lord Sidmouth held a friendly colloquy with Earl Grey, whom he always thought had been carried far beyond the views and intentions he originally entertained on the introduction of this measure. "I hope," Lord Sidmouth said, "God will forgive you on account of this bill. I don't think I can." Lord Grey replied—"Mark my words: within two years you will find that we have become unpopular for having brought forward the most aristocratic measure that was ever proposed in parliament." Earl Grey's administration lasted three years, seven months, and twenty-two days. The Conservative party had nothing to do with this loss of its head; for Lord Grey was not driven out of office by their opposition; nor had the Radicals anything beyond an ostensible agency in the catastrophe. As far as could be ascertained from the best authorities, the government had suffered from internal convulsion; and the chief member of the body dropped off from political gangrene. This was in July, 1834.

"Sir Robert Peel said to me," writes Mr. Raikes, "that he was very much struck with the appearance of the new parliament, the tone and character of which seemed quite different from any other he had ever seen. There was an asperity, a rudeness, a vulgar assumption of independence, combined with a fawning reference to the people out-of-doors, expressed by many of the new members, which was highly disgusting. My friend R——, who has been a thick-and-thin reformer, and voted with the government throughout, owned to me, this evening, that he began to be frightened." Again, he writes in March—"The Speaker said to me, at White's this morning, 'It is the fashion to compliment me on my knowledge of business, of the forms of the House, and of the rules of debate; but all my past experience in parliament is positively good for nothing. The business of the House is carried on so differently from the former system, that I am, in fact, as great a novice as any of them.'"

Earl Grey's resignation did not strengthen the ministry. It did not appear to have created much confidence in the House of Commons; for, on the 30th of July, Mr. O'Connell, in committee on the Irish Tithe Bill, proposed an amendment, that went to cut off at least 40 per cent. of the tithes payable in Ireland: nevertheless it was carried against the ministers, on a division of 82 against 33.

In the House of Lords the spirits of the Conservatives had been augmented. On the occasion of the Earl of Radnor moving the second reading of the bill for the admission of dissenters into the universities, the measure was lost by 187 to 85. Anxious to improve the opportunity, the next day a meeting was held at

Apsley House. The Marquis of Londonderry, in describing the result of the council, insinuates that, "in short, it was the whole party." The duke was "in good spirits, and undoubtedly seems now taking more pains." Another meeting was held on August 8th, to determine as to what was to be done with the Irish Tithe Bill. "The feeling" is described as "united and firm;" and again ministers were beaten by 189 to 122. Lord Melbourne's fall was nearer than he anticipated. There had been a Grey banquet at Edinburgh, where Lord Brougham had appeared (as Lord Londonderry writes), out-Heroding Herod; and where Lord Durham had strongly insisted on the advantages of voting by ballot, and household suffrage: and then the new poor-law commission had done much to make them unpopular. But another cause was at work—dislike in head-quarters, which soon manifested itself. On the 10th of November, 1834, Earl Spencer died at his seat, Althorp Park, at the age of seventy-six. He had been First Lord of the Admiralty during Mr. Pitt's administration, from 1794 to 1801—a period of extraordinary interest in our naval history, as it included the great victories of Camperdown, Cape St. Vincent, and the Nile. He had previously been for a short time Privy Seal; and had been sent on a special embassy to the Court of Vienna. Lord Spencer was Secretary of State for the Home Department in Lord Granville's administration; but would not accept office afterwards. He was, besides, President of the Royal Institution, and had collected one of the finest private libraries in Europe.

His death took Lord Althorp from the House of Commons; and, four days afterwards, Lord Melbourne waited on the king at Brighton, to receive his majesty's commands respecting the appointment of a new Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the Premier intimating that Lord John Russell was to be the leader in the House of Commons, the king is reported to have spoken out in language for which his Prime Minister seemed quite unprepared. His majesty said that he considered the government dissolved by the removal of Lord Althorp to the House of Lords; and that he did not approve of the reconstruction of the cabinet. The king, moreover, stated, that Lord Brougham could not continue to be Lord Chancellor; expressed his dissatisfaction with the Irish Church Bill, and with every one who had assisted in framing it. His majesty then informed Lord Melbourne, that he would save him the trouble of completing his arrangements; and gave him a letter to take to the Duke of Wellington, whom he expressed his intention to consult. Lord Melbourne took the proffered communication, and his departure, apparently very much astonished at the result of his interview; and, having represented the case to his colleagues, a general resignation became a matter of necessity. Both Whigs and Tories were taken by surprise. It may be believed, however, that the king had previously allowed his opinions to escape him. At any rate, the Duke of Cumberland wrote from Berlin—"I, for one, *did* state, ere I left England, that I felt convinced in my mind that Melbourne would never meet parliament as the minister of this country; and I told him this myself at the last *levée* (20th of August); for I felt certain that, previous to the meeting of parliament, when the cabinet reassembled to consider what should be the measures to be brought forward during the session, that they would split upon that. Now you, dear duke, must acknowledge that my speculation was a fair one. I certainly did not, at the time, reflect upon the probability of Lord Spencer's death, though the possibility had presented itself to my mind." Indeed, all along, the preference of the king for a Conservative cabinet was very clear. When, a second time, Lord Melbourne had become Prime Minister, a letter says—"The king dines at the Duke of Wellington's to-morrow; and is said to continue his sovereign ill-humour and disgust with his ministers." The Duke of Buckingham adds—"The Whig government had been forced upon the king; and his original distaste was not lessened by a knowledge of that fact." The ministers were extremely unpopular in the palace; while his majesty omitted no opportunity of showing the estimation in which he held the Duke of Wellington. Even Lord Melbourne, with all his well-known social

qualities, made no material progress in the royal confidence, though he certainly exerted himself to the utmost to secure it.

Sir Robert Peel, who was sent for from Italy, reached London on the 9th of December. On the same day he had an audience of his majesty, and accepted the post of Prime Minister. He directly invited Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham to become members of the new government; but they declined pledging themselves to the principles on which it was understood Sir Robert was prepared to act. Disappointed in the result of these efforts, he was obliged to seek the co-operation of some of the leaders of the party who had separated from him in 1829 and 1830: they had now become sensible of their mistake, and were desirous to come back to office. Sir Robert, however, had little reason to be proud of the men with whom he was compelled to associate. With the exception of himself, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Lord Lyndhurst, there was not a member of his cabinet deserving the name of statesman. Some notion may be formed of them if we remember, that one of the members of the ministry—Sir Edward Knatchbull—on an occasion when the repeal of the corn-laws was under discussion, entreated his antagonists in debate not to introduce into the discussion "anything about political economy." This will give the reader some idea of the difficulties Sir Robert had to encounter.

The cabinet, when formed, was composed of the following members:—Sir Robert Peel, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor; Lord Rosslyn, President of the Council; Lord Wharncliffe, Privy Seal; the Duke of Wellington, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Goulbourn, Secretary of State for the Home Department; Lord Aberdeen, Secretary of State for the Colonies; Mr. Alexander Baring, President of the Board of Trade; Sir George Murray, Master-General of the Ordnance; Earl de Grey, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control.

Parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. The celebrated Tamworth manifesto appeared. In it Sir R. Peel said—"I appeal with confidence, in denial of the charge [that he had been a defender of abuses], to the active part I took in the great question of the currency; in the consolidation and amendment of the criminal law; in the revisal of the whole system of trial by jury; to the opinions I have professed, and formerly acted on, with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country. I appeal to these as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour and responsibility in the application of a remedy. But the Reform Bill, it is said, constitutes a new era; and it is the duty of a minister to declare explicitly—first, whether he will maintain the bill itself; and, secondly, whether he will act upon the spirit in which it is conceived. With respect to the Reform Bill itself, I will now repeat the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed parliament:—That I consider the Reform Bill a final and an irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or insidious means. Then, as to the spirit of the Reform Bill, and the willingness to adopt and enforce it as a rule of government. If, by adopting the spirit of the Reform Bill, it be meant that we are to live in a perpetual vortex of agitation; that public men can only support themselves in public estimation by adopting every popular impression of the day; by promising the instant redress of anything which anybody may call an abuse; by abandoning altogether that great aid of government, more powerful than either law or reason—the respect for ancient rights; the deference to prescriptive authority;—if this be the spirit of the Reform Bill, I will not undertake to adopt it. But if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper; combining, with the firm mainte-

nance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses, and the redress of real grievances—in that case I can, for myself and colleagues, undertake to act in such a spirit, and with such intentions." The new parliament met on the 19th of February, 1835. The trial of strength was on the choice of a Speaker—the ministry supporting Sir Charles Manners Sutton; the opposition, Mr. James Abercromby. Sir C. Sutton had been a Speaker many years; and, as a question of economy, it was advisable that he should be re-elected. The Right Hon. James Abercromby had long represented, in parliament, one of the Duke of Devonshire's boroughs. The Marquis of Lansdowne having joined Mr. Canning, Mr. Abercromby was made Judge Advocate. He held this office till 1828, when the Wellington administration was formed. In 1830, the duke, anxious to mitigate the rancour of the opposition, sought to conciliate the Devonshire influence by appointing Mr. Abercromby to the vacant post of Chief Baron of the Scotch Court of Exchequer—a court the abolition of which had already been resolved on, and was immediately effected; the new chief baron having scarcely assumed the office, when its suppression entitled him to a pension. Enjoying this judicial retirement, he had formed no part of the original reform cabinet; but, on the resignation of Earl Grey, and the formation of the Melbourne ministry, he obtained a seat in the cabinet as Master of the Mint. Mr. Abercromby consenting, he was put in nomination by the Whigs as Speaker, and was elected by a majority of ten, owing, exclusively, to the aid of O'Connell and his tail. The English members divided—247 for Sir Manners Sutton, and 224 for Mr. Abercromby. Of the Scotch members, thirty-one voted for their countryman, and eighteen for the late Speaker. But then came the Irish members, giving to Mr. Abercromby sixty-one votes, and to Sir Charles Manners Sutton only forty-one.

It was supposed that an alliance had been formed between O'Connell and the Whigs. Lord Haddington, who was Lord-Lieutenant; Sir H. Hardinge, his Chief Secretary, and Sir E. Sugden, who was Lord Chancellor, were all anxious to conciliate the Roman Catholics; but they feared the Orange party, and dared not attempt to evince their sympathy. The latter were far too eager for the new government, and pressed upon it their unwelcome patronage. On one occasion, when the Lord-Lieutenant visited the theatre, they caused an Orange banner to be displayed from the box immediately over that in which his excellency sat.

In Ireland the Whigs had made no appeals to the electors, but trusted to O'Connell to do the best he could on their behalf. They, it is understood, contributed funds very liberally to defray the expenses incidental to the canvass and election of men who had no other claims on the electors except that they were the nominees of Mr. O'Connell. The pecuniary obligations incurred on this occasion by the latter, in order to obtain the return of his candidates, were almost incredible, and involved him in debt to such an extent as to render it almost impossible for him, during the remainder of his life, to satisfy the demands of his creditors and the wants of his family. He gratified his ambition to no inconsiderable extent; but, in order to do so, he sacrificed his peace of mind, his character, and his life. His exertions, however, were equal to the exigencies of the crisis. O'Connell obtained such a majority, as not only counterbalanced that of England, but, as subsequently appeared, left a considerable surplus: and thus the struggle ended, by virtually transferring from the lawful sovereign to a subject who, a year ago, had been prosecuted by government, the choice of the responsible members of the executive administration of the British empire. Sir Robert Peel and the Whigs, as soon as the elections had terminated, felt that the fate of government had been decided. The former, however, wisely resolved not to surrender office without a struggle.

The ministry having been defeated on the choice of Speaker, the opposition next prepared to give battle on the address. In the upper house, Lord Melbourne moved an amendment, which was so framed as not to give offence to his majesty

for having dismissed his former ministry; but censured the dissolution of parliament as unnecessary, and calculated to interrupt and endanger the progress of the reform of abuses, more particularly those which existed in the church of England and Ireland. The Duke of Wellington justified his conduct by stating, that having declined to accept the office of Prime Minister, and recommended his majesty to send for Sir Robert Peel, it was necessary that some person should be in the government until the return of the latter. He had, therefore, advised his majesty to constitute a provisional government, by appointing him (the duke) First Lord of the Treasury, and Secretary of the Home Department. In the latter capacity he certainly held the seals of three secretaryships; but whoever was appointed to any one of them, was competent to hold the seals of the other two, in the absence of those to whom they were confided. During the time he held the seals, thero was not an office disposed of, nor was there an act done by him, that was not essentially necessary for the public service: he, however, disclaimed all responsibility for the dissolution of the late government. He was followed by Lord Brougham, who also attacked ministers. It appears that his lordship very reluctantly resigned his exalted office; and when he had ascertained that Lord Lyndhurst, who then held the office of Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was raised to the woolsack, Lord Brougham offered to accept the office of Chief Baron, in order, as he said, to give the public the benefit of the pension to which, otherwise, he would become entitled as retired Lord Chancellor. Lord Lyndhurst replied to Lord Brougham, and stated, that after the latter had virtually ceased to be Chancellor, he sent for the commissions of the peace of six counties, and caused fiats to be made out for the insertion of certain names as magistrates, not only without the concurrence, but against the wishes of the Lord-Lieutenants—a proceeding contrary to all precedent. The amendment was negatived without a division.

In the Commons a stormier conflict took place. A similar amendment to that of the Lords occupied the attention of the House two nights. Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham were among the most efficient supporters of the address; and Lord John Russell and Mr. O'Connell of the amendment. The latter concluded the debate in a speech of great force, and said, that by choosing all their officers from the Orange party in Ireland, the government had rendered it utterly impossible for the Irish people to give them their confidence. The subordinate Irish appointments, we may observe here, were the result, not of choice, but of necessity. No one could more disapprove of the conduct of the Orange party, or be more sensible of their selfishness, than Sir Robert Peel; but he could not afford to dispense with their support; and it could not be obtained without a valuable consideration. No one was more sensible than Mr. O'Connell of the feelings of Sir Robert; but when he learned that overtures had been made to Lord Stanley, he resolved to leave nothing undone which it was in his power to do, in order to effect the destruction of the new government. O'Connell often endeavoured—if we may believe Mr. Maley—to conciliate the great body of the Orange party; and lived on terms of friendship with many of their leaders; but between him and Lord Stanley there existed feelings, not merely of political, but of personal hostility. The debate was carried against ministers by a majority of seven—that is, by the Irish members. The Irish difficulty had unseated the Whigs: it was now to unseat their successors.

Nor was their conduct entirely free from blame. The readers of the *Buckingham Correspondence* must remember how the Marquis of Londonderry was always complaining of the neglect he received from the Duke of Wellington. The marquis appears to have been a vain, shallow, and impracticable man; and to have thought a great deal more of himself than he was warranted in doing. In an evil hour the duke sacrificed the claims of public utility to private importunity, and appointed the marquis ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg. Mr. Shiel, in order to bring the subject before the House of Commons, moved an address to the

crown for a copy of any appointment, made within the last four months, of an ambassador from the Court of London to that of St. Petersburg, and a statement of the salary and emoluments attached to such office. Sir Robert Peel did all in his power to justify the appointment; but his efforts were vain: it was a gross outrage on public feeling, in every point of view. Even Lord Stanley concurred in its condemnation. The result was, that the marquis came to the aid of his friends by promptly relinquishing the office; but he could not repair the injury he inflicted on his party, whose most prominent leaders it exposed to the imputation of being influenced in their distribution of official patronage—not by a desire to promote the public good, but to gratify the vanity, ambition, or cupidity of their aristocratic supporters, of whom the Marquis of Londonderry was one of the most deservedly unpopular. Another damaging debate, as regarded ministers, took place on the appointment of a committee to inquire into the charges made against Colonel Tremenhere (who held a public situation at Chatham), for using his official influence to secure the return of the government candidate for that borough. Ministers opposed, of course; but they were beaten by 160 to 130. On the 26th of March they sustained a further defeat, by opposing a charter of incorporation to the University of London.

Before this important division took place, Sir Robert Peel began to doubt the policy of his any longer retaining office; indeed, he clearly saw that little remained for him to do but to decide upon what question he should finally join issue with his adversaries. On the 20th of March, Sir Henry Hardinge, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, brought forward a motion preparatory to the introduction of the bill which government had framed for the settlement of the Irish tithe question. Lord John Russell had previously given notice of a motion on the subject for the 23rd; but, on the 18th, intimated an intention to postpone it; and then, on the 19th, fixed it for the 30th of March. The resolution of Sir Henry was to the effect, that it was expedient to abolish tithes in Ireland, and to authorise a composition in lieu of them, charged upon the land, and payable to the tithe-owner—such rent-charge to be redeemable, and the redemption money invested in land, or otherwise, for the benefit of the persons entitled to such composition; and that the arrears of tithes, due in the year 1834, should be made up from what remained of the one million advanced by parliament to the clergy of Ireland in 1833. This motion gave rise to a protracted debate; but the resolution was adopted, after an amendment, moved by Mr. Rice, had been negatived.

At this time Sir Robert Peel drew up a statement intended for the perusal of his colleagues before the next meeting of the cabinet. It commenced by stating that he felt it to be his duty to call the serious attention of his colleagues to the position of the government in the House of Commons, and to the great question, whether it was consistent, either with the credit and character of public men, or the interest of the king's service, to continue the attempt of conducting a government with a minority in the House of Commons? "Let us," said he, "calmly review what has taken place. The government has been beaten, since the meeting of parliament, on the choice of a Speaker, and on the amendment of the address. I was obliged to name Mr. Bernal for the committee of ways and means, from inability to secure the election of any one in the confidence of government." He then referred to the feeling of the House respecting the appointment of the Marquis of Londonderry; the effective opposition given to the progress of the public business in parliament; the majority against the government on the Chatham election inquiry; and the proposition which was about to be made respecting the supposed surplus of ecclesiastical property in Ireland. Sir Robert Peel continues—

"If, after the defeats to which I have referred—after the failure to conduct satisfactorily the public business, in ordinary matters, through the House of Commons—we are beaten upon that principle in maintaining of which Lord Stanley and his friends retired from office last year, what course shall we pursue? Shall we continue responsible for the government of Ireland?—and shall we proceed with

measures relating to the church of Ireland, founded on an opposite principle? What is our prospect of carrying these measures in defiance of a majority? What is our prospect [after a defeat on a great principle] of commanding larger numbers and a better attendance, and of being enabled to carry on satisfactorily the public business of the country, and to defeat the attempts, either directly or indirectly, to obstruct it?

"It may be said, wait till you have evidence that you cannot conduct the public business with satisfaction.

"I ask, in reply, what additional evidence can we have, and where is the point at which a government is to confess its inability to conduct public affairs? Nothing can, in my opinion, justify an administration in persevering against a majority, but a rational and well-grounded hope of acquiring additional support, and converting a minority into a majority. I see no ground for entertaining that hope; but I do see the greatest prejudice to the cause of good government, to the character of an administration, and of the public men who compose it, and to the prerogatives of the crown, in a long-continued course, either of acquiescing in what you believe to be wrong, for fear of being in a minority, or of exhibiting the executive government without control over the House of Commons, and attempting [after a sufficient proof of their failure] to govern with a minority." Sir Robert then states his opinion to be, that there was not anything to justify a second appeal to the people, or any prospect of acquiring any great additional strength from the result of it; and that the ministry ought to resign if defeated on Lord John Russell's motion.

It was all along suspected by the public that Court influences were in favour of the Tories, against the Whigs: and this is now made clear by the publication of Sir Robert Peel's *Memoirs*. On the 28th, he received from his majesty a communication with reference to the motion, in reply to which the former addressed a written statement to the latter. By this important state-paper, after acknowledging the receipt of the communication, Sir Robert Peel expressed his fears, that the effect of a majority against the government would be more prejudicial and serious than his majesty anticipated, as it could only be defended and supported upon the ground of want of confidence in his majesty's advisers; that the House, if it should assent to the resolution intended to be proposed by Lord John Russell, would take, in effect, the conduct of the Tithe Bill out of the hands of government, and would destroy all hope of being enabled to carry that bill into a law; that this vote would follow a succession of others adverse to the views of his majesty's ministers; and that there was a great public evil in permitting the House of Commons to exhibit itself to the country free from any control on the part of the executive government, and usurping, in consequence of the absence of that control, many of the functions of government: and, after adverting to the then unsatisfactory state of tithe property in Ireland, the statement proceeds as follows:—

"Sir Robert Peel humbly assures your majesty that he is not influenced, in submitting these important considerations to your majesty's serious attention, by any feeling of personal dissatisfaction or mortification at his own position in the House of Commons. He would be proud to make any sacrifice, consistent with honour, that could relieve your majesty from embarrassment, and would be amply repaid for it by his own sense of public duty, and your majesty's kind and gracious approbation.

"The apprehension he entertains, from continued perseverance in the attempt to govern by a minority, is, that it will be difficult for any administration, however composed, to recover a control over the House of Commons. That the House, having been habituated to the exercise of functions not properly belonging to them, will be unwilling to relinquish it; and that the royal prerogatives, and the royal authority, will inevitably suffer from continued manifestation of weakness on the part of the executive government."

On the 30th of March, and without waiting for the report of the commissioners of public instruction, Lord John Russell proposed, for the consideration and adoption of the House of Commons, a resolution as follows:—"That this House resolve itself into a committee, in order to consider the present state of the established church in Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not acquired for the spiritual care of its members, to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion." His lordship stated his intention, if this resolution were carried, to move an address to the crown embodying that resolution, and entreating his majesty that he would be pleased to enable the House to carry it into effect, as a measure of the kind could not be introduced into the House without the consent of the crown. The motion was sustained by Lord John Russell, Mr. Ward, Lord Howick, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. S. Rice, Sir John Campbell, and Mr. O'Connell; and opposed by Sir E. Knatchbull, Sir James Graham, Sir W. Follet, Mr. Praed, Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel. At three in the morning of April the 3rd, a division took place, when the resolution was adopted by a majority of thirty-three. The important character of that division is made clear by looking at the numbers who voted on it. It was a trial of strength, for which considerable efforts had been made. No less than 611 members divided. Of the English members, there was a majority of nine against the resolution; but, of the Scotch, there were thirty-two in favour, and seventeen against; of the Irish, sixty-four were for, and thirty-seven against: so that, of the majority of thirty-three, no less than twenty-seven were supplied by Ireland, or rather by Mr. O'Connell. Flushed with success, and with the prospect of place before them, the Whigs pressed forward. On the evening of the same day, the resolution was considered in committee. A debate, however, arose, and was adjourned to the 6th, when the resolution was affirmed by a majority of 262 against 237, in a House of 499 members.

After this division, Lord John Russell stated his intention to be, not to move an address to the crown until he should have previously taken the opinion of the House upon a resolution, to the effect—"That it was the opinion of that House, that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland could lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which did not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution." When his lordship gave this notice, he stated, that if the government did not act in accordance with it, in the event of its adoption by the House, he should, on a succeeding day, move an address to the crown. To this, Sir Robert Peel replied, that he would take the sense of the House on the resolution, but that there was not the slightest change in the minds of ministers respecting it. Having moved his new resolution, Lord John Russell, in order to sustain it, intended that the former resolution would be not only useless, but mischievous, unless the House declared that the principle of the resolution should be embodied in any bill which might be passed with a view to the settlement of the Irish tithe question. It was true, he admitted, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a declaration, that, consistently with his opinion, he could not agree to any such resolutions being introduced into the bill framed by his government; but, if his government thought proper to take its stand against this principle, it was better that the principle should succeed, and the ministry fall, than that the ministry should triumph, and the principle fall. If the House should adopt the resolution then under consideration, it would not be difficult, when the report of the commissioners of public instruction should be received, to frame clauses to be introduced into the Tithe Bill, sufficiently comprehensive to contain the principle adopted, and make such a distribution of the revenue of the church of Ireland, as, after providing for that church, would carry a very large sum for the purposes of education. Sir Robert Peel objected to the form of the resolution, and the principle of it. He further objected to it as furnishing a precedent, with respect to the propriety of which, the noble lord himself must entertain very grave doubts; for it was very different from the course he originally gave notice it was

his intention to pursue. By agreeing to that resolution, the House would declare, that the only satisfactory arrangement of the tithe question must be founded upon the basis of that principle, from which (having regard to those who voted, and those who paired off) at least 300 members of the House of Commons dissented. On the vote being taken, there were 285 for, and 258 against. The game was up. Sir Robert could hold office no longer. On the following day, being the 8th of April, he informed the House that he and his colleagues had tendered their resignations to his majesty; and, as he accepted them, ministers held office only until their successors should be appointed. In making this communication, Sir Robert Peel did not hesitate to state, that the course which he and his colleagues had taken was one to which they were reluctantly compelled. Being in the enjoyment of the confidence of the king, from whom they had received the most cordial support; looking to the position of public affairs, and the state of political parties; looking, also, not only to the numerical strength, but the moral strength of the great party by whom they had been supported—they felt it was their duty, under existing circumstances, to continue the attempt to administer public affairs, as the responsible advisers of the crown, to the latest moment that was consistent with the public interests, and with the honour and character of public men. When he did not hesitate to announce that reluctance, he said he believed he should have credit with a great majority of the House, that it arose from public considerations alone, and was wholly unconnected with everything of a personal nature. "I have," he said, "a strong impression, that when a public man, at a crisis of great importance, undertakes the public trust of administering the government of this country, he incurs the obligation to persevere in it as long as it is possible for him to do so; that no indifference to public life, no disgust with the labours which it imposes, no personal mortification, no deference to private feelings should sanction a public man in withdrawing, on light grounds, from the post in which the favour of his sovereign has placed him. But, at the same time, there is an evil in exhibiting to the country the want, on the part of the government, of that support in the House of Commons which would enable it satisfactorily to conduct the public affairs, and to exercise over the House the legitimate and necessary control conferred by the possession of its confidence. Although I sincerely regret the necessity which has compelled me to abandon his majesty's service at the present moment, yet, upon the balance of public consideration, I feel that I have taken a course which is more likely to sustain the character of a public man, and promote the ultimate interests of the country, than if I had persevered in what I believe would have been a fruitless attempt in the face of the opposition which has hitherto obstructed the satisfactory progress of public business while I and my colleagues have been in office."

Sir Robert, at the close of this address, was greeted with the applause which his character had won. It was felt that his inability to retain office did not result so much from the course pursued by his adversaries, as by that of his professed supporters; and more particularly of those of them around the throne. Had his accession to office been caused by the dissolution of the preceding government, resulting from the inability to conduct the public affairs, or from the elements of internal discord which were daily gaining strength in the cabinet, he would have acquired office without being encumbered with any obligations to yield obedience to the prejudices of his sovereign; and his position would have been very different from what it was. His political adversaries knew well the terms implied upon which he accepted office, and they shaped their attacks accordingly. As to the very subject on which he went out—the secularisation of Irish church property—it is evident Sir Robert was quite as well able to deal with it as the Whigs: but he was hampered by the position in which he was placed; and they acted accordingly. Hence their zeal, which soon wonderfully cooled when they returned to office themselves in the preceding year, with reference to this very question. Sir Robert had truly stated it to be, "whether parliament has the right—not the abstract legal

right; for who can doubt its right in that sense?—but the moral right to appropriate church property to secular purposes? Now Bishop Watson had, many years before, answered this very question. 'The true question,' said his lordship, 'is, whether the uses to which it is appropriated are such as an enlightened government can approve of; for we by no means contend that every appropriation, once made, whether beneficial to the community or not, must be perpetuated.' Now to apply this principle to the surplus property of the established church in Ireland (assuming that such surplus should be ascertained to exist), let us suppose that the property should be found just sufficient, but not redundant; and that a proposition were made to augment the already sufficient provision by a grant of secularised property—would an enlightened government approve of such a dedication of secular property? Would it not, therefore, be more just to apply, to purposes of unquestionable public utility, the redundant property of the established church, than to take from the laity a portion of their private property, in order to apply it to those purposes? It is true that one is corporate property, and the other is not; but it has been truly said, that to attach an equal inviolability to private and corporate property, is to do violence to all common notions on the subject." The man who could reason thus was no bigot; and would, if left to himself, have been ready to act with church property in a fair and legitimate manner.

On the same day that Sir Robert Peel announced to the House of Commons the dissolution of the government, the Duke of Wellington did the same in the House of Lords.

On the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, his majesty sent for, and had a conference with, Earl Grey; but what passed between them did not become public.

His majesty then sent for Lord Melbourne, and confided to him, it is believed unconditionally, the formation of a government.

The task thus assigned to Lord Melbourne was not performed without difficulty, owing, it is believed, to the refusal of Earl Spencer to accept office, and to the discordance of opinion which existed between Lord Melbourne, and other leading Whigs, respecting their Irish policy. At the time of the dissolution of the former administration of Lord Melbourne, the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland was held by the Marquis Wellesley; and the office of Attorney-general by Mr. Blackburne—men of no ordinary abilities, and fully conscious of the high reputation they enjoyed; but both equally obnoxious to Mr. O'Connell. The Marquis Wellesley did not accept office under Sir Robert Peel's administration; but Mr. Blackburne, who had been originally appointed by Lord Grey, and continued by Lord Melbourne, remained in office under Sir Robert Peel. There was no difficulty, then, in getting rid of him; and a lawyer of high repute and liberal opinions, Serjeant Perrin, was promoted to his place. The Marquis Wellesley was induced to resign, and accept the office of Lord Chamberlain.

On the 18th of April, the formation of a new government was announced in parliament. The Irish difficulty had been surmounted. So soon as the motion was made for the issuing of a new writ for the election of a member in the room of Mr. Serjeant Perrin, in consequence of his having accepted office as Attorney-general for Ireland, Mr. O'Connell, and the Irish members of his party who were present, rose from their seats, and took up their position on the ministerial side, amidst the derisive cheers of the Conservatives.

The new cabinet was composed of the following persons, besides Lord Melbourne:—Lord Lansdowne, President of the Council; Lord Auckland, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Duncannon, Lord Privy Seal, and Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests; Lord John Russell, Home Secretary; Lord Palmerston, Foreign; Mr. C. Grant, Colonial; Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India; Lord Howick, Secretary at War; Mr. Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Mulgrave (now the Marquis of Normanby), who had acquired

some reputation as governor of Jamaica, was appointed Irish Lord-Lieutenant, with Lord Morpeth for Secretary, and Lord Plunket as Chancellor. Lord Brougham was not reappointed Lord Chancellor of England; but the great seal was put in commission—the commissioners being, Sir Christopher Pepys (afterwards Lord Cottenham), Sir Lancelot Shadwell, and Mr. Justice Bosanquet.

The Irish difficulty was not yet, however. How could it be? Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles. A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit. The Irish faction overthrew Sir Robert Peel, and helped the Whigs back to place and power; but the Whigs were unable to rule Ireland, or to rescue that unhappy land from the factions which desolated it then, as they desolate it now. No statesman dared lay the axe at the root of the evil, nor soften the monstrous anomaly of the church of the few, and the wealthy growing rich from the compulsory offerings of the many and the poor.

It is not generally known—indeed, we believe that it has never been stated in print, but it is a fact, nevertheless—that the office of Secretary of State for Ireland was offered to Lord Palmerston, and refused by him, before it was accepted by Sir Robert (then Mr.) Peel. Accepting that office, Mr. Peel became fixed in a groove, from which he could only extricate himself, and that not till many years had elapsed, at the sacrifice of his peace of mind, and, at the time, of his fair fame. Lord Palmerston was too advanced in Liberalism to commit himself; but had he taken that office, and allowed to have his own way, Irish history might have assumed a much more pleasing character. Ireland would have been less of a stumbling-block and difficulty. Possibly—we may say probably—O'Connell would have been conciliated; Ireland would have had a far better Reform Bill; and the cry of repeal would never have been raised. Mr. Peel, pledged as he was to the Orange party, was not the man for Ireland; and Lord Stanley was still more unfitted for the post. Lord Palmerston showed his accustomed sagacity in refusing the offer; yet we cannot but regret that Irish affairs had not the benefit of that sagacity—a sagacity which never irritated opponents, or converted friends into foes. Irishmen would have found in his lordship a humour equal to their own, and faction would have been disarmed by his wisdom, geniality, and fair play.

Even at this time, however, his lordship had attracted little of public attention. Englishmen had not then began to take much interest in public affairs. Nor could it be well expected that they should, seeing that they had so much to attend to at home, in reforming the many abuses which had grown up under the reaction occasioned by the first French revolution, and an extravagant war expenditure. Rotten boroughs had to be rooted up; sinecures abolished; humaner laws introduced; commerce to be freed; and the church and the rich taught to do their duty to the poor, who had been suffered to grow up in heathenism, vice, and want. Really few knew, or cared to know, what Lord Palmerston was about.

"Of Lord Palmerston," wrote Mr. Grant, in his *Random Recollections*, "I have but little to say. The situation he fills in the cabinet gives him a certain degree of prominence in the eyes of the country, which he certainly does not possess in parliament. His talents are by no means of a high order. Assuredly they would never, by their own native energy, have raised him to the distinguished position in the councils of his sovereign in which a variety of accidental circumstances have placed him. He is an indifferent speaker. I have sometimes seen him acquit himself, when addressing the House, in a very creditable manner; but he often stutters and stammers to a very unpleasant extent, and makes altogether an indifferent exhibition. His voice is clear and strong, but has a degree of harshness about it which makes it grate on the ear. He is very indolent. He is also very irregular in his attendance on his parliamentary duties; and when in the House, is by no means active in his defence either of his principles or his friends. Scarcely anything calls him up except a regular attack upon himself, or in the way in which the department of the public service with which he is entrusted is administered.

"In person Lord Palmerston is tall and handsome. His face is round, and is of a darkish hue. His hair is black, and always exhibits proofs of the skill and attention of the *perruquier*. His clothes are in the extreme of fashion. He is very vain of his personal appearance, and is generally supposed to devote more of his time in sacrificing to the graces than is consistent with the duties of a person who has so much to do with the destinies of Europe. Hence it is that the *Times* newspaper has fastened upon him the *sobriquet* of Cupid."

This was written in 1836. Mr. Grant lived to alter his opinion as to Lord Palmerston's talents. Nowhere was Lord Palmerston more vehemently lauded than by Mr. Grant in the *Morning Advertiser*, of which he became the editor. For years the burden of his song was, that the country could be saved by the talents, eloquence, and wisdom of Lord Palmerston alone.

CHAPTER XXX.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE great question of reform settled, other questions which had been long agitating the public mind were speedily carried. The chief of these was negro emancipation.

For years a change had been coming over the mind of the people. We English had been greatly in the habit of encouraging slavery. We had planted it in America; and it was believed to be impossible to cultivate the West India Islands without it. Merchants, in Liverpool and London, were growing rich by the infamous slave-trade; and even here, on the free soil of England, it was believed that the slave remained a slave still. For him there was no asylum of peace and safety even here. Slaves were sold or re-captured here publicly a hundred years ago. For instance, the *Gazetteer*, of 1769, contained the following advertisement of articles for sale:—"At the 'Bull and Gate' Inn, Holborn—a chesnut gelding; a tun of whiskey; and a well-made, good-tempered black boy." Rewards were offered for recovering and securing fugitive slaves, and conveying them to ships down the river. That no shame was felt at the open recognition of slavery, is apparent from an advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 16th of May, 1768, offering a reward to whoever would apprehend a negro boy, and bring him, or send tidings of him, to Mr. Alderman Beckford, in Pall Mall. The *Public Advertiser*, of the 28th of November, 1769, contains this advertisement:—"TO BE SOLD—a black girl (the property of J. B.), eleven years of age, who is tolerably handy; works at her needle, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition. Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the 'Angel' Inn, behind St. Clement's Church, in the Strand." The leading lawyers all believed that slavery was sanctioned and confirmed by the laws of England. Such was the opinion of Mr. Yorke, Attorney-general; and of Mr. Talbot, Solicitor-general of England, in 1729. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was said to be of the same way of thinking: they all decided, that the slave, by coming into England, did *not* become free; that his owner's property in him was in no respect determined or waived; and that the master might legally compel the slave to return to the plantation. This was the view which was proved to be erroneous by the courageous perseverance of a single individual. The name of that man was Granville Sharp.

This distinguished philanthropist (for such he was) began life as an apprentice to a linendraper on Tower Hill; but leaving that business after his apprenticeship was out, he next became clerk in the Ordnance Office; and it was while engaged in

that humble position that he carried on, in his spare hours, the work of negro emancipation. His connection with this question arose as follows:—

William Sharp, the brother of Granville, was a surgeon in Mineing Lane; and amongst the numerous applicants for relief at his surgery, was a poor African, named Jonathan Strong. It appeared that this poor fellow had been so brutally used by his master—a Barbadoes lawyer, then in London—that he had been thereby rendered lame, and almost blind; and being unable to work, was thus turned adrift. In a wretched state of disease he found his way to the surgery, and was sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he soon after got cured. On coming out the two brothers supported him, having no idea that any one had a claim on him. They even got him a place; and it was while he was attending his mistress behind a hackney-coach, that his former owner, the Barbadoes lawyer, recognised him, and determined to recover the possession of his slave, now rendered valuable by his restoration to health. The lawyer had him arrested; and, in his distress, he sent to Sharp, who had actually forgotten his name. Sharp visited the man in gaol, and had him carried before the Lord Mayor. As no charge was made against Strong, and as the Lord Mayor was incompetent to deal with the legal question as to Strong's right to liberty or otherwise, he discharged him. The man's owner immediately gave notice to Sharp of his intention to recover his slave: and then the struggle in favour of negro emancipation began; and, supported as it was by the evangelical clergy and the great body of dissenters in this country, became irresistible.

The gigantic struggle was commenced by Sharp single-handed As all the lawyers were against him, he had to find out the law for himself—no easy task to one who had never opened a law-book in his life; and, as his work at the Ordnance Office took up all his time by day, it was only by night that he could prosecute the noble cause. Two years were devoted by him to the study of the laws affecting personal liberty in England. In this tedious and protracted inquiry he had none to help or assist in any way. At length, to the astonishment of the lawyers, he was justified in writing—"God be thanked, there is nothing in any English law or statute, at least that I am able to find out, that can justify the enslaving of others." He drew up the result of his studies in a summary form. It was a plain, clear, and manly statement, entitled, *On the Injustice of Tolerating Slavery in England*. Numerous copies, made by himself, were circulated by him amongst the most eminent lawyers of his time. Strong's owner, finding the sort of man he had to do with, endeavoured to compromise; but Sharp went on circulating his manuscript tracts, until, at length, the lawyers on the other side were deterred from proceeding further; and the result was, that the plaintiff was compelled to pay treble costs for not bringing forward his action. In 1769 this wonderful tract was printed.

Henceforth Sharp devoted himself to the emancipation of the negroes arrived in this country. Amongst other cases which he took up was the following:—An African, named Lewis, was seized one dark night by two watermen, employed by a person who claimed to be the negro proprietor. Lewis was dragged into the water, hoisted into a boat, where he was gagged, and his limbs tied; and then, rowing down the river, they put him on board a ship bound for Jamaica, where he was sold as a slave on his arrival in that island. Mrs. Bankes (mother of Sir Joseph) had, however, heard the poor fellow's cries, and informed Mr. Sharp of the outrage. Sharp immediately got a warrant to bring back Thomas Lewis, and proceeded to Gravesend; but, on his arrival there, the ship in which the negro was placed had left for the Downs. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained; sent down to Spithead; and before the ship could leave the shore the writ was served. The slave, chained to the mainmast, and bathed in tears at the thought of the future which awaited him, was liberated and brought back to London; and a warrant was immediately issued against the author of the outrage. The case was tried before Lord Mansfield. On that occasion, Mr. Dunning, one of the counsel employed on

behalf of the negro, declared, before the court, that he was prepared to prove that "no man can be legally detained as a slave in this country." Lord Mansfield, however, avoided that issue, and discharged the negro, because the defendant could bring no evidence that Lewis was even nominally his property.

Next came the important case of James Somerset, when the question of the personal liberty of the negro in England was at length decided. Somerset had been brought to this country by his master, and left here. Afterwards his master sought to apprehend him, and to send him off to Jamaica for sale. Mr. Sharp at once took the case in hand, and employed counsel for the defence. Lord Mansfield intimated that the case was one of such general concern that he should take the opinion of all the judges on it. Here we can attempt no analysis of this memorable trial. The arguments extended to a great length, and were carried over to the next term. It was adjourned and re-adjourned; but, at length, judgment was given by Lord Mansfield, in whose powerful mind a gradual change had been worked by the arguments of counsel, based mainly on Granville Sharp's tract. He then declared that the claim of slavery could not be supported; that the power claimed never was in use in England, or acknowledged by the law; that, therefore, the man James Somerset must be discharged. By securing this judgment, Granville Sharp effectually abolished the slave-trade, until then carried on openly in the streets of Liverpool and London; and he also firmly established the glorious maxim, that as soon as the slave sets foot on English ground he becomes free. The Ordnance clerk had done more for humanity than all the kings and statesmen of his day. When the war between England and America broke out, Mr. Sharp resigned his situation at the Ordnance Office, as he was resolved not in any way to be connected with a struggle of which he so entirely disapproved. Sharp by no means confined his exertions to the cause of the negro; but, to the last, he held to the great object of his life—the abolition of slavery. In his labours he was succeeded by Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, and Buxton.

Before the death of Sharp, Clarkson had already turned his attention to the subject of negro slavery. He had even selected it for the subject of a college essay; and his mind became so possessed by it that he could not shake it off. The spot is pointed out, near Wade's Mill, in Hertfordshire, where, alighting from his horse one day, he sat down disconsolate by the turf on the road-side, and, after long thinking, determined to devote himself wholly to the work. He translated his essay from Latin into English, added fresh illustrations, and published it. Then fellow-labourers gathered around him. The society for abolishing the slave-trade had already been formed; and when he heard of it, he joined it. He sacrificed all his prospects in life for this cause. Wilberforce was selected to lead in parliament; but upon Clarkson chiefly devolved the labour of collecting and arranging the immense mass of evidence offered in support of the abolition. Of the extent of his labours, we get a slight idea when we mention that, for some years, he conducted a correspondence with upwards of 400 persons, and travelled more than 35,000 miles during the same time, in search of evidence.

Of Wilberforce and Brougham we have already spoken: nor must we omit here the poet Cowper, who did so much, by his poems, to permeate the middle classes in this country with sound anti-slavery feeling. There was a time when every boy, decently brought up, was taught to repeat—

> "Forced from home, and all its pleasures,
> Afric's coast I left forlorn,
> To increase a stranger's treasures,
> O'er the raging billows borne."

When the Reform Bill was carried, these boys had become men, and were invested with political power; which power, as we shall see, they soon wielded in favour of the slave.

Wilberforce and his friends had carried the suppression of the slave-trade; but

slavery, in all its iniquity, prevailed in our own West Indian dominions. The efforts of philanthropists were now exerted to put that down.

Of this new movement the parliamentary leader was Mr. Buxton, M.P. for Weymouth. Already he was a member of the African Institution, a society established by Mr. Wilberforce and his coadjutors, to watch over the law which, with so much difficulty, had been obtained in 1807, abolishing the trade in slaves between Africa and our colonies.

In May, 1821, Mr. Wilberforce wrote Mr. Buxton a letter, in which, after referring to his own declining health and strength, he begged the latter to devote himself to the subject in parliament. His wife's sister, Priscilla Gurney, on her death-bed, had proffered a similar prayer. Many of his other friends had also spoken with him on the subject; but he hesitated long, fearing that the discussion of it in England might lead to a servile war in the West Indies. In the autumn of 1822, Mr. Buxton appears to have arrived at his final decision; and in January, 1823, we find him and Macaulay visiting Mr. Wilberforce at Marden, and arranging the plan to be pursued in the ensuing session. Anti-slavery operations were now commenced with vigour; and, for some time, all went on well. Dr. Lushington, Lord Suffield, and several others who had taken a prominent part in the reformation of prison discipline, now threw all their energies into this new undertaking. Early in March, Mr. Wilberforce published his well-known appeal on behalf of the slaves; and, about the same time, the Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and the committee engaged warmly in the task of collecting evidence, and spreading information through the country. Public feeling was soon aroused, and petitions began to flow in. The lead was taken by the Society of Friends; and it was determined that the presentation of their appeal should be the commencement of their parliamentary campaign.

On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Buxton moved, in the House of Commons—"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." An animated debate ensued, and Mr. Canning moved an amendment, which was carried; and was as follows:—

"1. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in his majesty's colonies.

"2. That through a determined and persevering, but, at the same time, judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his majesty's subjects.

"3. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

In accordance with the resolutions of the House, at the end of May, circular letters were addressed by the government to the various colonial authorities, recommending them to adopt the following reforms:—

"1. To provide the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population.

"2. To put an end to markets and to labour on the Sunday: to allow the negroes equivalent time, on other days, for the cultivation of their provision grounds.

"3. To protect the slaves, by law, in the acquisition and possession of property, and in the transmission, by bequest or otherwise.

"4. To legalise the marriage of slaves, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.

"5. To prevent the separation of families by sale or otherwise.

"6. To restrain, generally, the power, and to prevent the abuse, of arbitrary punishment at the will of the master.

"7. To abolish the degrading corporal punishment of females.

"8. To admit the testimony of slaves in courts of justice.

"9. To prevent the seizure of slaves detached from the estate or plantation to which they belonged.

"10. To remove all the existing obstructions to manumission; and to grant to the slave the power of redeeming himself, and his wife and children, at a fair price.

"11. To abolish the use of the driving-whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority, or as a stimulus to labour.

"12. To establish savings' banks for the use of the slaves."

Surely these moderate recommendations ought to have been accepted by the colonial assemblies. The emancipation party were reasonable enough. In a letter to Sir James Mackintosh, dated November 30th, 1823, Mr. Buxton writes—"How often have I wished that the good cause were blessed with the full, hearty, unreserved co-operation of yourself! * * * With that aid, and with that of Brougham, of whom we are sure, I doubt not that the sons of the present slaves will be reduced to a state of villenage, and their grandsons will be free men." This was gradual emancipation with a vengeance. The insanity of the planters themselves precipitated the *denouement*. The news of Mr. Buxton's attack on what the planters conceived to be their just rights, and of the acquiescence of the government in his principles, were received, in the West Indies, with the most vehement indignation. For some weeks after the arrival of the despatches, not the slightest restraint seems to have been put on the violence of their rage, which drove them to the wildest designs. Thoughts were openly entertained of resisting the innovation of the government by force of arms. It was even proposed to throw off the yoke of the mother-country, and place themselves under the protection of America. They could find no language sufficiently bitter to express their rancour; and the colonial legislatures unanimously resolved to refuse submission to the recommendations of government.

At Demerara, the authorities endeavoured to conceal from the negroes the order in council. They, in consequence, fancied that "the great King of England had set them free;" and under this impression they refused to work. Compulsion was resorted to; they resisted, and commenced outrages on the persons and property of the whites. Martial law was proclaimed; the soldiers were called out; and the most infamous severities were resorted to. In England, faint-hearted men forsook the anti-slavery party, and Mr. Canning forfeited his pledge. Mr. Buxton was everywhere abused. In 1824, he writes—"I much question whether there is a more unpopular individual in the House, just at this moment, than myself." Mr. Canning quailed in the face of such determined opposition. Messrs. Buxton and Brougham were of sterner mould, and did good service by their exposure of the sufferings of the missionaries, Smith and Shrewsbury.

On the 1st of March, 1825, Mr. Buxton presented the London petition against slavery. It was signed by 72,000 persons. In his speech, he praised the order in council enforced in Trinidad; and pointed out how ineffectual had been the recommendations of the government to the legislatures of the other islands. At the close of this session there was a pause in the operations of the abolitionists. As Mr. Canning had positively declared that the government would give the colonial legislature another year's trial before it would take the task of amelioration into its own hands, nothing remained for the anti-slavery party but to await the expiration of that period.

On the 9th of May, 1826, Mr. Buxton brought the Mauritius question before parliament. That island had not been ceded by France to England till 1810, which was three years after the abolition of the British slave-trade. It

appeared that, partly owing to that circumstance, and partly to the facilities afforded by the proximity of the African coast, the traffic had never been put down in those quarters, except during one or two brief intervals.

In 1828, Sir George Murray, as a last experiment, despatched circular letters to all the colonial assemblies; once more urging them, in strong terms, to effect for themselves the required improvement in the condition of the slaves. These circular letters were entirely disregarded. Most truly did Mr. Stanley state, in his speech on the 14th of May, 1833, "that it was not till all means had been exhausted—till every suggestion had been made—till every warning had been given, and had not only been given in vain, but had been met by the colonial legislature with the most determined opposition, that England took the work of reconstructing West Indian society into her own hands."

In 1830, a great impulse was given to the cause by Mr. Henry Brougham, who moved—"That this House will early take into its most serious consideration the state of slavery in the colonies of this country, with the view of mitigating, and finally abolishing the same; and more especially with a view of amending the administration of justice in the said colonies." Mr. Brougham concluded as follows:—"I trust that at length the time is come when parliament will no longer be told that slave-owners are the best law-givers on slavery—no longer suffer our voice to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights; talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or the heart, the same sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of the laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world—the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of wealth, power, and knowledge; to another all unutterable woes. Such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject, with indignation, the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man. In vain you appeal to treaties—to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To these laws did they of old refer who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not, assuredly, by parliament leading the way: but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware; let their assemblies beware; let the government at home beware; let the parliament beware! The same country is once more awake—awake to the condition of negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave-trade: and if it shall descend again, they on whom its crash may fall will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God."

This speech was afterwards published by the orator, among his collected speeches, and is preceded by this observation, written by himself—"The following speech was delivered on the 13th of July, 1830." It is believed to have mainly contributed towards Mr. Brougham's election as member for the county of York, which took place a few weeks afterwards. Thus, as a leader of the people, Mr. Brougham gained much by his motion, and his party did the same; though it was defeated, in the House of Commons, by fifty-six against, to twenty-seven for. Mr.

Brougham proposed no plan, neither did he blame the government for any negligence on their part respecting the matter. Mr. Wilmot Horton endeavoured to divert Mr. Brougham from his course by proposing a series of resolutions, full of complicated details; the only purpose of which was to evade the difficulty which Mr. Brougham's proposal raised. To these resolutions, Sir George Murray, the colonial minister, stated that he could not assent; but he entreated Mr. Brougham to withdraw his motion, in order that the world might not be led to believe that the subject was not considered of importance by the House of Commons; to which conclusion they would certainly come, if they were to judge by the numbers who would divide upon the motion being put. This consideration was also pressed by Sir Robert Peel, who said, besides, that there were expressions used in the resolution to which he could not assent. He saw much practical evil, he said, in coming to an abstract resolution in favour of abolition, without having previously determined on the means to be employed in effecting it. Besides this reason, there was another, he said, still more important. The resolution made no mention of compensation; and no precautions were alluded to for preparing the slaves for freedom. The ministry of that day were blind. Indeed, the old Tory party and their leaders appear, all through the reign of George IV., to have been unusually blind. Any one who had, at that time, carefully watched the changes in public opinion, and attended to the growth and gradual formation of ideas on this subject, could not have failed to perceive that the country was rapidly becoming anti-slavery. Watching, then, the signs of the times, a wise minister would have resolved to yield to the imperious feelings of the people, and would have prepared the way for giving effect to the popular will at the least possible expense and trouble. The leaders of the Tory party lost a splendid opportunity of doing good, and becoming popular at once.

In the meanwhile, in this country the anti-slavery party had become irresistible. In May, 1830, a crowded meeting assembled in the Freemasons' Hall, with Mr. Wilberforce in the chair. The first resolution, moved by Mr. Buxton, expressed, that "no proper or practicable means should be left unattempted for effecting, at the earliest period, the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions." It was seconded by Lord Milton. Other resolutions and speeches followed, in the same strain, till at length Mr. Pownall rose to declare, in a few vigorous words, that temporising measures ought at once to be abandoned. "The time," said he, "is come when we should speak out, and speak boldly our determination that slavery should exist no longer." In Edinburgh a similar feeling was manifested. After an eloquent address from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Jeffrey, urging the meeting to aim at nothing short of "abolishing slavery at the earliest practical period," Dr. Andrew Thompson broke in with a vehement protest against any further pretext for delay, exclaiming—"We ought to tell the legislature, plainly and strongly, that no man has a right to a property in man; that there are 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage, under the intolerable evils of West Indian slavery, who have as good a right to be free as we ourselves have; that they ought to be free; and that they *must* be made free." A petition, signed by 22,000 persons, was the result of this speech. The people were preparing to move: the government, however, evinced no such disposition.

In 1831, with the Whigs in power, Mr. Buxton made another effort in parliament. In a speech full of facts, he showed how the population of the West India islands was rapidly decreasing. In the last ten years, he stated that the slave population, in the fourteen sugar-growing colonies, had decreased by the number of 48,000 persons. In Tobago, within ten years, one-sixth of the slave population had perished. In Demerara, 12,000, and in Trinidad, 6,000, had been the decrease in twelve years. "The fact is," he said, "that in Trinidad, as the late Mr. Marryat observed, the slaves die off like rotten sheep." He then showed, that while, in slavery, the numbers of the negroes decreased thus rapidly, in freedom they were doubling. For example, the free black population of Demerara had

been increased by half in fourteen years; and the free negroes of Hayti had increased by 520,000 in twenty years "Now, sir," he continued, "if the blacks in slavery had increased as the free blacks have increased, the slave population should have added, in the last ten years, 200,000 to its numbers, whereas that number has been diminished by 45,000. To keep, *pari passu*, with the free blacks, the blacks in slavery should have increased 20,000 a year, whereas they have decreased 4,000 a year. They should have increased fifty a day, whereas they have decreased ten a day. For this effect, this striking exception to the law of nature, there must be a specific cause. It could not occur by accident. What *is* the cause? I will tell the House what it is *not*. It is not, as it has been affirmed to be, any disproportion between the sexes—any deficiency in the number of females. In 1814, the number of female slaves exceeded that of males by 5,000. The cause, therefore, of this decrease in the slave population is not any disproportion between the sexes; it is not war, sweeping away its thousands; it is not climate; it is not soil. If any one thinks that the last two circumstances may operate injuriously upon the slave population, I ask him why, under the same circumstances, the free black population has so much increased? Sir, the real cause is, the forced labour in the sugar colonies, and nothing else. The law of nature would be too strong for any other cause. It is too strong for climate; witness Bencoolen. It is too strong for war; witness Africa. It is too strong for savage life; witness the Maroons of Jamaica. It is too strong for vice and misery; witness Hayti. All such impediments yield to the law of nature; but the law of nature yields to the cultivation of sugar in the sugar colonies. Where the blacks are free they increase. Climate, soil, war, vice, misery, are too feeble to withstand the current of nature. But let there be a change in only one circumstance—let the population be the same in every respect—only let them be slaves instead of free men, and the current is immediately stopped." Mr. Buxton concluded by moving—"That, in the resolutions of 1823, the House distinctly recognised it to be their solemn duty to take measures for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. That, in the eight years which have since elapsed, the colonial assemblies have not taken measures to carry the resolutions of the House into effect. That, deeply impressed with a sense of the impropriety, inhumanity, and injustice of colonial slavery, this House will proceed to consider of, and adopt, the best means of effecting its abolition throughout the British dominions." The motion was seconded, in an able speech, by Lord Morpeth.

On behalf of the ministry, Lord Althorp stated, that although he could not consent to this motion, he thought it was time to adopt other measures with the colonists than those of mere recommendations; and that he should propose that a distinction in the rate of duties should be made in favour of those colonies which should comply with the wishes of the government as to amelioration.

When the session of 1832 commenced, the nation was shaken to its centre by the closing struggle on the reform question. The attention of all parties was, however, for a time, recalled to the subject of slavery; first, by the evident irritation expressed in the colonies at the declaration of Lord Althorp—declared in the preceding year—that he would insist upon the enforcement of ameliorating measures (at one of the public meetings of the planters, in Jamaica, this determination was affirmed to be "unjust and inhuman;" while the allegations of the anti-slavery party were stigmatised as "the false and infamous representations of interested and infuriated lunatics"); and, secondly, by the news of an alarming insurrection among the negroes in Jamaica, who, from hearing the indignant expressions of their masters against the home government, conceived that the "free paper was come," and had been suppressed by the planters. An attempt was made by the latter to implicate the missionaries, and some of the clergy, in the rebellion of the slaves; and Messrs. Gardner and Knibb were actually arrested on the charge, and indictments made out against them. The case, however, against the former completely broke down; and the Attorney-general abandoned the

charge against the other. In fact, not one tittle of evidence was ever adduced against them.

Undaunted, Mr. Buxton resolved to proceed, in spite of the opposition of the leading parties in the state. Lord Althorp was in favour of gradual amelioration. Sir Robert Peel believed the effect of immediate emancipation would be "frightful calamities," which he "shuddered to contemplate." In May, 1832, Buxton moved for "a committee to consider and report upon the best means of abolishing the state of slavery throughout the British dominions, with a due regard to the safety of all parties concerned." Lord Althorp moved his amendment, adding—"Conformably to the resolutions of 1823." Then came the time, graphically described by Mr. Buxton's eldest daughter.

"They [privately] besought my father to give way, and not to press them to a division. They hated, they said, dividing against him when their hearts were all for him. It was merely a nominal difference; why should they split hairs? He was sure to be beaten. Whence was the use of bringing them all into difficulty, and making them vote against him? He told us he thought he had a hundred applications of the kind in the course of the evening; in short, nearly every friend he had in the House came to him, and, by all considerations of reason and friendship, besought him to give way. Mr. Evans was almost the only person who took the other side. I watched my father with indescribable anxiety; seeing the members, one after another, come and sit down by him, and judging but too well, from their gestures, what their errand was. One of them went to him four times, and, at last, sent up a note to him, with these words—'Immovable as ever?' To my uncle Hoare, who was under the gallery, they went repeatedly; but with no success, for he would only send him a message to persevere. My uncle described to me one gentleman, not a member, who was near him, under the gallery, as having been in a high state of agitation all the evening, exclaiming—'Oh, he won't stand—he'll yield. I'd give a hundred pounds—I'd give a thousand pounds to have him divide! Noble, noble, noble! What a noble fellow he is!'—according to the various changes in the aspect of things. Among others, Mr. Hume came across to try his eloquence. 'Now don't be so obstinate; just put in this one word —interest; it makes no real difference; and then all will be easy. You will only alienate the government. Now,' said he, 'I'll just tell Lord Althorp you have consented.' My father replied—'I don't think I exaggerate when I say I would rather your head were off, and mine too. I am sure I'd rather yours were.' What a trial it was! He said, afterwards, he could compare it to nothing but a continual tooth-drawing the whole evening." Buxton was in a minority; but, as Lord Althorp confessed, that minority settled the question.

Pursuant to the amended resolution, a committee was named, of which Sir James Graham was chairman. Much of the evidence brought before it related to the insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, which had been followed by proceedings, on the part of the colonists, equally deserving the name of insurrection, had they not been perpetrated by the militia, the magistrates, and the gentry of the island. These persons had come to a resolution to maintain slavery by putting down the religious instruction of the negroes. They accordingly destroyed seventeen chapels, and inflicted upon the pastors and the flocks every species of cruelty and insult. "I stake my character," said Mr. Buxton, "on the accuracy of the fact, that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime save that of worshipping God." The more obnoxious missionaries, particularly Messrs. Knibb and Burchell, were driven from the island, and arrived in England at the very juncture when their evidence before the committee was of the utmost value, and went forth to the country under parliamentary sanction. They then travelled through England and Scotland, holding meetings in all the principal towns; and their eloquence contributed most powerfully to arouse the religious world. The investigations of the committee of both Houses were published together; and the general impression was, that they had established two

points—first, that slavery was an evil for which there was no remedy but extirpation; and, secondly, that its extirpation would be safe.

In 1833, when parliament met, Mr. Buxton gave notice of a motion for negro emancipation, for the 19th of March, he having previously been deeply disappointed by finding no allusion to it in the royal speech. As ministers promised to assume the initiative, he abandoned his motion. He soon found he had been too sanguine. At the end of a few days, fresh causes of anxiety began to arise. To his dismay, he heard a rumour, that Lord Howick, on the soundness of whose principles he thoroughly relied, was about to resign his office, on the ground that the cabinet refused to concur in his scheme of immediate emancipation. Afterwards he learned that the government were inclined to make the negroes buy out their own freedom. The details of the measure Mr. Buxton could not learn; but the process was sure to be dilatory, and, on the face of it, unjust. Full of chagrin and disappointment, he hurried to Dr. Lushington. They agreed to call a special committee of the Anti-Slavery Society on the following day; and he then went home, looking as if "some heavy misfortune had befallen him." The next day, the heads of the party, disappointed at the conduct of ministers, resolved to appeal to the public; and the people were aroused. A little pamphlet, *Three Months in Jamaica*, by a Mr. Whiteley—a book-keeper just returned from the West Indies—had a wonderful circulation; and, let us add, a wonderful effect.

At the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held in April (Lord Suffield in the chair), the question of compensation had to be met. The government felt that they could carry no plan of emancipation of which compensation did not form a part. The great body of the public were averse to any such idea. The leaders of the movement were, however, ready to pay that price for government support. Mr. Buxton undertook the delicate task of introducing the proposal. He was ably followed by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Joseph J. Gurney, and others: and their exertions appeared to be crowned with unexpected success.

May 14th was the day appointed for the introduction, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Stanley, of the government scheme. The steam was got up. A million and a-half of petitions were poured into the House; and just at this moment, when the ferment was at its highest, a step was taken which gave double effect to all the previous proceedings. A circular was addressed, by the committee, to the friends of the cause in every considerable town, requesting them to appoint delegates, who were to meet in London on the 18th of the month, to represent in person the wishes of the nation: 330 delegates appeared. They were a power; and they were felt to be such as they proceeded in a body to Downing Street.

At last the 14th of May arrived.

The proceedings of the evening commenced with the presentation of a huge petition from the females of Great Britain. The scene is thus described in the *Mirror of Parliament*:—

"Mr. Fowell Buxton, on presenting the petition from the females of Great Britain, said—'Ten days ago, this petition was not prepared; it was not even in contemplation: but within that short period, without any solicitation whatever, it has received, from all parts of the country through which it has been circulated, no less than 187,000 signatures. I wish to consult you, sir, as to the manner in which I am to get it to the table; for it is so heavy that I am really unable to carry it.'

"*The Speaker.*—'If the honourable gentleman cannot bring up the petition himself, he must procure the assistance of some other member of the House.'

"Three honourable members then went out with Mr. Buxton; and, by the united exertions of the four, the petition was brought in, and placed upon the table (as we are told elsewhere), amidst the laughter and cheers of the House. Mr. Stanley then opened the debate. He had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month; yet he showed that, vast as the subject was, he had, in that short time, carefully mastered all its details; had become conversant with all its difficulties and dangers; and was prepared to settle it for ever. He began by noticing the

depth and extent of public feeling upon the question of slavery, and that this feeling had its source in religious principle. 'There is,' he continued, 'throughout the country, from one end of it to the other, a determination—a determination the more absolute and irresistible, because it is founded on that deep religious feeling, on that solemn conviction of principle, which admits of no palliative or compromise, and which has declared itself in a voice to which no minister can be deaf, and which no minister who watches the signs of the times can misunderstand.' He then entered into the history of the case, pointing out how confidently parliament had looked for the co-operation of the colonial legislatures, and its disappointment. Not a single step had been taken by any of the colonial legislatures. Mr. Stanley referred to the extermination of population under the system of slavery; and then unfolded his plan, which was as follows:—

"That slavery be abolished throughout the British dominions; but that the present slaves should be apprenticed, for a certain period of time, to their former owners—that is, should be bound to labour for their former masters during three-fourths of the day; the master, in return, supplying them with food and clothing. Part of the slave's value would be secured in this way to his former owner: the remainder was to be paid, by England, in the shape of a loan of £15,000,000 sterling (afterwards changed to a gift of £20,000,000). All children under six years old were to be at once set completely free. Stipendiary magistrates were to be appointed to carry out these measures, and provision was to be made for the religious and moral training of the negro population.

"The negro was to be liable to corporal punishment if he refused to give his due portion of labour.

"When Mr. Stanley had announced the resolutions, of which these were the leading features, their further discussion was adjourned to the 30th of May."

The debates connected with the subject were protracted till the 12th of June. At this point, the grand object of the anti-slavery leaders was to see the government and parliament fully committed to the measure. "For," said Mr. Buxton, "were an amendment on this plan to be proposed and carried, and we were, in consequence, to lose this measure altogether, an insurrection would inevitably take place; and I confess I cannot, with firmness, contemplate so terrible a termination of slavery." Therefore, while protesting against the apprenticeship, they abstained from dividing the House upon it till the principle of the bill had been admitted. They also acquiesced in the grant of compensation to the planter. On the clause relating to the moral and religious instruction of the negroes, Mr. Buxton said—"I shall move, as an amendment, the words which have been used by the right honourable secretary in his speech—namely, that the system of instruction shall be conducted, not on exclusive, not on intolerant, but on liberal and comprehensive principles. I am the more anxious on this point, as I know, on the one hand, the extreme animosity of the colonists to all religious teachers of their slaves, except those of the church of England; while, on the other hand, I know the vast benefits which the dissenting missionaries have imparted, and are likely to impart, to the negro population. I think a system of perfect and unbounded toleration ought to prevail in the West Indies, as in England."

The first and most important struggle was in the duration of the apprenticeship. Mr. Buxton moved an amendment for limiting it to the shortest period necessary for establishing the system of free labour, and suggested the term of one year. "For," he said, "if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how any one can suppose that we shall be able to obtain the labour of the negroes, is to me unintelligible." After a spirited debate, the amendment was lost, though only by a minority of seven: but, as Lord Howick observed, the first-fruits of the discussion were gathered the next day, when Mr. Stanley consented to reduce the period of apprenticeship from twelve to seven years.

Mr. Buxton voted for the grant of £20,000,000 to the planters, as giving the best chance, and the fairest prospect, of a peaceful termination of slavery (a large party of abolitionists in this country were, however, of a different opinion): but he moved, as an amendment, that one-half of that sum should not be paid till the apprenticeship should have terminated. He thought this would act as a check upon the planters in their treatment of the apprentices. This amendment was thrown out.

While the measure was passing through the Commons, Wilberforce died (July 29th), having, shortly before his death, exclaimed, with fervour—"Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give £20,000,000 sterling for the abolition of slavery!" The announcement of his death was received by the House of Commons—then in the midst of the discussion on compensation—with peculiar feeling. Mr. Buxton referred to the event; and, in expressing his love and admiration for the character of Wilberforce, applied to him the beautiful lines of Cowper—

"A veteran warrior in the Christian field,
Who never saw the sword he could not wield;
Who, when occasion justified its use,
Had wit as bright as ready to produce;
Could draw from records of an earlier age,
Or from philosophy's enlightened page,
His rich material, and regale the ear
With strains it was a luxury to hear."

On the 28th of August, the bill for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions received the royal assent. "Would," wrote Miss Buxton to Miss Macaulay, "that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer, that my father might have taken back to him, fulfilled, the task he gave him ten years ago!"

The friends of the cause were jubilant; but their joy was tempered with fear. Much anxiety was removed when it was known that the Emancipation Act had been favourably received in the West Indies; and that the colonial legislature had immediately prepared to carry it into effect on the 1st of the following August.

The long-expected day at length arrived. In England, the 1st of August, 1834, was kept very generally as a day of rejoicing. In the evening, the leading abolitionists dined together at the Freemasons' Tavern; the Earl of Mulgrave, the late governor of Jamaica, in the chair. In the colonies, the churches and chapels had been thrown open, and the slaves had crowded into them on the evening of the 31st of July. As the hour of midnight approached, they fell upon their knees, and awaited the solemn moment, all hushed in silent prayer. When twelve sounded from the chapel bells, they sprang upon their feet, and, through every island, rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of All, that the chains of the oppressor were broken, and that the slaves were free.

Freedom answered. Mr. Buxton writes to his wife—

"At Antigua seven important results have followed emancipation.

"*First.*—Wives and husbands, hitherto living on different estates, begin to live together.

"*Second.*—The number of marriages greatly increased. One of the clergy had married ten couple a week since the 1st of August.

"*Third.*—The schools greatly increased. A hundred children were added in one district.

"*Fourth.*—The planters complain that their whole weeding-gang, instead of going to work, go to school.

"*Fifth.*—All the young women cease to work in the fields, and are learning female employments.

"*Sixth.*—Friendly societies for mutual relief have increased.

"*Seventh.*—The work of the clergyman is doubled. One of the chapels which held 300, is being enlarged so as to contain 900, and will not be large enough.

"The utmost desire is felt by the negroes for religious instruction, and their children are in every way as quick in learning as the whites." The most influential and intelligent of the Antigua planters tells him that the experiment is answering to his entire satisfaction. "It will require some time," says the Bishop of Barbadoes, "for the planters to overcome their prejudices against machinery." He had not heard of any act of violence anywhere. The negroes are a very affectionate and docile race. The best news continued to arrive, from the West Indies, of the industry and excellent behaviour of the negroes. Crime had rapidly diminished; marriages had considerably increased; education and religion were progressing. "The accounts from the West Indies are capital," writes Mr. Buxton, March 7th, 1835. "This puts me into excellent spirits. The truth is, my spirits rise and fall according to the intelligence from that quarter."

The confusion of the pro-slavery party may be taken in favour of the success of emancipation. Mr. Raikes writes in Paris, 1835—"The accounts from Jamaica are tranquil and satisfactory. Lord Sligo's conduct, as governor, is much approved of. The negroes still continue to be indolent; but the arrival of some foreign emigrant labourers seems to create emulation among them."

On the 22nd of March, 1835, Mr. Buxton moved for a committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system. His investigations into this subject had cost him much time and labour; and he now brought forth a mass of statistical facts, proving, on the one hand, that the negroes had behaved extremely well; and, on the other, that they had been harassed by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishment. "This is my case," he said, in conclusion: "it shows at least this—that if the planters have misconducted themselves, they can find no excuse for it in the conduct of the negroes. There has been no disappointment in that quarter." The committee was granted; and, soon after, Sir George Grey (the Under-Secretary for the Colonies) introduced a bill for enforcing, in Jamaica, certain measures in favour of the negro.

At the end of 1837, a work was published by Messrs. Scoble and Sturge, who had visited the West Indies, describing the condition of the negro apprentices; and such general indignation was excited by their narrative, that, from all parts of the country, delegates were sent to London, in the beginning of 1838, to urge the discontinuance of the apprenticeship system. On the 30th of March, Sir George Strickland brought forward a motion for the abolition of the apprenticeship; but it was lost by a majority of sixty-four. The philanthropists, however, were not defeated. In May, just after Zachary Macaulay died, Sir Eardley Wilmot gained, by a majority of three, a motion against apprenticeship; and the planters afterwards agreed to surrender it on the 1st of August, 1838. "The intelligence was received with such a shout (wrote Mr. Buxton, no longer a M.P.: he had recently lost his election for Weymouth) by the Quakers—myself among the number—that we strangers were all turned out for rioting."

Mr. Buxton (afterwards Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton) lived till 1845, when he died. The blacks mourned his loss, and subscribed their pennies towards his monument in Westminster Abbey.

And thus the right thing was done, and a noble page in English history written. We are quite aware of the distress which overtook the planters in 1845; though we cannot believe that the cause of that was West India emancipation. In an essay, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, it was conclusively shown, by Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., that so rotten and ruinous was the state of affairs, generated by slavery and monopoly together, that a collapse, sooner or later, was inevitable; and almost (as in Ireland) a great good, as clearing the ground for a happier order of things. Even now, when we remember how the islands were being depopulated under slavery—how, in 1830, the Marquis of Chandos presented a petition from the India merchants and planters, setting forth the extreme distress

under which they laboured—it is clear that no other remedy was to be found than that of the abolition of slavery, and the introduction of free labour.

The state of things with which the statesmen of 1833 were to grapple with was this—a system established in the colonies, kept going by the mere force of law, which allowed no rights whatever to some 800,000 slaves, but merely regarded them as beasts of burden; which was slaughtering these workmen, and, at the same time, reducing their owners to a state of unparalleled distress, and resolving the most fertile islands in our possession to a state of decay and waste: and with a public opinion, here unanimous, that slavery should exist no more—that its curse and stain should for ever be wiped away—the way was clear for them how to act. It was impossible that they could err therein. Slavery and monopoly were, in the West India Islands, ruining the proprietors, and killing off the slaves; and, in this country, were exciting the strongest feelings, on the part of the public, of anger, reprobation, and shame. The ministry were compelled to act as they did. The evils of slavery had reached such a height, that it was impossible to ignore them any longer. It is no use writing about the laziness of Quashie, and his love for pumpkins, and an Adam-and-Eve simplicity of life and attire: that is beside the question. We saved the West Indies from anarchy and ruin by the abolition of slavery; we blotted out a huge and frightful evil; we set the world a good example; and we performed an act of noble and disinterested justice, which will blossom and bear fruit for many years to come.

The policy of emancipation has been a blessing to the West India Islands, negatively as well as positively. Colonel Edward D'Oyley became governor of Jamaica in 1661, and distributed plentifully in the island, Bibles, and dogs for hunting the runaway negroes. Till the act of emancipation passed, thirty insurrections of the slave population occurred—that of 1832 involving the lives of 700 of the slaves, and an expense of £161,596, independently of the value of property destroyed, which was estimated at £1,104,583; thus rendering a further loan of £300,000 necessary to meet the exigencies this occasioned.

Emancipation created a desire for education. Previously to the year 1823, there were not more than one or two schools, in the whole island, expressly for the instruction of the black population. Hence they were generally ignorant of the art of reading; "while their improvement," writes the Rev. Mr. Phillippo, "was universally opposed by the planters, as inimical to the future peace and prosperity of the island." By the published reports of 1841, it appears there were, belonging to different denominations of Christians throughout the island (as nearly as it can be ascertained from the imperfect data supplied), about 186 day-schools, 100 sabbath schools, and twenty or thirty evening schools—the latter chiefly for the instruction of adults. Other blessings followed from the same source.

Joseph John Gurney, who visited Jamaica in 1841, described himself as delighted with the manners, intelligence, and hospitality of the people. Six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and at the end of the second year of Sir Charles Metcalfe's government, he said—"The present condition of the peasantry in Jamaica is very striking. He did not suppose that any peasantry had so many comforts, or so much independence. Their behaviour was peaceable, and, in some respects, cheerful. They were found to attend divine service in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. They sent their children to school, and paid for their schooling; and not only attended the churches of their different communities, but subscribed for their respective churches. Their piety was remarkable, and, in some respects, he was happy to say, they deserved what they had. They were generally well-ordered and free from crime; had much improved in their habits; and were constant in their attendance on divine worship themselves, and in the attendance of their children; and were willing to pay the expenses." The masters have improved as much as their former slaves. In old times, Jamaica was described as a hell upon earth.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LORD PALMERSTON AT WORK.

LORD PALMERSTON is now in the office for which he appears to have had a special fondness. Up to this time we have heard little of him. He has been met with at dinner-times; he has had a reputation as a man of fashion. By the Tories of the Eldon school he has been regarded with distrust; but he is still a stranger to the public, and his movements are little heeded. All this is now to be altered. For the next thirty years we shall find him occupying the foremost place in British story.

In 1831, reform is still the question of the day. His lordship, as we have seen, has become a reformer. In the numerous debates on the subject he has spoken more than once; but in his office he has enough to do, and has to defend himself from hostile criticism, and, at the same time, to develop his plans for advancing constitutional government on the continent wherever he has a chance.

His lordship told parliament that, when he came into office, the nation was on the brink of being plunged into the calamities of war. Lord Aberdeen had recognised Louis Philippe: he had done more—he had recognised the independence of Belgium. But the settlement of the latter question was still to be achieved; and that was a work of immense difficulty. Leopold had been elected king ; but the separation of Belgium from Holland, which had been willed by the great powers, was not equally acquiesced in by the sovereign of the latter country; and the Prince of Orange, at the head of an army, marched against Belgium, to crush, as he said, the revolutionists. The Dutch gained some successes, when an armistice was applied for, which was granted. Attempts at negotiation, which led to no result, followed ; and in August, 1831, at the prayer of Leopold, the French, under Gerard, marched into Belgium ; and a British fleet was despatched as soon as it was possible. Many were the prophecies of evil. Lord Palmerston, however, would give no further explanations of the negotiations in which he was engaged. By the constitution, he said, the discretion of conducting treaties rested with the crown, and ministers were not to be interfered with in the conduct of important negotiations. Those who opposed reform, declared that one of the consequences of that measure would be, that the sovereign would be shorn of one-half of his prerogative. He could not say what might take place in a parliament in which Birmingham and Manchester were represented ; but a greater blow could not be struck at the prerogative of the crown, than was aimed at by an honourable member when he required a disclosure of negotiations then proceeding. Palmerston had to encounter new evils in conference. We have already spoken of Talleyrand. Another famous diplomatist was Prince Lieven, the Russian ambassador "After nineteen years' residence at our Court," writes Mr. Raikes in 1834, "a Russian ambassador, Prince Lieven, has been recalled home by the emperor. Attached as he and the princess are to English customs, society, and refinements, not only by habit, but by taste, a return to such a country as Russia, however honourably they may be greeted by their imperial master, must be intolerable. No foreigner, perhaps, ever before gained such influential footing in our best English society as the Lievens have acquired, from long residence, large fortunes, and an important political post. The gentleman-like manners and hospitality of the prince, combined with the talent and grand air of the princess, rendered their house not only the resort of the most distinguished society, but the rival of our own most magnificent establishments; while the princess, identified with all our English ideas, and occupied with the passing intrigues of the day, both in politics and

society, created for herself an influential position in the grand *monde* which no foreign ambassadress had ever previously enjoyed in this country. She was deeply engaged in all the cabals with Mr. Canning, in 1827, which ended in the resignation of the duke, and the short-lived administration of the other. On his grace's return to office, in 1828, she was anxious to regain his friendship; but the breach had been too flagrant ever entirely to be made up again. That event, and the death of the empress-mother, with whom she was long on the most intimate terms of friendship, latterly very much diminished her political importance in London. Prince Lieven was always supposed to act according to her suggestions. She was a great favourite of George IV., who much admired her musical talents; and, in those days, she was a constant visitor at the cottage in Windsor Park. I have occasionally seen her at the Duke of York's, at Oatlands; but that was seldom, as the duchess rarely admitted female society besides the household. Madame de Lieven is a Livonian by birth, and is remarkable for the distinction of her appearance as well as for her general talents. * * * She is the only foreigner who was ever made a patroness of Almack's, into the *tricasseries* of which establishment she entered very cordially; and, as her manner at times is tinctured with a certain degree of *hauteur*, she has not failed to make many enemies. Madame de Lieven is, however, in every sense of the word, a *très grande dame*, and has formed friendships and intimacies with the highest persons of all parties in England."

In this company, also, we must place the new King of the Belgians—the special *protégé* of Palmerston, and his best justification.

Leopold, Prince of Saxe-Coburg, was born in 1790, and came over to this country in the train of the allied sovereigns at the peace. His visit was a fortunate one for him, as he succeeded where the Prince of Orange had failed, and won the hand of our Princess Charlotte—not a very difficult thing to do, if we are to credit Lady Campbell, who writes, under the date of May 31st, 1814—" The latter [Princess Charlotte] told her mother, the last time they met, that she was determined not to marry the Prince of Orange. That his being approved of by the royal family was quite sufficient to make him disapproved of by her; for that she would marry a man who would be at *her* devotion, not theirs. 'Marry I will,' said she to the Princess of Wales, 'and that directly, in order to enjoy my liberty; but not the Prince of Orange. I think him so ugly, that I am sometimes obliged to turn away my head in disgust when he is speaking to me.' "

Miss Knight mentions Prince Leopold as "a handsome young man: a general in the Russian service; brother-in-law to the Grand Duke Constantine; and a great favourite with the Emperor of Russia." At first the wooing does not appear to have promised much. Miss Knight says—" He had been once at Warwick House, the Duchess of Leeds and myself being present. He paid many compliments to Princess Charlotte, who was by no means partial to him, and only received him with civility. However, Miss Mercer evidently wished to recommend him; and when we drove into the park, he would ride near the carriage, and endeavour to be noticed. There were reasons why this matter was by no means agreeable to Princess Charlotte. However, he certainly made proposals to the regent; and though rejected, found means to get into his favour. In the meanwhile, it was reported that he was frequently at Warwick House, and had even taken tea with us, which not one of the princes had done." Miss Knight felt extremely hurt at such rumours. "I, however, took the opportunity of contradicting any false reports he might have heard relative to the Prince of Saxe-Coburg; and he answered, that the prince was a most honourable young man, and had written a letter which perfectly justified himself." And so papa and daughter seemed pleased, which evinces no little tact. The wooing prospered. In a little while, Miss Knight writes—" Everybody talked of this marriage; and they told me the queen and prince-regent, when they wrote to order Princess Charlotte to Cranbourne and Brighton, said she would meet with an agreeable surprise. It is now supposed

that they will prolong their stay at Brighton till after the 18th, and it is supposed the young man will be sent for. People say he has only £200 a year, which they calculate is just enough to buy him two coats and a dozen shirts." Grantley Berkeley, who remembers him as "a handsome and well-formed foreigner," tells us that he came over "so slenderly provided for, or was so extremely unpretentious in his style of living, that he was content with a lodging at his tailor's." However, he was treated handsomely by the British nation; and his marriage, as we all know, took place under the happiest auspices. After the lamented death of the princess, he continued to reside chiefly in this country, where he became very popular. In 1829, he declined the throne of Greece, which was offered to him; but his acceptance of the throne of Belgium, which country he ruled wisely and well till his death in 1865, was a fortunate event for that country and for Europe; where, by his wisdom and his tact, he had grown to be a Nestor in affairs of state. When the King of the Belgians married his second wife, he must have found the difference between French and English generosity. Mr. Raikes writes—"Louis Philippe's well-known avarice and cunning have appeared even on the late marriage of his daughter with Leopold. Notwithstanding his wealth, he has only given her a million of francs, which would not be thought a very large fortune even for a private lady in England. The Belgians are discontented and disgusted at it." One act, very much to the credit of Leopold, has lately appeared. He never used the money so liberally voted by parliament after he left England. Claremont was still kept up; and, after his decease, it came out that upwards of a million of money had been paid over by his trustees, to this country, of the income which had been settled on him by act of parliament. Such conduct reflects much praise; but higher praise is found in the fact that Belgium still retains its national independence, in spite of all the fears and predictions to the contrary. The choice of Leopold was the act of Lord Palmerston; and for it he deserves credit. In the troublous times which ensued, his lordship had every reason to congratulate himself and Europe on his choice. No wonder Leopold was thought to be a lucky man. He had risen from comparative obscurity to be a monarch, and to have for his consort, first the Princess Charlotte, the heiress of the crown of England; and for his second queen, a daughter of the King of the French. The royal bride was described as eminently lovely and accomplished. The king entered Brussels on the 19th of August, 1832, with his bride, where the royal pair were welcomed with enthusiasm; and their union was acknowledged by the erection of triumphal arches, and other public rejoicings.

On February 18th, 1831, in answer to Mr. Hume, Lord Palmerston thus explained, in the House of Commons, the action of the five powers with regard to Holland:—"Belgium," he maintained, "never had been an independent state. Napoleon took it from Austria; and, on his fall, instead of returning it to Austria, it was joined to Holland—not as an act of grace and favour to the King of the Netherlands, but for the purpose of making the appropriation of Belgium contribute to the peace and security of Europe." Events having occurred by which that union had become no longer possible, he said that the "powers who had been formerly parties to the treaties which regulated the disposition of Belgium, had a right to concern themselves with the separation of that country; not with the question whether Belgium, having freed itself by arms, should again be subjected to the yoke of Holland, for no such interference had taken place; not with its form of government, or internal constitution, for no such had been thought of: but they had a right to say to Belgium—'You, never having been an independent state, have no right to despoil Holland of its ancient and historical boundaries. Holland is a state whose independence concerns the security of the other countries of Europe. You are but a power of yesterday, and have no right to commit yourselves into aggressors, and to claim, as yours, that which of right belongs to another.' The duchy of Luxembourg belonged to the German confederation, and the confederation had a right to say to the Belgians

that they should not meddle with Luxembourg, because there were others who had a better right to it than they. If Belgium chose a sovereign who might become dangerous to the other states, those states had a right to say—'Such a person to us will be dangerous, and such a person we refuse to recognise.' The powers of Europe had a right to say to France—'You cannot, consistently with your relation with other powers, accede to the appointment of the Duc de Nemours as king, and thereby virtually attach yourself to Belgium.' On the one hand, they had a right to say this to France; and, on the other, they had a right to say to Belgium, that if she elected the Duc de Leuchtenberg—because he, from the circumstances of his family, would make Belgium the centre of political intrigues—him they would not acknowledge." He said that "this was not interfering with Belgium in any sense inconsistent with sound rational principles."

Closely connected with this subject is the Russian-Dutch loan. Mr. Herries having moved that our payment of it should cease, Lord Palmerston replied —"In this case it was necessary that the House should look to the situation in which our government was placed. The treaty was framed on the principle that it was to form a powerful state in the Netherlands, as a barrier against France; to accomplish which Belgium and Holland were united in one kingdom, to be ruled by the House of Nassau. It was necessary, to perfect this arrangement, that Russia should be a party to it, as the armies of that power had so materially assisted in the liberation of those provinces. But, in the first instance, Russia objected to the plan, and her reluctance was only overcome by the exertions of this country, which was thought then to have a manifest interest in completing the arrangement. It was well known at that time Russia had strong claims to the gratitude of Europe: she had made enormous sacrifices to maintain the integrity of all existing monarchies against the military sway of Napoleon. After repelling the invaders from her own territories, she made common cause with Europe, and considered herself entitled to some recompense, because her interests would be injured by the union between the two countries; and the sole recompense she demanded was the present loan; that was, that England should join Holland in securing the payment of that loan, and in discharge of her previous debt to Holland. Of her own accord—and this was important to the question—the payment of the loan was made contingent on the integrity of the kingdom of the Netherlands; that was, that Russia knew that it was a matter of paramount importance to England that the union of the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland under one monarchy should be observed inviolably by all other nations; and accordingly, Russia, with a view to manifest her ardent desire to co-operate with England, declared, in the terms of the treaty, that the loan should cease to be obligatory when a separation between Holland and Belgium should take place. * * * The question before the House simply was this—were the honour and character of England bound to continue the payment of the loan? As a gentleman, and a man of honour—as a servant of the crown, and as a member of parliament, he solemnly declared, that he thought the reputation of England was involved in the negative of the right honourable gentleman's proposition. If the House should arrive at a contrary conclusion, he could only say that he should not envy the English minister who, after that decision, should enter into negotiations with foreign powers. Ministers had a new party, but not a very large one." Many times the question was discussed, and always with a large majority for ministers. In truth, it was not easy to see how any other conclusion could be arrived at. It was essential to keep on good terms with Russia. She was prepared to march 60,000 troops in aid of Holland. The separation contemplated was that by means of a foreign army, and not in consequence of internal strife. The loan, so far as our obligations extended, was to the amount of 25,000,000 florins. As a matter of policy, it is clear Lord Palmerston took the position which he did: neither had we the right to call on Russia to forfeit the money due to her, because of a contingency which was never contemplated at the time.

It is clear that Lord Palmerston was not the restless firebrand, and disturber of the peace of nations, which some believed him to be. Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer, the same year, brought the affairs of Germany under consideration. The sovereigns of the smaller states had all broken the promises they had made to the people of liberal constitutions. He had seen, by the public newspapers, that Austria and Prussia were marching large armies upon the Rhine, and that the troops of Austria were marching in the same direction from the north of Italy. The minor states of Germany contained a population of 12,000,000, and constituted a force of which the English government ought not to think lightly. Too long, maintained Mr. Bulwer, had England tried the effect of cowering to the great continental powers, and of reliance upon proclamations and professions. The time was come when she should take a bolder tone, more especially as she could do so at a small sacrifice, and with little danger. He moved an address, requesting his majesty to use his influence with the Germanic diet, in opposition to the course which had recently been pursued with respect to the liberties and independence of the German people. In reply, Lord Palmerston intimated that he saw no ground for interference. He was not going to express approbation at the resolutions voted in the German diet. As a minister of England, he was perhaps not called upon to express an opinion one way or the other upon the course pursued by the independent governments. The case was this:—A certain number of independent sovereigns adopted resolutions applicable to their own states, and not involving their relations with other nations. At present he saw nothing that furnished grounds for interference. His majesty's government was not inattentive to passing events on the continent; and he hoped no English government ever would be inattentive to transactions of such grave importance. Surely this was not the language of a political incendiary, but of a real statesman.

Similar considerations regulated his conduct with regard to Poland. On June 28th, 1832, in a debate initiated by Mr. Fergusson, and in the course of which, to the disgust of Sir R. Inglis, the Emperor of Russia was called "miscreant conqueror," Lord Palmerston said—"No man could entertain a doubt that Great Britain possessed a full right to express a decided opinion upon the performance or non-performance of the stipulations contained in the treaty of Vienna. Nevertheless, it could not be denied that England lay under no particular obligation individually, and independently of the other contracting parties, to adopt measures of direct interference by force. * * * * The honourable and learned gentleman, in the course of his speech, had adverted to the severities practised by the Russian government towards the Poles. * * * * He (Lord Palmerston) should not at that moment enter into details; but he thought that every man who heard them, must feel that it was the interest of Russia to take a very different course, and to attach the people of Poland to her government, not more by the justice of her policy than by the concessions of those institutions which were known to be most agreeable to their feelings." Again, in 1833, his lordship admitted Russia had violated the treaty of Vienna. France took the same view: Austria and Prussia agreed with Russia. His lordship then said it was not politic "to involve Europe in a general war, in the hope and expectation of ultimately rescuing Poland from the oppression under which she suffered."

August 2nd, 1832, Lord Palmerston said—"He should not talk of non-intervention: it was not an English word. The principle of interference meant either interference by force of arms, or by friendly counsel and advice; though he thought the principle for the government to proceed on, was that of non-interference by the force of arms in any other country: but he did not think we should be precluded, when it was expedient for us to do so, from interfering by friendly counsel and advice. When we talked of the principle of non-interference, it meant that it would not be expedient, on the part of his government, to interfere by force of arms to dictate to any other state with respect to its internal affairs." This is the sum and substance of the Palmerston doctrine of non-interference.

Portugal was a very sore point with the opposition, who, under Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, had certainly committed themselves to the cause of the usurper Miguel. Ships had been despatched to Oporto as well as to Lisbon, because, as Lord Palmerston contended, British interests and British subjects were to be protected in both places. Strict orders had been given that the commanders should interfere for no other object. Great discussion took place on the Palmerston policy. With respect to Portugal, the opposition complained that we had allowed France to obtain redress, and that we had not carried out the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The case was argued at great length in the Commons, February 9th, 1832. As to the former charge, Lord Palmerston said—"What was the conduct which France pursued? First of all, she sent a single ship to demand redress. The demand was, of course, met with a distinct refusal; but when a squadron of French vessels of war arrived in the Tagus, and the Portuguese knew that reprisals would be made upon their commerce, then their answer was, 'Have the goodness to wait awhile. We have referred your claims to England, our good and faithful ally; and we request that you will suspend your operations, and keep your order in your pockets until we learn how the question will be settled by that country.' What would any English admiral have said to such a proposition? What reply did the House conceive an English commander would make, if he were told, 'We have written to France for instructions: wait till we get our answer from Paris?' He well knew what an English admiral would do under such circumstances. He would show no hesitation. He would exact his order without delay, and would take no notice of an answer so evidently evasive. It would have been the height of injustice if, in this crisis of affairs, we had turned round on France and said, 'You shall get no reparation from your injured subjects. We are lords paramount of Europe. We have a peculiar right to compel Portugal to satisfy us, and to prevent her from satisfying any one else. We consider Portugal as part of the dominions of England. We will allow her to insult all the rest of Europe but ourselves; and if you think of obtaining redress for wrongs, you must prepare to meet an English fleet upon the ocean, and an English army in the field.'" As to the latter charge, his lordship said—"There was nothing in the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act which made it obligatory on the government to carry it into execution. It was competent for any person to enforce the provisions of that act; and he did not know what reason the Portuguese consul-general had to call upon the British government to institute proceedings under that act, when, if he had proof against the parties, he could institute them himself. * * * * If they looked at anything else but facts when they were administering a harsh penal law like the Foreign Enlistment Act, they must inevitably run into very great and dangerous abuses."

The cause of Donna Maria, for a time, was satisfactorily settled. Don Pedro and his fleet, under Captain (afterwards Sir Charles) Napier, had been for some time at loggerheads. Affairs at length proceeded prosperously. Just as Don Miguel lost one of his finest provinces, Captain Napier captured his fleet. In June, 1833, the captain, having disembarked the troops, and witnessed their success, sailed to the mouth of the Tagus, to watch the Miguelite squadron, or bring it to battle. He fell in with it, on the 2nd of July, off Cape St. Vincent; but the swell was too heavy to allow him to attack till the 5th. The enemy's fleet was much superior in force, consisting of two ships of the line, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a zebeque; while he had only three frigates, a corvette, and a small schooner. About two o'clock the battle began. As Napier's ship came up, the Miguelite line opened a very heavy fire, and occasioned to its opponents a considerable loss of men. The queen's vessels held steadily on, returning the fire. Napier himself, raking the flag-ship of the enemy as he passed, ran his frigate alongside, and boarded with all hands. The enemy did not resist the boarding, but defended the quarter-deck with great spirit, and the assailants suffered severely. The captain of Napier's frigate, his aide-de-camp, and one of the lieutenants,

were wounded (some having received three, and others five, wounds), and a lieutenant was killed. The contest, however, though severe, was short. In five minutes the flag-ship struck her colours. The other frigate of the queen's squadron carried the *Princess Royal*, of fifty-six guns, by boarding in the same manner. Miguel's 74, the *Don John*, made off before the wind. Napier, leaving his prize in charge of his third frigate (whose captain had been killed), pursued, and came up with the 74 before sunset, when she struck without firing a shot, her officers and crew having refused to fight. He then chased the *Freitas*, of forty-eight guns, which had likewise fled, and compelled her to surrender. Only the corvettes and the brigs escaped; and one of the former, on the following day, hoisted the queen's colours. No defeat could be more fatal. The squadron of Miguel was annihilated. For this important service, Pedro conferred upon Napier the title of Viscount Capo San Vincente, and appointed him admiral-in-chief of the Portuguese fleet. Throughout the whole of this war, Napier appears to have conducted himself with signal valour and decision, and to have exhibited, in a high degree, important qualifications for command. Besides the civil and naval honours conferred upon him, Pedro gave Napier the Grand Cross of Tower and Sword; and thanked him personally, with great fervour, for having placed the queen upon the throne.

All difficulties were over now. Lisbon was evacuated by the Miguelites, who had just encountered a great defeat by land, on the morning of the 24th. On the same day, a number of citizens at once assembled, and passed a resolution as follows:—"On the 24th of July, the people, in a large body, free from all influence, internal or external, without compulsion, the city being forsaken by the troops; being assembled in the hall of the council of this very noble and loyal city of Lisbon; with a free and spontaneous will, and with a unanimity never seen till now, acclaimed and declared the Senhora, daughter of the immortal Pedro IV., for whom the people are ready to spend the last drop of their blood, as all loyal Portuguese are ever ready to do for their lawful sovereign, as their legitimate queen; and in order that this should be made known, the present act was drawn up, which was signed by all present." This was communicated to the Duke of Terceira: he marched in with his troops, and took the command of the city. The queen's colours were hoisted on the citadel; and on the following day, Napier, who had returned after his victory to watch the mouth of the Tagus, entered the river with his flag-ship. On the 1st of December, 1834, Donna Maria was married to the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugéne Beauharnais. Lisbon was the scene of great rejoicing on the occasion. As regards worldly circumstances, the marriage was a good one. The prince was supposed to be one of the richest persons in Europe. From landed property in the Roman states and Bavaria, he derived an annual income of £60,000; and a still larger sum came to him from property left him by his father in different countries, and which had accumulated during his minority. He was born in 1810. His royal career was soon cut short. He died at Lisbon on the 28th of March, 1835, of a quinsy. Within a twelvemonth, Donna Maria, a girl of seventeen—maid, wife, widow, and wife again in the course of one year—married Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. The bridegroom was only nineteen himself. He, too, appears to have had an attack of the same complaint as that which carried off his predecessor. The Court insisted on his employing a Portuguese physician. The king, however, would only take physic from a German he had brought with him, and his life was saved.

Another bone of contention was Greece, where at length the great powers had interfered, and where Lord Palmerston had succeeded in placing King Otho on the throne in 1832. His lordship contended we were bound to interfere in Greece, and not allow her to be aided alone by Russia. "The three powers felt, that, taking all things together, there was no choice so much to be preferred as that of Prince Otho. It was, in the first place, desirable that the person chosen should belong to a reigning house, without any prejudice in favour of particular families, because it was desirable that the sovereign of Greece should be con-

nected with some family reigning over a state of some political consequence in Europe. In the next place, the person to be selected should be one who would be able to bring with him adequate means for consolidating the Greek throne—such as pecuniary resources, able councillors, and a small body of troops. In the first place, then, King Otho belonged to a royal family the most considerable of the second order of the states of Europe. Next, he belonged to a country of free institutions; and that was important. At least, he should not have wished the person destined to reign over Greece to come from a country of despotic institutions, and who necessarily would have carried with him (especially if he had arrived at man's estate) ideas as to the forms and principles of government, inconsistent with those entertained by the nation over whom he was to reign. Then, further, Prince Otho went accompanied by three persons—whose names he was not at liberty to mention, though he believed they were already fixed upon—of great talent and eminence, of much experience in public affairs, and particularly well qualified to administer the affairs of Greece, and to establish order in that country. For these reasons, he thought that the choice made of Prince Otho was, under all the circumstances, the best that could be made, particularly as the King of Bavaria, from the commencement of the great revolution, had manifested great sympathy for the Greeks. Many Bavarians had given distinguished assistance to them, and thus a connection had already been established between the Greek nation and Bavaria."

Russian ambition, at this time, began to produce an uneasy feeling in Europe. Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, and the sultan, were at variance. The former wanted to emancipate himself. Russia interfered. Early in the summer, Earl Durham had been despatched on a special mission to the czar; but the visit does not appear to have been productive of any benefit. Earl Durham had no particular qualification for the post, other than that he was Earl Grey's son-in-law. One of his lordship's earliest utterances with respect to Russia and Turkey, is under date of July 11th, 1833:—"Undoubtedly, then, his majesty's ministers would feel it their duty to resist any attempt, on the part of Russia, to partition the Turkish empire. * * * * The integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire were necessary to the maintenance of the tranquillity, the liberty, and the balance of power in the rest of Europe. At the same time, he had great doubt that any intention to partition that empire at all entered into the policy of the Russian government."

In Spain, the death of Ferdinand was the signal for civil war of a most detestable and cruel character. The daughter of Ferdinand, still a child, was proclaimed queen; and the queen-dowager, her mother, in accordance with the will of Ferdinand, assumed the authority of regent, under the title of Reina Gobernadora, which dignity she was to enjoy till the age of eighteen. Her authority was generally acknowledged in Spain, though some not very important risings occurred in the northern provinces, more especially in Biscay, in behalf of Don Carlos. A fortnight after the death of Ferdinand, a decree appeared in the *Madrid Gazette*, confiscating the effects of Don Carlos. The young queen was recognised with little delay by all the sovereigns of Europe; and the King of the French caused an army, 60,000 strong, to assemble in the vicinity of the Pyrenees, to be ready to act, in behalf of the established order of things, against Don Carlos. After some time, more serious disturbances broke out. Early in November, General Castagnos was attacked at Tolosa by a large body of Carlists, and so completely overpowered as to be compelled to withdraw into St. Sebastian. Affairs became worse. The queen's fortunes appeared seriously on the decline, as the troops of Don Carlos succeeded in overrunning the whole of the Basque Provinces. In other parts her troops lost ground, and town after town surrendered to the Carlists. The queen applied to England, France, and Portugal for aid; and these powers, who were parties to the quadruple treaty, agreed to support the constitutional cause in Spain—each power to maintain the troops it might employ on

her behalf, at its own expense, with a guarantee for repayment at a future period. In consequence of this, there appeared, in the *London Gazette*, a notice authorising British subjects to enlist in the service of the Queen of Spain; and an English force was soon raised, of which Colonel de Lacy Evans, then M.P. for Westminster, took the command. His troops sailed from the Thames on the 2nd of July, and were landed, without accident, at Sebastian. In parliament, in defence of the quadruple treaty, Lord Palmerston maintained, that "the present interference was founded on a treaty arising out of an acknowledgment of the right of a sovereign decided by the legitimate authorities of the country over which she ruled. In the case of a civil war, proceeding from a disputed succession, or from a long revolt, no writer denied that other countries had a right, if they chose, to take part with either of the two belligerents."

It was high time that France and England did interfere. Mr. Raikes writes, July 13th, 1835—"I went to Paris, and saw Lord Eliot and Gurwood, just arrived from Spain, having terminated their mission by obtaining a cessation of the massacres which disgraced the two hostile factions. 'Never,' said the former to me, 'was there a contest in which human life was so little valued.' On the morning of his arrival at the head-quarters of Zumalacarreguy, sixteen prisoners were led out to be shot, in favour of whose lives Lord Eliot interfered. Of course his request was granted, with the same indifference as if he had asked for a pinch of snuff; and the general remarked to him, 'that if he had arrived a few hours sooner, he might have saved a larger number, as, on the preceding evening, twenty privates and two officers had been executed in the same manner.' He dined with Don Carlos, who received him with the greatest civility: his table was well served." When Don Carlos learned that the Queen of Spain was likely to be assisted by the troops of England, France, and Portugal, his indignation was great in the extreme; and, notwithstanding the promise he had made to Lord Eliot, he declared every foreigner taken in arms (the English not excepted) should immediately be put to death.

Spain continued in a wretchedly disordered state. The mother of Cabrera, the most active of the Carlist partisans in the south, was actually shot in one of the public places of Tortosa. The universal horror excited by this atrocity produced strong remonstrances to the cabinet of Madrid, by those powers that still maintained their correspondence with it. Cabrera revenged his mother's death by issuing a proclamation, directing every person serving in the army of the queen, or employed by her government, who might fall into the hands of his troops, to be put to death; and he commenced his reprisals by ordering the wives of four officers—who, unfortunately, were in his power—to be shot.

All this while a steady watch was kept up by the Tories on Lord Palmerston, in the hope that he might be caught tripping. The Marquis of Londonderry writes from Paris to the Duke of Buckingham, under the date of May 5th, 1833—"In our foreign affairs, from what I learn here, the very intimate alliance professed between France and England, to the repudiation of all our former confidential alliances, is as hollow as can well be imagined. The two countries are more jealous, more envious, and detest each other more than at any former period. Palmerston and Talleyrand are afraid, day after day, of either having an advantage. Both are suspicious; and, under the mask of friendship, there is the same deadly detestation as has ever marked the relations of the two countries. England, by her policy, is laughed at by the three powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who think this triple alliance strong enough to hold England and France in derision." Fortunately the Marquis of Londonderry was not deemed, even by his own party, much of an authority. The Duke of Wellington was, however, equally annoyed at the effort made by Lord Palmerston to keep on good terms with France. He writes, in 1832, to Mr. Raikes, in the most contemptuous terms, of the conduct of ministers, and of their "desire to bolster up an administration for Louis Philippe, by conniving at and aiding in the national passion for domination, boasting, and

bullying." Again the old soldier writes, 1833, to Mr. Raikes—"The truth is, that the war in Spain suits nobody: it is weakness to France. Louis Philippe will not engage in it if he can avoid it; the moment he does, the continent are more than a match for him, even with England on his side; but I think that Pozzo has left one element out of his calculation—that is, Portugal. In Napoleon's time Portugal was not only sound, but, with our assistance, formidable; it was the basis on which the machinery was founded which finally overturned the world. Portugal is now in a state of revolutionary confusion; but wait a moment, we shall presently see a sale of the estates of the church and nobility in Portugal; loans negotiated upon that security; revolutionary fines raised in England, France, Belgium, and Poland, and paid with that money; and, I fear, the whole Peninsula revolutionised by the aid of these means, and by following this example in Spain. This is the result to which our revolutionary government is tending."

Talleyrand (who made little secret of his disagreement with Lord Palmerston, of whom he said, "*C'est un homme qui n'a pas le talent du raisonnement*"), in 1835, taking his official leave of public life, alluding to England, writes—"The path which England appears to be inclined to follow must induce her to prefer a mind with traditions less ancient than mine." This is too much even for Mr Raikes, anxious as he is to quote anything to the discredit of England's Foreign Secretary. "The prince," he writes, "may appear to regret the old aristocracy; and, perhaps, in fact, does so; but his traditions are so various and so motley, that it must be difficult to define their real character. Are they of Autun? Are they of 1789, and the Constituent Assembly, when he was the advocate of their most democratic opinions? Are they of the Directory? Are they of the Empire, with its aristocracy of the Sabres? Are they of the Restoration, the darling child of the prince, which disowned its parent? Where there has been so little consistency, it must be puzzling to decide by what traditions his mind could be really biassed, except the conviction of the nullity of all." Lord Palmerston, whose career was a progressive one—who was a gentleman, and a man of honour—could have had little in common with the arch intriguer of his time.

In 1835, Lord Palmerston, at the general election, in which he lost his seat for South Hants, after taking credit for the success of his measures in the foreign department, and the maintenance of peace for four years at a time when no man could have expected it to be preserved for three months, declares he has no confidence in the Tory administration then formed: whereupon Mr. Raikes writes—"He thus accuses the duke of having left the country on the brink of war, when it is known to every one that, on the breaking out of the French revolution of 1830, so great was the confidence of all the foreign powers in his judgment, that every diplomatist at the Court of St. James's had orders from his sovereign to act according to his dictates. In perfect agreement with all, he agreed to acknowledge the choice of France in Louis Philippe; but on one sole condition—that she did not arm. 'If you arm one soldier,' said he, 'we, the powers, will arm together four.' And, till his resignation, no hostile movement was made in France. As soon as the Liberal Earl Grey came into power, then Marshal Soult came into the Chamber of Deputies with a proposal to levy 400,000 men, which the Whigs had not the energy to resist." Assuming Mr. Raikes to be correct in this statement, no higher testimony to Lord Palmerston's foreign policy could be given, as the foreign policy of the Duke of Wellington was notoriously tinctured with the traditions of the Holy Alliance. As to the stipulation about arming, that was needlessly insulting. France, who had got rid of Charles X. without our leave, was quite prepared to arm without it. The more liberal policy of Lord Palmerston was the right one with a nation so great, and renowned, and susceptible as France.

Again, the same writer says—"Should the fond hope of Louis Philippe be realised, and a connection formed with the legitimate families of Europe, the present alliance with England will gradually decrease, and the revolutionary projects of Lord Palmerston in the Peninsula be left to his sole management and

responsibility." Such a sentence shows—for it expresses the Tory feeling of the time—the blinding influence of faction. We fear that neither of Lord Palmerston's *protégés*, either in Spain or Portugal, were a credit to him; but they were the legitimate occupants of their thrones; and the assistance that he gave them could have nothing of a revolutionary character.

Another illustration of the fact that the Tory clamour against Lord Palmerston, at this time, is to be attributed to his Liberalism, and that Tory foreign policy meant reactionary foreign policy, is found in what Mr. Raikes tells us, under the date of 1836—"The Duchesse de Cazes, whom I met at Lady Helena Robinson's evening party, announced that the Chamber of Deputies, in their discussion on the address this morning, had carried, by a majority against ministers, the amendment of M. de Morny, that the nationality of Poland should be preserved. It is said that the ministers, in conjunction with the English cabinet, tacitly approve of this demonstration. The fact is, that the English press and the French also rail against Russia. Our Whig government, in their thirst for popularity, encourages the cry; and the French ministry, in servile imitation of it, is glad to obtain a share of that popularity." Now, we ask, what was Russia doing at that time? In defiance of treaty obligations, and, in the most cruel manner, destroying freedom in Poland. Only the admirers of brute force—of might trampling under right—could have sympathised with Russia then. Indeed, the more we study the history of that time, we are forced to the conclusion that Lord Palmerston acted rightly, and meant to do so; that his aim was to cherish, and establish, and maintain constitutional liberty, wherever and whenever he had the chance. Again, Mr. Raikes writes—"Poggenpoke, who was attached to the Russian embassy, and is nominated minister to Madrid, when affairs became more settled there, is lately arrived from London, and inveighed to me, in very unequivocal terms, against the politics of Lord Palmerston." This is another testimony to his lordship's Liberalism. Censure in such quarters is the highest praise. Mr. Raikes was one of the dandies of the regency—one of the *crême de la crême* of society; the friend and correspondent of all the leading men of the day of his own party—Legitimists and Tories, who mingled politics with pleasure, and were nothing if they were not critical. "Theirs," writes his daughter, "was a fraternity founded upon the science of civilised existence, not altogether conditional upon rank, since station need not imply powers of observation and comparison, even did it always furnish that early and familiar acquaintance with foreign Courts, and countries, and modern languages, that form a scope for the free exercise of those faculties; and still less accessible to wealth, since less universally does fortune suppose surrounding influences of refinement, which, if these are indeed essential to the forming of the social judgments and appreciations of after-life, must have been breathed with its first instincts in their origin. Out of such elements, the dandies, with criticising art, worked the indigenous material of English high life into a *coterie*, which combined at least the pleasures of intelligence with those of dissipation. With them, society was not understood to be, as now, a coalition of interests, where both sides are on the defensive, and where the day has no recreation without a view to the ambition or popularity of the morrow. Sufficient for their day was its own excitement of festivity and wit. The manners of the dandies were in themselves a charm, retained by some through infirmity and age. Their speech was pleasant; their language thorough-bred; their raillery conciliatory; their satire what they intended it to be. Many among them highly gifted; doing all that they did well; the less apt always to the point, or letting it alone; without enthusiasm; without illusions; a school of gentlemen, liberal and open-hearted; ephemeral as youth, and spirits yet marked by this endearing quality—that they remained (with few exceptions) true and loyal friends, tested through years of later adversity, and even death's oblivion." This is the description of an admiring and affectionate daughter. Of course, these high-bred gentlemen had their good points—as who has not?—but their prominent virtue was by no means sympathy with popular progress, and an ardent attachment to the

popular cause. They all looked to the past; they saw little cheering in the present; they had no faith in the future.

At this time the Court of Spain had nothing to command respect or admiration; and we cannot wonder that, in the House of Commons, the Palmerston policy gave rise to considerable discussion. Mr. Raikes writes, in 1836—"Senor Munos is privately married to Queen Christina, by whom he has a family of three children, educated under the care of the bishop at Grenada. Munos is a man of good family, about thirty-five years old; and entered young into the body-guard of King Ferdinand. This handsome person soon attracted the notice of the queen, who, fatigued by the jealousy of her consort, singled him out as her lover. He has since maintained his influence, not without rivals; but as he never attempted to check a passing inclination, he always remained master of the field. Time has now consolidated his power, and he has become a very influential person in the cabinet, courted by the ministers, but always refusing honours or titles [later in life he became Duke de Rianzeres] for himself. The Queen Christina is fond of ease and retirement. She lives with a circle of intimate friends, where gaiety, to say the least, is the order of the day; and a French milliner, Mademoiselle Demercier, who had established a shop of *nouveantés* at Madrid, has been made first *camérista,* and the superintendent of her *menus plaisirs.* Independent of the jewels which Christina received as presents from Ferdinand, and which are valued at 4,000,000 francs; she has placed 5,000,000 francs in the English funds, and 2,000,000 in the hands of Ardouin and Co. With this property, Munos is anxious that she should retire from the cares of state, and quit Spain for Naples or Florence, where they may live together in affluence and ease. Queen Isabella, from some physical defect, is of a very weak understanding; she has not yet learnt her letters. Spoilt by her mother, she is headstrong and turbulent; but only kept in awe by Munos, and will obey no one but him." A nice family for diplomatists to wrangle about, or for British blood to be shed! Yet such was the case; and how badly the British legion were served, who enlisted under General Evans, to fight the battle of constitutional government in Spain, we know full well. For a long time their tattered uniforms added to the picturesqueness, if not to the respectability, of our beggar or vagrant population. However, Palmerston was firm. In answer to Lord Mahon, in 1837, he stated, in the House of Commons, that "the claims of Don Carlos deserved no support. The title of Queen Isabella, established by the act of one king, had been confirmed by his successor, as well as by the Spanish Cortes, expressly summoned to decide on that question; and her majesty had been recognised by a great majority of the Spanish nation. Whether she should reign over them or not, was a question on which it was the business of Spaniards to decide. Queen Isabella had been acknowledged by the British government as queen *de facto*, just as Louis Philippe had been recognised by the Duke of Wellington's government, after the revolution of 1830." A few days after, Lord Palmerston deprecated the cruelties committed in Spain; but remarked—"It appeared, in history, that it belonged to the Spanish character to be more reckless in shedding blood than any other people in Europe: and was it for those who had seen the soldiers of England acting with the ferocious guerillas, to make this part of the Spanish character a ground for refusing British co-operation? He hoped the first-fruits of Spanish regeneration would be through a free constitution, to create a public opinion, tending to cover the faults which had been ascribed to the national character." On all these discussions, with the exception of Poland, the initiative was taken by the Tories; and thus we have the strongest testimony as to the liberality of Lord Palmerston's policy. But, as regards Spain, we were under treaty obligations; and the action of our government was sanctioned, as the Duke of Buckingham's correspondence shows, by the Duke of Wellington. This course of action was frequently assailed in parliament, and as frequently defended by Lord Palmerston, by such arguments as those contained in these sentences:—"The principle of embarking in the contests of other countries, has prevailed, and been acted upon, in

the brightest periods of our history. It is unnecessary to remind the House of the active part which was taken, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by English subjects, in the contests then carried on in the Low Countries.

"It is equally unnecessary to remind the House of the enlistment of a large body of men, in the reign of James I., to serve upon the continent, and of the still larger body which went out in the reign of Charles I.—and, in both cases, the levies were by express permission of the government of this country—to serve in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus. In short, in every war which has taken place in Europe, British subjects have, to a greater or less extent, served on that side whose cause was most congenial to their feelings, from the earliest period of our history down to the present time. But it has been said, that where there is a law to prevent it, it is the duty of the government to enforce that law, and to punish the offenders who disregard its provisions. I presume no one will deny that these two acts of the reign of George II. were in force at the period when the French revolution broke out. At that period, Sir, there was an Irish brigade serving under the King of France. Let us see what was the conduct of that brigade, and what was the conduct of the British government. When the republic was declared in France, that brigade quitted the service of the French king, and came over to this country; when, instead of inflicting upon these men the severe penalties authorised by law, his majesty's government formed out of them the regiments of Fitzjames, Conway, and O'Connell. By the strict letter of the law, be it remembered, they were liable to the punishment of death. But we are then told, Sir, that the Foreign Enlistment Act alters the case; and that, at all events, we have the power of issuing a proclamation to prevent individual subjects of his majesty from entering into foreign service, or of recalling them if they have gone abroad. Now, Sir, the right honourable baronet read a proclamation which was issued in 1825, when Mr. Canning was in office, for the purpose of calling back subjects of his majesty engaged in foreign service; but I would ask the right honourable baronet, whether he does not know that it was perfectly futile and ineffectual, and that many British subjects continued to serve in the Greek army after the issuing of that proclamation? In point of fact, it was a mere dead letter. * * * * Lord Bathurst stated that it had been intimated to all officers on half-pay that they were not to embark in foreign service, but that they had persisted in doing so, utterly unmindful of the forfeiture of their half-pay, which was consequent upon their entering into the South American service. So the proclamations to our subjects in general, and to our officers on half-pay, have been equally and entirely ineffectual."

A small debate at this time deserves notice, as indicating Lord Palmerston's desire to stand well with America. He, in answer to Mr. Hoy, disclaimed any doubt of the honourable intentions of the American government in regard to Texas. The language of the president to Congress was most consistent with good faith, and with scrupulous honour and delicacy to other powers. "It was indeed true," he said, "that some of the adjoining states had interfered in favour of the insurgent faction in that province; but the president had required that those states should not only suspend their recognition of Texan independence till it had been demonstratively accomplished, but that they should wait till other powers, whose motives could not be at all suspected, had taken the initiative." That its annexation to the United States might be favourable to the extension of slavery, his lordship admitted; and "on that ground it was to be looked at with extreme jealousy: but for that very reason there were good grounds to believe that the northern states of the Union would resist the proposed incorporation." This was not the language of an enemy to America and its institutions.

When Palmerston returned to office, after the brief interregnum between Lord Melbourne's first and second administrations, he expressed, in the highest terms, his gratification, not only at the success of his own overtures of friendship and alliance to France, but at the fact that Sir Robert Peel had, during his premiership, taken

up and recognised the policy as a legacy from the one government to the other. "The right honourable baronet," he said, "has this night expressed sentiments which did honour to him individually, and which I am glad to find held by a person who has filled the highest office in the state, and who peradventure may be called upon to do so again. It is satisfactory to find that, however parties in this House may differ upon questions either of domestic or foreign policy, there are some points at least upon which both parties are disposed to agree. I am glad to hear the right honourable baronet express his satisfaction at learning that there continues to be an intimate alliance and union between this country and France. I was glad to hear the right honourable baronet say that the maintenance of that union must greatly contribute to the preservation of peace. I was glad to hear the right honourable baronet say that he looked forward to an enlargement of the commercial intercourse between the two countries as a pledge of the maintenance of that union, and as a means of making it more firm. I was glad to hear those sentiments coming from the right honourable baronet, and I rejoice that those sentiments were cheered by the gentlemen who sat around the right honourable baronet, because it has fallen to my lot to express similar sentiments in this House, which were received by the gentlemen opposite with a cheer of a different character, and conveying a meaning of a very different description from that which I have heard from him this evening. It has fallen to my lot to be taunted by the honourable gentlemen opposite when I expressed my sense of the value of the alliance between France and England. I was told that I was sacrificing the interests of England for the sake of French alliance; that the government ought to pursue an independent system of national policy, and not to abandon the interests of England in deference to the government of any foreign power. The right honourable baronet, however, has given expression to juster sentiments. In those sentiments I cordially concur; and I hail it as a good omen to the policy of this country, that it should be known to foreign nations, that whatever changes may take place in the government of England, whatever party may be destined to hold the reins of government, no change is likely to take place in those fundamental principles of foreign policy, by which the ancient hostility which too long subsisted between this country and France is now converted into a friendship destined, as I believe, to be lasting and secure."

Nor do we find Lord Palmerston attending solely to foreign politics. As a friend of Huskisson, he was a free-trader, and an enemy to protection. In 1833, he thus spoke of the corn-law, describing it as not so advantageous to the agricultural interest as the members of that body are led to believe it is:—"My interest is bound up with the prosperity of agriculture; and, speaking as an agriculturist, I have no hesitation in saying, I do not think that what is called the protective system, is so indispensable to the welfare of the landed interest as they suppose it to be. That is the opinion of my noble friend and myself; but I defy any man fairly to draw from the expression of that opinion, the conclusion that we are prepared to effect a change in the existing system. I am further prepared to state, that I do not concur in many of the arguments by which generally the system of protection is defended. I do not, for instance, perceive the force of the argument, that it will be dangerous for this country to depend on foreign countries for the supply of food. A great proportion of the population of a manufacturing country must depend upon foreign countries for the means of subsistence; for if the foreign market be cut off, the manufacturers will be deprived of the commodities which they receive in exchange for the produce of their labour."

On ecclesiastical matters we also find his lordship on the side of popular progress. In the course of the fierce discussions respecting church property in Ireland, his lordship said—"It was his distinct and deliberate opinion, that it was the right of the state to deal with the trust of the property of the church." On a subject somewhat similar (the abolition of religious tests in the universities), his lordship made an excellent speech, with a very telling illustration. The following

incident must have produced, or at least might have produced, a considerable impression:—"These titles [university degrees] have a real value with regard to the future prospects in professional life. We all know that, with regard to the learned professions of physic and law, to which many members of the university devote themselves, a degree is an essential help to future advancement. I remember having heard within the very walls of the university, in the hall of Trinity College, a striking illustration of the value of a university degree. The late Lord Erskine, with that forcible and impassioned eloquence with which he adorned the most trifling circumstance upon which he touched, was explaining how he ascribed all his professional success to the fact of his having obtained a degree at Cambridge. He said that, having taken to the law somewhat later in life than usual, and feeling dispirited and disheartened by the long probation through which he should have to pass, he was about to renounce the profession in disgust, when it was suggested to him, that if he went down to Cambridge, and took out the degree to which his previous studies had entitled him, it would greatly shorten his period of probation, and be of essential service to him in other respects. He went down and took his degree; he was encouraged to persevere; and he mainly attributed to that degree the distinguished eminence which he afterwards attained. If Lord Erskine had happened to be a dissenter, the English bar would have lost one of its brightest ornaments. This, then, is unquestionably a great grievance towards the dissenters, that they should not be permitted to take degrees; but it is a still more severe hardship as far as the public are concerned, because it checks the supply of persons qualified to discharge those functions to which they are called, to the service of the community. But the injury to the dissenter can be measured, as far as it is possible to measure the sufferings of a wounded spirit, irritated by undeserved mortification. The injury to the public cannot be measured, because we cannot know the amount of talent diverted from its proper application, and of genius quenched without being allowed to shine in its natural career."

As a specimen of Palmerston's lighter tone of good-natured raillery, we give an extract in reply to Mr. Croker, a former colleague in unreformed times, who had charged him with keeping back important documents relative to Belgium, not only from the House, but from the conference. His lordship, in defence, said—"The right honourable gentleman did what in him lay, by provocation, accusation, and, what is worse, exculpation—for I can forgive him anything sooner than his entering into a defence of my conduct—to draw me into a discussion of the whole question. Now, instead of entering into those details, and those arguments and explanations which must necessarily recall the whole of these transactions, which I have already told the House that, as a minister of the crown, I think it my duty not to do, I will repeat that it is not my intention to depart from the decision I have already come to; and, in my opinion, the right honourable gentleman might have acted with greater advantage to the interests of the country if he had abstained from introducing the subject. But it seems that, in the absence of the principal performers, he has been to-night allowed a whole benefit to himself. He has given us a display, part tragedy, part comedy, part tragi-comedy; and I wish I could encourage him by stating that he sustained each portion with equal success. Everybody knows that he is an exceedingly happy joker—happy sometimes in his self-satisfaction; and while he confines himself to the light and comic strain, he makes himself agreeable to everybody; but he must not attempt too much versatility. He may be a good statesman of all work, but I assure him he is not a good actor of all work; and in his attempts at the heroic he is apt to confound pathos with bathos, and to overleap the narrow bounds between the sublime and the ridiculous. I recommend him, therefore, in future, if he wishes to preserve his reputation, to observe the rules laid down in some of his earlier and fugitive productions in the dramatic art: to cease to vex the grander passions of the soul—

"'To leave high tragedy, and stick to farce.'

He will thus yet afford much amusement: if it be not very natural, it will at least be very entertaining."

The reply of Mr. Croker was not less happy, as it appears he and Lord Palmerston had amused their leisure hours in ridiculing and satirising some of the very men with whom his lordship was now in office. These squibs had long been forgotten. It is impossible, we believe, to recall them now; but the allusion to them, on the part of Mr. Croker, was neat and happy. Nor did it leave the slightest trace of unpleasantness behind. When Mr. Croker sat down, Palmerston at once rose, and assured his right honourable friend, that when they had thrown away their foils, and had concluded the discussion, the reciprocal thrusts which they might have given each other in the debate would not leave a wound behind.

One word more, and we have done with this subject. Sir Archibald Alison tells us that Lord Palmerston's foreign policy was due to the pressure of suburban shopkeepers. The suburban shopkeepers had no vote when his lordship came into power, nor had they till some time after. Lord Palmerston's policy was shaped, not with regard to popular applause, but with a view to the lasting interests of England and her allies. He saw that the reign of might was over; that that of public opinion was about to commence; and he sided wisely with the latter—perhaps not to the extent advanced democrats desired, but certainly far further than many of the leading men of the country thought he should go. For instance, Sir Henry Hardinge, in 1837, moved an address to the king, praying "that his majesty would be graciously pleased not to renew the order in council of the 10th of June, granting his majesty's royal license to British subjects to enlist into the service of the Queen of Spain, which order in council will expire on the 10th of June next; and praying, also, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the marine forces of his majesty shall not be employed in the civil contest now prevailing in Spain, otherwise than in that naval co-operation which his majesty has engaged to afford, if necessary, under the stipulations of the treaty." In the course of his speech, Sir Henry charged his majesty's government with compromising the reputation of England by the course they had pursued during the civil war in Spain; and narrated the sufferings of the British legion; their ill-treatment by the Spanish government, and their consequent insubordination. In the opinion of many our interference was totally uncalled for; and the manner in which it was attempted was considered humiliating. Recent events have proved, it must be confessed, that if we conferred any benefit on the Spaniards by our assistance then, or at any other time, it was not appreciated.

At this time his lordship appears to have been very anxious to be on good terms with Russia. Perhaps it was wisdom; though Mr. D. Urquhart always maintained it was treason. People had every reason to be alarmed at the gigantic progress of Russia. As Lord Dudley Stuart reminded the House, in 1836—"In 1721 she first acquired the territory upon which St. Petersburg stood; in 1724 she gained Little Tartary; and, in 1725, she took possession of the Crimea. She seized Odessa in 1792; and the second partition of Poland gave her part of Lithuania in 1793. In 1795 she made more of Poland her own; and, in 1809, she annexed Finland and Lapland. She became mistress of Bessarabia in 1812; in 1814 she extorted from Persia all the provinces south of the Caucasus; and, continuing her career of aggrandisement, in 1815, her dominions were extended to the North Sea. In 1828, they were pushed beyond the Araxes. The year 1829 saw her claim a great extent of territory along the Black Sea, by the treaty of Adrianople; and, in 1832, she converted the kingdom of Poland into a Russian province. Further concessions of territory had been obtained in 1834; but, still unsatisfied, she was bent on obtaining Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and then her dominions would extend from the North Sea to the Mediterranean." Such was the warning voice uttered at the very time that Mr. Raikes enters in his *Diary*—"Accounts from Constantinople state, that Lord Ponsonby's tenacity for the removal of the Reis Effendi has very much cooled the sultan's feeling towards England. He

has, indeed, been dismissed under the plea of ill health; but Russian influence will gain by the misunderstanding." The Russian emperor was not to be mollified by Lord Palmerston's dexterity. His reception, in 1832, of Lord and Lady Londonderry, at St. Petersburg and Moscow, was of a very marked character, and studiously made independent of the usual introduction through the English ambassador. Nicholas wished to show that the nomination of Lord Londonderry by the duke's government would have been highly agreeable to him, though countermanded by the Whigs. And without doing anything that could give offence to Lord Durham, it was remarked that he showed as much firmness and decision in the reception of the marquis, as he did in the rejection of Sir S. Canning. The despot knew that Lord Palmerston was no believer in despotism; and, with one of old, he might have exclaimed—

"Timeo danaos et dona ferentes."

The capture of the *Vixen* was a further trial, on the part of the emperor, as to how far Lord Palmerston's forbearance would go. "A ukase from St. Petersburg," writes Mr. Raikes, "has declared the capture of the English brig *Vixen*, off the coast of Circassia, legal, which seems to make no impression on our Foreign Office." The Radicals would have had his lordship go to war. We conceive that Lord Palmerston wisely thought that it were best, if possible, to make the czar a friend rather than a foe.

Perhaps the best compliment paid to the Palmerston policy at this time, is the character of those who deprecated it. Mr. Raikes, a thorough Tory, thus speaks of the Emperor of Austria in 1838:—"He, in fact, is nearly akin to an idiot, occupied with the merest trifles; and it is certainly extraordinary to see, in this age of reasoning and scepticism, when kings and princes are so severely judged, an immense population like that of Austria, quietly submitting to the sway of one so inferior in intellect to his lowest subject."

CHAPTER XXXII.

FURTHER REFORMS.

In 1833, the ministers got parliament to agree to the appointment of commissioners of inquiry. It was their favourite mode of going to work. It made the public believe they were about to do something; and it found remunerative employment for friends and relatives. The state of the corporations in Ireland having been much complained of, commissioners were appointed to inquire into the alleged abuses; and a commission was also issued for inquiring into the present state of the labouring classes. It is impossible to touch on all the subjects which came before the reformed parliament. A bill was passed abolishing thirteen offices in Chancery, which were nearly sinecures; and reducing others, whereby a saving of £70,000 annually was effected. The interests of commerce were attended to. All the laws relating to it in the empire were consolidated, so as to bring them within the compass of one volume; and it was the aim of the government to invite other states to meet, with corresponding enactments, the liberal measures adopted by England. A commission was sent to France, which successfully recommended that the prohibitions on the export of raw silk should be removed. This concession was held to be of great importance to the silk-weavers of England. Careful inquiries were instituted as to the condition of the working classes. A mass of valuable information was collected, which promised important results; and measures were adopted which relieved children in factories from excessive labour, and for their better education. A commission was appointed to inquire into the state of

English corporations; and the system of self-election, which had prevailed in Scotch boroughs for nearly four centuries, was entirely abolished; and thus, it was hoped, one foul source of corruption destroyed.

In 1833, the Bank Charter Act was renewed. It was provided, that while the Bank of England was liable to pay gold on demand, the notes of the corporation should be made a legal tender for all sums of above five pounds, excepting for the bank itself and its branches: that one-fourth of the debt due from the public to the bank should be repaid, and the company be at liberty to reduce its capital stock in the same proportion: that the laws restricting the interest of money to 5 per cent. should be repealed, so far as they affected bills of exchange not having three months to run before they became due: that the charter should be extended for twenty-one years, from 1834: that all notes of the Bank of England, issued out of London, should be made payable at the place where they were issued: that a weekly account of the bullion and securities, the circulation and deposits, should be forwarded to the Treasury: that, for its exclusive privileges, the bank should pay £120,000 per annum, to be deducted from the sum allowed for managing the national debt. It was found, also, contrary to the general belief, while the deliberations connected with this measure were in progress, that, as the law stood, there was nothing to prevent joint-stock banks of deposit from being established in London; nor had there been, at any time, an enactment to that effect. A declaratory clause was inserted for that purpose; and in a little while there was a rage for joint-stock banks—productive of no little temporary disaster. The same year also saw a renewal of the charter of the East India Company. On the 13th of June, Mr. Charles Grant entered at length, in his place in parliament, into an explanation of the nature of the commerce carried on with India and China. The resolutions he proposed were with the view of opening the trade hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the Company. They declared it to be expedient that all British subjects should be at liberty to repair to the various ports of China, and to trade in tea, and in all the other products of that empire; but subject to such restrictions and regulations, for the commercial interests of Great Britain, as should be deemed proper: and a bill was passed accordingly, notwithstanding that the Board of Directors stated, that they "could not contemplate, without apprehension and alarm, the great and important change about to be introduced in the system, which had been so long and advantageously acted upon, with regard to the administration of the government of India."

The opening of the trade with China soon led to unpleasant results. Lord Napier had been appointed superintendent of the British merchants at Canton; and having arrived at Macao, proceeded to the factory at Canton without previously obtaining the formal permission of the Chinese viceroy. This led to a very serious remonstrance, and a stoppage of the trade. Lord Napier ordered two ships of war to advance, in order to intimidate the Chinese authorities. The ships were fired at from the forts; and as the English returned the fire, many lives were lost: however, the interdict on the trade was removed. Lord Napier did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, for he died in the following October.

In 1834, parliament passed the Poor-Law Amendment Bill. Under the old system, enormous abuses had arisen, and the character of the poor had materially deteriorated. In introducing his measure, Lord Althorp said—"He would only ask the House to consider the alternative which they had to choose between the measure which he had to propose, and leaving things in their present state. Should the frightful effects of the present system proceed as they had rapidly done —and that rapidity was likely to be increased—what would be the result? Already some parishes had been actually abandoned, so heavy was the pressure of rates, and so great the evils of mismanagement. The consequence was, that the neighbouring parishes were obliged to support the poor of the places thus deserted; and these parishes were soon likely, through such a state of things, to be reduced to the situation of their neighbours; and thus pauperism would advance with increasing

strides throughout the land. He proposed at once to stop the allowance system to agricultural labourers. His proposals were, that a central Board of Commissioners, with the requisite powers, should be appointed, and that they should have authority as to the mode of relief, and the regulation of workhouses. As a check against abuse of these powers, Lord Althorp proposed, that any rule, order, or regulation proposed by the commissioners, should be submitted to the Secretary of State forty days before it came into operation; and during that period, it would be competent for an order in council to prevent it being carried into effect. The central commissioners would be empowered to frame the rules and regulations, subject to the approbation, or rather the disapprobation, of the Secretary of State. They would have power to make specific rules and orders for the regulation and mode of relief for the poor in separate districts and parishes; to form unions of parishes, in order to make larger districts; to arrange classifications of the poor in the same or different workhouses; and also to have a general power of control in such unions as might be established without their consent, and to dissolve such as already existed. When the unions were formed, each parish which they contained must support their own poor, or contribute to the general fund the proportion of fund which it had previously borne itself. He would further suggest that the commissioners should have authority to propose to parishes, or unions of parishes, that they enlarge their workhouses, or build new ones, as circumstances might require. He further proposed, that in certain cases an alteration should be made in the constitution of parochial vestries. They were, at present, composed of rate-payers, and no one else; and, in many cases, a large expenditure was inflicted on those who had no vote in the vestry. He thought that, in respect to raising permanent sums of money for facilitating emigration, and improving and building workhouses, the landlord, as well as the occupier of land, ought to have a vote in the vestry. He would further provide that justices should not, in future, have the power of ordering parochial relief to persons in their own houses; and thus the law would be restored to what it was before 1796: since which time, abuses in the management of the poor had considerably increased."

The next topic adverted to was that of settlement. "As it then stood," continued his lordship, "the law caused much litigation, and consequently much expense to every parish in the county; and a still worse effect of it was, its interfering with the laws of labour. The worst part of the law was that which gave a settlement by living and servitude. He was inclined to say, that every mode of acquiring a settlement ought to be abolished, excepting only that given by birth or marriage. It might be urged, that it would be a hardship, in the case of a labourer who had left the place of his birth, and supported himself through a long series of years by his own industry, to remove him, when fallen into want and decay, to the place of his nativity; but he did not think, in such a case, an industrious man would be likely to find himself so destitute of friends as to be exposed to removal. With respect to the mode of fixing birth as the test of settlement, he must say that the children would follow their parents until they were sixteen; and after that period their settlement would be fixed at the place of their birth. One advantage meant to be gained from this plan, would be the simplification of the system. The apprehensions at present entertained by the farmer, of hiring a man for longer than fifty-one weeks, lest he should gain a settlement, would be at an end; and therefore it would follow that the farmer would not hesitate to employ those who were the best calculated to suit his purposes; and consequently the most deserving labourer would soonest command an engagement. He would propose, in the measure he wished to introduce, that no order of removal should take place until a copy of that order, and of the examination on which it had been pronounced, should have been served on the authorities of the parish to which the party should be removed."

The other topic adverted to was that of illegitimacy; the law relating to which, as it then stood, his lordship considered "as a direct encouragement to vice

and immorality. If a woman chose to swear that she was pregnant with an illegitimate child, the party she named as the father was, *ipso facto*, liable to be committed to prison until he could find security for the maintenance and support of the child. Those he addressed must know the difficulty to which a labourer would be exposed in finding securities; and that difficulty not being surmounted, the individual might be in prison for five or six months, there to be associated with the very worst characters. Such a power of imprisonment he would take away, and, at the same time, make the mother liable for the support of the child, in the manner of a pauper widow. The proposed change, so far from increasing demoralisation, would prove beneficial in every degree, he was convinced."

In submitting his whole scheme, Lord Althorp said—"Ministers exposed themselves to the opposition of those who pretended to be the friends of the labouring classes; but he would fearlessly assert that the measure was designed for the benefit of that portion of the population of the country. The labourer ought to be remunerated for his industry according to his merits, and not on a scale regulated by the number of his children; and, with this change, the advantage would be given to the most industrious and the most meritorious. At present no difference existed between the good and the bad as to remuneration, if such could be called the subsistence derived from the abuse of the poor-laws. He entirely agreed in the sentiment that poverty was no crime; but it was impossible to prevent it as a misfortune: and every attempt as yet made to remove it, instead of confining the evil to those who suffered under its chilling hand, had extended it to almost every other class." The second reading of this measure was carried, in the Commons, by a majority of 319 against 29.

In the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor (Brougham) moved the second reading on the 21st of July. In the course of his able speech, his lordship entered into a full historical view of the subject, maintaining, that "it was not till the fifth of Queen Elizabeth that any system of poor-laws made a compulsory provision for the poorest classes of the people. It has been said that one-fourth of tithes were properly applicable to the bishop; one-fourth to the parson; one-fourth to the repairs of the church; and one-fourth to the sustentation of the people. He admitted that, as far back as the fifteenth of Richard II., an act passed which showed that the legislature then recognised the right of the poor to sustenance from tithes; and that that principle had been recognised by the judges of the land in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and also by Lord Mansfield in the reign of George III. It was, however, beyond all doubt, that the principal provision for the poor out of tithes, was never more recognised by practice than that they received charity at the hands of the parson. The statute of George III., passed in 1796, gave the industrious poor a right, by law, to be supported out of the parish rates in their own dwellings, although contracts had been made for their maintenance in the workhouses held and established for their reception in the day of distress. When the poor knew that such a fund existed; that they could call upon it for support; and that it was unnecessary for them to provide against the calamities incident to human life, as here they had the means already furnished, the worst possible effects were produced upon their minds. The peasantry were debased and vitiated. The habits of honest industry, which led them to support their families, their wives and children, their fathers and mothers, by their own industrious exertions, were altogether banished from their minds. He pointed out the evil effects of the poor-laws in the wilful and direct encouragement which they gave to improvident marriages. The language which such laws held to persons in humble circumstances was—contract marriage if you please, and your children shall be supported at the expense of the parish. It was found, in many parishes where there were few poor people, that able-bodied men preferred receiving a small pittance from the parish, and living in idleness, to receiving a larger sum in the shape of wages, and working for their support; and those who were thus supported, were always found, if not the ringleaders, the ready followers of every mischief, of

every depredation, and of every villany that was perpetrated in their neighbourhood. The evil was not confined to the agricultural districts; but the very boatmen on the Kentish coast, who would formerly, in the worst weather, risk their lives to support their wives and families, would not now go out in winter. Their statement was—'They would do so no more; the parish must support them; and they had a right to that support as well as others.' Those who were supported by the parish, complained if they were obliged to work as much as independent labourers who received no support from the parish. In many places, persons who received parish relief were considerably better off than the honest, industrious labourer, who endeavoured to support himself by his own efforts. In some parts of Sussex, and in the Isle of Wight, paupers received ten shillings a week for working a certain number of hours; while independent labourers, who worked much longer, received only twelve shillings. In fact, it appeared that, in the Isle of Wight, 240 pauper labourers struck because they were obliged to work as long as other labourers; and, after almost resorting to force, they succeeded in obtaining compliance with their demands. He did not blame those men; he blamed the bad laws which produced such pernicious effects. The law of nature ordained that a man should support his child; that a son should support his parent; that those who were better off in the world than their other relations, should give them aid and assistance: but this law told them to do no such thing, for it would take that duty upon itself. It made men say—as individuals had been known to say—'I will expose my children in the streets unless you order me relief for them. I will turn my mother out of the house, and place her at the overseer's door, unless you give me relief for her.'" His lordship showed that the change of system contemplated by ministers was in conformity with principles sanctioned by men of the highest name. "The law relating to bastardy, as it now stood, threw it upon the man, to avoid the offence, and visited him with penalties if he committed it. The man found one enemy in the woman's breast to be partly in his favour; and that was her passions: and when that party was beaten, he found another enemy ready to surrender; and that was her calculations: and then came the suggestions—'The law is in my favour; if the worst come to the worst, I can make him marry me. I am not doing that which is wrong itself, provided marriage follows.' The law furnished a soporific to lull her conscience, and enabled her to look forward to a period when marriage would cover her fault. He therefore recommended that the woman should be deprived of the advantage she derived at present from the law. Let the disadvantage be placed on her side, and the man would have less chance to seduce her from the path of chastity and virtue."

In the upper House the opposition was led by Lord Wynford, who objected to the proposed appointment of central commissioners, who were to have the power of granting or withholding allowances to the poor; of deciding whether, to get that allowance, the pauper and his family were to go into the workhouse or not; of regulating the way in which he was to be fed, and in what other way he should receive his miserable pittance. "Pass that bill," exclaimed his lordship, "and he would say, the condition of the poor of England would be worse than that of the serfs in any part of Europe—worse than that of the villeins who belonged to the soil of the kingdom in former times, or than that of any of the negro slaves in the colonies. The salaries of the commissioners were to be fixed by the crown, by whom the appointments were to be made. Here were permanent appointments, to be granted by the executive; and the salaries named, which salaries were to be made good by the House of Commons. Carry out that principle a little further, and there would be an end to the British constitution." However, the second reading was carried by a majority of sixty-three—the contents being seventy-six, the non-contents thirteen. In committee the bill was minutely scrutinised, and its principal provisions underwent a very minute examination, which was not concluded till the 4th of August. Shortly after, the measure, having encountered further resistance, was carried through its last stage, and received the royal assent.

For the Whig families, this question of the poor-laws was not a pleasant one; and hence it was that Lord Brougham touched so lightly on the sustentation of the poor out of the funds provided for religious purposes. It is beyond doubt that we owe the agricultural restoration of the greater part of Europe to the monks. They chose, for the sake of retirement and safety, secluded regions, which they cultivated with the labour of their own hands. Of the Anglo-Saxon husbandry we may remark, that the Domesday survey gives us some indication that the cultivation of the church lands was much superior to that of any other order of society. Each monastery became the central point of civilisation; its lands were the most productive; its dependents the most prosperous of any in the neighbourhood. When, however, the favourites of the crown obtained grants of the land that had constituted the property of the monasteries, they took it discharged, practically, of the obligation to provide for the poor. The princely domains which they enjoyed, and to which they were indebted for their social position and political power, originally supplied no inconsiderable portion of the fund to which the poor had been in the habit of looking for relief. Of that fund they had been deprived by arbitrary enactments and arbitrary monarchs; and it had been found necessary to supply another at the expense of the community at large; which fund, as we have seen, had led to the grossest abuses. The inquiry, which resulted in the framing of the new poor-law, disclosed the existence of a state of habits, feelings, and morals, among the labouring classes in England and Wales, unparalleled in the history of any other civilised country. At a later period, a poor-law was introduced into Scotland; and, if we may believe Dr. Guthrie, it has already done much to destroy the forethought and the sense of independence which had previously characterised the peasantry of Scotland—a peasantry whose "Saturday Night," as sung by one of themselves nearly a century ago, is still cherished as a picture of purity and simplicity almost Arcadian; and to whom it had been given pre-eminently to feel—

> "To make a happy fireside clime
> For weans and wife;
> That's the true pathos and sublime
> Of human life."

On the 1st of August, 1836, Mr. Walter, in the House of Commons, moved for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the new poor-law, particularly with regard to the rules for granting out-door relief, and the separation, in the unions, of husbands from wives, and children from parents. In a temperate speech, he directed the attention of the House to the arbitrary character of these arrangements, and the outrage they committed on the feelings of the poor. Other members spoke to the same purpose; but Lord John Russell appealed to the economists, representing that a great saving had been effected by the new law: and in a thin house, the ministers gained the day by 82 to 46.

If we are to believe the Duke of Buckingham, the evidence taken by the Whig commissioners was manufactured for a particular purpose. Mr. Doubleday asserts, that all which told strongly in favour of the old Elizabethan law was omitted, while all which militated against its policy was retained. He adds—"That the report and evidence upon which the Poor-Law Amendment Act was based were garbled, the author asserts from direct personal knowledge. The evidence collected in the two northern counties of Durham and Northumberland was highly favourable to the old law, which in these districts was honestly and liberally worked, and with which no one worth mentioning was dissatisfied. The whole of the commissioners' report, with the evidence—save and except a few sentences, amounting to only a paragraph or two of no consequence—was accordingly suppressed; so that these two counties were all but ignored, together with their population, their extensive commerce, and vast mining establishments, in the document upon which parliament proceeded to legislate on this occasion." The measure thus formed was, in many respects, very objectionable, and bore,

as has been often since remarked, with cruel severity against unavoidable misfortune. The new arrangement gave employment to the supporters of the government; but this was a recommendation not universally appreciated. The character of their treatment of the poor much increased the unpopularity of the Whigs among the humbler classes. The new union-houses were called Bastilles, and many perished of want rather than enter them. It was felt hard, too, that aged couples should be separated, or that they should be compelled to break up their home, and sacrifice their all, when they only required a little temporary aid. At length, dissatisfaction reached its climax in 1837, and the *Times* and its proprietor, Mr. Walter, nearly carried the day. The Tories were very angry with Sir Robert Peel, who, they said, at this crisis might have raised himself and his party to the highest pinnacle of favour, had he taken a straightforward course against this unpopular measure; but he chose to stand forward as an apologist for government, and gave them a qualified support.

Again persevering, Mr. Walter moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Poor-Law Amendment Act, and to report their opinion to the House. "The evils of the system were," he said, "of two kinds. The confinement was intolerable; and they who were unable to bear it were thrown out upon the wide world. Hence arose the encouragement to emigration, and all the artifices used to induce the poor to emigrate. The number of persons thus driven from the country, under the management of the commissioners, amounted last year to 5,140. It did not appear, on the commissioners' own showing, that this emigration was necessary. They themselves contended that there was no superabundance of labour in the country. One of the heavy evils of the system was the great size of the unions. Originally, they were not intended to comprise more than five or six parishes each. But now that they were extended to thirty, forty, or even fifty parishes, it became a day's journey for a son to visit an imprisoned mother. Great stress had been laid upon the improvement in wages, which, it was expected, would be consequent on the change of the system of relief; but little effect of that kind had appeared. In two counties, he knew that the chairman of the quarter sessions was obliged to address the grand juries in the way of complaint upon this subject." Mr. Walter was ably seconded by Mr. Fielden, an extensive manufacturer, who possessed abundant opportunities of noticing the working of the new law, which he denounced as false in principle, and iniquitous in its provisions. He also charged the commissioners with gross mistakes and intentional falsifications. In reply, Lord John Russell said, that his only difficulty was to compress, within any moderate compass, the voluminous mass of evidence with which he was furnished from persons of all classes; from the highest and lowest ranks; from noblemen and landowners; from clergymen, farmers, and labourers—all tending, in the strongest manner, to show the great advantage that had resulted from the measure. His lordship moved, "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the administration of the relief of the poor, under the orders and regulations issued by the commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Poor-Law Amendment Act." His lordship maintained, that with respect to the workhouse system, as a test of destitution, the most inconceivable benefits had resulted. But it was said to be cruel to force the disabled and infirm into the workhouse. The degree and manner in which this had been done, was, no doubt, a very proper subject for inquiry with the committee. In the meanwhile, however, he could refer to the returns which had been received from eighty-eight unions, showing that the number of in-door paupers was 8,850; while the number of out-door paupers was 54,487. In these eighty-eight unions, nine-tenths of the disabled and infirm received out-of-door relief. This, then, was the working of that cruel system which was driving every disabled poor person into prison. He, however, believed that when the new system was brought into full operation, out-door relief would be entirely abolished, with the exception of cases of sickness. It ought not, he thought, to constitute a permanent part of the system. As to the

kind of relief afforded, his lordship quoted the return from the Easty Union, from which it appeared, that whereas the amount of annual payments for bastardy was formerly £300, there was no instance of a charge on that account: and though the amount of poor-rates collected in the twenty-six parishes, for the year ending 1835, was £16,900, the amount so collected, for the year ending 1836, was £8,965. The report then went on to state, that the diet of the inmates of the workhouse was ample, wholesome, and substantial; the medical attendance prompt and considerable; the clothing suitable; and the moral and religious improvement duly attended to. The children of both sexes were, it was added, reared and trained in a manner far surpassing that enjoyed by the children of independent labourers.

The committee met, and finally reported that the introduction of the new poor-law had been attended with a considerable improvement in the character and condition of the poor. The aged and infirm were relieved, whenever they preferred it, at their own houses, or at the houses of their friends and relations, and their condition improved by an increase of pay. The employment of agricultural labour was said to be greater, and the morals of the labourers better. They had become more provident, and more anxious to get and keep their places. On the other hand, it was admitted that labourers, with large families under an age fit for work, felt severely the loss of the allowance which they formerly received in proportion to the number of their children, and in the payment of a great part of the rent of their cottages. Wages had in some degree been raised, but not more than in proportion to the increased price of provisions. The rent of cottages also appeared to have fallen in some instances, but not generally, or to a great extent. With a view of meeting these difficulties, the guardians seemed generally inclined to take into the house a certain number of the children of labourers married before the passing of the new law. This had been done in particular instances, with the permission of the poor-law commissioners. Upon the whole, the committee expressed their distinct opinion that the operation of the new poor-law was satisfactory, and ought to be upheld; and that they entertained no doubt of the general wisdom and efficiency of its provisions. Since then abuses have grown up, and hardships have been discovered; all of which public opinion has had the power—or supposed it has had—to rectify. At any rate we hear nothing of the Bastilles; and no cry is now raised against the poor-law itself.

Now that the excitement of the conflict is over, it has become evident that the new poor-law failed to eradicate pauperism. It is said in London, at this time, to be actually increasing. Last winter the papers were filled with sad details; and the visit of the "London casual" revealed terrible inhumanity and neglect. Such things ought not to be, in a land which boasts such wealth and Christianity as ours. It was calculated, in 1865, that there was an increase of pauperism, to the extent of 153, in the parish of St. Pancras; and in the parish of St. George the Martyr, 238; while in St. Mary's, Lambeth, the enormous increase of persons receiving parochial relief, was as much as 691. In the hospitals all the wards are filled, and our supplementary charities, and relief organisations, in vain seek to overtake and grapple with the disease, and distress, and pauperism which abound in our midst. In some cases—as when a poor needlewoman makes shirts at fourpence a day—it were almost better that she should give up all attempts at earning a living, and at once betake herself to the workhouse, where she would be lodged and fed better than on that scanty pittance she can lodge and feed herself. It is little that the parish may do; for it must be borne in mind that the rates fall heavy on a large class of tradespeople who are very little better off than paupers themselves. The parish cannot be expected to give more than food, clothing, and shelter, in their cheapest and simplest form. After all, it is difficult to tell what to do. Man has a right to work, and to demand that his wages shall be such as not merely to support him in health and strength, but as shall also enable him to do his duty to his family, and put by something for a rainy day.

The capitalist goes into the market to buy labour at the cheapest rate. In self-defence he is obliged to do so. But what is the consequence? Society is called upon to supply his deficiencies; and how great those are, is attested, not merely by the sums raised by the poor-rates, but by the voluntary subscriptions and enormous bequests paid to the princely charities of London. As long, also, as men are lazy, and intemperate, and improvident, there must be paupers. Before the new poor-law came into operation, the demoralisation of the poor seemed to have reached its climax. It was by them accepted as a fundamental truth that the lazy had a right to live upon the industrious—the drone upon the bee. For years our legislature seemed to aim at destroying the independence and self-respect of the poor altogether; but now, in this age of labour, people have begun to think more of the labourer, and the labourer has begun to think more of himself. He is now a member of a union which guards his rights, and relieves when in distress, or of inferior health. He never sinks to the level of the pauper. The people who clamour for the relief of the pauper, are generally as poor in heart and spirit as in pocket. A year or two ago, during a severe frost in London, we heard of great strapping fellows making their five and six shillings a day by begging, which they preferred to honest work. We have often seen men and women begging when they have been manifestly the worse for drink; and the bread and meat, and clothes and alms given to such, are speedily exchanged for more liquor; thus making it evident how vicious is the pauperism with which we have chiefly to do. Of course such people have their difficulties. Perhaps they are found dead in a cellar, or on a dunghill; and the world cries shame on the hard-hearted guardians of the poor, who are supposed, as they bury him, to exclaim—

> "Rattle his bones over the stones,
> 'Tis only a pauper, whom nobody owns."

The law of life is inexorable. "He that will not work, neither shall he eat," is the universal rule. All nature, all history, all reason, all revelation, alike teach us this. Yet we cannot allow even such to die; and we are bound, if possible, to step in to save such from the consequences of their folly or their crime. Tell a man that you will care for him when he is old, or when he has spent his money, and you must do mischief, and the working-man spends his earnings without any thought for the future. It is not by charity, then, that we remove pauperism. It is an ill weed that grows apace, and which it is hard to pluck up by the roots, and exterminate. Acts of parliament cannot effectually destroy it; we cannot put it down by force. Let the policeman be ever so energetic—let the poor-law relieving officer be ever so lynx-eyed—let the magistrate, or clergyman, or district visitor be ever so active in the discharge of his duties—the beggar, and the improvident, and the unfortunate will turn up in our streets; and, however reckless and vicious they may have been, we cannot suffer them to lie down and die. But we can appeal to the self-respect of the working-man—we can aid him in his efforts after independence; and in proportion as we do this, will the action of the poor-law become more humane.

In 1835, ministers dealt with the question of municipal reform. Commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the state of the corporations in England and Wales; and they had collected a mass of evidence, tending to show the abuses which had found their way into the system. The corporations considered themselves, and were considered by the community, as separate and independent bodies. To maintain the political ascendency of a party, or the influence of a family, seemed to be the object systematically pursued in the admission of freemen, resident or non-resident; in the selection of the council and magistracy; in the appointment of subordinate officers and the local police; in the administration of charities; in the expenditure of the corporate revenues, and in the management of corporate property. The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends, it appeared had occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes,

which had been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralisation of the electoral bodies; and hence the argument for reform seemed irresistible.

Accordingly, in June, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the municipal corporations of England and Wales. This bill, he stated, would include 183 boroughs, containing about 2,000,000 of inhabitants. It was intended that all municipal charters which were inconsistent with the provisions of the bill, should be wholly abolished. One uniform system of election would be pursued; and, except in a few large places, the same description of officers would be retained. The present rate-payers of the town were to choose the common council. He proposed that there should be only one body, consisting of a mayor and common council, in whom the powers of the corporation should be vested. All pecuniary advantages enjoyed by individuals, and also peculiar rights, were to remain to them during their lives; but, in future, no burgess was to be elected but in accordance with the conditions to which he had alluded. Freemen were to retain the advantages they possessed as such, but like privileges were not to be granted in future. The mayor was to be annually elected, and, during his year of office, was to be a justice of the peace. All bodies instituted by local acts were to be abolished, and the preservation of the peace was to be confined to the corporations. In some of the smaller places, it was intended to do away with the corporations altogether. Amendments were proposed in committee; but the measure passed the Commons unmutilated, and with a majority of between forty and fifty.

The Municipal Corporations Bill came on for a second reading, in the House of Lords, on the 28th of July, when, after a discussion on the question of permitting counsel to be heard for petitioners against the measure, it was suffered to pass. On the 30th, counsel were heard; and a long and important debate followed on the 3rd of August, when the Earl of Carnarvon moved an amendment, "That evidence be taken, at the bar of the House, in support of the allegations of the several petitions praying to be heard against the bill now before the House, before the House goes into committee on the said bill." This amendment was supported in a powerful speech from Lord Lyndhurst, who contended that no individuals ought to be deprived of their property, to which by law they were entitled, unless properly convicted of having so far misconducted themselves as to be no longer fit to be entrusted with its management; and he stated, as his opinion, that the report on which the bill had been founded was totally illegal. He called upon the House to stand on the principles of justice; to defy public clamour; to act as gentlemen as well as nobles of the land, and without heeding consequences; and then denounced the measure as being, under the pretence of reforming municipal corporations, a party job, intended to supply the deficiencies of the Reform Bill, and a step towards destroying Conservative influence. The Duke of Wellington also supported the amendment, which, however, was carried by 124 to 54. The House therefore proceeded to hear evidence, which was continued from day to day; and the bill was allowed to go into committee on the 12th. On the 13th, a debate ensued on an amendment being proposed by Lord Lyndhurst, "That the rights in common, as now enjoyed by freemen, should not only be continued, but that they should descend to those who come after them;" which was supported by the Duke of Wellington and others, and opposed by Lords Melbourne, Brougham, Plunket, Radnor, and the Marquis of Lansdowne. Nevertheless, it was carried against ministers by a majority of ninety-three.

Thus stimulated by success, the opposition essayed another passage of arms. Lord Lyndhurst again moved an amendment, which was as follows:—"That the rights as freemen, guaranteed to them by the Reform Bill, should be protected." This also was carried. He then proposed a clause to the effect, that instructions should be given to the different town-clerks, to make out a list, before the 25th of October next, of the persons entitled to vote in the several boroughs, and also for providing for the future admission of all who shall become entitled to their

freedom by birth, marriage, or servitude. This, also, was adopted, as well as an amendment of the Duke of Wellington, allowing the boundaries to remain as they were until parliament should otherwise determine. As the clauses came under consideration, other changes were suggested by the opposition, and carried against ministers whenever they ventured on a division.

These successes cheered the hearts of the Tories. It appears that the proceedings of Lord Lyndhurst were not at first approved of by Sir Robert Peel or the Duke of Wellington. It seems that his grace was not desirous of committing himself to active opposition to government when no important advantage could be obtained; but, as on previous occasions, others could not restrain their ardour for a contest when a triumph was possible, even though they may have been aware that it would prove a barren one. Hence the interest in the proceedings, recorded above, was almost equal to that created by those on the Reform Bill in certain circles, and undoubtedly did some damage to the government, who expected considerable gains if the Municipal Reform Bill was carried. The Marquis of Londonderry writes to the Duke of Buckingham at this crisis—"We are going on with our examination *de die in diem*. As you will see from the papers, every case has proved, incontrovertibly, the partiality and misconduct of the nineteen Whig commissioners; and I think the House and the public are well satisfied of the jobbing course which those gentlemen have pursued for the Whig government's object—viz., to get together all they could amass of evidence, no matter how bad or incorrectly founded, provided it bore upon their side of the question, and told against the corporations. I hear the duke declares he is now satisfied that the course pursued by Lyndhurst was the best. He is, however, reserved; and, if he stated the above, I know him too well to believe that he likes in anything to be *overruled*. It is supposed, by Saturday, sufficient evidence will be procured to make us decide on taking a line against legislating on this report of the committee. We shall then go to reject and amend all clauses, and send it back to the Commons, when, it is supposed, after our searching, and certainly just, proceeding, the House of Commons will be *forced* to adopt the greater part of our alterations. So the case stands now. But it alters from day to day. Peel is not at all satisfied, I hear, at our course." A great meeting of the opposition was held on the 10th, at which the utmost unanimity prevailed. On the 17th, the Marquis of Londonderry writes—"All you say about the bill is too true. B——, W——, and E——, play Peel's game; and we shall end in so modified a plan, that the Commons will take it as *a first step;* and really there is no party that I see willing to take the government. If Melbourne resigned, and Peel was called on, I doubt if the latter would accept, and run the risk of a dissolution."

On the 25th the Municipal Corporation Bill was committed, when Lord Devon proposed an amendment, which was carried without a division. Lord Lyndhurst, a second, with a division that left the government again in a decisive majority—they only bringing forward 36 votes against 104. Lord Lyndhurst moved another important amendment, which was also acceded to; and the remainder of the clauses was suffered to pass. On the 27th, Lord Melbourne made another struggle for the integrity of the Corporation Bill; but was defeated by 160 against 89; and, in its amended form, it passed the third reading. In vain Lord Londonderry tried to calculate the future. "All seems mystery," he writes, "as to what the government will do. Holmes says they are preparing, and positively will resign. I think Melbourne's manner indicates great apathy and arrogance; but, at the same time, I am of opinion he will be satisfied with the Corporation Bill as we have *doctored it*."

But the Lords had been getting on too fast; and there was a danger of a collision with the Commons. A meeting had to be held, therefore, at Apsley House, and a plan of action agreed on. The duke, as usual, was cautious—not disposed to go further than he could see his way clearly; but keeping his force at hand ready for a demonstration whenever one could be made with real advantage.

The crisis was one of deep interest; the House of Peers evidently intending not to give way; and the House of Commons, though extremely impatient of the restrictions imposed upon their legislative functions, undecided as to defiance or conciliation.

On the 31st, the Lords' amendments on the Municipal Corporations Bill were brought under the consideration of the Commons by Lord John Russell, who proposed some alterations. A discussion followed, which lasted till the 2nd of September, when a committee was appointed to draw up reasons for a conference with the House of Peers, setting forth why their amendments were not adopted by the Commons. The Lords insisted, and their amendments were, after some discussion, passed. It was complained, by some of the Radicals, that the bill, as amended in the upper House, had really been spoiled and mutilated; and Mr. Roebuck thought it too much for his patience, that "the real representatives of the people should submit to insults from so weak a body as the House of Lords—a body which it was in the power of the Commons to crush." Still the tone of both Whigs and Radicals was not so violent as had been anticipated, though Hume, O'Connell, and Grote took part in the discussion. Lord John Russell, while he objected to the language used by the Peers, and to some of the changes they had made, and especially to the appointment of town-clerk and aldermen for life, still thought that the measure would effect desirable changes. The bill, as amended, being returned to the Peers, the amendments made by the Commons were agreed to, with some exceptions, though the Peers still retained their original amendments, providing that justices should be named directly by the crown, and that a division into wards should begin with boroughs containing 6,000 instead of 9,000 inhabitants. The Commons finally agreed to the bill as returned to them; and though it was far from satisfying many of the friends of reform, it was generally considered by no means the inefficient measure some of them maintained it had been reduced to by the labours of the Peers.

The conduct of Sir Robert Peel at this time, we are told, caused dissatisfaction among some of his party; for he totally abandoned several of the important amendments which had been carried in the upper House. This embarrassed the Duke of Wellington; but the Conservative peers, who were responsible for these changes in the measure, were not disposed to surrender them. The ultras were in a fix. Their consternation is thus described by one of them. Lord Londonderry writes—"You will, probably, get more ample accounts than I can give. Peel has thrown the Lords over. The question is, are we to yield to him as Conservative leader, or be firm? I hear, from D—— of C——, to-night, L—— is firm, and that H. R. H. will be so. The Duke of W—— is in a great dilemma how to act: his inclinations go one way; his friends push him the other."

In 1836, the Irish Municipal Corporations Reform Bill came on for discussion in the House of Lords. An amendment to the address, deprecating a measure of the kind, was carried, on the motion of the Duke of Wellington. When, in the Commons, the second reading was proposed by Lord John Russell, Lord Francis Egerton moved an amendment, instructing the committee, while providing for the abolition of corporations, to make such arrangements as might be necessary for securing the efficient and impartial administration of justice, and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland. He asserted, that it had lately become notorious, that a most unfair advantage had been taken of the English measure to pack the town councils with political partisans, by whom justice was as much considered as good government; and as the result of this measure in Ireland must create an enormous increase in the influence of the Irish agitators, such an amendment was loudly called for. Though it was eloquently supported by Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Sir Henry Hardinge, and others, ministers gained a majority of sixty-four. On the third reading, the numbers were—for, 260; against, 199. On the 18th of April, the second reading passed the Lords. When the House went into committee on the bill, Lord Fitzgerald

moved, as an amendment, "That it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to make provision for the abolition of such corporations, and for such arrangements as may be necessary, on their abolition, for securing the efficient and impartial administration of justice, and the peace and good government of cities and towns in Ireland." Lords Holland and Brougham defended the government measure. Lord Melbourne rather indignantly contended that it would be better to go into its consideration, and assured the House that they would be taking a very imprudent step if they sanctioned the amendment. Nevertheless they did so, by a majority of nearly two to one. Ministers were in a minority of eighty-four. Further progress was made on the 9th of May, when, in answer to Lord Lyndhurst's appeal to the Peers to put down agitation, and thwart the efforts of those base men who, for their own purposes, kept Ireland in a state of tumult and turmoil, all the obnoxious clauses were struck ont. On the 18th ministers made another fight, and were beaten. The Commons sent back the bill, with the obnoxious clauses re-inserted. A conference between the two houses followed; and, on the 27th, Lord Melbourne again brought the bill under the consideration of the Lords, when the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst insisted on the previous alterations being affirmed: and, on a division, ministers were left in a minority of sixty-four. On the 30th, Lord Ellenborough presented to the House the report of the committee appointed for drawing up reasons for disagreeing with the Commons, which were adopted. On the 18th of July, another defeat of the government occurred in the House of Lords, when the amendments of the Commons on those of the Lords were negatived by a majority of nearly two to one. The contest was still pertinaciously continued. On the 11th of August there was a conference between committees of the two houses respecting their differences; after which there was a debate in the Lords, when ministers were again defeated. Another conference followed, without any satisfactory result. Lord John Russell felt himself obliged to have recourse to a motion that the Lords' amendments be read that day three months; and the bill was abandoned.

One more effort was made to pass this unfortunate bill in 1837. On the 17th of February, it came on for a second reading in a very small House, when Mr. Scarlett proposed a clause giving to all burgesses in boroughs the power to elect aldermen; which was opposed by the Attorney-general, and defeated by 93 to 34. Other amendments were proposed, but negatived without a division; and the bill was committed. On the 20th, Lord Francis Egerton renewed his motion of last year, which occasioned a three days' debate, when all the strength the government could display was produced, and they obtained a majority of eighty. After a two days' debate, the third reading was carried by a majority of fifty-five. In the Lords the bill met with the same kind of treatment which it had received before. On the 12th of April, the Duke of Wellington carried an amendment, proposing the consideration of the bill to June the 9th. When that day arrived, another postponement was moved by Lord Lyndhurst; and notwithstanding the ministers put forth all their strength, they were beaten by 205 to 119. This quiet and somewhat contemptuous way of getting rid of an obnoxious measure, and the manner in which it was submitted to, show how weak the government had become.

We are in danger of forgetting the naval reforms instituted by Sir James Graham; yet they must not be altogether lost sight of. When the Whigs came into office, Sir James abolished nine salaries in the navy department, of from £800 to £1,000 a year, besides reducing forty or fifty unnecessary offices. Nor was this all: the constitution of the department was full of anomalies. The Board of Admiralty, reconstructed by patent on every change of administration, was held responsible to parliament for the due application of all sums voted annually for its service—for its efficiency in peace and war. But, in reality, the navy and victualling Boards, although, theoretically speaking, sub-departments, had come to be, in many essential respects, independent. Under this system, fraud, robbery,

and extravagance of all kinds had been perpetrated. Sir James Graham abolished the navy and victualling Boards, so that everything connected with the service would be under the complete control of one Board; and the chief officers of the department would be appointed permanently, or as long as they performed their duties properly. Instead of four commissioners with the First Lord, Sir James proposed five—one to preside. A more efficient system of audit was introduced. Sir Ryan Martin, whose presidency of the navy Board this bill was to bring to an end, could not be expected to approve of the contemplated change. He pronounced the scheme impracticable; and by reference to details, endeavoured to prove the perfect efficiency of the old system, and the certain failure of the new, if it should ever be tried. Mr. Cooper, Mr. Keith Douglas, Sir George Clark, and Sir George Cockburn, expressed similar opinions. But the bill passed nevertheless. The imprisonment of seamen was in a manner done away with. A few figures show the result of Sir James's labours. In 1830, the navy estimates were £5,594,955; in 1832, they were reduced to £4,878,634; and those for 1833 had been further reduced to £4,658,134. In 1834, a still further saving was achieved, to the extent of £180,000. This retrenchment had been effected chiefly in the dockyards, where the number of men employed had been at length brought within the limit of 6,000, prescribed by the Duke of Wellington's administration. Sir James had a difficult task to perform, as he had to please the people, and not to give offence to "the sailor king," as William IV. loved to be termed. He was especially susceptible on every point connected with the navy. Sir James, however, succeeded. Upon the whole, it must be admitted that his success was great; and, during his administration of the navy, he fairly earned his high character for official ability—an ability rare at that time in public life.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHANGES UNDER WILLIAM IV.

WE have referred to the principal events which characterised the reign of William IV. Before we quite leave this part of our subject, a few additional particulars may be noted here.

In the first place, Lord Althorp no longer leads the House of Commons, where for many years he had occupied an exalted position. In 1819 and 1820, his lordship, recently a widower, seldom visited society, but was a constant attendant in the House, worked hard in committee, and entered, with freedom and affability, into communication with all who knew him upon the subject of legislative discussion. He had recently, writes Mr. Torrens, in his *Life of Sir J. Graham*, broken up his establishment in Pall Mall, and resumed his former chambers in the Albany, where he continued to reside many years. His time and attention, while in town, were almost devoted to political study and attendance in the House of Commons. In debate he took comparatively little part at this time, possessing few of the qualifications for distinction as a speaker, and being wholly devoid of the ambition to shine. Of statistical inquiry Lord Althorp was especially fond; and his chief delight was in agriculture, and the management of land. On these subjects his lordship spoke with an animation almost bordering on enthusiasm. He had acquired, by his marriage, a considerable estate in Nottinghamshire, where he usually resided during the autumn and winter, and where he occupied himself with the varied practical details of experimental farming. Here, too, his talent for arithmetic, which had at first shown itself by his attainment of distinction at Cambridge, enabled him, with little effort, to keep exact account of

all his outgoings in wages, purchase of stock, &c., and of in-comings when the produce of his farms was sent to market. He subsequently convinced himself that he had lost money by his experiments in tillage; but it was his delight to tell how successful he had been as a cattle farmer; and to the latest period of his life he continued to derive the greatest enjoyment from the breeding and rearing of stock. A friend, whom he had not seen for some years, visited him, on one occasion, at Wiseton. They had long sat together in parliament, and their first talk naturally fell upon the public topics of the day. But after a short time, his lordship exclaimed—"You are anxious, I am sure, to see my new stock; let us go and look at them." And so saying, he led the way to his grazing-fields: nor was it until every yearling of quality, and high-bred bull, had been viewed and criticised, that he thought of reverting to public affairs. The genuineness and simplicity of character of such a man rendered him a valuable guide and counsellor. His mind moved slowly; and because he was conscientious, he was cautious in expressing. He did not aspire to lead; but, in time, leadership was thrust upon him. In 1827, he was placed in, or rather driven to, the front rank by his distrust of Canning. "If," he used to say, "Canning really thinks with us, why does he not resign? Catholic emancipation could then be no longer resisted, and other great reforms would inevitably follow. I suspect that he courts us merely for our votes; and as soon as he can do without them he will fall back on the Tories, and leave us only the shame of having been his dupes." In 1830, he was formally installed as leader of the Whigs. Up to this time he had invariably declined the honour. At length, Mr. Portman, accompanied by Sir F. Lawley and Mr. Pendennis, waited on him to urge the point; and received for answer, that if they could get forty-five members to concur with them by the following Saturday, he would consider the point. But he made it a preliminary condition that he should first communicate with Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Brougham, without whose approval he certainly should not take any decisive step. That approval was cordially given; and more than the required number assembled at the appointed time to salute him as their chosen chief. He was asked by one of those present, whether any communication had taken place with Mr. Huskisson on the subject which had drawn them together? He replied, with his usual directness and simplicity, that there had been nothing of the sort. Upon this, Sir James Graham stated, that acting only as an individual, he had thought it right to apprise Mr. Huskisson of what was in contemplation; and he was glad to be able to give the assurance, that the proceedings in which they were then engaged were in no way calculated to diminish the probability of their being able to act, on various questions, in concert with that gentleman and his friends. Arrangements were subsequently made for the supervision of the government measures. Lord Althorp and four other gentlemen engaged to consider the various topics likely to arise in parliament at least once a week, and no independent action was to be taken without their cognizance. In office he was much stimulated and strengthened by his more daring and ambitious colleague, Sir James Graham. Yet it must be admitted that his first budget was a failure.

With regard to the Reform Bill, Lord Althorp was prepared to go further than his colleagues. When Lord Durham proposed the adoption of the ballot, Lord Duncannon avoided pronouncing any opinion until he had consulted Lord Althorp, whose directness of purpose, dispassionate earnestness, and shrewdness of perception, he was peculiarly fitted to appreciate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had probably, by this time, began to understand how little dependence could be placed on William IV.'s assurance, that he was "quite in favour of Reform;" and seeing that the sole chance of carrying the measure lay in making it such as would from the outset command an irresistible amount of popular support, he told Lord Duncannon by all means to make the ballot a part of the plan.

One can quite believe the story told by Haydon as to Lord Althorp's readiness to resign office. When, in May, 1834, the Lord Advocate (Jeffrey) called

upon Lord Althorp, to ask what he should do about his resignation, his reception was as follows:—"Lord Althorp's secretary could not give him any information, and Lord Althorp desired he would walk up-stairs. Up Jeffrey walked. Lord Althorp had just done washing, and one arm was bare above the elbow, and rather hairy. His razor was in the other, and he was about to shave. 'Well, Mr. Advocate,' said his lordship, 'I have the pleasure to inform you that we are no longer his majesty's ministers. We sent in our resignations, and they are accepted.' When they returned, Jeffrey called again. Lord Althorp was looking over his fowling-piece, and said to Jeffrey, 'Confound these political affairs!—all my locks are got out of order,' in his usual grumbling, lazy way. Haydon was told this anecdote by Lord Jeffrey himself."

"My good uncle," writes the Marquis of Londonderry to the Duke of Buckingham, "Lord C——, tells me, he *knows* Althorp is only waiting for an opportunity to cut and run." Who can wonder at it! Farming must have been a far pleasanter business for his lordship than politics; and the breezy plains of Northamptonshire far more salubrious than the heated and angry atmosphere of the House of Commons. Lord Althorp was of Wordsworth's way of thinking—

"Sweet is the lore that nature brings."

At Oxford University there was a grand political demonstration, on the occasion of the installation of the Duke of Wellington, which much cheered and animated the Conservative party.

The Court, we read, was much occupied this summer with a grand musical festival, that had been for some time in preparation, and which the king, the queen, nearly all the royal family, and most of the nobility and gentry in London encouraged. The interior of the ancient minster was fitted up with seats on the floor of the nave, within the aisles, and with raised galleries and orchestra; opposite to which, at the extremity of the seats, a handsome apartment, with wings, was fitted for the royal visitors. There their majesties, the Princess Victoria, the Duchess of Kent, and the Princess Augusta sat in front; and the Dukes of Gloucester and Meiningen, the younger princes of the royal family, and the chief officers of the household, occupied places at the back: the wings were filled with lords in waiting, aides-de-camp, and other official attendants; and in front sat the directors, with whom were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well as other distinguished prelates. Every seat was taken: and among the fashionable and brilliant assemblage thus gathered together, the appearance of the Princess Victoria excited the deepest interest. Equally marked was the recognition of the Duke of Wellington. These performances continued four days; the finest sacred compositions were sung or played by the best vocal and instrumental musical talent the country could produce; the number of performers, with the chorus, being 625—an unusually large number at that time. The amount received was £22,000. The profits were divided between the Royal Society of Musicians, the New Musical Fund, the Royal Academy of Music, and the Choral Fund.

In the autumn a grand banquet was given to Earl Grey. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Durham were also present. The banquet was attended by nearly 1,500 persons. There was much speaking afterwards, principally in favour of reform, and Lord Durham strongly insisted on the advantages of voting by ballot, and household suffrage. The conduct of Lord Brougham upon the occasion was severely censured. Londonderry, after having had Lord Durham as his guest, writes—"He abuses strongly his [Brougham's] carrying the great seal to Scotland, merely to get asked to the Grey dinner, and to *out-Herod* Herod there."

The ministry, at this time, seemed much embarrassed by Lord Brougham's restlessness and zeal. At the dinner referred to, he was understood, in his speech, to have attacked Lord Durham; and the latter replied to the charge, confessing, that he saw with regret every hour which passed over the existence of recognised unreformed abuses. It appears, also, that about the same time, Lord Brougham

made rather an extraordinary declaration, at a meeting held in the town of Inverness, upon the occasion of his being presented with the freedom of its corporation. Alluding to the honour which had been thus conferred upon him, he disclaimed all personal merits, and said, "he owed it to the honour he had of serving a monarch who lived in the hearts of his subjects." His lordship further added—"That during the four years he had served his majesty, he had experienced from him only one series of gracious condescension, confidence, and favour. To find that he lived in the hearts of his loyal subjects in the ancient and important capital of the Highlands, as it had afforded him (Lord Brougham) only pure and unmixed satisfaction, would, he was confident, be so received by his majesty, when he was informed, as he would be, by his lordship by that night's post, of the gratifying circumstance." Not content with the attack which he had made upon Lord Durham, and, as it was understood, upon some of the members of the cabinet, his lordship repaired to Salisbury, and, at a public meeting there, alluded, in the most undisguised manner, to Lord Durham, whom he challenged to meet him in the House of Lords during the then ensuing session. The extraordinary scenes in which his lordship was thus so prominent an actor, certainly did not tend to increase the public confidence in the stability of the government of which he was a member; and, in all probability, helped to bring about its speedy dissolution, and to prevent his lordship's reappearance in official life.

On the 16th of October, 1834, the destruction of the houses of parliament caused universal regret. The flames were seen about half-past six o'clock in the evening, near the entrance of the two houses, and by seven the whole structure was one vast conflagration. By great exertions the venerable hall was preserved; but the two houses were completely consumed. On the following day, their majesties, who had come to town on hearing the intelligence, attended by the Earl and Countess of Errol, and the Earl of Munster, surveyed the melancholy ruins of the ancient Painted Chamber of St. Stephen's Chapel of the House of Lords, where the fine tapestry, commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada, had been destroyed; of the committee-rooms of both houses; of the galleries and lobbies, and of the journal office, Speaker's house, and library of the House of Commons. On the 22nd, there was a full meeting, to inquire into the origin of the fire. This was supposed to have originated in the overheating of the flues, by burning a large quantity of Exchequer tallies, improperly trusted by a clerk of the works to a mechanic. The inquiry resulted in nothing very satisfactory. Some of the old Tories would have it that this venerable pile had been destroyed by design. "It should be borne in mind," writes one of them, "that the men employed by the London builders, including those usually in the service of government, were on strike; and the feeling which had been displayed at the trades' unions on more than one occasion, gave grounds in some minds for the suspicion that the fire had not been accidental." Nothing, however, could be proved beyond culpable negligence.

In the city of London, a Conservative demonstration was attempted. Sir Robert Peel had been sent for from Italy, to form an administration. A meeting of the city bankers and merchants was called, to vote an address to the king, expressive of approval of his dismissing his Whig ministers; but the Radicals appeared, and put a stop to the proceedings. Nevertheless, Sir Robert Peel was warmly supported by the mercantile classes; and, at a dinner given by the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion-house, had an opportunity of stating his views, which were warmly approved. About the same time appeared an address to the king, in support of the new ministry, signed by the merchants, bankers, ship-owners, and other persons of influence in the city of London, to the number of 5,730; the publication of which in the *Times*, as an advertisement, cost 240 guineas.

After the resignation of Sir Robert Peel, a grand banquet was held at the Merchant Tailors' Hall. On the previous morning, a placard, containing the following address, was posted in conspicuous places of the city:—"Poor men, take

notice! A dinner to Peel will be given by the rump of the Pitt and plunder faction, assisted by the self-elected and corrupt courts of assistants of the grocers, tailors, goldsmiths, and skinners; seven city aldermen; seven poverty-stricken peers; twenty-nine defeated candidates; three bishops; a bloated buffoon; the idiot, and a mayor, on Monday next, May 11th; the expenses to be defrayed out of the funds left for charitable purposes." The meeting, however, in spite of this inflammatory harangue, was a very successful one.

Here, also, we may note the discussions which took place, in parliament and out—very violent at the time—respecting Orange lodges. This institution had, most improperly, existed in the army; and the fact had been brought before the House, very properly, by Mr. Hume, who had carried a resolution, addressed to his majesty, condemning the system; to which a reply had been returned, expressive of his determination to prevent the formation of Orange lodges in the army. Armed with this, Mr. Hume had moved the House to call to their bar an officer of their society in England; and he, not choosing or daring to appear, a warrant was issued for his apprehension. During one of the debates, severe remarks had been made against the Duke of Cumberland, their grand master—a man too ultra and foolish even for the Tories, and remarkably disliked by the people of England. It was only so recently as 1833, that he had to vindicate his character in a court of justice, and to prosecute the author of a work, entitled *Authentic Records of the Royal Family, during the last Seventy Years, in the Court of King's Bench.* The writer, in relating what occurred in 1810, represented a discovery, most awfully affecting the character of his royal highness, having been made by Sellis; and, exposure being dreaded, it was assumed that he had murdered the servant, who might have been a witness against him, and then wounded himself, to make it appear that he had been attacked by the man he had slain. Witnesses were called, who proved what had been established before the coroner's inquest; when the jury were so satisfied with the proofs submitted to them, that they desired the coroner not to sum up, and unanimously returned a verdict of *felo de se.* Mr. Francis Place, the well-known tailor and Radical, of Charing-cross, foreman of the jury, proved that the inquiry had been most carefully conducted, and everything was called for that seemed necessary to establish the truth. The Duke of Cumberland was examined. Satisfactory proof was given that the injuries he had received were inflicted by another hand than his own; and a verdict of guilty was returned against the libeller. Unpopular as the duke was, the evidence produced was so conclusive, that parties least favourable to his royal highness were obliged to admit, that, in regard to the mysterious affair of 1810, he appeared to have been grossly calumniated.

Speculation, in 1836, we find had reached a climax. Numerous companies, of a joint-stock character, had been floated; shares were at a premium; and all went on merrily for a time. Mr. Poulett Thompson caused a register to be made of the various companies, amounting to between 200 and 300. Joint-stock banks were a favourite investment. When bad times came, the Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland suspended payment; and a fearful panic, from the stoppage of the Northern and Central Bank of Manchester, with numerous branches, was only prevented by the assistance of the Bank of England. As usual in such circumstances, investigation brought out a frightful state of affairs. Of the securities given in, amounting to £373,136, it was found, by their own books, that £100,470 consisted of dishonoured bills, many of which were of little or no value. The directors owed the bank £290,000, and the clerks nearly £14,000. The proprietors formed a large proportion of the debtors. Of fifty-two principal ones at Manchester, thirty-five were shareholders: of twenty-nine at Liverpool, twenty-one were in the same condition. It was also discovered that secret accounts were kept. A confidential report, made to the House of Commons, specially noticed the case of Mr. Still. That gentleman had a large banking account with the company; and the directors invited him, at the latter end of the year 1835, to take a seat in the

direction, to which he assented. Mr. Still was already a proprietor of 1,400 shares, for which he had paid; but the directors proposed to give him an additional 1,000 shares, at the premium of £3 per share, and consented, on his paying the premium, to allow the £10,000 to remain at his debit for two years certain; and a third year if he required it, charging interest thereon at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. Mr. Still, in fact, paid £3,000 for premium; and those shares were allotted to him on the day, and, no doubt, at the same Board, when the directors apportioned to themselves 1,000 shares, at £1 per cent. premium. It was further shown that, for the year ending December, 1835, a dividend of 7 per cent. had been declared. The business profits did not furnish it; and the directors had made up the amount by assuming a profit on unsold shares. From the many speculations which had been entered into, much confusion ensued. Commercial confidence was partly shaken; and many respectable houses required assistance. "Some private houses," says Mr. Francis, "claimed and received gold to a large amount, on the representation that, if aid should not be afforded them, most disastrous results would ensue. One banking-house—that of Esdaile and Co.—stopped payment. Great anxiety was evinced throughout the city. Fears were entertained lest a run should commence on others. It was agreed, therefore, that each of the London bankers should pay £5,000, in order to prevent a catastrophe which might have become generally ruinous. By this policy the city was preserved from distress, and the creditors of Messrs. Esdaile received all their demands in full."

Another incident in the strange career of O'Connell must be recorded here. At one time, he and old Cobbett were great friends; then they became bitter enemies; and the latter having died, O'Connell presided, in 1836, at a meeting held in the "Crown and Anchor" Tavern, for the purpose of opening a subscription to erect a monument to his memory. The secretary addressed a letter to Sir F. Burdett, inviting him to attend. The baronet's reply is worth preserving. It ran thus:—"You invite me to a meeting, to be held at the "Crown and Anchor," at which Mr. D. O'Connell is to preside, for the purpose of raising a subscription for a monument to be erected to the memory of the late Mr. Cobbett. The application is unique, as the French say; seeing that, whoever attends that meeting, becomes a public voucher for the honesty, disinterestedness, and patriotism of the said Mr. Cobbett. Now, as I believe, or rather know the reverse, and as all the world besides knows my opinion and experience, therefore it would be something worse than foolish in me to attend such a meeting; and I can only wonder at the application. At the same time, I cannot but acknowledge, that the united empire could not furnish a more appropriate chairman. Nor can I offer to the committee any contribution more appropriate than Mr. Cobbett's bond, now in my possession, which, as considerably more than fourteen years have elapsed since the money was lent, will amount to considerably more than £800. I trust the committee will think this a handsome and suitable offer.—F. BURDETT."

It is so seldom that statesmen refund money, that any such act deserves especial commendation. Lord Sidmouth never was a rich man, and George III. had given him a life-interest in the White Lodge, in Richmond Park; and his successor had granted him a pension. On the death of Lord Stowell, in January, 1836, his fortune descended to Lord and Lady Sidmouth; and this accession suggested to his lordship a step, which he immediately adopted. In a letter addressed to Lord Melbourne, he resigned his pension, which was acknowledged as patriotic conduct. On the 19th of February, the following Treasury Minute was entered:—"The Viscount Melbourne lays before the Board a letter which he has received from Viscount Sidmouth, dated Richmond Park, 15th February, 1836, requesting the favour of his lordship to lay before the king, with his (Lord Sidmouth's) humble duty, his resignation of the pension of £3,000 a year, granted to him by his late most gracious majesty, King George IV. My lords direct that the charge for the pension of £3,000, granted to the Viscount Sidmouth, be discontinued.

"Acquaint Lord Sidmouth, that my lords cannot give directions to carry into effect his lordship's resignation of the pension granted him for his official services, without, at the same time, expressing their sense of the public spirit and disinterestedness which have induced his lordship to abandon his vested right in a pension secured by act of parliament, and thus diminishing the charge upon the resources of the country." In the House of Commons, when the announcement of Lord Sidmouth's generosity was made, it was admitted, on all sides, that he deserved well of his country.

Contrasted with the conduct of Grey, Viscount Sidmouth shines as a bright particular star. A list was published, which evinced, at any rate, Lord Grey's family attachment in a very remarkable manner. Earl Grey was twitted with having proclaimed that the affairs of government would no longer be carried on with patronage; and the public were invited to compare his profession with his performances, and to look upon the shameful abandonment of his principles, and see how he had feathered his nest, and the nest of every member of his family, by giving all who were capable of wearing lawn sleeves, or a red coat, or putting on a sailor's uniform on a gala day, or walking to the Treasury office to receive their pensions, some share of what the noble earl and his political satellites, when out of office, called public plunder. Then succeeded the following list:—Earl Grey, First Lord of the Treasury, Member of the Privy Council, Supernumerary of the Knights of the Garter, Commissioner for the affairs of India, &c., per annum, £12,500. Lord Durham, married to Earl Grey's daughter, Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the cabinet, £2,192 per annum. To this appointment was appended a note, stating, that Lord Durham, after accepting office, took a violent fit of economy. He felt ashamed at having a splendid private fortune, and no arduous duties to perform as Lord Privy Seal, and declared that he would sustain the office without the emolument. But he had since repented; applied to the Treasury, and pocketed the money. The list continued:—Henry Viscount Howick, M.P., son of Earl Grey, Under-Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, £3,000 per annum. The Hon. Edward Grey, brother of Earl Grey, Lord Bishop of Hereford, and other nice pickings, £13,000. The Hon. G. Barrington, M.P., married to Caroline, daughter of Earl Grey, a Lord of the Admiralty, and captain in the royal navy, £2,000. The Hon. Charles Grey, second son of Earl Grey, lieutenant-colonel in the 60th regiment of foot, £1,600 per annum. E. Saurin, Esq., son-in-law, captain in the royal navy, and a Commissioner of Stamps, £2,000 per annum. The Hon. Frederick William Grey, third son, captain in the royal navy, £1,000 per annum. The Hon. Henry G. Grey, brother of Earl Grey, a general in the army, and colonel of the 13th Light Dragoons, £8,000 per annum. Edward Ellis, Esq., M.P., brother-in-law of Earl Grey, Secretary to the Treasury, £3,500 per annum. The Hon. George Grey, fourth son of Earl Grey, £700 per annum. Lord Ponsonby, brother-in-law, ambassador to the Neapolitan Court, £8,500 per annum. The Hon. Richard Ponsonby, brother-in-law, Lord Bishop of Derry, and the holder of numerous other rich benefices, per annum, £18,000. Right Hon. Lord Melbourne, cousin of Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Privy Councillor, per annum, £10,000. Sir Frederick Lamb, cousin, ambassador to the Court of Vienna, £12,000 per annum. The Hon. George Lamb, M.P., cousin, Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, £3,000 per annum. Charles Wood, Esq., married to Lady Mary Grey, youngest daughter of the earl, private secretary to his noble father-in-law, and assistant-secretary to the Treasury, £3,000 per annum. The writer summed up:—"Thus the plunder of one Whig family, for one year, amounts to the moderate sum of £171,892, which would suffice to support more than 3,300 poor families, at twenty shillings a week each." Earl Grey did not attempt to deny the charge; but he defended what he had done by declaring, that if he had employed his relations, he had only placed them in such offices as he considered them competent to fill, with credit to themselves, and advantage to the country. It must be remembered, that this was not what was

expected by the public at large from Earl Grey. He and his colleagues had come into office on a pledge of retrenchment; and it is to the credit of Sir James Graham, that he had at least not forgotten, nor was he disposed to elude, the binding efficacy of that pledge. He observed, indeed, with disappointment, a lurking tendency, early betrayed by some who had formerly professed a creed as thrifty as his own, to fall into the old ways of waste and jobbing. Lord Althorp, also, shared similar feelings; but the temptation was too great for the virtues of the others to resist. To them, long banished to the dreary wastes of opposition, the sweets of office seemed, in a double sense, peculiarly so. Earl Grey had never been forgetful of the claims of relationship. When, in 1808, he quitted the Commons, he imposed his relative, Mr. George Ponsonby, on his party as leader; and on retiring from the premiership, his last act was to recommend as successor, his relative, Lord Melbourne.

Let us now group together a few obituary notices. In June, 1832, died Jeremy Bentham, the well-known father of what is termed utilitarian philosophy. His career had been a long one, for he was born in 1748. He studied the law, and travelled abroad in 1785, extending his tour to Greece, Turkey, and Russia, where his uncle, Sir Samuel Bentham, was a general in the Russian service. He returned to England in 1788. His father died in the year 1792, leaving him sufficiently provided for to be able to follow his own pursuits of philosophy and philanthropy. When Alexander, of Russia, sent Bentham a diamond ring, in acknowledgment of a work addressed to him, the former returned the present with the message, "That his mission was not to receive rings from princes, but to do good to the world."

In the same year died Sir James Mackintosh. Dr. Parr, in his pompous style, when the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* appeared, wrote—"In Mackintosh I see the sternness of a republican without his acrimony, and the ardour of a reformer without his impetuosity. His taste in morals, like that of Mr. Burke, is equally pure and delicate with his taste in literature. His mind is so comprehensive that generalities cease to be barren; and so vigorous, that detail itself becomes interesting. He introduces every question with perspicuity; states it with precision, and pursues it with easy, unaffected method. Sometimes, perhaps, he may amuse his readers with excursions into paradox; but he never bewilders them by flights into romance. His philosophy is far more amiable than the philosophy of Paine, and his eloquence is only not equal to the eloquence of Burke. He is argumentative without sophistry; fervid without fury; profound without obscurity; and sublime without extravagance." Although it is impossible entirely to agree with this opinion, it may, with truth, be said of Sir James, that he was one of the best, as well as one of the wisest of the political party to which he was attached. His *Life of Sir Thomas Moore* is the most pleasing of his productions. As a barrister, his one great performance was his defence of Peltier, in 1803, who was prosecuted, at the instigation of the first Napoleon, for a libel. In 1822, he was chosen Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, and was re-elected in the following year. He contributed largely to the *Edinburgh Review;* and, for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, wrote the dissertation on the history of ethical science.

In the same year, also, died the only son of Napoleon I. (known as the Duke of Reichstadt), of consumption, at Vienna, at the age of twenty-one. Apparently the event created little interest in Paris or elsewhere. All that was attempted, in the way of respect for the memory of the young prince, was a funeral service at the church of St. Mary. He had been, all his life, strictly guarded by the Court of Austria against all intercourse with foreigners, and especially Frenchmen. He felt that his end approached; and, on receiving a present from his mother, of the golden cradle which had been given by the city of Paris, he caused it to be deposited in the imperial Treasury; remarking—"My tomb will be very near my cradle." Various facts seemed to prove that he had listened to the whispers of ambition, and had yearnings after fame. A few days before his death, he remarked—"That his birth and death were all that would be remembered of him."

He died in the palace of Schoenbrunn, in the same apartment from which his father had issued decrees when in the zenith of his power, and in which the marriage contract between himself and his Austrian bride had been signed. About this time, also, died the mother of the Bonapartes, at an advanced age; and Hortense, the mother of Louis Napoleon. On the coffin of the former was placed the following inscription:—

"Mater Napoleonis.
Ætat 87."

Few words, yet how pregnant in meaning.

Towards the end of the year died Sir Walter Scott. His brilliant career is well known. Few men of genius ever, in their lifetime, acquired so extensive a reputation; and few ever maintained so long a hold on popular favour. He was a warm politician, and a staunch Conservative; yet he lived to see reform carried. He aimed to be the founder of a long line; and to build and endow Abbotsford he shortened his days. He was but sixty-one when he died. "Lady Charlotte Wynn," writes Dr. Somerville, "was touring with his family in 1831, and learnt, on his arrival at the hotel in Portsmouth, that Sir Walter was there, waiting the pleasure of the wind for embarkation. They went into his room, and, with an exclamation of pleasure, made the usual inquiries after his health. Sir Walter rose, and, in advancing to meet them, tottered, and would have fallen if the strong arm of Dr. Somerville had not supported and borne him back to his chair. When he was a little recovered, he said, 'After what has just passed, it is needless to answer your question. You *see* how I am. It is all here,' added he, striking his forehead. 'Take warning from me, Mr. Somerville; I have brought this on myself by taking too much out of mine.'" Not a generation had passed after his decease before every member of his family had followed him to the tomb. As Burke said—"What shadows we are; and what shadows we pursue!"

The year 1833 proved fatal to many distinguished men. In that time, died Lord Exmouth, an able naval officer; Major-General Malcolm, a military officer of great talent, and author of the *History of Persia;* Earl Fitzwilliam, a zealous Whig politician; Lord Dover, an accomplished nobleman, and author of several popular works; the first Duke of Sutherland, a munificent patron of art. But the death which most affected the nation, was that of Wilberforce, who was honoured with a public funeral, which was attended by politicians of every party—persons of the highest rank setting aside their differences of opinion to show respect to his memory. Among the latter, were the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, the Duke of Wellington, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Chichester, the Marquises of Londonderry and Westminster, Lords Sidmouth, Bexley, Eldon, Grey, and Ripon, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. His body was laid in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, close to the tombs of his contemporaries—Pitt, Fox, and Canning.

Next year died the celebrated Lord Granville, in his seventy-fourth year. He had, in 1782, filled the office of private secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and succeeded Mr. Burke as Paymaster of the Forces. In a memoir of him, it is said—"He was the able coadjutor of the youthful minister, William Pitt, his cousin-german, who was only a few years his senior—firm to his post, and in full possession of all his faculties. If he wanted the brilliant eloquence of his relation, he possessed more minuteness of knowledge and accuracy of detail. The routine of office was almost hereditary in him. He seemed to have imbibed all the ideas and habits of his father, even though he was a child at the death of that persevering statesman." In 1789, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and then Secretary of State for the Home Department. In 1790, he was raised to the peerage; and, in 1791, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He filled this office, as it has been remarked, during one "of the most gloomy periods in our history, with industry, talent, and skill. It was a function

for which his natural and acquired powers were in many respects suited. He was skilled in the details of the politics of Europe; he had studied deeply the law of nations; he was acquainted with modern languages; he could endure fatigue; and had not an avocation or a pleasure to interrupt his attention. He loved business, as his father did; it was not merely the result of his ambition, but his amusement: the flowers of imagination, or the gaieties of society, never seduced him astray. There was nothing to dissipate his ideas, and he brought his mind to bear on the subjects before him with its full force." His classical attainments were of a high order. Among his labours in this direction, was an annotated edition of Homer, privately printed; and a collection of Greek and Latin, as well as of English and Italian poems, written by himself, also privately printed, with the title of *Nugæ Metricæ.* He defended the University of Oxford, in a pamphlet, from the charge of having expelled Locke; and edited the letters of the Earl of Chatham to his nephew, Thomas Pitt (Lord Camelford). He also published several pamphlets. Indeed, his literary, not less than his eminent political talents, made him worthy of the honour conferred upon him in 1810, of Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He had obtained, in 1719, the chancellor's prize for a composition in Latin verse, and had taken a Bachelor of Art degree. Nine days after his election as chancellor, he was presented to the degree of D.C.L.

In 1834, another aged statesman died—Earl Bathurst, son of Lord Chancellor Bathurst, who entered parliament as Lord Apsley, in 1783, when he was appointed Commissioner of the Admiralty, and in 1789, of the Treasury. The following year he succeeded the Earl of Hardwicke as one of the tellers of the Exchequer, of which office he had obtained the reversion; and in 1793, became one of the commissioners for the affairs of India, and was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1794, he went to the upper House on the death of his father, and rapidly progressed in his official career. In 1812, he became Secretary for the Colonies, which post he maintained nearly sixteen years. Lord Bathurst had been a Knight of the Garter since 1817; and enjoyed another distinction, which he equally prized—that of being the only civilian invited to the annual banquet given by the Duke of Wellington on the anniversary of Waterloo.

The illustrious Coleridge also died about this time—a man whose immense learning and genius had run to waste through a life extending to the age of sixty-two. He sleeps in Highgate church. The monument erected to his memory, describes him as "poet, philosopher, and theologian;" and asserts of him, that—

> "His disposition was unalterably sweet and angelic:
> He was an ever-enduring, ever-loving friend;
> The gentlest and kindest teacher;
> The most engaging home companion."

Such was the verdict of his admirers. Carlyle speaks of him as an utterer of transcendental moonshine. It is to be believed that he will be known to posterity more as a poet than a philosopher, and more for his promise than his performance. One of his most intimate friends, Mr. Allsop, writes of him—"He was a thinker so profound, that the men attracted by his rare eloquence, were often the most impressed by his affluence of thought, and the extent of his research; while those who sought him for aid to their intellect, were led captive by the felicities of his diction and the charm of his voice." Coleridge, Mr. Allsop maintains, ever retained the convictions of his early earnest youth. "It is true that, in later years, when his health failed, when his bodily sufferings were great and constant, he leant to a system—a scheme rather—which should, if it might be, reconcile religion with philosophy. This he diligently sought in the German philosophers of the last century—in Lessing, Kant, Fichte, and Schelling; as well as in Hegel, and the neo-Christian writers of a later period. Finding little in these writers to strengthen his faith, he sought to purify the existing Bibliolatry, in the hope that hidden harmonies might be discovered. Hence, though he aimed chiefly to lead his readers

to inquiry and research, they were led away by their own previous study, by the pre-occupation of their minds, to conclude that he had a faith in a *clergy*, whilst he avowed his belief in a *clerisy*—in the advantage gained by a system which secured one educated man in every parish in the kingdom. In the same way, the earnestness with which he was wont to condemn Unitarianism, was often mistaken for faith in the church creed, than which nothing was further from his convictions." Nevertheless, till Carlyle appeared, and paved the way for muscular Christianity, Coleridge and Bentham were considered as the seminal minds of England. Negatively, Coleridge's theological creed may be described thus:—He was not of the opinion of Lieutenant Bowling, who, in his reply to the zealous Romish priest, said—"As for me, friend, d'ye see, I have no objection to what you say. It may be either true or false for what I know. I meddle with nobody's affairs but my own—the gunner to his linstock, and the steersman to the helm, as the saying is. I trust to no creed but the compass, and do unto every man as I would be done by; so that I defy the devil, the pope, and the pretender, and hope to be saved as well as another." Positively, Coleridge's creed may be described in his own beautiful verse—

> "He prayeth best, who loveth best
> All things both great and small;
> For the dear Lord God, who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all."

In the same year died his royal highness the Duke of Gloucester, at Bagshot Park, at the age of fifty-eight. "The duke's amiability had endeared him to a large circle," writes a courtly admirer, by whom he was deeply and sincerely lamented. To the public he was generally known as *Silly Billy*. He married the Princess Mary, soon after the marriage of the Princess Charlotte. The prince-regent was very much afraid of his being accepted as a suitor by the latter. Miss Knight preserves the following anecdote:—"Mr. B——, going to make a visit at Cambridge to Prince William, son of the Duke of Gloucester, saw a fiddle on the table, and taking it up, asked the tutor if his royal highness played. 'Not much,' says the other; 'only *God save his Uncle*, and such little things.'" Mr. Raikes says—"He was a quiet, inoffensive character, rather tenacious of the respect due to his rank, and strongly attached to the ultra-Tory party. His father, the late duke, married Lady Waldegrave."

Nor must we omit mention of Edward Irving, who died in 1834, in his thirty-ninth year. His successful career as a London preacher commenced in 1822, and lasted till 1832, when he was displaced by the Presbytery, for preaching doctrines which they, reasonably enough, deemed heterodox. In July, 1823, Lord Eldon wrote to Lady Bankes—"All the world here is running, on Sundays, to the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, where they hear a Presbyterian orator from Scotland, preaching, as some ladies term it, *charming* matter, though downright nonsense. To the shame of the king's ministers, be it said, many of them have gone to this schism shop with itching ears. Lauderdale told me, that when Lady —— is there, the preacher never speaks of a heavenly mansion. For other ears mansion is sufficient. This is a sample." In spite of this snarling notice of old Eldon, the little church in Hatton Garden was not only crowded, but filled with the very audience which a man of great powers would most desire. The Duke of York was one of the first to be interested in him. Brougham is reported as one of his early auditors; and to have taken Mackintosh, who repeated to Canning an expression which he had heard Irving use in prayer, of a bereaved family being thrown on the fatherhood of God—an expression that so struck the statesman, that he, too, was drawn to hear him, and to allude to his marvellous eloquence in the House of Commons. He was a tall, thin man, with impressive features, who wore his hair long, and parted in the middle. Like Balfour of Burley, he "skellied fearfully with one eye," if not with both; but lost no favour on that account. Miss Wynn writes—"I am just returned from hearing, for the

first time, the celebrated Scotch preacher, Edward Irving; and highly as my expectations were raised, they are more than satisfied. At first, I own, I was very much disappointed. His first *extempore* prayer I did not at all like. His reading of the 19th chapter of John (for he never gave to any of the apostles the title of Saint) would have been very fine if its effect had not been frequently spoiled by extraordinary Scotch accent. He spoke of the *high sup*, of being *crucifeed*, *scorged*, &c. For twenty minutes he went on talking of the enemies of our faith, as if we had been living in the age of persecution and of martyrdom; of himself, as if he were our only teacher and guide; and of the *good fight*, as if it were real, instead of metaphorical. Indeed, his action might almost have led one to suspect that he considered it a pugilistic contest. I thought all this part vulgarly enthusiastic, self-sufficient, and dogmatic. Disappointment is not a word strong enough to express my feelings, which nearly amounted to disgust. Then he told us, that the intention of the *following* discourse would be to show, from the page of history, what man had been in all ages, in all countries, without the light of revealed religion. My brother whispered me, 'We have been twenty-three minutes at it, and now the sermon is going to begin.' I felt exactly with him; and yet, after this expression, I can fairly and truly say that the hour which followed appeared to me very short, though my attention was on the whole stretch during the time." Miss Wynn here gives an interesting sketch of the sermon. She adds—"After having written so much about this oration (sermon I cannot call it), it is quite unnecessary to say that I admired it extremely, at least in parts. I am conscious there were great faults, even in the latter part; in which, also, there were transcendent beauties. Want of simplicity is the greatest: even all Irving's energy could not give earnestness to such invariably figurative language. With this was occasionally mixed vulgarity, bordering on coarseness: in the images, excess of action, and occasionally repetitions. Still there is extraordinary power—power which makes me feel I never knew what eloquence was until I heard Irving; and, at the same time, leaves me with the most earnest desire to hear him again on Sunday, in spite of all the impediments of crowd, heat, distance from home. His reading the lesson was very fine; but what delighted me most, was the solemn, simple, energetic manner in which he gave the blessing. The prayers did not please me. He prayed for *our own* ancient, simple, painstaking church; then for the established church, that her dignitaries should be *dignified*, and may be able to take care of the widely extended districts committed to their charge." Again, she writes—"I have once more heard Irving; and I know not whether it is because the novelty is over that the impression is weakened, but I feel much less displeased, and, at the same time, much less pleased than I was last Sunday. I am quite sure the arrogance, the self-sufficiency, the dictational spirit, though still but too evident, were much less striking than in the oration of last Sunday. The coarseness and vulgarity were also, in a great measure, avoided; but the metaphors were still very abundant, and also were generally pushed much too far. It appeared to me that this oration was deficient in clearness; but perhaps my understanding as well as my hearing were dulled by the various inconveniences of the situation in which I found myself—close to the door, far removed from the preacher, and separated only by the thin partition of the pew from a crowd who squeezed and made incessant noise. Even when we did not hear some voices crying for mercy, and others for silence, the crowd pressed against the pew till they made every board creak, and kept one in continual apprehension that at last they would give way." Such is the criticism of a lady of more than ordinary cultivation and discernment. The sad story of Irving's latter end is familiar to all. He became the founder of a strange sect; he said and did strange things. His memory is fading fast away; though, in some quarters, an effort is still made to present him to the public with the double lustre of martyr and saint. We talk of the conventionalities of the stage—they are nothing to those of the pulpit. Against those Irving rebelled; and he had to pay the penalty in a life of disappointed struggle, and early death.

During this reign, also, died the great Rothschild, who had made such a colossal fortune, and in whose hands were placed the destinies of nations. As an illustration of the way in which he watched fortune, let the reader take the money he made by his transactions in the funds after the battle of Waterloo. A messenger was immediately despatched to Ghent with the joyful tidings. When he arrived, Louis and his little Court happened to be assembled at breakfast, in a room whose windows, down to the ground, were wide open. The embraces, the ejaculations, of course, instantly apprised those under the window of the arrival of pleasing intelligence. Among these was a spy from the house of Rothschild, who had many days been upon the watch. He no sooner heard the news than he hastened to Ostend: there, happening to find a small vessel just sailing, he embarked, and got one tide before the English messenger, who arrived shortly afterwards. Rothschild's plans were few and simple. "My success," he told Mr. Buxton, "all turned on one maxim. I said I can do what another man can. Another advantage I had—I was an off-hand man. I made a bargain at once." One maxim, on which he seemed to have great reliance, was, never to have anything to do with an unlucky place, or an unlucky man. "I have seen," said he, "many very clever men who had not shoes to their feet. I never act with them. Their advice sounds very well; but fate is against them. They cannot get on themselves; and if they cannot do good to themselves, how can they do good to me?" One of Mr. Buxton's friends said—"I hope that your children are not too fond of money and business, to the exclusion of more important business. I am sure you would not wish that." Rothschild replied—"I am sure I should wish that. I wish them to give mind and soul, and heart and body, and everything to business; that is the way to be happy. It requires a great deal of address, and a great deal of caution, to make a great fortune; and when you have got it, it requires ten times as much wit to keep it. If I were to listen to all the projects proposed to me, I should ruin myself very soon. Stick to business, young man," said he to Edward; "stick to your brewery, and you may be the great man of London. Be a brewer, and a banker, and a merchant, and a manufacturer, and you will soon be in the *Gazette*." It was thus that Rothschild made his money—some three millions; and then came death: and he left the world, naked and poor, as he entered it.

In looking over the *Buckingham Correspondence*, we find, in 1833, the Duke of Wellington writing—"It is very gratifying to me to learn that Mr. Keble, and other gentlemen of the university, observed and approved of my conduct." Who was Mr. Keble? The author of the *Christian Year*, a volume of high-church poetry, which actually, by the time of his death, in 1866, had reached a sale of eighty editions. Mr. Keble was a representative man. On Sunday, July 14th, 1833, Keble preached an assize sermon at St. Mary's, on the national apostasy, which he declared then to have set in, and which he invited the church to follow him in treating as Samuel had done Saul and the children of Israel. As the parallel required, the sermon assumed that heretofore the British commonwealth had been a theocracy, while the people were now abundant for a civil government, external to the church, and only receiving its counsels and influences as it might choose to do. The church of the apostles was now the only refuge and guide for those who had hitherto dreamt that the church and state were one. That sermon was the epoch, if not the turning-point, of Keble's life. It explains not only why he joined the Oxford movement, and became one of the three mighty men in its foremost rank, but also, and still more, the special part he has taken in it. His line ever since has been one continued protest against secular indifference and civil assumptions; and this protest has been rather of a passive than an active character. From the retreat provided for him by his old college pupil, Sir William Heathcote, at Hursley, near Winchester, he has steadily and sternly, yet kindly, protested against any supposed injustice or slight to the church of his fathers. Most of these protests will too readily recur to the memory of our readers. "It is to be regretted," as a contemporary writer remarks, "that many useful and excellent men should have felt

themselves unable to resist Mr. Keble's invitation to join in a protest against, for example, the acceptance of the Lutheran King of Prussia as sponsor at one of our royal baptisms. We cannot see why it was necessary that any clergyman or layman not personally compromised should even recognise the fact, which in the days of our forefathers might easily not have reached him. The same may be said for a good many protests and controversial declarations, the only use of which, to a statesman of supposed secular bias, is to furnish him with a list of men to be carefully avoided. The course thus taken has told doubly. On the one hand, it has tended to elevate the pretensions and to isolate the position of the established church; and, on the other hand, it has tended further to divest the state of the *quasi*-sacred character it once had in Tory eyes. It has dislodged many anxious minds from their old anchorage, and set them down the stream to Rome."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

"ON Tuesday, at half-past 2 A.M., the scene closed; and, in a very short time, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham, the Chamberlain, set out to announce the event to their young sovereign. They reached Kensington Palace about five. They knocked, they rang, they thumped for a considerable time before they could rouse the porter at the gates: they were again kept waiting at the courtyard; then turned into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell; desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform her royal highness that they requested an audience on business of importance. After another delay, and another ringing to inquire the cause, the attendant was summoned, who stated that the princess was in such a sweet sleep she could not venture to disturb her. Then they said—"We are come to the *queen* on business of state, and even her sleep must give way to that. It did: and to prove that *she* did not keep them waiting, in a few minutes she came into the room, in a loose white nightgown and shawl; her nightcap thrown off, and her hair falling upon her shoulders; her feet in slippers; tears in her eyes; but perfectly collected and dignified." Thus writes Miss Wynn, of the death of King William, and of the accession to the throne of one in whose reign England yet rejoices.

"The first act of the reign," continues the same authority, "was, of course, the summoning the council; and most of the summonses were not received till after the early hour fixed for the meeting. The queen was, upon the opening of the doors, found sitting at the head of the table. She received first the homage of the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke of Sussex rose to perform the same ceremony; but the queen, with admirable grace, stood up, and preventing him from kneeling, kissed him on the forehead. The crowd was so great, the arrangements so ill made, that my brothers told me, the scene of swearing allegiance to their young sovereign was more like that at the bidding of an auction than anything else."

Victoria, Queen of England, the only child of the late Duke of Kent and of the Princess Louisa Victoria, of Saxe-Coburg (who, at the date of her marriage with his royal highness, was relict of the hereditary Prince of Leiningen), was born May 24th, 1819. Her general education was directed by the Dowager-Duchess of Northumberland (then wife of the third duke), and by her mother, of whose care and kindness many touching anecdotes are told. The young princess had been brought up under the public eye. Her training had been, in every respect, most admirable. Early hours, simple pleasures, regular studies, had tended to prepare her for the discharge of the high duties which had now devolved upon her. On the 24th of

May, 1837, she had arrived at age; and the event was one interesting to the nation at large, and commemorated accordingly. Her birthday was kept as a holiday in the metropolis, and in many parts of the kingdom. The park and Tower guns were fired in honour of the event, and the night was marked by brilliant illuminations. A ball was given by their majesties on the occasion. The princess herself presided in the centre chair of state, supported by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, and the Princess Augusta. Addresses of congratulation to the duchess and her royal daughter were voted by the city of London, and presented on the Tuesday following. The mother's reply was noteworthy:—"My late regretted consort's circumstances," she said, "and my duties, obliged us to reside in Germany; but the Duke of Kent, at much inconvenience, and I, at a great personal risk, returned to England, that our child should be bred and born a Briton. In a few months afterwards, my infant and myself were awfully deprived of father and husband. We stood alone, almost friendless and unknown in this country. I could not even speak the language of it. I did not hesitate how to act. I gave up my house, my kindred, my duties, to devote myself to that duty which was to be the whole object of my future life. I was supported in the execution of my duty by the country. It placed its trust in me, and the Regency Bill gave me its last act of confidence." Many addresses were received from different places. In several instances their royal highnesses had to receive not fewer than twenty-four of these congratulatory communications in one day. On the 29th of the same month, Victoria appeared at the drawing-room, held in honour of his majesty's birthday; and on the 1st of June, a grand ball, given for the benefit of the distressed weavers of Spitalfields, was graced with her presence. There she was the observed of all observers; and the public voice was loud in praise of her unaffected deportment, and dignified but gracious demeanour.

Miss Jane Porter thus describes the princess in her earlier years:—"I would say she is a beautiful child, with a cherubic form of features, clustered round by glossy fair ringlets. Her complexion was remarkably transparent, with a soft but often heightening tinge of the sweet blush rose upon her cheeks, that imparted a peculiar brilliancy to her pure blue eyes. Whenever she met any strangers in her usual paths, she always inquired who and what they were. The intelligence of her countenance was very extraordinary at an early age; but might be easily accounted for on perceiving the extraordinary intelligence of her mind." Making the requisite allowance for feminine enthusiasm, and the weakness of human nature, Miss Porter's sketch undoubtedly is near the truth. Most children, properly trained, are interesting, especially those of exalted rank.

At Kensington, the whole family were early risers. Charles Knight has told us how he often saw the princess at breakfast on the lawn; and the sight was pretty and suggestive. "At a still earlier period," writes one, "after morning prayer, the Princess Victoria was seated beside her mother, having, on a round table before her, the bread, milk, and fruit which composed her simplo meal. Immediately after breakfast, the little princess rode on a donkey from nine till ten o'clock. From ten to twelve, the time was devoted to such instruction as she was capable of receiving. At two o'clock the infant princess always dined upon the plainest fair. After dinner lessons were again repeated till four. At seven the duchess sat down to her dinner, and her royal highness partook, at the same time, of her frugal supper of bread and milk, the nurse being in attendance. After partaking of the dessert, the royal child repaired to bed about nine o'clock."

In 1833, the princess was brought forward on public occasions. In the summer of that year she was residing with the Duchess of Kent, at Norris Castle, Isle of Wight, and attended the ceremonial of opening the new landing pier at Southampton. Their royal highnesses were much gratified by their reception, and returned to Cowes, where they were present at the consecration of the chapel of ease, by the Bishop of Worcester. On the 15th of September, when the young Queen of Portugal was at Portsmouth, on her way to her dominions, their royal

highnesses paid her majesty a visit. In the autumn of the previous year, the Duchess of Kent and the princess visited some of the principal counties of England and Wales. At Chester, a new bridge, opened by the princess on the occasion of her visit, was named "Grosvenor Bridge." Amongst other places, the city and the University of Oxford were visited. On entering the theatre, it was filled in every part. The vice-chancellor; the heads of houses, and doctors; the noblemen, in splendid robes of purple and gold; the proctors and the members being present. To the vice-chancellor's address the Duchess of Kent read the following answer:—"We close a most interesting journey by a visit to this university, that the princess may see, as far as her years will allow, all that is interesting in it. The history of our country has taught her to know its importance, by the many distinguished persons who, by their character and talents, have been raised to eminence from the education they have received in it. Your loyalty to the king, and recollection of the favour you have enjoyed under the paternal sway of his house, could not fail, I was sure, to lead you to receive his niece with all the disposition you evince to make this visit agreeable and instructive to her. It is my object to ensure, by all the means in my power, her being so educated as to meet the just expectation of all classes in this great and free country." The duchess spoke the truth. The young princess had been educated in a manner suitable to her rank. In her twelfth year she spoke French and German with fluency, was acquainted with Italian, and had made some progress in the dead languages and mathematics.

In one of her progresses through the country, the princess was exposed to serious danger. Returning from the south of England in 1833, the *Emerald* yacht in which she was sailing, ran foul of the *Active* hulk, and a piece of the rigging being detached, was in the act of falling where her royal highness was standing: the pilot, observing the imminent danger, raised her promptly in his arms, and saved her from peril, and possibly death.

Her accession to the throne took the nation somewhat by surprise. The old king, it was thought, would have lasted a little longer. It was expected that her majesty would reign under the name of Alexandrina. That name appeared on several documents which were prepared for the occasion; and some members of the House of Commons took the oaths to Alexandrina Victoria. By signing the proclamation of her accession Victoria only, her majesty made it known that was the name she preferred; and the various documents alluded to were accordingly altered.

In June, 1837, she was proclaimed. All the avenues leading to St. James's Palace were crowded, in expectation of seeing the young queen, who arrived there about ten o'clock. Shortly after, she made her appearance at the window, and was loudly cheered. On the 22nd, a message from the queen was delivered to both houses, referring to the demise of her royal predecessor, and stating the inexpediency of proceeding with any public business, except what was indispensable, till the assembling of a new parliament. On the following day there was a discussion in the Lords, in the course of which Lord Lyndhurst made severe observations upon the government, declaring ministers to be powerless in parliament, and incompetent in office. Lord Melbourne spoke in their defence. He knew that he now possessed the entire confidence of his sovereign, and of course surrounded her with his friends. One of the Granvilles writes to Mr. Raikes, July 7th—"You will already have heard enough of the behaviour of the young queen, which is the theme of general applause. As far as it has gone she has acted with extraordinary propriety; and there is every reason to think that she is equal to her great situation. It was only to be expected that she would put herself into the hands of Melbourne; and she has done so without reserve. I am well content that it should be so, for Melbourne is a man of sense and honour; and I believe he will deal fairly by her, and exercise the prodigious power with which he is invested in a conscientious manner."

The public were delighted with their young queen, who manifested the most

kindly consideration for Queen Adelaide, and the children of the late king; and went through all the formalities observed at the commencement of a new reign with perfect self-possession. She had been queen but a few days, when she had a very narrow escape of her life. Descending Highgate Hill, towards Kentish Town, the splinter-bar of her carriage was broken. The horses took fright and rushed forward, greatly to the alarm of the queen and her royal parent. The keeper of a public-house by the road-side saw their danger; and, at the risk of his life, succeeded in stopping the horses, and rescuing the inmates of the carriage. The royal ladies entered the inn while another conveyance was procured; and in the interval, the queen soon recovered her composure, and caressed the infant of the landlady while waiting. The husband, we may be sure, was suitably rewarded.

On the 13th of July, the queen moved to Buckingham Palace. On the preceding day she had invested Prince Esterhazy with the Order of the Bath. Shortly after she determined to hold a chapter of the Order of the Garter, to bestow a vacant riband on her half-brother, the Duke of Leiningen. On this occasion some slight embarrassment was caused to her majesty, who applied to the Earl-Marshal, the Duke of Norfolk, as to how she was to wear the garter. It was found that Queen Anne wore the garter on her left arm, and her majesty did the same.

On the 17th, her majesty proceeded in state to dissolve parliament. The royal speech for the occasion was carefully prepared, and delivered in a style that must have disarmed criticism. Mr. Buxton writes—"I this day saw our youthful queen, surrounded by all the chief officers of state, herself wearing a crown of diamonds, and arrayed in royal robes, and the House of Lords filled with all the great ones of the country. She delivered an admirable address to the parliament, with the utmost sweetness of voice, and the most exquisite grace of manner." Her majesty referred to unity with foreign powers; the diminution of capital punishment; and to improvements in ecclesiastical institutions.

The accession of the new queen was a help to the tottering cabinet. It was confidently stated, and believed by many, that the young queen had been brought up in Liberal principles; that her majesty regarded the reform ministers as her personal friends, and took tho deepest interest in the success of their measures. Lord Melbourne must have been a pleasing mentor. Guizot describes him as "the least Radical of the Whigs; impartial from clear sense and indifference; a judicious epicurean, an agreeable egotist, gay without warmth, and mingling a natural air of authority with a carelessness which he took a delight in proclaiming. 'It is all the same to me,' was his habitual expression." He pleased the young queen, while he inspired her with confidence, amusing her as he advised, and adopting an affectionate freedom, which resembled the paternal sentiment. The elections, however, were not very favourable to the Liberals. Sir Francis Burdett retired from Westminster, and Mr. Hume was defeated in Middlesex. The former, however, again entered the House of Commons, as the member for an English county (Wilts); the latter was obliged to accept an Irish borough. There were 136 new members elected for England and Wales; twelve for Scotland, and twenty-three for Ireland; and the general result was satisfactory to the Tories. Some of the more fervent of the latter were eager for action. One of them, the Marquis of Londonderry, writes—"It appears it is decided not to insist on a division on the Speaker; and as the ministers have determined on a Conservative mediocrity, we are to bolster them against Radical assaults; and, *au reste*, we are to take the chapter of accidents, and the results of petitions for what may turn up. Now I am sick of this course, as you were. Peel's partisans argue it is succeeding, and it must have more time. On the other hand, I doubt if you will keep a party together who are to be handed over to their opponents when it is convenient for the latter to call for them, against the desolating inroads of revolution and Jacobinism. The statesmen of the present day seem not to know that a body acting together must have their rewards of ambition, patronage, and place always before their eyes, and within their expectation and belief of grasping, as well as the

fine expressions of love of their country, and the patriotism, which is a virtue. It may do for Peel and the duke, whose cups of ambition are full to the brim; and it may be quite satisfactory to them to keep the ministry from doing mischief without saddling themselves with the cares of office. But I believe they are the only two men of their party who are of this opinion; and if there are not more overt proceedings against the enemy in the next session than in the last, I am quite sure many of our friends will quit public life with disgust at this new order of conduct in both houses of parliament." It is clear the Tories were hungering for the sweets of office. Their only chance was in Peel. The marquis is glad that they have got the King of Hanover out of the country, "for it diminishes the prospects of an ultra party." The poor marquis finds little hope in the future, notwithstanding that he hears—"Melbourne says, in all his numerous conversations with the queen, he has never been able to extract an opinion in what quarter or where she has a predilection. This he has stated with great surprise. It appears to me quite evident, from all I learnt in town—especially from E——'s language, who said, he'd be d——d if they ever would resign, and that Melbourne knew how to please a woman much better than Peel—as well as from the tone of Palmerston's thanks to his electors, that there is not a chance of Melbourne's making his bow; and parliament will probably meet in November, for the civil list. The petitions may give us some more members by Easter, and then we shall see if there is a chance of our party coming in."

Parliament assembled in October. The Duke of Wellington was prepared to act if a chance occurred. He had summoned his followers to take their seats "at an early period," and had impressed upon them the importance that "the House of Lords should be attended by its members from the moment at which parliament will be assembled."

The House met on the 15th, and Mr. Abercromby was re-elected Speaker. Her majesty opened the House in person on the 20th. She went there surrounded by Whig ladies. The Duchess of Sutherland was Mistress of the Robes. The Marchioness of Lansdowne principal Lady of the Chamber. The Ladies of the Bedchamber were the Marchioness of Tavistock; Countesses of Charlemont, Mulgrave, and Durham; Ladies Portman, Lyttleton, and Barham. Recent events had strengthened and matured the Whig interest at Court in every possible way; and, at present, everything was satisfactory; the queen's progress and return through the crowded thoroughfares being accompanied with exclamations of loyalty. The queen read the speech with the same impressive manner as on the previous occasion; and, like its predecessor, it was framed so as to afford very little opening for hostile remark. One paragraph, relating to Ireland, and expressing the necessity of amendments in its institutions, presented the only debatable ground for politicians. It satisfied the House of Lords; and the address, which was moved by the Duke of Sussex, was carried unanimously.

In the Commons a different spirit appeared. Mr. Wakley, the member for Finsbury, moved an amendment, pledging the House to the string of Radical propositions that had been more than once rejected. It was seconded by Sir William Molesworth, who denounced the Reform Act as a failure. On a division, their party could only muster twenty votes against 509. This first trial of strength indicated the tactics that were to be pursued during the session—the Radicals opposing the government, the government gladly leaning for support on the Conservatives, whose chiefs, though confident of strength, were indisposed to an active opposition that might prove embarrassing to their youthful sovereign. The Radicals had less scruples, and the Whigs deprecated hostilities from the opposition; at the same time they had to give way to democratic demonstrations. This fear of democracy in all our public men, at that time, is referred to by M. Guizot. In 1840 he arrived in England, and met, at Lord Palmerston's table, all the high aristocracy—"The Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., and uncle to the queen; the Dukes of Norfolk and Devonshire; Lord Carlisle; Lord Albemarle;

Lord Minto. I saw pass before me, during the evening, many leading men of the different parties—Whigs in a great majority, but also Tories and Radicals, from Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Grote. I entered with several into short conversations; but, amongst men naturally inquisitive as to each other, few words suffice to reveal the general tendency of dispositions and ideas. I found all my interlocutors, although in unequal degrees, modest—I might even say timid—with regard to popular opinions." The Whigs, of course, did not monopolise all this feeling: but they had a large share of it, and it shaped their parliamentary career. Hitherto the government of the country had been in the hands of the great landlords. The middle classes had now been admitted to power. The experiment was considered daring and rash; and many of those who had helped to effect the change trembled for the result.

But to return to the queen. In the autumn she visited Brighton, and received a visit from her maternal uncle, the King of the Belgians. An anecdote, at this time circulated, affords a pleasing illustration of that punctuality for which she has been ever remarkable, and which has been termed rightly the grace of princes. A noble lady having been appointed to a high situation about the royal person, was once, or more than once, some few minutes behind the hour at which her official duties required her presence. When this was repeated, the noble lady found her majesty waiting her coming with her watch in her hand. The offender expressed her fear that she had unfortunately detained her majesty. The queen replied that such was the case, telling her how many minutes she had been expected; and adding, she required punctuality in those about her person, and begged it might not occur again. The lady seemed hurt by the reproof, and was so moved, that she was embarrassed in the arrangement of the shawl, when the queen, to prove no unkind feelings had prompted her remark, condescended to assist her attendant with her own hands, kindly saying—"We are new to our situation; we shall become more perfect in our parts I hope."

On the 9th of November the queen paid her first state visit to the city of London, and dined with the Lord Mayor and Corporation, at Guildhall, where preparations had been made, on a grand scale, for her majesty's entertainment. The queen was accompanied by the Duchesses of Kent, of Gloucester, and Cambridge; and by the Dukes of Cambridge and Sussex, and Prince George of Cambridge, and attended, in her state-carriage, by the Duchess of Sutherland and the Earl of Albemarle; the ambassadors, cabinet ministers, and nobility, following in a train of carriages that extended for a mile and a-half. They left Buckingham Palace at two in the afternoon; and on arriving at Temple Bar, the customary formalities were gone through before opening the gates. Her majesty was dressed in a robe of pink satin, richly embroidered with silver; her head encircled by a magnificent diamond tiara. The church bells sounded joyous peals, and loyal and enthusiastic acclamations rent the air. The streets through which the procession had to pass presented a brilliant appearance, the houses being decorated with evergreens, floral devices, gaily-coloured cloths, and flags and banners; while, at several points, busts and portraits of her majesty occupied a prominent situation.

At St. Paul's the queen was detained by addresses and speeches from the senior scholar of Christ's Hospital, and the head-master and treasurer, in accordance with ancient usage; after which the national anthem was sung by the entire body of scholars. At half-past three she reached the Guildhall, where she was received by the Lady Mayoress. The Recorder subsequently read an address, to which the queen made a gracious reply, and then conferred the title of baronet on the Lord Mayor, and the honour of knighthood on the two Sheriffs. At the dinner every delicacy that could be produced was set forth in profusion. The gold plate used on the occasion of the citizens having George I. for their guest, was brought forth; and it was mentioned, that some of the wine reserved for the royal table was more than a hundred years old. The banquet was worthy of the city's reputation for hospitality; and her majesty returned to the palace at half-past eight.

People were gratified to hear, amongst other good traits of character, that her majesty took upon herself the payment of her father's debts, due to two noblemen, deceased. Their representatives received the amount from her majesty, with the present of a valuable piece of plate, and a gracious message, expressing what obligations she felt herself under to those who had been her father's friends.

Her majesty also visited the theatres of Covent Garden and Drury Lane, where she was welcomed with enthusiastic applause.

In parliament, the first thing settled was the civil list. On the 23rd of November the subject was brought before the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He reminded the House that, until the reign of George III., no satisfactory arrangement had been made with regard to the public and the personal expenditure of the sovereign. That monarch made the first approach to such a settlement of the question by relinquishing the whole of his ordinary hereditary revenues, and receiving in return a fixed income. William IV., on his accession, further surrendered certain casual revenues, such as the droits of the crown, and the Gibraltar revenue. During his reign, the sums thus relinquished had amounted to £70,000. But a more important alteration had been made, by the separation of the charges properly belonging to the individual expenditure of a sovereign from those required by the public service. The result had been a saving, in the reign of William IV., as compared with that of his immediate predecessor, of about £100,000 per annum on the entire charge of the civil list. It was to be remembered, that the late king, notwithstanding the extent of his charities, and his unbounded hospitality, had never been obliged to apply to parliament for the means of paying off any of his debts. It was to be further considered that former sovereigns had inherited considerable personal property from their predecessors. Queen Victoria would derive nothing from that source, and would be deprived of the revenues of Hanover, now a separate kingdom; while her establishment must far exceed that of a king or queen-consort, being composed of ladies as well as gentlemen. He compared the civil list of William IV. with that which was required for Queen Victoria. They stood thus:—

William IV.		Queen Victoria.	
First Class—Privy Purse	£110,000	First Class—Privy Purse	£60,000
Second ,, Salaries	130,000	Second ,, Salaries	130,000
Third ,, Bills	171,500	Third ,, Bills	172,500
Fourth ,, Special Services—Royal Bounty	23,000	Fourth ,, Special Services—Royal Bounty	23,000
Unappropriated	75,000	Unappropriated	84,000
	£509,500		£469,500

The right honourable gentleman took occasion to compare the expenditure of Queen Anne's household with that of the reigning queen. It stood as follows:—

Queen Anne.		Queen Victoria.	
First Lady of the Bedchamber	£2,000	First Lady of the Bedchamber	£500
Ladies of the Bedchamber	1,000	Ladies of the Bedchamber	500
Maid of Honour	300	Maid of Honour	300
A contingent gift of	3,000	A contingent gift of	1,000
	£6,300		£2,300

The total charge for the civil list of Queen Anne he stated to amount to £14,800; that contemplated for Queen Victoria, £8,800. In the course of his speech, he mentioned that the pension list, which, in 1820, was £203,058, and stood, in 1830, at £180,944, was, in 1837, only £149,802. He was prepared to show the committee, that the pensions granted by Earl Grey, had been granted in strict conformity with the principles laid down by the House in the resolution passed in 1834. In December, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a motion for a

select committee to inquire into the propriety of continuing the pensions on the civil list. In this the Radicals supported him. Daniel Whittle Harvey was eloquent in its praise; and, on a division, ministers secured a majority of sixty-two.

On the 12th, the queen sent a message to the House, recommending an increased provision for the Duchess of Kent. Her royal highness's income was £22,000; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that it should now be £30,000, which was agreed to. On the 15th, there was much discussion on the civil list. Mr. Hume sought to reduce the grant from £385,000 to £335,000, but could only muster nineteen votes on a division. Mr. Grote moved for the entire removal of the sums allotted to pensions from the civil list; which was seconded by Mr. Hume, and opposed by Sir Robert Peel: it was rejected by a majority of 120 to 23. An amendment was then submitted by Sir Robert Peel, providing that, if the sum of £1,200 were not granted in any one year, what remained might be so disposed of, at the pleasure of the crown, in any subsequent years. This was carried, the numbers being 114 to 26. The bill, being protested against by Mr. Hume for the last time, was then passed. After encountering some criticism, it was agreed to by the Lords; and, on the 23rd of December, her majesty went, in person, to give to it the royal assent. The Speaker of the House of Commons, in presenting it, described it as having been framed in a liberal and confiding spirit. Her majesty bowed her acknowledgment. During the latter portion of the parliamentary sittings, the dissatisfaction of some of the Conservatives in the House of Lords was exhibited by non-attendance. But we must hasten on to 1838, when the royal coronation took place.

There had been much speculation on this subject. It had been nearly 200 years since the last queen-regnant had been crowned alone; and then there was another lapse of nearly 200 years before we come to a similar event: but, perhaps in the present case, special features gave peculiar interest to the solemnity. Her majesty was in her maiden youth, and possessed of much personal attraction. Queen Anne had long been a wife and a mother, and was so gouty and corpulent, that much walking was out of the question, and long standing not to be thought of. Queen Elizabeth was a maiden queen, but was Queen Victoria's senior by several years.

Unfortunately the times were bad, and the government were afraid to incur such expense as the customary pageant must entail, if conducted in the style of 1820. There is no doubt that the coronation of the last queen-regnant ought to have been taken as a precedent, and that it should have been brought, by Lord Melbourne, under the observation of his royal mistress; but this he appears to have overlooked. He certainly persuaded her majesty to sanction some important omissions, such as the walking procession of all the estates of the realm; the banquet in Westminster Hall, with the feudal service. It was also contended that these rare pageants did good to trade; but the minister turned a deaf ear to all representations either of right or policy; and the British empire was condemned to stand, in the eyes of the world, as too poor to crown its monarch with the state which, when much poorer, the nation had willingly afforded.

But amidst the public no such niggardly considerations found place. Preparations were liberally made to do honour to the day fixed, June 28th; and the interest increased to such an extent, as to compel a modification of the arrangements with regard to the preliminary cavalcade. So eager were the public to witness the ceremony to advantage, that the speculation in seats at the windows or scaffolds before the houses, on the line of route, became very animated. Several in St. James's Street were let for the day for £200 each, as well as one in Pall Mall, that had been occupied as the Reform Club-house; and sittings ranged from ten shillings to five guineas. A similar liberality prevailed, among persons of distinction, to appear with becoming splendour. Marshal Soult, who had been sent over as ambassador by the King of the French, and who was quite overcome by the cordial reception which awaited him as he entered Westminster Abbey,

brought over with him the frame of a state-carriage that had been used by the Prince of Condé, and had it re-decorated in the most costly manner possible. A similar vehicle, that had been built for the Duke of Devonshire when he went on his extraordinary embassy to St. Petersburg, at a cost of £3,000, was purchased by the Russian ambassador, Count Stroganoff, for £1,600. Another diplomatist gave £250 for the hire of a carriage for the day; and some had to be content with vehicles that had already ministered to the state of our civic functionaries, time only permitting of hasty alterations from the coach-painter.

The day was kept in London as a holiday, and the number of spectators was of course enormous. The procession having been formed near Buckingham Palace, started at ten in the morning, preceded by trumpeters, and a squadron of the household brigade; the foreign resident ministers; then the foreign ambassadors extraordinary; then the resident foreign ambassadors, followed by a mounted regimental band, and a detachment of the household brigade: then came the carriages of the Duchesses of Kent and Gloucester, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, and the Duke of Sussex.

Another mounted band, and the queen's barge-master, with forty-eight watermen, preceded twelve of the queen's carriages, conveying the ladies, noblemen, and gentlemen belonging to the royal household; followed by a squadron of the household brigade, and another mounted band. After them came the military staff, aides-de-camp, and other distinguished officers, mounted; the royal huntsmen, yeomen, prickers, and foresters; six of her majesty's best horses, with the extra yeomen of the guard, and their officers.

Then came the queen in her state-carriage, drawn by eight cream-coloured horses; followed by the Duke of Buccleugh on horseback, as captain-general of the royal archer guard of Scotland, with a few minor officials; and a squadron of the household brigade closed the procession. It proceeded along Constitution Hill, Piccadilly, down St. James's Street, through Pall Mall, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Parliament Street, to the west door of Westminster Abbey.

The interior of the abbey was fitted up with more taste than in 1831. A gallery had been raised, capable of containing 400 persons and an orchestra, with a temporary organ at the west end of the choir, on an open colonnade of pointed arches. Another gallery at the west end, beyond the altar, for 600, was reserved for the House of Commons; below which, within St. Edward's Chapel, were the queen's traverse and the retiring closets; and above were two galleries, one above the other—the topmost for the trumpeters.

Above the sacrarium, on the south, were boxes for the sovereign, the Earl-Marshal, for the ambassadors, and for the Lord Chamberlain. The peeresses were placed in the north transept; the peers in the south; the judges, knights of the Bath, aldermen, &c., in the choir; the bishops on the floor to the north, with the royal family and prebendaries of Westminster opposite. The latter waited in the nave to join the procession on entering the abbey; and the Princesses Augusta and Augusta of Cambridge, Prince George of Cambridge, the Duke of Nemours, the Prince of Holstein-Gluchsburg, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Duke of Nassau, Prince Ernest of Hesse, and the Prince of Leiningen, were accommodated with seats in the royal box.

The prebendaries now headed the procession, followed by the heralds, the officers of the household, the chief prelates, and officers of state. Then came the Duchess of Cambridge, with a circlet of gold upon her head, wearing a robe of state of purple velvet; her train borne by Lady Caroline Campbell; her coronet by Viscount Villiers: the Duchess of Kent, with a similar circlet and robe; her train borne by Lady Flora Hastings; her coronet by Viscount Morpeth: and the Duchess of Gloucester; her train borne by Lady Caroline Legge; her coronet by Viscount Evelyn.

The regalia was thus divided:—St. Edward's staff was carried by the Duke of Roxburgh; the golden spurs by Lord Byron; the sceptre with the cross by the

Duke of Buccleugh; the third sword by the Marquis of Westminster; the curtana by the Duke of Devonshire; and the second sword by the Duke of Sutherland. The coronets of these noblemen were carried by pages.

After the Black Rod, the Deputy Garter, and the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, came the Duke of Cambridge in his robes of state, with his bâton of field-marshal, his coronet borne by the Marquis of Granby, his train by Major-General Sir William Maynard Gomm; and the Duke of Sussex in his robes of state, his coronet borne by Viscount Anson, his train by the Hon. Edward Gore and Viscount Coke.

Next came the Duke of Leinster, as High Constable of England, and the Earl of Errol, as High Constable of Scotland; the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-Marshal, with his bâton. The sword of state was borne by Viscount Melbourne; the sceptre with the dove by the Duke of Richmond; St. Edward's crown by the Duke of Hamilton (Lord High Steward); the orb by the Duke of Somerset; the patina by the Bishop of Bangor; the Bible by the Bishop of Winchester, and the chalice by the Bishop of Lincoln.

They preceded the queen, who wore a royal robe of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, and bordered with gold lace; the collars of the Orders of the Garter, Thistle, Bath, and St. Patrick, and a circlet of gold. Her majesty was supported on either side by the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Durham. Her train was borne by Ladies Adelaide Paget, Frances Elizabeth Cowper, Anne Wentworth Fitzwilliam, Mary Augusta Frederich Grimstone, Caroline Amelia Gordon Lennox, Mary Alethea Beatrix Talbot, Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Stanhope, and Louisa Harriet Jenkinson; assisted by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, the Marquis Conyngham; followed by the Groom of the Robes, Captain Francis Seymour, and ten gentlemen-at-arms on either side, with their lieutenants, standard-bearer, clerk of the cheque, and harbinger.

Afterwards came the Duchess of Sutherland, as Mistress of the Robes; the Marchioness of Lansdowne, as first Lady of the Bedchamber; the other ladies of the Bedchamber, and the Maids of Honour.

They were followed by the Gold Stick of the Life-Guards, Viscount Combermere; the Master of the Horse, the Earl of Albemarle; the Captain-General of the Royal Archer Guard of Scotland, the Duke of Buccleugh; and the Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, the Earl of Ilchester; and of the Band of Gentlemen-at-Arms, Lord Foley; by the Lords in Waiting, the Marquis of Headfort, the Earls of Fingall and Uxbridge, the Viscounts Falkland and Torrington, and Lords Selford and Gardner; and by the Keeper of her Majesty's Privy Purse, Major-General Sir H. Wheatley. The Exons and Yeomen of the Guard brought up the rear.

The act of homage was performed by the spiritual lords kneeling around the queen, pronouncing the words of homage, and kissing her majesty's hand. The princes of the blood-royal ascended the steps of the throne, took off their coronets, knelt, pronounced the words of homage, touched the crown upon her majesty's head, and kissed her majesty's left cheek.

The Duke of Norfolk, and sixteen other dukes present, did the same, with the exception of kissing the hand instead of the cheek; and their example was followed by the Marquis of Huntley, and twenty-one marquises; by the Earl of Shrewsbury, and ninety-three earls; by Viscount Hereford, and nineteen viscounts; and by Lord Audley, and ninety-one barons.

Lord Rolle, who was very infirm, on ascending the throne, slipped, when the queen rose and extended her hand, expressing a hope that he was not much hurt. The Duke of Wellington was greatly cheered when performing his homage; and when this part of the ceremony was concluded, the members of the House gave nine hearty cheers, accompanied with frequent cries of "God save Queen Victoria!" which were repeated throughout the building. The peers present were, in number, 245; the peeresses, 158.

The queen's appearance excited universal admiration. Her hair was simply parted, and folded in what are called "Madonna bands," and arranged at the back of her head in a Grecian knot. She wore the picturesque garland-shaped diadem of the Plantagenets, only in a much lighter form. The crown made for George IV. weighed upwards of seven pounds; and having been considered too heavy for the queen, a new one was constructed for this occasion by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, of less than half the weight, formed of hoops of silver covered with precious stones, over a cap of rich blue velvet, surmounted by a ball enriched with small diamonds, having on the top a Maltese cross of brilliants, a splendid sapphire in the centre, a cluster of brilliants with *fleurs de lis*, and Maltese crosses round the centre of the crown, ornamented; and the large heart-shaped ruby, worn by the Black Prince, in front: a fine oblong sapphire below it, and clusters of drop-pearls, with emeralds, rubies, and other gems. When the ceremony approached completion—the queen sitting in full view of the people, the crown-royal upon her head, the sceptre in one hand, and the rod of equity, surmounted by the emblematic dove, in the other—it was remarked that the brilliancy of the whole display was heightened by a sudden burst of sunshine glancing from one of the high arched windows full upon her majesty's crown and dalmatic robe of cloth of gold, which continued for some time, and which the beholders were almost tempted, as their ancestors in former ages would assuredly have been, to regard as an omen of good for the future career of the sovereign. At this moment a number of coronation medals were thrown up by the Earl of Surrey from his cap of state, which caused an undignified scramble for the falling treasure, in which almost all classes permitted to be present—ambassadors, generals, knights, and aldermen—struggled to receive a memorial of the day. The queen's demeanour, during the whole of the proceedings, was characterised as combining grace, self-possession, and dignity. The ceremony concluded shortly after three. The banquet in Westminster Hall, as in the case of William IV., was omitted.

Throughout the country the day was observed as a general holiday, and prisoners and paupers dined and rejoiced on that day, as well as others.

After the ceremony, her majesty entertained at the palace a dinner party of 100 persons, as a substitute for the grand banquet that should have been given in Westminster Hall, with the chivalrous ceremony of the queen's champion, and other ancient usages, that had never been omitted till the reform era. Perhaps her majesty was of the opinion of James II.'s old mistress, the Countess of Dorchester. At the coronation of George I., 1714, Lady Cowper, in her *Diary*, writes—"My Lady Dorchester stood underneath me; and when the archbishop went round, demanding the consent of the people, she turned about to me, and said—'Does the old fool think that anybody here will say no to his question, when there are so many drawn swords.'" Lady Cowper says—"I saw all the ceremony, which few besides did, and I own I never was so affected with joy in all my life; it brought tears into my eyes; and I hope I shall never forget the blessing of seeing our holy religion thus preserved, as well as our liberties and dynastics." Perhaps at the ceremony which we now record, no such profound emotions were aroused; yet it marked an era at any rate as eventful as that heralded by the reign of George I.

But we must chronicle further particulars. The Duke of Wellington gave a grand ball at Apsley House, to which 2,000 persons received cards of invitation. The cabinet ministers gave state dinners. Illuminations, fireworks, and free admissions to the theatre, were provided for the gratification of her majesty's subjects in and about the metropolis, who appeared to enjoy them with the greatest zest and the most loyal spirit. Although immense multitudes were collected in every direction, there was not the slightest disturbance; and the only accident that occurred was occasioned by the descent of a balloon.

In Hyde Park a fair was held, which lasted many days after the ceremony. Her majesty honoured the fair with her presence.

The visit of Marshal Soult to this country excited much popular feeling in

his favour. His presence appeared to be a great attraction, not only to military officers, who took a professional interest in seeing one of the most popular generals; but to the populace, who were attracted towards the last and most skilful of the Duke of Wellington's opponents in the Peninsula. Reviews were got up for his entertainment, and every attention paid that could help to make his sojourn in England agreeable to him. There was a review in Hyde Park on the 9th, of about 5,000—a small force compared with the spectacles of the same nature that were frequently exhibited to the Parisians; but it was composed of some of the best regiments in the British service. In cavalry, these comprised the 1st and 2nd Life-Guards, the Royal Horse-Guards, the 10th Hussars, and the 12th Lancers; In infantry, the 1st and 3rd battalions of the Grenadier Guards; the 1st and 2nd of the Scotch Fusiliers; the same of the Rifle Brigade. In artillery, three troops of the Royal Horse, having two guns each, and three batteries of field artillery. When her majesty, with a numerous suite, appeared on the ground, each regiment marched past her in slow time; the cavalry in close column, the infantry at quarter distance; after which the evolutions of a battle were performed: finally both lines advanced in parade order, and saluted. It was computed that at least 130,000 persons were present as spectators. Marshal Soult had scarcely entered the park when his stirrup broke; and on sending for another to the saddlers of the Ordnance, they forwarded a pair that had been used by the Emperor Napoleon.

On the 13th, the corporation of London entertained the foreign ambassadors, and other illustrious guests, with a state banquet at Guildhall. Six hundred sat down to dinner. The names of Marshal Soult and the Duke of Wellington, who were present, were joined in a toast, and the compliment acknowledged by both with equal frankness and cordiality.

The coronation caused several additions to be made to the English peerage; many with titles previously enjoyed in those of Ireland and Scotland. The Earl of Mulgrave was created Marquis of Normanby; Baron King, Viscount Ockham, and Earl of Lovelace; Baron Dundas, Earl of Zetland; Earl of Kintore, Baron Kintore; Viscount Lismore, Baron Lismore; Baron Rossmore, Baron Rossmore; Baron Carew, Baron Carew; Sir John Wrottesley, Baron Wrottesley; the Hon. William Francis Ponsonby, Baron de Mauley; Charles Hanbury Tracey, Baron Sudely; Paul Methuen, Baron Methuen; Marquis of Carmarthen, Baron Osborne; Earl Bruce, Baron Bruce.

Twenty-nine baronets were created, among whom were George Earle, Lytton Bulwer, and John Frederick William Herschel, who ably represented the claims of literature and science. Knighthood was also liberally conferred; and there were extensive promotions in every branch of the queen's service, naval and military; as well as in that of the East India Company.

And thus the coronation, and all its results, were satisfactory. There was nothing to remind spectators of certain events connected with previous coronations. When William IV. was crowned, the nation was convulsed with the dire struggle for reform. The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria took no part in the ceremony, and were also absent from the dinner, as they were staying at the Isle of Wight. Many comments were made, at the time, of the absence of the heiress-presumptive on such an occasion; but it was subsequently stated, that the indisposition of the princess rendered her removal from her residence to town, to take part in such an exciting pageant, too hazardous to be accomplished. When George IV. was crowned there was wretched discord in the royal family, and everywhere lip homage and hypocrisy. Men were indignant at beholding loud-tongued patriots, who had sought distinction by assailing their sovereign for withdrawing from his consort, leaving her alone and helpless in that day of her heavy trial and distress. Now no sign of discord was visible; and the crowds of foreign visitors present, proclaimed the pleasing fact that England was at peace with herself, and at peace with all the world.

In parliament her majesty's ministers had trouble to anticipate. No disso-

lution ever took place under more favourable circumstances. The popularity of the new reign, the abundant and unscrupulous use of the queen's name, and the blunders being made by the King of Hanover, all combined to put the government in a powerful attitude: yet they acquired no strength. Affairs in Ireland grew worse daily—O'Connell and his followers being permitted to do very much as they liked: an occasional feeble attempt to maintain the supremacy of law, only showing that little authority was exercised in that portion of the United Kingdom at all.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CANADA AND THE CANADIANS.

AT the time of our commencing this chapter, there is a talk of a Fenian invasion from America into Canada. On St. Patrick's-day, as it was loudly proclaimed, the Fenians would invade Canada with an armed force, subjugate the people, instal themselves in the territory, and then, from this vantage-ground of a new nationality, commence operations against England as undoubted belligerents. It is hard to speak seriously of such a device; but Fenianism in America, like Fenianism in Ireland, has a double aspect. Its ultimate purpose was hopeless, but its immediate effect might be dangerous. The Fenians must have been half crazy to imagine that they could oust the Canadians from their country; but it was by no means improbable that they might cross the frontier in strength sufficient for the work of rapine and murder. The termination of the civil war has filled the States with a multitude of disbanded soldiers, many of them Irish by extraction, and all trained to the license of predatory campaigns. That some thousands of men who had lived upon the country in Georgia and South Carolina, should be ready to do the same in Canada, was at least not impossible; and just as the comrades of these men were to "move silently" into Ireland on their work of war, so General Sweeny's brigands were to mass themselves quietly on the Canadian border, and throw themselves into the colony by a sudden rush before the American government could interfere. That, it is said, was the programme; and it contained, at any rate, enough to justify preparation, if not alarm. We believe that more importance was attached to the menace at Washington than at Montreal; but Lord Monck did think it advisable to call the volunteers of the colony to arms, and most nobly was the appeal received. In four-and-twenty hours 10,000 volunteers were arrayed for the defence of their country; in a few hours more 100,000 would have been forthcoming for the same duty. There was no slackness nor faintness among them. People of all classes—English, French, and Irish—from Upper Canada and Lower Canada, in the chief towns and in the rural districts, combined with one mind for the protection of the colony, and the preservation of their institutions. So prompt and powerful was the demonstration that it sufficed for the purpose without further action. The invaders never appeared. If they had really designed invasion, they thought better of it on seeing the preparations made for their reception, and discreetly hung back. The service of the volunteers was confined to a defensive occupation of certain frontier posts; but though that duty, under the circumstances of the call, was unavoidably severe, the result has furnished an ample recompense in the evidence given of the spirit of the colony. The Canadians have learnt to feel not only their own resources, but their own unanimity, and the complete accord of the government and the people. England, too, has learnt to appreciate Canadian feeling, and can now estimate better than before, not only the loyalty of the colony and its military strength, but its readiness to exert this strength at the call of duty.

Thirty years ago a very different feeling existed in Canada. Discontent was chronic there, and the government of the country had been for some years a difficulty and a distress to the government at home. Peculiar circumstances increased this difficulty. The inclination of the people to reform was not only favoured by its large proportion of French population, but by the contiguity of the United States, and the constant endeavours of its free and enlightened residents near the frontier to seduce British soldiers in the neighbouring garrisons, and republicanise the Canadian colonists settled in the adjoining districts.

For many years abuse of England and her institutions had been popular; but, up to 1828, the assembly of Lower Canada was not considered to have put forth any unreasonable pretensions. In that year the whole subject came before the committee of the House of Commons, who reported on such grievances as had become a ground of complaint. In that report, the committee, though forced to admit that the legal right of appropriating the revenues, according to the act of 1774, was in the crown—added, they were prepared to say that the best interests of the provinces would be promoted by placing the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue under the superintendence and control of the House of Assembly. They added—they must, at the same time, state that they were strongly impressed with the advantages of rendering the government, the members of the executive council, and the judges, independent of the annual votes of the House of Assembly for their respective salaries. The English government made serious efforts to give effect to the principal recommendations of the committee. Many concessions were made, especially in an act passed in 1831; but still the assembly remained dissatisfied.

In 1833, a committee, which had been appointed by the legislature of Lower Canada to form a new constitution, reported in favour of one which should comprehend an elective legislative council, chosen by landholders having a net income of £10 in the county, and £20 in the cities. The plan framed by the committee required the parties to have been resident one year within the circle where the election might take place; the eligibility to be restricted to the subjects of his majesty having attained the age of thirty years; having resided in the province for a period of not less than fifteen years; and possessing property in the province of at least £100 value for those elected for the county, and £200 value for the representatives of Quebec and Montreal. The duration of the council was to be limited to six years, and renewal to be made of one-sixth part in every year. It was to be determined by lot, during the first five years, which sixth portion of the members should retire. When a vacancy might occur, the new member was only to be elected for the remaining period left uncompleted by his predecessor. The number of members was to be equal to that of the counties, cities, and divisions thereof, or other circles sending members to the House of Assembly, with the exception of boroughs whose population might not exceed 2,000 souls, and who would only have a vote in the counties of which they formed a part. Judges and clergymen were to be ineligible. The members were not to accept, otherwise than by bill, any place of profit or honour during pleasure, save those of justices of peace, and the militia; nor to become accountable for the public money; nor receive any place, directly or indirectly, from the executive government without offering themselves for re-election. Other regulations were imposed: but the bill, founded on this report, was rejected by the council; and this was regarded as a new and intolerable grievance by the House of Assembly.

It was found by the government of Sir Robert Peel, on their accession to power in 1835, that nothing had been done since the preceding year; and that the irritation of the French or democratic party had been increased by a dissolution. The subsequent election had not diminished their strength. Ministers then thought it expedient to recall Lord Aylmer, the governor of the province, for no other reason than that they hoped his removal would facilitate an arrangement of the existing differences. It was intended to send out a nobleman, who should

at once be a governor and his majesty's commissioner, to inquire into and redress all real grievances. This important post was offered to Lord Canterbury, the late Speaker of the House of Commons. He declined to accept it, and it was then given to Lord Amherst; but his lordship had not proceeded to his destination before the dissolution of the Peel cabinet took place.

The colonial assembly met, after a new election, early in the year. To revenge the loss of the bill for rendering the legislative council elective, they had refused to vote the government the necessary funds for carrying on the public service. The official salaries were in arrear; and Lord Aylmer, under the instruction of Mr. Rice, then Colonial Secretary, had advanced £31,000 out of the military chest. A considerable majority of the new assembly were of the democratie party.

The leader of this party in the colony was a man of French extraction, named Papineau, the Speaker of the assembly, described as remarkable for his daring and demeanour. He had great influence over his compatriots. From dissatisfaction having so many exciting causes, it is not strange that this should have quickly broken into sedition, and from sedition to rebellion. The American sympathisers were active in their support; the British Radicals warm in their approval. They saw no reason why the Canadians should not have a better government if they desired it. Towards the close of the year, a conflict took place at Montreal between the loyal Canadians and the supporters of M. Papineau, which was the commencement of a revolutionary movement.

The royalists, however, supported the government force, under Sir John Colborne, with such energy, that, on the 19th of December, the rebels were attacked at St. Eustace, and defeated. The next day the latter laid down their arms, and their leaders sought safety in flight. One of them, Dr. Nelson, was found concealed in the woods, but died two days after his capture. The loyalist colonists followed up their success by a demonstration against their sympathisers; for a steamer (the *Caroline*) that had been very active in bringing assistance from the Americans to the rebels, was surprised on the United States' territory, and destroyed. Another body of rebels, under Dr. Mackenzie, in the following January, made a sudden attack on Toronto; but were repulsed by a force directed by the governor, Sir Francis Head.

These transactions having been brought under the consideration of the government, the Earl of Durham was appointed Governor-general and High Commissioner for the adjustment of the affairs of Canada, on the day selected for the meeting of parliament, which assembled on the 16th of January.

The House of Lords commenced their proceedings by Lord Glenelg presenting supplementary papers on the affairs of Canada. This elicited a discussion, in which the Duke of Wellington took a conspicuous part. He acknowledged that he entertained decided opinions on the subject, and maintained that the government ought to speak out their intentions. "I entreat her majesty's ministers," he said, "not to forget that we can have no such thing as a little war. I trust that the nature of the operations will be such as to make it quite certain that they will be attended with success."

In the Commons, Lord John Russell brought forward the same subject. He seemed to be a little embarrassed as to which section of the House he should appeal to for support—deprecating the hostility of the Radicals by apologising for an intended suspension of the liberties of the disturbed colony; while he urged the assistance of the Conservatives to enable him to stifle dissatisfaction, and punish rebellion. He ended by moving an address expressing the satisfaction of the House that the designs of the rebels had been opposed not less vigorously by her majesty's loyal subjects in North America, than by her majesty's military force there; and which assured her majesty, that while the House was ever ready to afford relief to real grievances, they were fully determined to support the efforts of her majesty for the suppression of revolt, and the restoration of tranquillity.

The Radicals, headed by Joseph Hume, did not approve of such strong language. The latter, at great length, defended the Canadians. He maintained that Lord Durham having no power, could do no good; that it was not Lower Canada alone that demanded redress from this country; that the other North American colonies were equally anxious for the same; and that the noble lord might easily effect a conciliation by passing an act of indemnity in favour of those who had been placed in their present predicament by the extraordinary and unaccountable proceedings of the colonial government. Sir Robert Peel, while severely censuring the conduct of Mr. Hume, blamed also that of ministers. However, the address was carried.

The following day, Lord John Russell brought in a bill to make a temporary provision for the government of the colony. Mr. Hume opposed the motion, claiming for the Canadians the option of their own system of government. On a division, Mr. Hume was left in a minority of seven.

On the 18th, Lord Glenelg moved an address in the Lords, similar to the one carried in the Commons. The debate which followed possessed two remarkable features: one, a denunciation of the policy of ministers, by Lord Brougham, in a speech of three hours' duration; the other, a forcible address by Lord Durham, of a singularly Conservative character. Each produced a powerful impression. The Duke of Wellington also made a speech, which partook of the nature of an apology for government. This gave great offence to some of his party. It appeared to them a Quixotic enterprise for the duke to come forward to shield his political opponents from censure.

Mr. Grote, on the 22nd, moved that Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, the paid agent of the Canadian rebels, should be heard at the bar of the House of Commons. He complained that Canada was ill-governed, and laboured to show that the provocations of the Canadians were great, and such as ought not to be endured. He defended the conduct of the House of Assembly; and having spoken of the ferocious conduct of the Orange party, which had been such that the government had acknowledged it was necessary to send out officers from this country to command the militia of Canada, and then dwelt on the hardship and injustice of recent trials—"I find," he added in conclusion, "that the benevolence and the justice of our rule are about to be infringed, and that all the American colonies that now remain to us will, by-and-by, in another page of history, have to relate the calamitous story of this time, similar to that which is already upon record; and then, Sir, as the last ship of England leaves that insulted coast, with its millions stretching along its shores, shouting imprecations after it, you will feel, and not till then will you feel, and know your own injustice." Mr. Roebuck withdrew; and on the question being put, Mr. Hume moved that the Canada Government Bill be read again that day six months. Sir George Grey replied, and defended it merely as a temporary measure, rendered necessary by the emergency of the time. Mr. Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel considered the recent government to blame. With great reluctance the latter said he supported ministers because he found no safe alternative to which he could resort. The division gave the government a majority of 246. The bill was committed; but the debate was renewed on the 25th, when Sir Robert Peel stated his determination not to sanction the mixing up of the prerogative of the crown with the legislative functions of the House of Commons, as was apparent in the preamble of the bill; and, on the following day, Lord John Russell announced that he had agreed to the alteration suggested. The bill was read a third time on the 29th.

Lord Glenelg moved its second reading in the House of Lords in February. The Duke of Wellington spoke at some length, not to attack ministers, but to impose upon them the necessity for providing for the defence of Canada the largest force the resources of the country would permit. He reminded them that the president of the United States had desired additional powers, ostensibly to prevent hostilities, on the part of the citizens of those states, with the inhabitants of

Upper Canada; and referred to the probability of differences arising between Great Britain and America, which would demand the most vigilant attention of the government of this country. Lord Brougham vehemently condemned the course pursued by Sir Francis Head. "A scene," said he, "has been disclosed which I defy the history of all civilised countries to match. A governor, appointed to administer the law, to exercise the authority of the state for the protection of the subject, is commissioned to distribute justice in mercy; whose office it is, above that of all mankind, to punish crimes, and only to punish them when it exceeds his powers to prevent their being committed—he who, before all, because above all, is bound to guard against offending the people committed to his care—he who, first and foremost, is planted by his sovereign to keep the people from doing any wrong, that the law may not be broken, and that there may be no evil-doers to punish;—he it is that we now see boast, in the despatches wherein he chronicles his exploits—boasting yet more largely in the speech which he makes from the throne (which his conduct is shaking) to the people whom he is mis-governing—boasting that he refrained from checking the machinations which he knew were going on: that, aware of the preparations for rebellion, he purposely suffered them to proceed; that, informed that crime was hatching, he wilfully permitted it to be brought forth; that, acquainted with the plans laid by traitors—with the disaffection hourly spreading—with the maturity every moment approached by treason—with the seditious practices on the loyal subjects—with the advances made each instant by the plot towards its final completion, and its explosion in a wide-spread revolution;—he, the chief magistrate and guardian of the peace, and executor of the law, yet deemed it fitting to let all go uninterrupted, unmolested—to turn a deaf ear to the demand of the loyal for protection, lest any such interference should stay the course of rebellion; nay, send away the troops for the express purpose of enticing the disaffected to pursue and to quicken the course of their crimes."

On the 5th, Mr. Roebuck was heard at the bar of the Lords against the measure. He is said to have spoken with his usual energy and asperity. He earnestly called on their lordships not to oppose the wishes of the colony. "At this moment," said he, "every one of you must feel that war with the United States has been risked by this insane quarrel with our colonies. No greater calamity could happen to mankind than such a war; and yet we have heedlessly, may I not say criminally, incurred the danger of it: and for what? To maintain a wretched band of hungry officials in the possession of ill-used as well as ill-gotten power; to shelter a few peculating servants from the just indignation of their robbed and insulted masters. This, my lords, is the real end of all our great expenditure, of all our loss of money, time, and blood—the magnificent object for which we have stayed all improvement in Canada—for which we now seek to outrage the feelings of the whole continent of America—for which we have already risked the chance of the most disastrous calamity which ignorance and wretchedness combined could inflict on mankind." On the 29th, a debate on the third reading took place: and though Lord Ellenborough opposed it as unnecessarily severe; Lord Mansfield, because it would neither give satisfaction nor effect to objects desired; though Lord Brougham repeated his previous objections; and Earl Fitzwilliam condemned it, declaring that it would only be a forerunner of greater difficulties—the bill was read a third time, and passed.

On the 6th of March, the government was put upon its trial by the Radical members, when Sir William Molesworth, in a speech of considerable ability, moved—"That the House do present a humble address to the queen, respectfully expressing its opinion, that in the present critical state of many of her majesty's foreign possessions in various parts of the world, it is essential to the well-being of her majesty's colonial empire, and of the many and important interests which depend upon the prosperity of the colonies, that the colonial minister should be a person in whose diligence, forethought, judgment, activity, and firmness, this House

J. A. ROEBUCK.

and the public may be able to place reliance; and declaring, with all due deference to the constitutional prerogative of the crown, that her majesty's present Secretary of State for the Colonies does not enjoy the confidence of this House or of the country." This was an attack quite as much upon ministers generally as upon Lord Glenelg; and so Lord Palmerston understood it when he moved the previous question. But now the Conservatives shared in the attack, Lord Sandon moving an amendment, representing, "that the open defiance of her majesty's lawful authority in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and the necessity of suppressing rebellion by force of arms, and of suspending the constitutional government of Lower Canada, are in a great degree attributable to the want of foresight and energy on the part of her majesty's confidential servants, and to the ambiguous, dilatory, and irresolute course which they have pursued, in respect of the affairs of Canada, since their appointment." There could be no mistake about the meaning of such a resolution; and Lord Stanley made it more clear by a satirical commentary. The debate was renewed the following day, when Sir Robert Peel supported the amendment, which he described as, in plain, direct, straightforward terms, arraigning the conduct of ministers, without seeking for any confederacy with opinions to which the Conservatives were opposed. Sir W. Molesworth having been persuaded by Lord John Russell to withdraw his motion, a division took place on the amendment, which gave the government a majority of twenty-nine.

Lord Durham, about this time, sailed on his mission of peace. In some quarters it was whispered that he possessed neither the temper nor capacity requisite, at such a time, in the governor of Canada. Miss Martineau reports that his lordship felt inexpressible reluctance to the charge. His health was not good; and no post ever filled by any man more absolutely required the unflinching energy and strong capacity for labour, which cannot be permanently commanded in a state of uncertain health. With his well-known pride of family, and high spirit, there was united a genuine modesty, which prevented his overrating his own powers. Lord Durham is described by Guizot, who visited him at Putney, as "a spoiled child of the world; clever, popular, still young and handsome; satiated with the successes, and irritated by the trials of life. We talked of Russia—of the east of Canada. Conversation animated him for a moment; but he relapsed suddenly into silence, fatigued even by what pleased him, and enduring, with a sad and apathetic pride, the malady which consumed him, in addition to the political checks and domestic vexations by which he had been assailed. He would have interested me warmly, if, in his haughty melancholy, I had not recognised a strong imprint of egotism and vanity."

It was no wonder, then, that his lordship went to Canada with a feeling of reluctance. His work was critical, hazardous, and important; nothing less than reorganising society in Canada, and determining its future relations with England. His spirit warmed as he dwelt upon the significance of the effort he was now to make; and before he left England, continues Miss Martineau, he was able to preach a cheerful faith to some, who saw but too much to apprehend for him. It is very affecting to read now his appeal to friends and foes on the announcement to the Lords of his acceptance of his mission. "I feel," said he, "that I can accomplish it only by the cordial and energetic support—a support which I am sure I shall obtain—of my noble friends the members of her majesty's cabinet; by the co-operation of the imperial parliament; and, permit me to say, by the generous forbearance of the noble lords opposite, to whom I have always been politically opposed." His appointment was twofold. He went out as Governor-general of the five British colonies in North America, and also as Lord High Commissioner, to inquire into, and, if possible, adjust all questions about civil government pending in Upper and Lower Canada. His powers were understood to be unlimited; and that of granting a general amnesty, being expressly mentioned by ministers in parliament, was eagerly discussed in Canada. By a letter from

the Colonial Secretary, dated April the 21st, Lord Durham was informed, that her majesty's government were anxious, above everything, that the prisoners concerned in the insurrection, who could not be tried by the ordinary courts of law, because it was certain that juries would not convict, should be treated with the utmost possible lenity consistent with the public safety; and to secure the immediate settlement of the question which the whole government saw to be by far the most difficult and dangerous—that of the disposal of the prisoners—the unusual power was given to Lord Durham to bestow absolute pardon, in treason cases, as in others, without waiting for the ascertainment of the royal pleasure. When these powers were bestowed, and cordial support and sympathy promised, no doubt the ministers meant what they said. But before his lordship left, it was clear that his conduct was to be unmercifully criticised. In the beginning of April, a motion was brought forward in the Commons regarding his expenses as Lord High Commissioner. The member by whom it was proposed, considered it expedient to call on the House to declare, by resolution, that economy ought to characterise the expenditure of the proposed mission; for as Lord Gosford's expenditure did not exceed £12,800, that sum ought to have sufficed for his successor. It was shown that Lord Durham's appointments were extravagant, injudicious, and, in several instances, unnecessary—particularly that of a legal adviser, with a salary of £1,500. These arrangements, and all that related to them, were defended by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell; but the exposure of their regard for former numerous professions of the strictest economy, made some impression on the House; for, on a division, ministers barely escaped by a majority of *two*.

In May Lord Durham landed at Quebec, and entered upon his government. He was cordially received, and lost no time in issuing a proclamation, in which he declared he came there as a friend and arbitrator, ready at all times to listen to their grievances, wishes, and complaints, without distinction of parties, races, or politics. A new executive council was formed, and a new special council, consisting, in part, of members of the former. He published an ordinance, transporting some of the rebels to Bermuda, the governor of which had no legal power to receive them; and granting an amnesty to others. These acts of his lordship were attacked most violently, in the upper House, by Lord Brougham and others. The ordinance was illegal, as no ordinance could be passed unless the council consisted of five persons; and this number was not present when the ordinance was signed. Again, the persons transported to Bermuda were to be hung if they ventured to return from thence; which, his lordship maintained, would be murder. In the House of Commons the same question was raised. Lord Brougham returned to the charge. His lordship then introduced a bill, "for declaring the true intent and meaning of the act providing for the temporary government of Canada, and indemnifying certain parties who acted under it." The bill was opposed by Lord Glenelg, and supported by the Conservative peers, who carried it by a majority of eighteen. The next day, on a motion for going into committee on the bill, Lord Melbourne rose to state the course which he intended to pursue. He regretted the decision of their lordships; but, looking at the ordinances, and finding that one part of them went beyond the bounds of the authority which had created them; and when, with respect to a colony, the crown had not the power of allowing one part of an ordinance, and rejecting another—he had felt strongly pressed to come to the conclusion that her majesty ought to be advised to disallow those ordinances. In consequence of the decision thus announced, the measure encountered no further opposition. Thus closed this singular struggle, in which, as regards Lord Brougham, it was thought, by many, not a little of personal feeling entered.

When Lord Durham received information of the parliamentary proceedings in which his name had figured so prominently, he was exceedingly displeased with ministers for not having afforded him, when attacked, a larger support. He soon left Canada for the purpose of defending himself at home—and to die; for, soon after, his troubled life came to a close, in his forty-eighth year. In a little while the

rebellion again broke out; the discontented colonists being quite convinced of the inefficiency of the home government, and relying on important assistance from persons residing within the American frontier.

The rebellion commenced about the beginning of November, in the lower province, in the sub-districts of Beauharnois, Chateauguay, and Acadia; the latter one of the old French settlements in the western angle, formed by the confluence of the rivers Richelieu and the St. Lawrence, familiar to the reader as the scene of Longfellow's poetical romance, *Evangeline*. On the 3rd, the rebels in arms made an attempt to seize a steamer that had carried artillery from Montreal. This failed, and they took possession of La Prairie, compelling the inhabitants to transport themselves to the capital. On the following day they attacked Beauharnois, which, after a spirited defence, they captured: Mr. Ellice (a nephew of Earl Grey), his lady and sister, and several persons of respectability, were forwarded, for safe keeping, to Chateauguay.

They now established their head-quarters at Napierville, with a well-armed force of 8,000 men; and, fancying they were masters of the country, enjoyed themselves in the town, apparently very much at their ease. But an energetic and skilful commander was quietly taking his measures for the safety of the colony. Sir John Colborne proclaimed martial law on the 4th, on which day a tribe of loyal Indians attacked and defeated a body of the rebels, taking seventy-five prisoners.

The sympathisers within the United States' frontier had not been inactive. They made sure that the time had come for incorporating Canada with the United States; and, with their usual self-confident reliance, anticipated an easy victory: but Colonel Taylor, at the head of only 200 British settlers, met a force nearly five times as strong, which the Americans had joined. They were proceeding under Dr. Nelson, one of the leaders of the last movement, to reinforce the main body; but were defeated at Odelton, within sight of the frontier; which, for some of the rebels, was a fortunate event.

On the 9th, the rebel army thought it prudent to quit Napierville. On the 10th and 11th, the loyalists attacked and retook Beauharnois and La Prairie. Sir John Colborne concentrated his troops, on the following day, at the late head-quarters of the rebels, and inflicted a summary vengeance on the entire district. This severity cowed the conspirators in all directions; and the general was congratulating himself on a speedy end of the war, when a large body of American sympathisers, 800 strong, embarked, fully armed, and with several pieces of artillery, in two schooners at Ogdenburgh, for the invasion of Upper Canada. They first attacked the opposite town of Prescott: there they failed, however, to effect a landing; but, with the assistance of two United States' steamers, disembarked about a couple of miles below the town. They took up a strong position at a windmill, and in some stone buildings, where they were enabled to repel, with some loss, a hasty attempt to dislodge them.

On the 15th, however, Colonel Dundas arrived with a reinforcement of regular troops, and three pieces of artillery. Captain Sandon, with two gun-boats, aided in attacking the position from the water; and in about half-an-hour after opening fire, the filibusters surrendered at discretion. On examination, they proved a motley assemblage of nations—the bulk being Yankee sympathisers and lovers of adventure. Of these, Colonel Von Shoultz, a Pole, was hanged at Kingston, on the 8th of December; and Dorephus Abbey, a printer, with Daniel, George, and Charles Smith, his subordinates, in the following week.

Another invasion was attempted on the 4th of December, from Detroit. About 400 persons effected a landing at Windsor, three miles above Sandwich, where they set fire to a steamer, burned down the barracks, shot the sentry, suffered two militiamen to be consumed in the flames, and, in the most cowardly manner, with axes and bowie-knives, murdered an unarmed assistant-surgeon, who accidentally fell into their hands. These atrocities, however, were speedily avenged. The militia from Sandwich were soon on the spot. They attacked the ruffians; killed

many, took some prisoners, and the rest fled—some to Hog Island, on the American side, where they were safe from pursuit; the rest to the neighbouring woods, where they were hunted and captured.

Sir John Colborne was appointed Governor-general of the colony, and invested with the same power that had been granted to Lord Durham. This officer proved himself as sagacious as he was skilful and energetic. The rebellion ceased in Canada; and though menacing demonstrations were made on the American frontier, the fate of their countrymen, and the preparation for their reception, daunted the sympathisers for a time. Nevertheless, they received so much countenance, especially from the authorities of the state of Maine, that a collision seemed inevitable in New Brunswick. Although this state of things kept the colony for some time in a kind of ferment, and acts of an unjustifiable nature were perpetrated by certain persons claiming to be American citizens, there was no war. The effervescence gradually subsided, and the previous state of feeling was restored on both sides the frontier.

Altogether it was a very critical time for Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, who were pursued by the Tories and the Radicals with relentless cruelty. To the disgrace of human nature, the Premier's attendance on her majesty was made the occasion of the vilest insinuations. Lord Durham, who had now returned, was charged with "having sanctioned the most outrageous act of despotism that has been proposed in our time." Colonel Thompson (afterwards better known as the author of the *Anti-Corn-Law Catechism*) wrote letters, denying that any law existed, under which American citizens, sailing as British subjects in Canada, could be put to death. "There is no law in existence," wrote the colonel, "for putting a prisoner of war to death, any more than if Lord John Russell should send a number of his epauletted footmen to put you or me to death, on proof of our identity." The colonel called upon the people to remove the Whigs from office, in the following terms:—"A girl is but a girl; but it happens that this girl is but an organ of constitutional power, and she shall not be abused. Go to her with your petitions; fall at her feet; tell her we represent the proud republic which drove a rival family from the throne, and, by their accession to the general compact, placed and maintained her dynasty in the vacant seat; and say we lay our foreheads in the dust—begging, imploring her to remove the bloody and brutal men who are covering throne, coronets, and people with one common shame." Though some minds shared in these extreme wishes, such was not the general feeling in this country. Many had objected to the part which English soldiers had taken in the Spanish contest; though, with respect to Spain, we were under treaty obligations. It was argued, that they who went to fight in Spain were little better than the Swiss, who had disgraced themselves throughout Europe by their readiness to fight for pay, and for pay alone. Few Englishmen could feel sympathy for foreigners entering a friendly country with the avowed object of overturning its institutions, and establishing a new order of things, and enriching themselves at the expense of those whom they pretended it was their object to rescue from monarchical slavery, that they might enjoy republican freedom. The general impression in England was, that such men were pirates; and, as such, had no claim to the honourable reception and careful treatment usually accorded to unfortunate prisoners of war. It was found that the execution of a few of the offenders tended very materially to check the ardour of the sympathisers in the United States, which the president had, till then, if really desirous of opposing, been unable effectually to restrain. Little regard was paid to his proclamation against interfering between the British and the Canadians.

In his annual message to Congress, the president of the United States, adverting to what had taken place, spoke of the American citizens who had joined the Canadians as inexperienced persons, misled by generous feelings. He further said—"There is every reason to believe that disturbances like those which lately agitated the neighbouring British provinces, will not again prove the sources of border con-

tentions, or interpose obstacles to the continuance of that good understanding which it is the mutual interest of Great Britain and the United States to preserve and maintain. Within the provinces themselves tranquillity is restored; and, on our frontier, that misguided sympathy in favour of what was presumed to be a general effort in behalf of popular rights, and which, in some instances, misled a few of our more inexperienced citizens, has subsided into a rational conviction, strongly opposed to all intermeddling with the internal affairs of our neighbours. The people of the United States feel—as it is hoped they always will feel—a warm solicitude for the success of all who are sincerely endeavouring to improve the political condition of mankind. This generous feeling they cherish towards the most distant nations; and it was natural, therefore, that it should be awakened, with more than common warmth, in behalf of their immediate neighbours. But it does not belong to their character, as a community, to seek the gratification of those feelings in acts which violate their duty as citizens, endanger the peace of their country, and tend to bring upon it the stain of a violated faith towards other nations."

The rebellion effected results which those who had planned it had not anticipated. It proved, undoubtedly, that the colony was loyal at heart, and that disaffection had been confined to the old French settlement of Acadia, where a sense of hostility to British rule had been carefully matured, founded on an exaggerated statement of evils inflicted on the inhabitants soon after it became a British possession. There was nothing like that hostility to British rule which the friends of Papineau and Mackenzie reported. The report of Sir Francis Head on this subject deserves notice. His view of the struggle was, that it afforded to the world a noble and unexampled picture of gallant resistance offered by a small British population to the unprincipled efforts which certain citizens in the United States, in the character of sympathisers, were making to force upon them republican institutions. In proof of this, he mentions that "a body of American sympathisers, having invaded Sandwich, escaped into the woods, and there, suffering from cold and hunger, dared not even to ask for shelter from those they professed to have invaded to liberate from the yoke of the British government; but wandered through the province, until, worn out by the punishment of their guilt, they perished in the forest." No people could have done more to show their appreciation of the government under which they had settled and prospered than the English colonists; and to the valour and energy of their leaders, under the direction of Sir John Colborne, we owe our continued possession of that valuable portion of the North American continent remaining to us of the vast settlements originally peopled and cultivated by England.

The Tories were especially wroth with Lord Durham. "Why, we ask," wrote the *Quarterly Review*, "has not this ex-governor-general been arraigned at the bar of public discussion, for the desertion of his duty; for his incendiary proclamation; for the unconstitutional insubordination of his military dinner? Why has he not been asked to give to the country those astounding revelations, those inconceivable disclosures which he promised, to the joy of Radicals at Devonport? Why has he not been summoned—aye, and put to parliamentary torture, to explain why, while he was in power, having illegally banished certain traitors, he, after he had, in a childish pet, thrown up his office, invited them, by proclamation, to return, to the manifest increase (as he admitted) of the public danger? And why did he, in the same proclamation in which he threw up the government, and on the very eve of a formidable rebellion, promulgate and press on an excited public every topic which could embarrass and weaken his successor?"

In 1839 appeared his lordship's report, which his few admirers defended as a masterly state paper. It spoke of the struggle in Canada as being one of races; and he considered there was little chance of extinguishing the animosities created within the present generation. His recommendations were—First, the establishment of a good system of municipal education. Secondly, a sound and general system for the management of the lands, and the settlement of the colonies, placing

the entire administration, in those respects, under the control of the imperial government. Thirdly, the imparting a national character to Lower Canada, which must be that of the British empire. Fourthly, the immediate passing of an act by the imperial legislature, to repeal the act of 31st George III., and to reunite the Canadas under one legislature, and as one province. Fifthly, to appoint a parliamentary commission to determine the number of members to be returned to the provincial parliament from each district, in proportion to its population. Sixthly, that the same commissioners shall form a plan of local government by elective bodies, subordinate to the general legislature. Seventhly, to establish a general executive, and supreme court of appeal for all the North American colonies. Eighthly, to revise the constitution of the legislative councils, so as to make them act as a useful check on the popular branch of the legislature, without offering those occasions of irritation which have hitherto resulted from such interference. Ninthly, to give up, at once, to the provincial legislature all the revenues of the crown, except those derived from the sale of public lands, &c., on the concession, by that legislature, of an adequate civil list. Tenthly, to assimilate the government of that province, as much as possible, to that of the United Kingdom, by rendering all the provincial officers, except the governor and his secretary, responsible to the colonial legislature. The remaining recommendations were—that the independence of the judges should be secured: that no money votes should be originated in parliament without the previous consent of the governor, on the part of the crown: that all former legislative provisions, with respect to reserves of land for the clergy, should be repealed; and that emigration to the colonies should be promoted on the greatest possible scale.

In June, Lord John Russell submitted two resolutions to the Commons on the subject of Canada. The first went to declare, that it was expedient to form a legislative union of the provinces in Upper and Lower Canada, on principles of free and representative government, in such manner as might best conduce to the prosperity and contentment of the united provinces. The second set forth, that it was expedient to continue, till the year 1842, the powers vested in the governor and special council of Lower Canada, with certain alterations that might be thought advisable. These resolutions were withdrawn, and two bills were brought forward instead: the first of which was to extend the power of the governor, and the special council of Lower Canada, from November, 1840, to March, 1842; and to increase those powers, so that the Habeas Corpus Act might be suspended, and taxes raised for strictly local purposes. The second offered the scheme of a general constitution. His lordship was only prepared to press the first, which accordingly was carried.

In-doors and out, little satisfaction was felt at the way in which the Canadian question had been settled; and the conduct of ministers was severely animadverted on. The attention of the upper House was called to the estimates, from which it appeared that the expenditure of the Earl of Durham had been at the rate of from £60,000 to £65,000 per annum. The personal expenses of the noble earl were, with some deductions, from £32,000 to £33,000. These, too, it was remarked, were for a period of only eight months; and it was sarcastically added, that "his lordship had generously applied £10,000 out of his own private funds for his personal expenses." It was then argued that his mission must have been carried on in a style of oriental expenditure, which was the more striking, as, while the noble lord was in the House of Commons, he had been a distinguished member of that party which arrogated to itself, almost exclusively, the merit of economy.

Time has passed away, and what do we see now? Canada contented and prosperous, with a population of nearly 3,000,000: loyal, and preparing to people that enormous tract of territory, and to hold its own as the head of a great and growing confederacy. In 1851, Canada had only a few miles of railway: she has now nearly 2,000. The most important is the Grand Trunk Railway, which extends from Portland, in the state of Maine, to Sarnia, on the west frontier of the province—

a distance of 1,026 miles. The tubular iron bridge across the St. Lawrence, 7,000 feet in length, is one of the most extraordinary works of man. It was constructed to avoid the expense of transhipping freight at Montreal.

The system of public education in Canada, which dates from 1846, has been attended with a fair share of success. The schools are virtually free, being supported principally by a school-rate, which, with other contributions, amounted, in 1856, in Lower Canada, to £101,691—the number of pupils being 142,141; and of educational institutions, 2,919. The amount spent for common school education, was, in 1857, £322,544. There is a university at Toronto, besides a church of England university, supported by private funds. There are, Laval University, at Quebec; and M'Gill's College, with university powers: besides Queen's College, in Kingston, and Victoria College, in Coburg. There are also, especially in Lower Canada, several other smaller colleges. In Upper Canada there are district grammar-schools. Of these, there were sixty-one in 1856. Connected with the educational system of this section of the province, are free libraries, established by municipal corporations. The system in operation confers local self-government, in its most unstinted form, upon villages, towns, cities, townships, and councils. The public education provided is calculated to qualify the population to make a right use of the privilege of local self-government; and the municipal council serves as a training-school for some of those who are hereafter to take a part in the provincial legislature. The press is free; and its influence must be great. There are upwards of 200 newspapers published in Canada. The revenue, in 1857, was £1,107,288: expenditure, £1,192,323. About £1,000,000 of the revenue is derived from customs; the other sources are excise, crown territory, tax on bank issues, public works, fines and forfeiture, casual revenue, land fee-fund, and general post-office. The amount of public debt, direct and indirect, is nearly £12,000,000.

Canada is rich in fisheries; but it is a branch of industry which has not yet been turned to much account. The deep-sea fisheries are almost entirely abandoned to the Americans and the French. Agriculture is the chief employment of the population: timber-cutting and lumbering next; and ship-building. The Canadian system of government is now modelled upon that of Great Britain. There are two legislative chambers—the legislative council, and the legislative assembly; a cabinet, which generally consists of ten members; and a governor-general, appointed by the queen, and paid by the Canadians. The legislative assembly consists of 130 members, elected, one-half by Upper Canada, and one-half by Lower Canada, for a term of four years. Previous to 1856, the legislative council was nominated by the crown; the recommendation being made by the local executive. The members are now elected: their number will, ultimately, be forty-eight. The parliament, formerly held at Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec, has been removed to Ottawa, which has now the advantage of a central locality.

The future of Canada points to an independent confederation of the British North American provinces. At any rate, there is now no conspiracy looming in the future. There is no longer, we are told, an "annexation" party in Canada—no appreciable section of the Canadian people desiring to cast in their lot with the United States. That feeling, if it ever was seriously entertained, has now disappeared, or is confined to a handful of persons not worth consideration. The question of provincial confederation, too, has been materially advanced by the operation of the same convictions. If the British provinces of North America are to be independent, self-supporting, and powerful, it is obvious that this result can be best promoted by that union which is uniformly strength. The colonists seem to understand that they are on the eve of a natural change, and that the course of events is under their own control. They regarded the proposal of confederation at first with some differences of opinion, and some not unnatural jealousies. It was thought that, though the scheme might be undoubtedly beneficial, Canada would get the lion's share of the benefit. It was fancied that the smaller governments would not only gain less, but lose more; and sundry

objections to federal union were unreservedly advanced. But these dissensions seem to have disappeared under the influence of recent events; and we are now told that Nova Scotia alone is standing out for administrative independence. The other provinces unite in desiring political consolidation as a great dependency of the British crown; and to this union they look for the political importance and national strength which form the best guarantee for independence and security.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHURCH QUESTIONS.

The established church, in this country, is unfortunately in an awkward position. It has never been the church of the nation. It has been the church of the aristocracy; a part and parcel of the system which, by entailing all the landed estate to the eldest son, renders it imperatively necessary to preserve tithes, church-livings, and church-lands for the support of younger sons. Alison writes —"It was unfortunate in having no popular support. The monarch, whose principal quarrel with the papacy was, that it would not sanction his divorce from one queen that he might marry another, only favoured the Reformation as far as it suited his political purposes."

Under the influence of the Marian persecution, the chief men in the church fled to Geneva, or the continent, and strengthened their Puritan tendencies. These were the men who, on their return, were the real teachers of the people; and who remained firm in their faith, poverty, and sufferings, while others bowed the knee to Baal.

The earlier part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was pre-eminently a reign of compromise. The Prayer-Book was carefully drawn up, in order to give as little offence as possible to Romish prejudices. Under the Stuarts, the same tendency was manifested. The heads of the church and the king sided together: the people were of a different way of thinking.

At the revolution settlement, the great Whig lords controlled all power in church and state. The machine worked harmoniously. The dissenters were not, as they ought to have been, allured back into the bosom of the church; but they were tolerated; and the holders of church property, lay or clerical, were thankful to the House of Orange for the narrow escape they had from having been called on to restore to Rome the lands which had been wrested from her by force at the Reformation.

At this time, political, rather than ecclesiastical questions, occupied the attention of the nation. The church dignitary seems to have aimed exclusively at advancing his worldly position; and the country clergyman lived with the squire, and drank, hunted, and gambled as the rest of his class.

Methodism and dissent, together, rendered this state of things very distasteful to the people. The church dignitaries were alarmed. If they had lost their hold upon the people, some fine day they might find themselves ousted, and others seated in their comfortable parsonages and cathedral towns.

They were alarmed, and roused into activity. Not merely was their creed in danger, but their pockets. Hence, almost to a man, they were Tories and anti-reformers. As long as the unreformed parliament lasted they were safe. The great landowners, who returned the House of Commons, would never sanction the secularisation of church property as long as the laws of entail and primogeniture existed.

But the deluge had come. The Reform Bill had passed.

"The ordinary condition of an established and endowed church," wrote the late M.P. for Oldham, "is one of external decency, conventional propriety, formality, stateliness, and a tolerant laxity. It is little disposed to persecute, so long as it is let alone. There is not sufficient malignity in human nature to make the abstract pleasure of persecution a remuneration for the trouble. Nor has it the usual religious motives to exertion. An established priesthood is a profession, not a mission. Its candidates therein find the subsistence they desire, and are therewith content. The clergyman is yet living who testified to the favour in which the text, 'be not righteous over-much,' was held by his brethren. Pity, for the world's sake, that the *not* has become obsolete without a more rational interpretation for the righteous. As it stood it was a very appropriate motto. An unmolested establishment never preaches nor prays over-much; never admonishes the great over-much; and never much invades the slumbering of society. It has no internal impulses. The stimulus of its energy, whether for proselyting or persecuting, or both, must come from without."

It has always been, and is now more than ever, so in the church. It is admitted, by church authorities, that the class of men who take priest's orders, are, socially and intellectually, of a lower class than formerly.

As to the preaching in the establishment, let us hear it described by a Frenchman, who has been making England, and her institutions, his study nearly twenty years.

Louis Blanc writes—"It is lamentable to see the oral government of souls delivered over to men who are wanting in the first conditions requisite for the exercise of this sovereign power. Let us pass them in review: one is gouty, and his eloquence has twitchings, from which his hearers suffer to an intolerable extent; another, afflicted with a chronic rheum, instead of fulminating the decrees of Heaven, weighs them out; a third is an old man, who once could speak, but now only whispers, and the very beadle cannot hear him; a fourth is an ardent young man, with a flashing eye, and eager physiognomy: he would be on fire if his servant broke a glass, or would move the heart of the most inflexible gamekeeper if his pointer's life were in danger; but once in the pulpit, he turns to ice; and it would be easier to melt the Alps with vinegar than for him to touch the feelings of his flock. A slow pronunciation; a fashion of intoning more odiously than the Indian tom-tom; the gestures of an automaton—in a word, a sort of solid solemnity is what, for the most part, characterises pulpit eloquence in this country."

Yet one thing animates these men; and that is the cry, "the church in danger"—a cry always raised when ecclesiastical abuses are to be reformed.

Sir Robert Peel, after the Reform Bill, had more than once endeavoured to waken the attention of church dignitaries to anomalies; but institutions are always reformed from without, never from within.

It was the condition of the existence of the Whig ministry that it should introduce ecclesiastical reforms. In Ireland they had failed to carry out the sensible principle, that property voted by the state for the church, might be devoted to the welfare of the state where there were no church uses for it. The Tory party soon became alarmed.

In answer to an address presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Lord Bexley and others, he said—"Amidst the dangers which are multiplying around us, the clergy will derive the greatest encouragement to persevering exertions from these public professions of your devoted adherence to the church, and your implied approbation of the character and conduct of its ministers. While such are the sentiments of the wisest and best among our fellow-countrymen, we may look forward with hope; and whatever may be the event of the hostility with which we are threatened, we shall find consolation in their sympathy, and in the consciousness of being not altogether unworthy of it."

The first battle was on church-rates. The dissenter said—"I support my

own minister; I build my own chapel, and keep it in repair; it is too bad that I should be asked to keep the churches of the wealthiest establishment in Europe in repair, or, in default of payment, render myself liable to have my goods seized, or myself thrown into gaol." Of course, to such a statement there is no answer. Churchmen, like the archbishop, talked of perils to which they were exposed, and of the hostility to which they were threatened; and, in the confusion thus created, attempted to elude the question altogether. Ministers had to grapple with it. Dissenters had had their goods seized, and had been imprisoned for the non-payment of church-rates. Besides, an amount of ill-will was being created with regard to the establishment, which really threatened it—though the alarmists saw it not—with danger. In March, 1837, the government plan was proposed. In a speech, which lasted three hours, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exposed the evils of the existing system. He submitted a plan of taking the whole property of bishops, deans, and chapters, from those who had hitherto held it, to place it in the hands of eleven commissioners, in order that a new and better arrangement of church lands might be brought about. He calculated that £250,000 per annum might be recovered for public purposes. The collection of church-rates was to cease from a day to be named. To protect the interest of lessees, they, besides having a right of pre-emption, were to be allowed to renew, at 5 per cent. under the improved value, with power to purchase, the fee-simple of church estates, subject to an increased rent, payable to the commissioners, and fluctuating with the price of corn. Provision was made for the customary payment of rent for a portion of the pews, for debts already contracted by various parishes, or for visitation fees.

The debate on the subject was adjourned; and, a few days after, a meeting of fifteen bishops (being all that were then in London) took place at Lambeth Palace, at which the ministerial plan was taken into consideration, and condemned as most unjust and hostile to the church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, on the same evening, expressed his dissent from the measure in the House of Lords. He considered it extremely unfavourable to the church; and was of opinion that its effects would be mischievous in the extreme—taking from the establishment, as it was proposed to do, property which had belonged to it from time immemorial, to apply it to purposes for which other provision had been made. The plan went, his lordship said, to render the dignitaries of the church mere annuitants, dependent on a board of commissioners; and to deprive them of the influence and advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed. Lord Melbourne commented on the undue haste with which the primate had come forward to oppose the government plan. The Bishop of London sharply replied to his lordship; and the friends of the church bestirred themselves so effectually out-of-doors, that many petitions were speedily presented against the measure. On the 13th, when the House of Commons went into committee on the plan, it was warmly opposed by Sir Robert Peel, who said nothing could be more unjust than to remove a charge from the whole rateable property of the country, to throw it on the church. The debate was continued for three nights, when the resolution was carried by a majority of 273 against 250. A bill, founded on the resolutions, was shortly after brought in. Ultimately the bill passed; but by so small a majority, that it was not proceeded with any further.

In June, Lord John Russell moved for a select committee, to inquire into the mode of granting and renewing leases of the landed and other property of the bishops, deans, and chapters, and other ecclesiastical bodies of England and Wales, and into the probable amount of increased value which might be obtained by an improved management, with a due regard to the interests of the established church, and of the present lessees of such property. Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion, as establishing a dangerous precedent; and objected to the government striving to shift their responsibility to the shoulders of a select committee. On a division, ministers had a majority of eighty-three.

In May, 1838, Lord John Russell moved the reappointment of the select

committee of inquiry into the property of the established church; when he repudiated, in his own name, and in that of his colleagues, the charge which had been brought against them, of desiring to plunder the church, from the highest prelate down to the humblest curate. His lordship estimated the revenue of the church at about £4,000,000. That property, however, distributed, would still remain to the church. Whether it were fit that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York should have an income of £22,000 per annum each, or that those incomes should be diminished as the church commissioners proposed—whether it were right that the existing cathedral chapters should be maintained, or whether it were expedient that they should be reduced from twelve (the present number) to four—the income of the church would still continue the property of the church. At various periods, the legislature had altered its conduct in relation to the affairs of the church, and, in particular, with respect to incumbent lessees. His lordship instanced cases in which bishops and others had sacrificed the true interests of the church to their own private emolument. He quoted Clarendon and Burnet, to show the abuses, which were the natural fruits of the system maintained with regard to church property; and then, continued his lordship—coming down to our own times, he might mention a case, in which, through the management of a bishop, an income of £11,000 a year was reduced to one of £4,000 or £5,000. In Somersetshire, a case occurred in 1750, where a lease was granted on three lives, of ten, eleven, and twelve years, which was a great injury to succeeding bishops. The property of the church, by such practices, was very much dilapidated; and thus parliament was asked to provide, by other means derived from the state, for the performance of duties for which the property of the church would have amply answered if it had been well husbanded. If proper steps had been taken, similar to those now proposed, eighty or a hundred years ago, the spiritual wants of an increased population would have been duly provided for; and, on that ground, there would have existed no cause for complaint. With respect to church property in coal mines in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, the fines paid exceeded almost the value of the property. In one case, £40,000 had been paid by the Marquis of Londonderry; and, since the year 1819, he had paid no less than £100,000 for fines, which belonged to the dean and chapter of Durham. It was wrong that these large sums should be paid into the private pockets of particular bodies, without reference to the increasing demands of the public for religious instruction. It was clear that, often, church property was dealt with in a way not conformable to its original intention, or in a way calculated to benefit the church. Mr. Hume, in supporting the proposal, asked—"What was the object of the noble lord? Not to rob the church, but to require it to support its own fabrics out of its own resources. All history proved, that if there were any robbers of the church, they were within its own fold. The bishops themselves had been its greatest spoliators. There was not a single dissenter in the country who had ever had one farthing of the property of the church; while, on the other hand, there was hardly a clergyman of the church who had not received some portion of the dissenters' property. He would refer the House to the way in which the manor of Tottenham, formerly belonging to the church, had been wrung from it, and appropriated to a noble family, a member of which was, when the act was committed, Prime Minister of this country. By a private act of parliament, all the property from St. Giles's up to Hampstead, worth nearly £2,000,000, was alienated from the church, reserving only to the dean of St. Paul's the paltry sum of £300 a year. In this act of spoliation, it was proved, those who had been called guardians and protectors of the church, lent their aid." Mr. Goulbourn denied that the mismanagement of the church property gave parliament a right to take the course it was now proposed to take. Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion with great vigour. If ministers thought a change necessary, why had they not brought it in before? He contrasted his own position with that of the ministers, whom, he said, had thrown all Durham and Northumberland into confusion, by having neither vigour to execute

their plan, nor manliness to abandon it. However, on division, there was a majority for ministers of thirty-six. Then Mr. Liddell moved an instruction to the committee, "That any surplus in the revenues be applied with the view of promoting increased means of religious instruction for the people;" which was negatived by a majority of eleven. Out-of-doors the feeling was, that ministers were afraid of the question, and only moved a committee as a means of delay. The friends of the establishment were strong; and ministers might well shrink from their hostility.

The next move in ecclesiastical matters was made by Mr. Edward Baines, the dissenting M.P. for Leeds. On the 8th, he brought under the consideration of the House the first-fruits of the clergy; and moved for the appointment of a committee of the whole House, to consider the propriety of abolishing them, and a better mode of rating and collecting the tenths for the maintenance of the poor clergy. On a division, it was carried by a majority of 48 against 27, though opposed by the Solicitor-general. The House then went into committee, when Mr. Baines proposed his first resolution—"That it is expedient that a better provision for the maintenance of the poor clergy of the established church of England and Wales, should be afforded than that which at present exists, to be derived from the revenues of the said church." Though there was much discussion, there was no division on it, and its further consideration was deferred.

Let us just give a few examples, to show what the abuses were which the attempt to reform created such alarm and indignation in ecclesiastical circles. The Rev. Francis North was a fine illustration. His father was the Bishop of Winchester. As a clergyman, his income was so large that it could never be ascertained. He defied all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, to compel him to make a return of his income. He was a peer of the realm as well, under the title of Earl Guildford. In the living of St. Mary's, Southampton, estimated at £3,000 a year, he gave his curate £80 a year. As rector of Alresford, he was supposed to have another £2,000; and as master of St. Cross, a charity at Winchester, he had £10,000 a year. It was stated on the spot, that, of this enormous sum, not £1,000 a year was spent in charity; and he claimed exemption from the income-tax, on the ground that his income was derived from charity. At this time a lease was renewed, and he received a fine of £10,000. The Radicals contended that the state church was simply aristocratic property; and that its true mission—to educate and spiritualise mankind—had been completely lost sight of, by its priests and prelates, in the desire for wealth and power. In Mr. Howett's *History of Priestcraft*, the abuses of church property were exposed with relentless severity. We there read how Bishop Law—who was said never to have promoted one poor and friendless curate—quartered twenty-five Laws in the dioceses of Bath and Wells and Chester. The previous bishop, Beadon, had been equally liberal to his family, of whom twenty-two engrossed livings and posts, from £150 to £4,000 a year; and besides, an immense amount of church property in the dioceses was leased to them. Mr. Howett calculated, that, in twenty-three years, the archbishopric of York had given to the Vernon family £751,000; and that Lord Southampton had realised, in the same way, a million and a-half. It was shown that the Durham dean and chapter had been dividing among themselves £32,000 a year; while Sunderland, in the same county, having a population of 30,000, was so poor as a church-living, that it had been in vain seeking for any one to perform its duties.

In this, as in other matters, the reformers have proved to be the best friends of the church. The expectations under which the commissioners were appointed, were far in excess of the resources originally placed at their disposal; and it was not until after their reconstruction in 1850, nor until the improved value of the capitular and episcopal estates had been assigned to the common fund, that they were in a position to meet the exigencies of the church. "For the last fifteen years, however," says a writer in the *Times*, in 1866, "the management of these estates has been gradually passing under their control; and, in place of the wasteful

system of fines and beneficial leases under which capitular property was formerly administered, they have been steadily substituting a more business-like method. In consequence, the income of the common fund has been constantly and rapidly increasing. Of course, however, the benefits of this improved management could not be realised all at once; and it was not until 1864 that the commissioners were able to hold out any prospect of adequately meeting the wants of the church. In that year, the public were at once surprised and gratified by the announcement, that within the next five years the commission were prepared to appropriate, to the augmentation of church property, an annual income equivalent to a capital value of three millions and a-half. Besides other benefactions, they promised, by that date, to have raised to £300 a year the income of all benefices in public patronage with a population of 4,000 persons; and in the case of similar benefices in private patronage, to provide half the necessary amount in answer to private benefactions of equal value. To put the same promises into other words, during the current five years nearly 1,000 livings are to be raised unconditionally to the amount of £300 a year, or somewhat less, where the population is very small; and probably 800 more are to be augmented by grants made to meet benefactions.

"These promises have hitherto been more than fulfilled. Benefices, with more than 10,000 souls, had been endowed up to the value of £300 a year, by grants prior to 1863. In 1864, the commissioners augmented, to the same amount, benefices with 8,000 souls; and last year they considered the claims of those districts which had between 6,000 and 8,000 inhabitants. Their report, up to last November, has just been published, and contains an announcement of their intentions for the ensuing year. Before next March, they propose to augment, unconditionally, to £300 a year, the income of every benefice in public patronage, the population of which was, by the last census, not less than 5,000 persons. Where the patronage of benefices, with a similar population, is in private hands, the commissioners will provide half the sum necessary for an equal endowment, on condition that the other half be provided from non-ecclesiastical sources. Benefices on estates which have been placed under the control of the commission, and from which, therefore, the income at their disposal is partly derived, have been given by law a prior claim on the common fund; and, in conformity with this obligation, the commissioners will meet, during the current year, what are called the 'local claims,' arising in respect of the Lincoln and Norwich bishopric estates. They will, moreover, appropriate a sum of £5,000 a year, to meet benefactions of at least equal value. These promises refer to existing districts and benefices; but the commissioners will also appropriate a permanent income of £3,000 a year, or a capital sum of £90,000, in the endowment of new districts where the population will exceed 5,000 persons. When in public patronage, these districts will be permanently endowed with £200 a year by the commissioners alone; when in private patronage, the commissioners will provide £100 a year, on condition that another £100 a year be provided from non-ecclesiastical sources. On the whole, the grants to be made during the current year will be of the capital value of £850,000.

"These engagements, it will be seen, are even more liberal than the promises held out to us in 1864, according to which we could only have expected an annual sum of £700,000. It must be remembered, moreover, that the sums we have named are far from representing the whole advantage derived to the church by means of the commission. The private benefactions which are elicited in answer to their offers represent another very large sum, and these are generally in excess of the commissioners' invitations. Thus, in their proposals of 1864, they anticipated that a sum of £500,000 might be contributed during the five years from private sources. But at the present moment they have before them, to be met during the current year, private benefactions of no less than a quarter of a million. They do not feel justified in meeting the whole of these offers in one year; but they have been induced to appropriate to this purpose a capital sum of £150,000, instead of

£100,000. This is but a specimen of the extent to which private liberality has supplemented the resources of the commission; and we may be sure that the sums actually contributed, in answer to their appeals, represent but a portion of the whole amount thus elicited from the public. But if we reckon merely the amounts which, by the end of 1869, will have been actually provided by the commissioners themselves and by private persons, the sum will appear astonishing. According to the commissioners' report of 1864, the sums appropriated to the augmentation and endowment of benefices between the years 1840 and 1856, including private benefactions, amounted to a capital value of more than £3,000,000. In the seven subsequent years, ending with 1863, during which, among other things, benefices of more than 10,000 souls were endowed with £300 a year, the sums similarly appropriated amounted to nearly £2,500,000. During the current five years, from 1864 to 1869, the sums appropriated were to be, as we have already explained, £3,500,000 from the funds of the commissioners, together with £500,000 from private liberality. Allowing for the unexpected increase of the latter resource, which, as we have seen, has increased the grant for the present year, the total sum appropriated during these five years, will at least exceed £4,000,000. During the last twenty-six years, therefore, a sum not far short of £10,000,000 will have been added to the working resources of the church through the agency of the ecclesiastical commission alone, and mainly from its funds. Probably less than £2,000,000 will be due to private resources. The remaining £8,000,000 will have been derived entirely from the redistribution and improvement of ecclesiastical property previously enjoyed, and, we must add, previously wasted by the holders of cathedral dignities and sinecure preferments.

"It will not, of course, be supposed that these figures represent by any means all the results which may be expected from the operations of the commission. The estates which the commissioners will ultimately have under their control, are not all, as yet, placed in their hands. Fourteen chapters still pursue the old wasteful system of management; and the incumbents of cathedral dignities are even now granting long leases to young lives, and thus diminishing prospectively the value of the commissioners' interest. It is obvious that the improved value of the estates of these chapters will add, in time, another large sum to the existing resources. Nor even in the case of the estates which have been made over to the commission, can the full value have been realised at once. It must take many years before these enormous resources are fully developed; and, it may be added, that as they increase there will be the more occasion for vigilance, lest they should be wasted in expensive management, or be misapplied."

One other ecclesiastical reform must here be noticed. It was a practical grievance with dissenters that they could not be married in their own places of worship, and by their own ministers. Lord John Russell, in 1834, brought in a bill, which permitted the celebration of marriage in dissenting chapels, but which required the publication of banns at the parish church. As this stamped all other denominations with the brand of inferiority to episcopalianism, it was unpalatable. The bill, therefore, was actively opposed, instead of being gratefully supported; and was subsequently abandoned. Yet the time had come for legislation. In many parts, dissenters had given public notice that they appeared at church under protest; and it was said, that not unfrequently the officiating clergyman dwelt, with insulting emphasis, on offensive passages in the service. In 1836, Lord John Russell again took the matter up, and this time with better success. It consisted of two bills, one of which permitted dissenters to marry in places of worship duly licensed for that purpose, and relieved the publication generally from the obligation of any religious ceremony. The second provided for the general registration of marriages, births, and deaths, as had been proposed by Sir Robert Peel.

The abuses with which the Whig government had to deal, were with difficulty brought to light, and never really exposed. For instance, in 1832, government

commenced an inquiry into church property. Commissioners were appointed for the purpose. They were three years at their task; and they made a report, which purported to be an authentic statement of the revenues of the established church. This report, however, was honoured with no general credence. It was known to be unpalatable to the whole clerical body; and, during the course of inquiry, suspicion was rife that the returns would not be characterised by remarkable accuracy. The cause of the general incredulity is thus described by a writer in the *Eclectic Review*—"The clergy were known to be deeply interested, just at that time, in removing from the public mind the impression that church property was more than sufficient for the honourable maintenance of the national religion. The church had lost all public confidence. Its corruptions and glaring secularity had alienated the affections and respect of the people. Its prelates, as arrogant in pretensions as they were deficient in piety; its clerical pluralists, who disgraced the sanctity of their profession by the shameless practice of simony—the notorious rapacity of these men, and their intolerant Toryism, excited disgust, and brought the church into general odium. At such a juncture, it was somewhat alarming that an inquiry into ecclesiastical incomes should be commenced; and it was still more alarming that the inquiry should be instituted in accordance with popular demand. There was a general conviction that a considerable surplus would remain, after a handsome provision had been made for all the expenses of public worship, and for even a larger class of clerical stipendiaries than existed; and projects for its appropriation to secular purposes were freely discussed. While under the influence of the panic which this state of things excited, the clergy were required to make their returns. Though the reputation of being wealthy is sometimes advantageous, it was felt, in the present instance, to be exceedingly inconvenient, and that the sooner it could be got rid of the better. It was generally believed that the clergy would embrace the opportunity of removing an impression so injurious to the interests of the church; and that even the conscientious would overlook the dishonesty of making false returns, when the preservation of its property demanded that the whole truth should not be stated." These surmises proved to be correct, and the report abounded with the most glaring misstatements.

This was forcibly illustrated in 1836, when the Tithe Commutation Act was passed; the compulsory provisions of which, however, did not come into force till after the 1st of October, 1838. Its introduction was principally owing to the constant recurrence of parochial squabbles between the clergy and their parishioners, for the prevention of which the interference of the legislature became necessary. The frequent and unseemly collisions between the clergy and their people, were felt to be so discreditable as to render the interposition of parliament imperative. The church, in this truly schismatical state, required the authority of government to compose its troubles, and protect its rights; and a restoration to quiet was effected by making some change in the nature of its property. Tithes, which were formerly a tax, became a rent-charge, and payments in kind were exchanged for payments in money. This substitution induced the clergy to reconsider their average incomes; and, owing to the influence of motives the reverse of those which actuated them in making the returns of 1834, they ascertained that they were considerably higher than they then reported. For instance, Amersham was returned as £1,331 in 1834; but, under the new act, it rose to £1,500. Barrow, £263, became £460. Gaddesden, originally £220, became £750. Tottenham, worth, in 1834, £309, was valued at £800 annually; and so on. The list might be extended indefinitely. Comment on it is needless. It would be unjust, however, not to observe that, in some cases, the rent-charges were less than the sums stated in the previous returns; and that, in many, the discrepancies were not so glaring. Nevertheless, it is impossible to acquit the clergy of deliberate misstatement in their returns of 1834, and of generally showing, all through the business, no very scrupulous regard for truth. "Parallels," says a well-informed writer, "to the following case (mentioned by William Howitt, in the later editions of his work),

will readily occur to those who have had experience in the tithe commutations of the last fourteen years. The incumbent of the parish of Hackney, where Mr. Howitt then resided, was Thomas Oliver Goodchild. He bought the living, and candidly declared that he meant to make the most of it. Accordingly, in 1840, he stated the amount of his tithes, for the past year, to be £442 17*s.* 6*d.*: they were then to be assessed to the poor-rate. In 1842, he made a claim for £981: they were then to be commuted into a permanent rent-charge for him; and he has since raised them up to £1,035. In this charge, it was shown in the vestry, and not denied by him, that he had included £93 on lands never charged before; and £154 of Easter offerings, which he thus summarily converted from a free gift to a positive rent; and then had the audacity, at the next Easter, to send round his begging officer for fresh Easter offerings. Nor was this all. It was found that whereas he had thus more than tripled his charge on the parishioners, he had taken measures to avoid paying his share of the poor-rates on these tithes, amounting to £134."

A still more melancholy feature in these transactions was the conduct of dignitaries of the church, who seem to have been quite as unscrupulous with regard to truth as the poorest incumbent. In 1830, the then Archbishop of Canterbury applied to parliament for permission to borrow £60,000, to expend upon the repairs and decorations of his palaces; and he then authorised his advocate, Dr. Lushington, to state his average income at £32,000; while, in the commissioners' report, we find a nett value assigned to it of £19,182. His grace's receipts we are unable to determine, as they are involved in impenetrable obscurity; but we are enabled to state, on the authority of his receiver-general, that the gross annual value of the property exceeded £52,000.

Another case is that of the Bishop of London. For that we refer to Mr. Horsman's speech in parliament. An extract will suffice:—"The right reverend prelate gave his income, in 1831, at £13,000 nett; and stated that a decrease of fines, of £1,725 a year, must be expected, and a further decrease on account of augmentations. The commissioners, therefore, put down the future as he had calculated it; but upon the next return it had risen: it had appeared, by some means or other, to be £14,552 a year. All that was spoken of was loss, decrease, and diminution. Now that estate near the west-end of the town, called the Bishop of London's estate, in Paddington, is pretty generally known. I find that the see of London owns all that property flanked by the Edgeware Road on one side, and the Uxbridge Road on the other; occupying the whole of that immense angle running up to Hyde Park Square, Westbourne Terrace, and Kensal New Town, down to Oxford Square and Cambridge Square. The whole of that great mass of buildings has risen within the last ten years; and is it possible to believe that, in the year 1831, when a return was to be made to parliament of the prospective income of the see of London, and when the prospects of that see were all prospects of decrease, diminution, and loss, at no single moment had there flitted across the imagination of the right reverend prelate some vision of this vast probable increase? It might be thought that all these buildings had risen unexpectedly; that, in 1831, there was no idea of any of them in the mind of any man. But it happened that, five years before, an act of parliament had been obtained, for the express purpose of promoting and advancing those very buildings; which act was a private act—a Bishop of London's act; and the preamble stated, that for the improvement and beautifying the metropolis, and for the advantage of the Bishop of London, it was desirable his power of making contracts should be extended; and it was enacted that these powers should be extended accordingly. So that, although, in 1831, when it was said that the revenue of the see would suffer loss, decrease, and diminution, an act of parliament had actually been asked for, and obtained, for the purpose of promoting and advancing these buildings, in order to increase the income of the see. Such facts as these appear to have escaped the memory

of those by whom the return of 1831 was made. Again, it might be said that, in 1831, the bright prospect of 1826 had not been realised; and that the disappointment of those sanguine hopes had caused a corresponding despondency in 1831. But it happened that, in the report by the ecclesiastical commissioners, signed March 17th, 1835, the same statement had been repeated; and it was said, that all the prospects of the see were prospects of loss, decrease, and diminution. Now, in 1836, a great many of those fine houses about Hyde Park Terrace were inhabited; squares and crescents were rising up in every direction; and at the very moment at which loss and decrease were spoken of, contracts had been signed, houses half built, and a mine of wealth had been secured to the future Bishop of London, of the amount of which I am afraid to write any estimate; but which persons better competent than myself, have calculated, cannot, eventually, amount to less than £100,000 a year. And yet, in making his return to parliament, this enormous wealth—which was not merely in prospect, but had actually begun to accrue; for which the way had been paved by an act of parliament, followed by all the troublesome *minutiæ* of signing contracts and letting leases, so likely to impress it on the mind—had so completely escaped the recollection of the right reverend prelate, that, in making his return to parliament, he seems rather to have fancied himself, as to worldly means, an ill-doing man—rather going down in the world than otherwise. But this is not all: the greatest wonder yet remains. The whole story of this Paddington estate is so remarkable, that one surprise has no sooner subsided than another succeeds. It is strange certainly, that, in 1831 and 1835, there should have been no glimmer of foresight of the enormous increase about to take place. But what can be said of the extraordinary fact, that after the increase had actually taken place, the right reverend prelate appears, in the next return, none the richer for it! By the return of 1843, of the average of seven years' incomes, they will find that the income of the Bishop of London, in 1843, after all these buildings were erected, was actually less than it had been in 1831, when not a single stone was laid. In 1831, the income of the bishop was £13,929. In 1843, by his own return, it was £12,400. Now, upon this point I should like to have some explanation. How comes it to pass, after the erection of such an extent of handsome, and apparently profitable, buildings, covering an extent of 400 acres—the right reverend prelate having signed about 2,000 leases, and those not let upon fines, but upon a steady and permanent rent, increasing as the buildings themselves increased—how happens it, I ask, that in the case of episcopal estates, the ordinary rules of cause and effect are completely reversed, and a town property becomes less valuable the more it is built on; and that when a large tract of land is turned from a waste into a city, and its value calculated by the square foot instead of the square acre, the income should fall as the rental increases? I can explain it. It is impossible to doubt the fidelity of an episcopal return. All I can say is, what an idea does it give us of episcopal management!" An explanation was made by Mr. Goulbourn, on behalf of the bishop; which, however, but little, if at all, impaired the force of Mr. Horsman's remarks.

The select committee on church leases did a little to enlighten the public, although several of the bishops refused to furnish the required information. The annual value of the leased estates, as returned to the select committee on church leases in 1838, was—Canterbury, £52,084; York, £42,000; London, £32,564; Durham, £62,000; while the returns given by them, in 1834, were as follows:—£22,216; £13,798; £15,133; £21,991. The same disparity we find as regards the revenues of the chapters. In 1834, the returns for Ely, St. Paul's, Rochester, Wells, Winchester, are set down, respectively, as £8,651; £11,140; £7,178; £8,378; £15,573: while the annual value of the leased estates, as returned to the select committee on church leases, was £26,248; £39,025; £28,000; £23,000; £26,240.

The ministers were justified, then, in dealing, or attempting to deal, with this

subject. The enormous wealth of the dignitaries of the establishment was scandalous so long as curates were starved, and the poor had not the gospel preached to them. About this time the Archbishop of York died, in the possession of immense property. The episcopal residence, during his lifetime, was distinguished for the splendour and elegance of its appointments; but when the auctioneer's catalogue appeared, the costliness and variety of its contents created general amazement. In fact, the abode of this successor of the humble apostles, was a palace worthy of a Sybarite. Then his predecessor, Dr. Markham, left real estates to the value of £100,000, besides £47,000 to be divided equally among his grandchildren. The personal estates of Dr. Howley, late Archbishop of Canterbury, were valued at £120,000, exclusive of freehold. The stamp-duty paid on the probate of his will amounted to £1,500. But, of this enormous wealth, acquired during the period of his incumbency, not a single farthing was bequeathed for any charitable purpose.

Nor were church affairs managed much better in Wales and Ireland. In the former country, one writer calculated, that the Luxmore family cost the church, in the diocese of St. Asaph and Hereford, no less than £10,000; and to this statement he adds—"In the time of the late Bishop Luxmore, the case stood thus:—Such was the prosperity of the times, that the revenues of the see of St. Asaph were worth at least £12,000; and the parishes belonging to his relatives were worth at least £15,000; so that the country had to pay £27,000 per annum for the services of one prelate." The lists given by this writer (Mr. Johnes), of the way in which the bishops provided for their own, is quite sickening. Mrs. Shipley was lessee of one-half of St. Martin's manor. Two relatives of Bishop Bagot drew, annually, £1,100 from the see for many years. The relatives and connections of Bishop Horsely were not left in want of the good things of this world. The late Dean Horsely held the parish of Gresford during the period of forty-five years, in the course of which he left its care to a curate, who, for thirty years, he paid at the rate of £30 a year. Mr. Robson, canon of St. Asaph, rector of Erbistock for forty-five years, by virtue of his connection with Bishop Horsely, enjoyed an annual income of £1,000.—In Ireland, church affairs had been equally mismanaged: and from a statement prepared in 1832, it appeared that ten Irish bishops had left, in personal property, exclusive of real estates, £1,575,000, or an average of £157,000 each. The Bishop of Clogher, it is said, went to Ireland without a shilling, and died worth £400,000. Most of the bishoprics are, or were, sinecures. The cathedral dignities are avowedly so. The gross amount of their revenue was £40,323. The report stated, that "ninety-four of these dignities are mere sinecure offices, save and except the duty of preaching occasionally in their respective cathedral churches." Seventy-five of these dignitaries stated to the commissioners that they had no duties whatever to perform: yet some of them pocketed handsome sums for their sinecures. The Dean of Raphoe receives £1,491 per annum; the sub-deacon of Meath, £723; and the precentor of Lissmore, £448.

Well might the church be unpopular, and dissent increase. In many cases people would believe that the whole thing was a mere affair of the pocket—an excuse for money-getting, or leading luxurious lives on the income devoted, by the piety of our forefathers, for religious and educational purposes.

It must also be remembered that the clergy themselves were, at this time, always on the unpopular side. John Foster, the essayist, writes, in 1830, after referring to their vehement opposition to the labours of Whitefield and Wesley—"At a later time, who were the most constant, systematic opposers of an improved education of the common people? The established clergy. Who frustrated, so lately, Brougham's national plan for this object? The clergy. Who insisted that they should have a monopoly of the power in its management? Who formed the main mass of the opposition to the Bible Society for so many years? Did one single dissenter so act? No; the clergy. Who lately did all they could, by open opposition or low intrigue, to frustrate the valuable project for education in our

own city? The clergy. Who were the most generally hostile to Catholic emancipation, undeterred by the prospect of prolonged tumult, and ultimate civil war, ravage, and desolation in Ireland? The clergy. What is, at this very hour, the most fatal and withering blight on the interests and hopes of the Protestant religion in that country? The established church." This is strong language; but it was the language of the people ere the church was reformed, and its ministers stirred up to a degree of activity and usefulness, rivalling, at this time, that of any other religious denomination.

It is true John Foster was a dissenter. Well, we will quote the testimony of a churchman, perhaps the wisest of his class in modern times. The revered and lamented Dr. Arnold writes—"It is in vain to deny that the church of England clergy have, politically, been a party in the country, from Elizabeth's time downwards, and a party opposed to the cause which, in the main, has been the cause of improvement. There have been, at all times, noble individual exceptions—in the reign of George II., and in the early part of George III.'s reign, for instance. The spirit of the body has been temperate and conciliatory; but, in Charles I. and Charles II.'s reign, and in the period following the revolution, they deserved so ill of their country, that the dissenters have at no time deserved worse; and, therefore, it will not do for the church party to indemnify themselves with the nation, which they are not, nor with the constitution, which they did their best to hinder from ever coming into existence."

Thus far the Whigs had public opinion on their side; but then they had their own interest to attend to. In the first place, they were not anxious to make of the clergy, with all their power of organisation, an unfriendly opposition; and, secondly, they had profited, and hoped to profit, by church abuses quite as much as the Tories.

The Lord Chancellor officially possessed many livings. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, thirty-nine. In the Russell family there were twenty-seven livings. The Duke of Devonshire had forty-eight livings; the Earl Fitzwilliam, thirty-one; the Roman Catholic Duke of Norfolk, twenty-four. Earl Grey got one brother into the see of Hereford; and one brother-in-law into the enormously rich one of Derry, which, according to his own regulations, ought to have been done away with altogether. Hence the reforming ministers were weak and conciliating where they had to deal with church matters. The current of public opinion forced them on: their own interests, as members of the aristocracy, bade them stop.

Very timidly did they go about their work. In the ecclesiastical commission, established by the Whigs to manage the savings from the church property for the building of new churches, and the augmentation of small livings, the episcopal element was too strong. In spite of the public, the bishops took the money for themselves. It appeared that Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, had £6,500 from that fund for beautifying his palace at Cuddesden, and its gardens; and the Hon. T. R. Bagot, Bishop of Bath and Wells, £4,000 for melon-pits, conservatories, &c., with which he has blocked up one of the windows of the episcopal chapel. It was further found, that in the exemplification of the adage, that charity begins at home, money had been awarded as follows:—Palace at Ripon, £13,689: purchase of land and house for Bishop of Gloucester, £11,000; alteration of house for him, £11,897: purchase of estate and house for Bishop of Lincoln, £39,406; alteration of house for him, £13,302: purchase of estate and house for the Bishop of Rochester, £25,559: alteration of residence of Bishop of Worcester, £7,000.

It is melancholy to reflect, that at this very time, while bishops were dividing the revenues of the church between them, under the very shadow of Canterbury cathedral, the most egregious spiritual, or rather professedly spiritual, imposture of modern times took place. An idiot, of the name of John Thom, from Cornwall, styling himself Sir William Courtney, appeared in Canterbury, as a candidate for the representation of that borough. He affected an oriental costume, boundless

wealth, and very peculiar political ideas. At Maidstone he was tried for perjury, and sentenced to transportation for seven years. Symptoms of insanity appearing, he was removed to the county lunatic asylum, whence he was delivered to his friends, by Lord John Russell's direction, on their promising to take care of him. This was in 1837. He contrived to make his escape, and again made his appearance in Kent in the spring of 1838. He found an asylum among the farmers of Boughton, who supplied him with money and with food. He made them believe that he was a man of the highest birth, and entitled to some of the finest estates in Kent. The people flocked around his standard when he told them he was prepared to lead them against their tyrants, who were revelling in luxury, from having possessed themselves of what those he addressed ought to enjoy. Thom told them that he would effect not only a political, but a religious reform. In his delirium, he went so far as to declare that he was no other than the Saviour of the world. Mortal weapons, he declared, could do him no harm; and in proof of this, and of his being no other than the Saviour, he pointed to certain punctures or scars in his hands, which he said had been caused by the nails which had held him to the cross, and a mark in his side indicated the spot which had received the wound from which blood and water had issued on Mount Calvary. Strange as it may seem, these extravagant assertions found believers. In May, he and his fanatical followers commenced proceedings by taking a short tour through the country, and beating up for recruits. Three days were thus occupied. At length, one of the farmers, whose labourers had been drawn away by the harangues of Thom, applied to a magistrate for the apprehension of the disturbers, and a constable, named Mears, was sent on that errand. On approaching Thom, he made known the duty he had to perform, when the madman, after a short conversation, presented a pistol, and shot the poor man, and afterwards stabbed him with a dagger, and then, assisted by some of his besotted followers, threw the body into a ditch. Two other constables, who had accompanied Mears on witnessing the outrage, hastened back to the magistrate to make known what had occurred. The alarm now became great, and the military were called out. Thom and his party had by this time retired into a wood, where their chief, apparently undismayed himself, exhorted them to behave like men, and fear nothing. When the soldiers came in sight, he calmly advanced to meet them, and deliberately shot dead an officer named Lieutenant Bennett. This deed of blood was instantly avenged. The soldiers fired, and Thom received a bullet, which killed him on the spot. As he fell, he triumphantly exclaimed, "I have Jesus in my heart." He was not the only one who perished in this miserable encounter. Ten others were slain, and several more severely wounded: twenty-three prisoners were committed to Feversham gaol.

The peasantry who had rallied round Thom were slow to believe that he was not a divine personage, but a mere mortal like themselves. One female charged her son to "follow him with a mother's blessing;" and would not believe that, while with him, her offspring could receive any injury. When Thom himself was killed, and she had seen him in his coffin, she still appeared consoled by the thought that her son had gone forth to fight for his Saviour. While in the wood, before the soldiers came up, he administered the sacrament in bread and water; and told his attendants that, though there was great opposition in the land, he should triumph over all, and lead them on to glory. He said he had come to this world on a cloud, and on a cloud he should, some day, be removed from them; but steel or shot could do him no harm. "If," said he, "you have but faith in me as your Saviour, you can come to no harm. Though 10,000 soldiers come against you, fear not, for they will either turn aside or fall dead at my commands." One Foad, described as a respectable farmer, then went on his knees, and worshipped Thom; and a man of the name of Brankford did the same. Foad, for a moment, seemed to have a gleam of something like prudence; for he asked Thom whether he was to follow him in the body, or whether he might not take the

safer course of withdrawing to his house, and following him in his heart. "Follow me in the body," was Thom's reply. Thereupon Foad became as wildly transported as his chief; for, springing on his feet in ecstatic joy, he exclaimed—"Oh be joyful! Oh be joyful! The Saviour has accepted me! Go on, go on! Till I drop I will follow thee!" Brankford's exultation was of a similar character. Eternal torture in hell fire, Thom declared, would be the lot of those who refused to accompany him. He told some of his company that he was 2,000 years old. To maintain his sway over the minds of his followers, he had recourse to various tricks. He fired a pistol, said to be loaded with ball, at his own body, which did him no injury: he put lighted matches under a corn-stack, which did not take fire, as he said, because he had commanded it not to burn: he fired his pistol at a star, at a moment when it was vanishing, and his disciples declared they had seen it fall into the sea. After he had received the bullet which put an end to his existence, a woman came forward, washed his face, and endeavoured to force water through his lips as he lay on the ground. She said she had followed him for more than half a mile with a pail of water, having been told by him, that if he fell, and she put water between his lips, he would return to life in a month. One of the infatuated men sent to Feversham as prisoners, declared that he and his associates would not have hesitated to attack 2,000 soldiers, so perfect was their belief in Thom's assurance, that those who believed in him could not be shot. This frenzy even the tragedy which has been described did not at once dissipate; and for some weeks afterwards it was expected by many that he would yet rise from the dead.

Looking back at this extraordinary popular delusion—considering the peculiar grossness of its nature, and the favour which it met with in no obscure part of England, but in the diocese of Canterbury, and almost under the very eye of the archbishop of that wealthy district—one cannot but feel that England's pastors had not done their duty towards the flock committed to their charge;—that they were more ready to receive the honours, and to pocket the emoluments of their exalted calling, than they were to perform, in a proper manner, its sacred duties.

The Whig reformers were the church's true friends. Some old abuses were swept away; some daylight was let in; some impulse was given to the church's dormant piety and zeal. It woke up from its luxury and lettered ease. It went forth to instruct the ignorant—to reclaim the erring—to tell the sinner how divine peace and pardon might be found: and, in consequence, the church has grown in strength and power; has now fixed her foundation firm; and, unless betrayed by internal foes, appears fitted to resist the storms and tempests of many an age to come.

Thus it is described by Guizot, when ambassador to the Court of St. James's, in 1840. That great political thinker and observer writes—"While the general state of English society thus enabled the Anglican church to recover a portion of that independence which it wants in principle, that church lived in presence of dissenting sects, long persecuted, never annihilated or entirely despoiled of their national liberties, and always in possession of their religious autonomy. This perpetual competition prevented the church from falling permanently into indifference, apathy, remissness, worldly habits, and servile complaisance towards power. In the midst of its weaknesses, apathies, and hopes, it has constantly had before its eyes examples of animated faith, pious fervour, and steady independence. Through all their wanderings and extravagancies, these merits have never, in England, been wanting to the dissenting sects; and their example and rivalry have operated on the established church as a spur in its sides. It has constantly been provoked and compelled to reanimation, and to fortify itself in Christian faith and practice. Undoubtedly it is not, at present, exempt from the doubts, deviations, and hostile fermentations which affect all Christendom. In common with the Catholic church, the dissenting sects of England, and continental Protestantism, it has its unbelievers, sceptics, and critics; but he betrays a great ignorance of facts, or a remarkable blindness of passion, who believes that

therefore it is in a state of decomposition and decline. Even in the midst of the general crisis to which Christendom is subjected, the English church has become, and is daily becoming, more warmly and effectively Christian. The essential points of Christianity—grave manners, pious sentiments, faith, zeal, and charity—are indisputably progressing; edifices, dedicated to its worship, multiply rapidly; congregations are more numerous and anxious; works of piety, at home and abroad, extend and prosper. When I came to London in 1840—when I saw the church of England closely, and in exercise, I was struck by the productive religious activity which it displayed; and since that time, the facts I have heard or witnessed convinced me that, in the bosom of that church, and in spite of opposing movements, the action of Christian revival has not ceased to develop itself."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EUROPEAN COMPLICATIONS.

FRANCE, under her new king, was paving the way for revolution. The union between monarch and people hardly had lasted a twelvemonth, ere the cry of dissatisfaction was raised. In La Vendée and the western provinces, the Duchess de Berri, calling herself Regent of France, had been exciting the population to demonstrations in favour of her son, styled by her, Henry V. In Paris there was unquestionable rebellion, and a sanguinary conflict with the military, that lasted during the 5th and 6th of June. Barricades were formed, and desperate fighting was continued at several points. The insurgents, at first, gained some successes over the national guard and the troops of the line; but were finally repulsed, after much blood had been shed on both sides. Subsequently, that very excitable body of young gentlemen belonging to the Ecole Polytechnique, were dismissed to their homes, and the school dissolved: various corps of the national guard that had misconducted themselves, disarmed: Paris was declared in a state of siege; and persons who had taken part in the insurrection tried by court-martial, and sentenced to the galleys. Subsequently, however, on appeal, the Court of Cassation quashed the proceedings—a result that gave great satisfaction to the Parisians; and it was found necessary to dissolve the state of siege by royal ordinance.

On the 19th of November, the King of the French was fired at, while he was proceeding to open the Chambers, by a man with a pistol, who afterwards effected his escape. The ball passed over the king's head. Good fortune also attended his majesty in the capture of the Duchess de Berri, at Nantes. This latter event not only put an end to the intrigues in that direction, but it had drawn upon them a good deal of ridicule; for that adventurous lady, while intent upon advancing the reputation of her son, had, apparently, lost sight of her own; and, during her confinement, it was announced that she had given birth to a child. The duchess now stated that she was married; and the nation became so indifferent to her, that the government, in 1833, wisely opened the prison doors, and she was sent, in a frigate, to Palermo.

In 1834, a formidable movement was initiated in Lyons, where a society had recently sprung up, styled *Mutuellistes*, which had instigated the workmen to proceedings of so illegal a character, that they were prosecuted by government. This created so much excitement, that, while their trial was going on at Lyons, it was found necessary to place a military guard over the tribunal. Then a powerful body of armed workmen was sent to the same place, under the pretence of protecting the accused. A collision was a matter of course, which brought on a

savage contest that was prolonged for five days, not only with the usual accompaniment, defended barricades, but defended churches, and other naturally strong positions, from which the insurgents could not be dislodged without the free use of artillery. The consequence was, that the city suffered as much as if it had been taken by assault; and the sanguinary results were—1,700 troops killed or wounded, and upwards of 5,000 workmen, before order was restored. Scarcely was this formidable insurrection suppressed, when another broke out in Paris, with similar ferocity, on the 13th of April. The workmen appeared in arms, and attacked the military from behind barricades and windows. A large force of regular troops and national guard, that had been held in readiness, quickly put down the movement; but not before several lives had been lost. The affair was brought before the Chamber of Deputies by Guizot, and they subsequently went, in a body, to address the king. The *Tribune* newspaper was suppressed; many arrests were made; and the Chamber proposed a law, on the 14th, to punish with death persons using arms against the government: with fine and imprisonment, persons possessing ammunition for such purposes: and with imprisonment for four or ten years, those who assisted in erecting barricades. These vigorous measures had a salutary effect for a time.

Scarcely, however, was one batch of conspirators disposed of, than another presented itself. Hardly had one plot to assassinate been defeated, than another was brought to light. The king of the barricades found himself under the necessity of proving, also, that he was the king of the prisons. It was in vain he sought employment for such of his subjects as seemed most eager to shoulder a musket in the new African colony. They preferred to have their sovereign for a target. The grand system of fortifications, invented for the security of the Parisians, brought none to the latter. Trials of regicides occupied the courts of law; the press was shackled in every limb; and its silence, now and then, enforced. Certainly matters had not much improved since the days of Charles X. Under these circumstances, the loyal people of Paris lived in constant dread of some more violent demonstration of popular hatred than any they had yet witnessed; and the republicans sought, by every means in their power, to baffle the active police, by whom they were watched while meditating a new plot to overturn the government, that should have better success than its predecessors; and this time they were very near succeeding. The king and the constitution had a narrow escape.

In July, 1835, while about to celebrate the memorable three days, which had given France such felicity, and Louis Philippe such a crown—as he was passing along the lines of the national guard, on the Boulevard du Temple, accompanied by his three sons and Marshal Mortier, a sudden explosion took place. A machine, connected with twenty barrels, had been fitted into the window of a house opposite. Had the "infernal machine" (for such it was denominated) exploded a minute earlier, Louis Philippe's reign would have terminated. As it was, he and his sons were safe. Marshal Mortier, and fourteen others, were the victims, besides twenty-seven wounded more or less severely, including four general officers. Among the killed, as usual, were harmless spectators—an aged receiver-general, a merchant's clerk, and two young females. The assassin might also have escaped; but, in the discharge, five of the barrels burst, and the fragments having wounded him in the face, made him less rapid in his retreat than he otherwise would have been. He was captured, and found to be a Corsican, named Fieschi.

The result was, a further abridgment of political liberty. Newspapers were repressed in every direction; caricatures, and all kinds of engravings, were subjected to the severest regulations; trial by jury altered, so that a bare majority of votes by ballot would secure the condemnation of a political offender; and the sentence, on his conviction, was transportation to a penal settlement, instead of imprisonment in France.

Again the king had a narrow escape. As he and Madame Adelaide were passing though the gate leading to Port Royal, on their way to Neuilly, a man,

named Aliband, had fired a cane gun at his majesty. The shot passed over his head. The assassin was instantly seized while struggling to draw his dagger.

In 1836, Aliband and Fieschi, and others, were tried. Fieschi owned that the murder of the king and his sons was the object of the explosion; but he denied that he was the originator of the plot, or had ever been a republican. He said he had been drawn into it by his associates, as being a man of action; "while they," he exclaimed, "were much beneath me. They were not equal to my worth." Aliband said he had gone to Barcelona in 1834, to assist in forming a republic, and that he had returned to France expressly to shoot the king. This design he had cherished ever since his majesty had declared Paris in a state of siege. He affirmed that he had never belonged to any political societies, and that he had no accomplices. A poniard was found upon him; and on being asked for whom it was intended, he replied, "Myself." It is needless to add that he and Fieschi were guillotined.

Seven of the Lyonese insurgents, after a trial by the Court of Peers, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; two to incarceration for twenty years; and others to various terms, from one to fifteen.

Several persons were also tried in the Court of Assizes, on a charge of being implicated in a plot called the "Conspiracy of Neuilly." Eight of the prisoners were set at liberty. The two brothers Chaveau were sentenced to imprisonment—one of ten, the other of five years; Huilley and Hubert to five; Husson to three—the last-named to be under the surveillance of the police for ten years. On withdrawing, Cabriel Chaveau told the jury that his mother, who was dying, had been assassinated by them; and Husson, addressing the audience, said—"Adieu, gentlemen; the republic will soon avenge us."

While such was the fate of the king's enemies, attempts were made to increase the number of his friends, and of the supporters of his government, by the creation of peers, and the multiplication of officers; those suspected of opposition being subjected to extraordinary annoyance, and the most arbitrary interference. The whole of the municipal council of Thorigny, in consequence of the Minister of the Interior having suspended their mayor, resigned; and in a declaration which they published at the time, had the boldness to say—"As for us, we should feel ourselves disgraced by being at all associated with an act so iniquitous, and a policy so disgusting. May our countrymen open their eyes to the abyss whither doctrinarian obstinacy is leading! Increasing taxation; the revolution spat upon; the restoration praised and imitated; the jury in disgrace; honour in the background; the enemies of freedom and the country caressed; its friends, and those of the king, disowned and persecuted;—such are the grievances which separate, by all their turpitude, the ministry from the nation."

A new ministry, under M. Molé, succeeded that of M. Thiers, and clemency was the order of the day. Since 1830, Prince Polignac, and the other ministers of Charles X., had been subjected to a severe and insalubrious confinement at Ham. They were liberated.

At this time, the most formidable opponent of Louis Philippe and his family appeared upon the stage. On the 30th of October, 1836, Louis Napoleon, the nephew of his uncle, suddenly made his appearance at Strasbourg, where he had previously gained over the commander, Colonel Vaudrey, and some of his men, to his views. Dressed as his uncle, he proceeded to the barracks, accompanied by Vaudrey, who told the soldiers that a new revolution had been effected at Paris, and that Louis Napoleon had been proclaimed emperor by the title of Napoleon III. The soldiers, at first, believed what was thus communicated—greeted their pretended sovereign with loud acclamations, and declared their readiness to follow him. They seized the prefect in his bed, placed a guard over him, and marched to the house of the general. Louis Napoleon's own account of what passed is as follows:—"When we had arrived at the hôtel of the general, and ascended to his room, followed by Messrs. Vaudrey, Pouquin, and two officers, the general was not

NAPOLEON III.

yet dressed. I addressed him thus:—'General, I come to you as a friend. I should be much grieved to raise our old tricoloured flag without having with me a brave soldier like yourself. The garrison is on my side; therefore make up your mind, and follow me.' The eagle was then presented to him: he repulsed it, saying—'Prince, you have been deceived; the army knows its duties, and I will go at once to prove it to you.' Upon this I retired, giving orders to leave a picket to guard him. The general afterwards presented himself before the soldiers, in order to induce them to return to obedience. The men, however, under the orders of M. Pouquin, defied his authority, and answered him only with repeated cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' Eventually, the general succeeded in making his escape from the hôtel by a back-door." Louis Napoleon and Vaudrey had, meanwhile, proceeded to the barracks of another regiment, and had commenced haranguing the soldiers, when one of the general's officers made his appearance, and proclaimed the imposture. Not only were the hopes of the conspirators baffled, but their retreat was cut off. The gates of the barracks were instantly closed, and the whole party were made prisoners. The prefect, who had been seized, was liberated, and Louis Napoleon and his followers placed in confinement. His associates were detained, to be tried for their offence; but he was permitted to withdraw to the United States. He did not long remain there. He soon reappeared in London, where he was many years conspicuous as one of its most ardent votaries of pleasure.

Let us speak of the extraordinary career of this remarkable man. Louis Napoleon was born at the Tuileries, April 20th, 1808, and his birth was announced over the empire and in Holland by the roar of artillery; since, at that time, he was one of the princes in the right line of succession to the empire, then ruled by his uncle; and was baptized by Cardinal Fesch, the emperor and the empress, Maria Louise, being his sponsors. After Napoleon's return from Elba, the young nephew accompanied him to the Champ de Mars, and was there presented to the deputies of the people and the army. The splendour of the scene left, as it was likely to do, a deep impression on the mind of the boy, then only seven years old. When Napoleon embraced him, for the last time, at Malmaison, he was much agitated: the child wished to follow his uncle, and was with difficulty pacified by his mother. Then commenced the banishment of the family. Louis and his mother first lived at Augsburg, and afterwards in Switzerland; the latter state admitting the young exile to the rights of citizenship, and permitting his service in its small army. For a time he studied gunnery at the military academy, on the shores of the beautiful lake of Thun; and during his stay among the Alps, made excursions over the passes, knapsack on back, and alpenstock in hand. While engaged in a trip of this kind, the news of the July revolution in Paris reached him; and when it was known that Louis Philippe had become king, he and his family at once applied to be permitted to return to France; but were refused. Louis wrote to the new King of the French, and begged permission to serve as a common soldier in the army. This request also was refused; and, to make matters worse, the decree of banishment against his family was renewed. Disappointed in his expectations, and a second time exiled, Louis entertained hopes of another revolution in France. But his brother and the King of Rome were both living, and the young man of twenty-two had formed no definite plan in opposition to those of the younger branch of the Bourbon dynasty. In the beginning of 1831, the two brothers left Switzerland, and settled in Tuscany. They both took part in the insurrection at Rome. The elder brother died at Forli, March 17th, 1831. Louis performed a dangerous flight through Italy and France, where he remained a short time, and then retired to the castle of Arenenberg, in Thurgau. A part of his leisure in these several years was devoted to the publication of books. The first appeared under the title of *Reveries Politiques*, in which he declared his belief that France could only be regenerated by means of one of Napoleon's descendants, as they alone can reconcile republican principles with the demands of

the military spirit of the nation. Besides, he issued *Considerations Politiques et Militaires sur la Suisse;* and *Manuel sur l'Artillerie.* The latter is a work of considerable size, containing 500 pages, with sixty lithographs. It was favourably reviewed in the military journals of the day.

In the years 1831 and 1832, when the throne of Louis Philippe was still insecure, a party in France had their eyes fixed on the Duc de Reichstadt. According to French statements, a large portion of the army was, in 1832, ready to acknowledge Napoleon II., as soon as he should reach the frontier. A whole corps (generals and colonels included) expected him; and they had even determined, if the ex-king of Rome did not appear himself, to receive his cousin. His early death, in 1832, frustrated these plans; and Louis Napoleon, his brothers being dead, was the legal heir of the imperial family—succeeded to his cousin's claims, and is said to have been buoyed up with the hope of obtaining power in France. His designs became evident in the early part of the year 1835. In 1836, his plan was ripe for an attack on Strasbourg. This town, with its strong garrison, its association with Bonaparte, and its population not well-affected towards the actual government, seemed a favourable point for the first attack. The effort failed, as we have seen.

Colonel Vaudrey, Commandant Pouquin, and the other associates of Louis Napoleon, were shortly afterwards brought to trial. Of the main facts there could be no doubt. They were, indeed, admitted by the prisoners on their examination. The general feeling was, that they had been carried away by that extravagant admiration for Napoleon, which Frenchmen, glorying in his victories, but forgetful of his defects, cherished. Their counsel attached great importance to the absence of the principal conspirator; but asked—if he had been present, would any jury of Frenchmen convict him? If not, what jury would find his accomplices guilty? The trial lasted twelve days. Great excitement prevailed on the occasion; and, at length, the jury returned a verdict of "not guilty." This verdict was hailed with delight by the opposition in Paris. It was, indeed, a victory for them.

Louis Napoleon returned from America to Switzerland, where he found his mother on her death-bed. In 1838, Lieutenant Laity published, with his sanction, a favourable account of the affair at Strasbourg, and was, in consequence, sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 francs. The French government then demanded the expulsion of the hero of Strasbourg from Switzerland. Some of the cantons seemed inclined to maintain their independence, and Louis's rights as a citizen of Thurgau. On this, France sent an army to the frontier, and threatened to support her demands, if necessary, by force. The ambassadors of the principal European powers signified their concurrence in the proceedings of the French government; and, under these circumstances, Louis Napoleon thought it advisable to leave Switzerland, and take up his residence in London, where, in 1839, he published his *Des Idées Napoleoniennes.*

Louis Philippe was still, however, in danger of his life and throne. In April, 1838, a fresh conspiracy for that purpose was formed and discovered, and five persons were convicted.

In 1840, another attempt was made by Louis Napoleon himself. France had been growing into a more restless state than ever. In January, 1838, the entire ministry resigned. Early in February they resumed their functions, and the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved—a measure which did not increase the popularity of the government. The result of the elections being against the latter, they resigned. A new ministry was organised, after considerable trouble. On the 12th of May, there was an alarming *émeute* in Paris, which would have grown into an insurrection had not a strong military force succeeded in crushing the body of armed working-men that attempted it, of whom many were slain in the conflict, and 200 taken prisoners. Another ministry was formed immediately afterwards, with Marshal Soult as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. But the signs of the times were against the new ministers, and in favour, it was thought,

of another Bonapartist adventure. At the Eglinton tournament (a miserable attempt to revive mediæval sports), the excellent spirits of the prince were noticed, though some there knew the adventure he was about to undertake; which adventure we now relate.

In August, Louis Napoleon hired an English steamer, called the *City of Edinburgh*, in London; and, embarking with General Voision, Count Montholon, and fifty-three other persons on board, besides a tame eagle, landed, on the 6th, near Boulogne. They marched into the town about five o'clock in the morning, and traversed the streets, shouting, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The first attempt they made was at the guard-house, where they summoned the troops to surrender, or join them. The only man who did so was a young lieutenant of the 42nd, who tried to induce the soldiers to accompany the prince. He, however, failed in the attempt; and, as the national guard soon beat to arms, and began to muster in force, Prince Louis retreated with his followers out of the town, towards the pillar on the height above Boulogne, and there he planted a flag with a golden eagle at the top of the staff. Finding, however, that he was hard pressed with unequal numbers, he retreated to the beach, and was captured in attempting to escape to the steamer. His followers were then taken; but one unfortunate man was shot while struggling in the waves. Prince Louis, with Count Montholon, General Voision, and others, were soon conveyed prisoners to Paris, where they were tried before the Chamber of Peers, on the charge of high treason. When the prince landed, he had immediately scattered printed papers, addressed to the French nation; in which he commenced by saying that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign, and that he appointed M. Thiers President of the Council, and Marshal Clausel Minister of War. The trial of the prince and his followers took place at the beginning of October, before upwards of 160 of the peers of France, many of whom owed their elevation to his uncle. M. Berreyer appeared as counsel for the prince and Count Montholon, and made a clever defence; but in vain. The former was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress in France. The latter, with three subordinates, to twenty years' detention; and the rest to various terms of imprisonment. The lieutenant, who had proved a traitor at Boulogne, was sentenced to transportation. The prince was conveyed to the citadel of Ham.

It was Louis Philippe who stooped to pander to the Bonapartist tendencies of the French nation. He had placed in the galleries of Versailles the paintings of David, representing the glories of tho empire; and as the moral was carefully omitted, and no reference was made to the disasters of the campaigns, observers in England wondered why the French king should thus have sought, at the expense of historic truth, to perpetuate a feeling which ultimately swept him and his family away. Guizot, ambassador in London in 1840, when he received from Thiers instructions to negotiate with the British government for the removal of the remains of the emperor from St. Helena to Paris, himself felt doubtful as to the policy of such a step. He writes—"My first emotion on receiving these instructions was surprise. Had, then, the Emperor Napoleon no longer partisans, or an heir? Were the intrigues of King Joseph, in 1830—the attempt at Strasbourg, in 1836, forgotten? Was it for the government of King Louis Philippe thus to glorify and resuscitate a rival? Would the presence in France of the body and tomb be, within, a pledge of security, and, without, a symbol of peace? According to sound judgment, objections presented themselves in crowds. But there was both generosity and grandeur in the step; also a noble confidence of the king and his advisers in the strength of his government, the goodness of his cause, and the adherence of France to his policy. It was the peculiar characteristic, and will always form the peculiar honour, of Louis Philippe, that he always associated himself, ardently and spontaneously, with the national sentiment, while ever determined and ready to resist it, when, in his eyes, the national interest required. He was at once, in his relations with his country, imbued with sympathy and independence; moved by what moved the people, and firm in the policy of his govern-

ment. And no personal anxiety, no subordinate jealousy troubled him if he found himself opposed to a popular wish. When he repulsed any such demonstration, the public good imposed that course on him as a law.

"For myself, when I recovered the first emotion of surprise, I was touched by the sentiment which had inspired this step; and I accepted readily the part I was to take. Some of my friends expressed their doubts and anxieties. I replied—'I comprehend all that is said, or may be said, on this affair: I am required to arrange it here: I am not responsible for the consequences. Free countries are three-decked men-of-war: they exist in the midst of tempests; they mount; they descend; and the waves which agitate are also those which bear and impel them onwards. I love this kind of life, and the scenes it supplies. I participate in them in France; I witness them in England. Here are objects worth living for. Few, indeed, are the things of which so much may be said. I hastened at once to Lord Palmerston, and communicated to him the desire of the king's government. He also expressed surprise; and, although he endeavoured to conceal it, I saw a passing smile upon his lips, which revealed his impression. He received my request with courtesy, promising to lay it before the cabinet without delay: and, two days after, I was enabled to inform M. Thiers that the English government consented to the removal of the remains of Napoleon."

The letter which Lord Palmerston transmitted to Lord Granville, the English ambassador at Paris, on this subject, is worth recording.

"My Lord,—Her majesty's government having taken into consideration the desire of the French government to obtain authority for the removal from St. Helena to France, of the remains of Napoleon Bonaparte, I request your excellency to assure M. Thiers, that her majesty's government will accede, with great pleasure, to this request. Her majesty's government hopes that the promptitude of this reply will be considered, in France, as a proof of its wish to eradicate all traces of those national animosities which, during the life of the emperor, armed the French and English nations against each other. Her majesty's government feels confident, that if such sentiments still exist in any quarter, they will be buried in the tomb wherein the remains of Napoleon are about to be deposited."

Fine and noble words. Not words merely. Just at this time the railroad between Paris and Rouen was constructed, by means, to a great extent, of English capital and skill. A banquet was given in Southampton on the occasion, at which Guizot and Lord Palmerston assisted.

But we must return to parliament. By the aid of Hansard, we give the following extracts of speeches by our English Foreign Minister.

In 1837, the case of the *Vixen* was discussed in the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Roebuck, who said—"Some time ago a vessel was fitted up; and before she proceeded to her destination, application was made, in the regular quarter, to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to ascertain whether there was any impropriety or danger to be apprehended if a vessel landed goods on any part of the Circassian coast. The answer returned by government was, 'Look at the *Gazette*.' The merchants did so; and finding no notice of blockade, despatched the *Vixen*, which, however, when in port, was seized by a Russian ship of war, and her crew and captain imprisoned. The defence of Russia was, that, by the treaty of Adrianople, Circassia was ceded by Turkey to Russia, and, consequently, that Russia had a right to establish a blockade of the coast of Circassia, and to form whatever regulations she liked." Mr. Roebuck maintained that Lord Palmerston was bound to assert the principle of the freedom of our trade. His lordship, in reply, denied that he had encouraged the voyage of the *Vixen*; admitted Russia's right to blockade the coast; and confessed, that "the extension of the Russian frontier on the mouth of the Danube (Black Sea), was not consistent with the solemn declaration made by Russia, in the face of Europe, previous to the commencement of the Turkish war."

In a discussion on the right of asylum in Switzerland, Lord Palmerston

observed, that "it was undoubtedly true, that every independent nation had an indisputable right to afford protection, and the rights of hospitality, to any foreigners who might take refuge there; but it was also the duty of every country to maintain the relations of good neighbourhood with the bordering states; and it was the interest of every power that exercised the rights of hospitality, to take care that the persons enjoying it did not use it for the purpose of forming and exciting conspiracies to disturb the tranquillity of neighbouring states."

Again, with reference to national armament, in 1837, his lordship said—"With regard to the equipping and building of a fleet, no government can say to another, What ships are you about to fit out? But, unquestionably, one government is entitled to speak to another when raising a considerable force, which appears to indicate an intention to give cause of uneasiness to her allies; and, beyond doubt, the presence and equipage of the seamen of the whole of the Russian fleet, as it was collected in the Baltic two or three years ago, called for explanations between the governments of England and Russia. That explanation was satisfactory as regarded this government."

In a discussion on the French occupation of Algiers (1838), Lord Palmerston observed, that France had assured us that no aggression would be made upon Tunis or Morocco. "His honourable friend had expressed a hope that the people of this country did not feel as much desire as he believed the people of France still felt for military glory, which was obtained only by rushing into unnecessary and unprovoked war. He certainly agreed with his honourable friend on that point; and he also hoped that the time might come, and that it was not far distant, when civilised and Christian Europe might partake of the sentiments of his honourable friend; when nations might feel that there was no real glory to be obtained by entering into wars of aggression and tyranny; and Christian nations be convinced that there was no honour to be derived from them by the slaughter of thousands for the purposes of invasion and oppression; and when those trophies which were erected by the hands of conquerors who invaded the rights and liberties of others, when they should be endeavouring to preserve those of their own country, would, instead of being monuments of glory, continue, to the latest period, to redound to their disgrace."

In 1838, Lord Palmerston gave an account of what had been done by him with regard to the slave-trade, the horrors of which, he admitted, had lately been increased. "The House would recollect that, at the congress of Vienna, all the great powers declared that they were determined to put down the slave-trade. With Sweden and the Netherlands we had formed treaties, which had enabled us to establish a mixed commission to adjudicate upon all cases of ships seized on the ground of being engaged in the slave-trade. We had recently rendered those treaties more complete by adding to them an equipment article, and an article for breaking up all ships condemned as good prizes, instead of selling them as formerly. For a long time the flag of France was employed in covering the slave-trade; and the reason was, that the long war between England and France had created a jealousy between the two countries, which prevented them from conceding to each other the mutual right of search. On the accession of the present government to office, it had made a proposition on this subject to the French government, which had fortunately overcome its reluctance. We proposed that the search should be made, not as a ship of war belonging either to France or England, but by virtue of a warrant given by the Admiralty of the one power to the cruiser of the other. It was an article of that convention that we should propose to the other marine powers to accede thereto. Denmark, Sardinia, Naples, and the Hanse Towns, had acceded to it. Our treaties with Sweden and the Netherlands were to the effect, that there should be a mixed commission, to adjudge on the cases of all ships seized. The French government said that, according to the principles of the constitution of France, none but French tribunals could adjudicate on the claims of French subjects; and that any offenders on this subject must therefore be

handed over to French tribunals. That proposition we agreed to. We proposed the same convention to Austria, Russia, and Prussia—not that the slave-trade had ever been carried on under their flags; but because we knew, that so long as any flag which sailed the ocean was not enlisted against the slave-trade, it might be employed, and our labours ineffectual. Austria, Prussia, and Russia had all declared themselves willing to make treaties with England and France on this subject; and the only cause which had prevented the completion of them was, that we had proposed a more extended right of search than was given in the convention now existing between France and England; and as we had not yet obtained the assent of the French government to it, we had not availed ourselves of the willingness of these powers to assent to the existing convention. Greece, Belgium, and Hanover would unite with us in the same object, as soon as the three powers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia had signed the same convention with us that France had done. With the government of Spain we had now a treaty, as exact as, under the circumstances, could be expected. * * * * In Cuba and Porto Rico, the flag of Spain was frequently, and fraudulently, obtained by Portugal to carry her traffic to those islands. Brazil was stated by some to be a great offender; but the traffic was not carried on under her flag. * * * * He regretted to say, that they did not find, in the United States' government, the same willingness to waive national jealousy and national etiquette as was exhibited by France. He greatly regretted this; but he thought the time might come, and at no distant period, when a different feeling might prevail in the United States, and when their government and the people of their country would consider it more an honour to unite with the other powers of Christendom in putting down this abominable traffic, than to stand out on a mere question of etiquette, especially when the arrangement was such as entirely to save every point of national honour. * * * * As to Portugal," continued his lordship, "the slave-trade, as it was now carried on under that flag, was a disgrace to any Christian state."

In 1839, in a debate on the Mexican blockade, in answer to Lord Sandon, Viscount Palmerston said—"Did the noble lord mean openly to assert that there was anything in the quarrel between France and Mexico, that would justify or make it expedient for the British government to go to war with France, in order to compel her to recede from her demands? Was it to be maintained, that when two powers proceeded to hostilities, England should interfere; and because her commerce was thereby affected by a warfare, put down, with a high hand, the state of warfare?"

But we now hasten to more important matters. Guizot, who was in England in 1840, writes—"Soon after my arrival in London, a report gained ground that war was about to be declared between England and the kingdom of Naples. Nothing was known as to the cause of this war, or how far it was probable. People talked of the sulphur products of Sicily; of the obstacles opposed by the King of Naples to their free exportation; and of the damage thereby done to the commerce of England: but no visible act, no public declaration of the British cabinet, gave reason to believe that hostilities could arise from that cause; and the military preparations ostentatiously ordered at Naples, seemed quite out of proportion to the question and the danger. All the coasts of the kingdom were placed in a state of defence; a camp was formed near Reggio; a general levy of the reserve was decreed; from 10,000 to 12,000 received orders to embark for Sicily. King Ferdinand was said to be on the point of assuming, personally, the defence of that island. The cause of these alarms was not explained. The best-informed English journals sought for other pretexts than the sulphur question. According to the *Morning Chronicle*, supposed, at that time, to be Lord Palmerston's organ, the Neapolitan measures were supposed to be the result of a rupture with the Bey of Tunis, rather than from dread of an attack from England." In reality, however, the latter event was more probable—an event that the English public supposed.

It appears that, until 1838, the sulphur trade was perfectly open, and many

French and English merchants were engaged in it. Several English speculators had even bought, or taken on lease, some of the Sicilian mines, and had become working proprietors, or farmers, as well as traders. The manufacture of artificial alkali, at first in France, and subsequently in England, had given to this branch of traffic a rapid development. At the same time abuses crept in, particularly in the management of the mines. Complaints arose on the part of the small proprietors in the interior of the island. No impost had, until then, been attached to the working of the commodity. King Ferdinand believed that he could at once pacify murmurs, reform abuses, and secure a considerable revenue to the Neapolitan treasury, by granting to a French company at Marseilles, on certain conditions, and by means of an annual rent of 400,000 ducats, the monopoly of the trade in Sicilian sulphur. This contract, ratified in 1838, became speedily, in England, the subject of the most animated remonstrances. Two English *chargé d'affaires*—Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macgregor—at different intervals, demanded the abolition of the monopoly. After much debate and hesitation, the King of Naples promised it for the 1st of January, 1840. The Prince of Cassaro, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, pledged his word to that effect. In compliance with Lord Palmerston's orders, and by a note, more founded on right than considerate in terms, Mr. Kennedy demanded fulfilment of the promise he had received. The promise was renewed, but still continued unperformed. At the commencement of March, Mr. Temple, English minister at Naples, and brother to Lord Palmerston, returned to his post after a long absence, and once more demanded, in a peremptory note, the abolition of the monopoly, and an indemnity for the British merchants who had suffered by it. King Ferdinand, more moved by the offence he had received than by the promise he had made, declared that he would not yield to the English exactions; and commanded the Prince of Cassaro to notify to Mr. Temple his positive refusal. The Prince of Cassaro, a man of sense and honour, resigned his post, and left for Rome, half exiled. Mr. Temple, in virtue of instructions received from Lord Palmerston, immediately transmitted to Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, who commanded the English naval forces in the Mediterranean and Sicilian waters, ships of war, with directions to seize all the Neapolitan vessels they encountered, and to send them to Malta, where they would be detained until the promises of the King of Naples were fulfilled, and the demands of England satisfied. During the first fortnight of April those reprisals were in full exercise, and the King of Naples was in apprehension of even more serious attacks.

The demands of the British cabinet were well founded. "English interests," Guizot admits, "had been seriously wounded, and Neapolitan promises strangely forgotten. But there is no cause so good that it cannot be damaged by weak arguments and wrong proceedings, both in reality and appearance. Instead of solely founding these demands on the losses their countrymen had sustained, and on the promises their government had received, the English agents pretended that the monopoly of sulphur was a flagrant violation of the treaty of commerce concluded on the 26th of September, 1816, between England and Naples; and they supported their pretensions with a tone of arrogance which rendered concessions, on the part of the King of Naples, more bitter and difficult. In principle, the argument drawn from the treaty of the 26th of September, 1816, was worth nothing; and the English legal authorities, Sir Frederick Pollock and Dr. Phillimore, who were consulted by the crown, admitted this with honourable loyalty. They declared, on the one hand, that, according to the general maxims of the law of nations, a sovereign had full right, in his own states, to adopt measures similar to those of the monopoly in question, unless by stipulations, concluded with other sovereigns, he had expressly renounced that right: on the other, that the treaty of the 26th of September, 1816, contained no such stipulations, and was not thus violated by the monopoly granted at Naples in 1838. In fact, the haughty harshness of the English agents, in their conversations and notes, had been equally offensive. 'We must bring matters to an end with this petty monarch,' they said: and the measures

adopted by the cabinet, in unison with this language, although natural, and probably the only ones likely to prove efficacious, were so unexpected that they were generally considered as extreme; and it was thought that the King of Naples, though he might be to blame, was also justified in defending, as he did, his sovereignty and dignity. It was said, in all quarters, that there was little true pride in being so coercive with the weak; and that if the English cabinet had had this difference with France, or the United States of America, it would have acted with more forbearance. Lord Palmerston himself entertained this feeling of his position, and felt somewhat embarrassed by it. Having occasion to visit him on the 10th of April, I spoke to him of the internal state of the kingdom of Naples, and of the consequences which the recent measures of the cabinet might entail—consequences, beyond doubt, quite different from, and much more serious than he desired. Lord Palmerston recapitulated the whole matter, with a marked desire of proving to me that he was not to blame in any respect: that he could not have acted otherwise than as he had done: that the King of Naples, notwithstanding his repeated promises, had no intention of abolishing the sulphur monopoly; and that, on their side, the British government could neither leave such important English interests unprotected, nor suffer pledged promises to remain unfulfilled. It was evident to me, that Lord Palmerston, despite his perseverance in his resolutions, was uneasy on the entire affair; on the sensation it had caused in Europe; on the agitation it might excite in Italy; and that he had no wish to be compelled to push matters to an extremity. I urged the dangers of the situation; the state of mind in Sicily; the personal irritation of the King of Naples; the complications so easily stirred up in Europe. I reminded him that, on the sulphur question, the French government maintained interests analogous to those of the British cabinet, and had acted in concert with it. 'I know that,' replied Lord Palmerston; 'we, also, always desire to act with you. Can you help us in settling this affair; and how?' 'My lord,' I replied, 'the word *mediation* is, perhaps, too strong for the occasion; and I have no positive instructions on this subject; but I am confident that the king's government would willingly employ its good offices in putting an end to a dispute which might lead to such untoward results.' 'Well, then, let your government, in this sense, use its good offices, its influence, and its intervention; we shall accept them with much pleasure. What is done is done: help us in obtaining justice. Meanwhile we shall take no further step; we shall issue no fresh orders. We ask nothing better than to wind up the business amicably, and to owe the obligation to you.'

"I immediately reported this interview to M. Thiers. 'I have made,' I said to him, 'no distinct proposition, nor entered into any engagement in the name of the king's government; but when Lord Palmerston appeared desirous of accepting the intervention of France, it appeared to me proper and profitable, on our part, to respond with equal readiness. The king's government may, perhaps, find in this character—if not of official mediator, at least of anxious intermediary—the means of arranging a difference fraught with danger. Under any view it suits us, as I think, more than ever to show England united to us, acting in concert, and seeking, in her own embarrassments, our friendly intercession. I have therefore, without hesitation, seized the proffered opportunity. The king's government will give to these overtures the consequence and turn it may judge convenient. I merely request your excellency to direct the attention of the king and his council promptly to this incident; for, Lord Palmerston having himself told me that he would suspend all fresh action, it is necessary that I should speedily acquaint him with the opinion and intention of the king's government.'" The answer of the French cabinet was transmitted without delay. "I," continues M. Guizot, "communicated to Lord Palmerston, on the 14th of April, the proposition of M. Thiers. He fully admitted the necessity of the two conditions attached to the mediation, and seemed pleased with this opportunity of giving a public proof of the good intelligence of the two governments, and of their mutual confidence; adding, that

he only had occasion to mention it to Lord Melbourne, and that I should not wait long for his answer. Two days after, in fact, the cabinet decided to accept the mediation of France on the basis we had proposed. Lord Granville announced this officially in Paris; the English minister at Naples, Mr. Temple, was authorised to suspend hostile measures from the moment of opening the negotiation; and M. Thiers thus wrote to me on the 20th of April:—'I yesterday communicated by telegraph, and again to-day by express, with M. d'Haussonville, directing him to make known to the Neapolitan government the proposal to mediate. He will require that it shall take place at Paris, and that the ambassador from Naples, the Duke of Serra Capriola, may be furnished with unlimited powers. This last condition is so absolutely necessary, that, if refused, our offer of intervention must be considered as not having been made. What has led me to deem it advisable to fix the place of negotiation here, is a desire to consider the feelings of the King of Naples, by sparing him the humiliation of a treaty, concluded, as I may say, in sight of the English forces, than the much more important advantage of abstracting the negotiations from the continual tergiversations, doubts, and shifts, which constitute, at present, the entire policy of the Neapolitan cabinet.'"

The King of Naples accepted the mediation of France; but, at the same moment, to gratify his ill-humour, he laid an embargo on the English ships anchored in the port of Naples, which prevented the English minister from issuing, as he had promised, the order to suspend hostilities; and seven Neapolitan vessels were captured while the mediation was being proclaimed. Twenty-four hours after, the king acknowledged the necessity of taking off the embargo, and hostilities then ceased: but the first instructions sent to Paris, to the Duke of Serra Capriola, to open negotiations, were incomplete; and in London, although all interference in the matter was interdicted to Prince Castelcicala, and Lord Palmerston refused conversation with him on the subject, that discontented ambassador continually endeavoured to mix himself up with it, either to gratify his own vanity, or from flattering himself that he should please his master by throwing some embarrassment into the negotiations.

Lord Palmerston began to be doubtful and impatient, and insisted on a speedy settlement of the affair. "I found him," wrote Guizot to Thiers, on the 15th of June, "extremely anxious that the mediation should attain its object, and that the sulphur monopoly should be abolished. He reminded me of the fears he had expressed from the beginning, as to the desire they might have at Naples to gain time, and of the delays of the negotiations in Paris. 'I do not understand,' he said, 'why the King of Naples should not immediately abolish the monopoly by his own act, and without waiting the close of the negotiation. He has conceded this abolition. He has equally conceded the principle of an indemnity in favour of the English speculators who have suffered by the monopoly. What occasion has he to wait for the abolition of the monopoly, even the approximate amount of that indemnity, or the different classification of the claimants? Let the abolition be once declared, the mediator is always there to protect the Neapolitan government on the question of the indemnities. And as to the right of the King of Naples to levy an impost on the sulphurs, and to regulate their working, I do not comprehend, either, how that right can, in any manner, interfere with the immediate abolition of the monopoly. The King of Naples cannot expect that we should wait the decree for this abolition until he has published his new tariff on the workings of the mines. We do not dispute any inherent rights of sovereignty. We understand, as regards mines, a legislation different to our own; and we admit, reserving the right of inquiring as to its just application, that the general principle we claim is, that this legislation shall not establish in Sicily any exception or privilege unfavourable to our countrymen. But, in any case, the abolition of the monopoly cannot be at the mercy of the future measures of the Neapolitan administration, and in suspense until these measures may be adopted. The King of Naples ought, moreover, to consider that the longer the abolition is delayed, the

greater will be the injury sustained by the English in Sicily, through the effect of that monopoly; and their demands for indemnities will rise in proportion. So that, in fine, delay is profitable to no one, and can only increase expenses and difficulties. This was what I wished to forestal by assigning a term of three weeks to the suspension of hostilities. I beg you to bring these considerations, without delay, under the eyes of the king's government.'"

M. Thiers persisted, with firmness, in the attitude he had assumed. He drew up a plan of arrangement, which, while protecting the dignity of the King of Naples, and expressly maintaining his rights of sovereignty, whether in regard to working the mines in his states, or settling the tariffs imposed for the export of sulphur, declared the monopoly abolished; determined the limits assigned to the English demands for indemnity; and regulated, while securing effective pledges to both parties, the mode of liquidation. Guizot says he spent six weeks in getting Lord Palmerston to agree to them; and, at Paris, the Duke of Serra Capriola often hesitated, fearing not to seize exactly the floating intentions of his master. Finally, the King of Naples forwarded to his ambassador precise instructions, and full powers; and Lord Palmerston declared himself satisfied with the indemnities and securities contained in the plan of arrangement prepared by M. Thiers. On the 7th of July, Guizot formally transmitted this conclusion to the English cabinet, and received, the same day, its official acceptation. The mediation had fully attained its special object, by putting an end to the quarrel which threatened to disturb the kingdom of Naples; and its general end was satisfactory by testifying the good intelligence between the cabinets of Paris and London, and their desire to afford each other mutual aid. And thus the relations of sovereigns, as well as the interests of the states, drew advantage from this conclusion. King Louis Philippe had effectually supported the House of Bourbon at Naples; and the King of Naples, despite his sallies of hesitation and caprice, felt so strongly the service which the mediation had rendered him, that, in token of his gratitude, he celebrated, on the 1st of May, at Naples, the fête-day of King Louis Philippe with unusual solemnity.

Such is a little glimpse at the Palmerston policy, by a distinguished foreign ambassador and statesman; one who had written to M. Duchâtel, only a few weeks previously—"As to war, I here occupy the decisive position. It is here alone that the policy disposed, or suffering itself to be urged towards war, or what might lead to war, could seek any resting-point. While this position remains in our hands we are prepared to avert and arrest. England, as regards foreign policy, is a country at the same time egotistical and rash. She might engage in measures by which she would in no way be compromised herself, but which might seriously compromise us upon the continent. You have seen an instance in the question of intervention in Spain. It is here that we ought to defend, and can defend, the policy of peace." The Palmerston policy, in this case, appears to have been patriotic and intelligible.

We now enter on a more complicated question—one about which France and England were nearly going to war, and in which Guizot seems to have forgotten all he had written about peace.

France and England were seriously at loggerheads about Mehemet Ali, the ruler of Egypt; who had revolted from Turkey, and was anxious to establish himself as an independent power.

Mehemet Ali, born an Albanian peasant, began life as the keeper of a petty shop; and he could not read until he attained his thirty-fifth year. Having volunteered into the Turkish army, he early distinguished himself in the suppression of a rebellion in Candia. From this date his fortunes advanced with a rapidity more peculiar to Moslem than to Christian states. He co-operated with the British troops sent to Egypt to dislodge the French; and shortly after our evacuation of that country, at the head of the Mamelukes, he overthrew a pacha who had been nominated by the Porte, and assumed his viceregal position. He

was hardly elevated by these prætorian warriors, ere he determined to rid himself of their dangerous authority by a general massacre. He succeeded in this hazardous service, and set an example which his sovereign, Sultan Mahmoud, followed some years afterwards in the annihilation of the Janissaries. Having augmented his power by successive acts of rapacity—by the extension of his authority to the important island of Candia, and to Upper Egypt; by his rout and subjection of the fanatical sect of the Wahabies, who had possessed themselves of the sacred Arabian cities; and by the effective service he rendered as generalissimo of the Ottomans against the insurgent Greeks—he resolved, about 1830, to undertake a higher enterprise. He rose in revolt against his sovereign, and, for ten years afterwards, did more to promote the ends of Russia, and to furnish employment for the diplomatists, and alarm for the denizens of the central and western countries of Europe, than all other contemporaneous agencies united. Pretending that some runaway Egyptian malefactors had taken refuge in Syria, and to avenge the refusal of the pacha of that province of the Porte to surrender them, he crossed the desert, and soon reduced the whole of ancient Palestine, and the country up to the confines of Asia Minor, to subjection. Acre, Aleppo, and Damascus were in succession mastered by him. A brilliant victory opened to him the passes of the Taurus. He crossed from Syria into Caramania. Another sanguinary victory over the Turkish army, under Reschid Pacha, opened the way for him to Constantinople itself; and it seemed as if the fate of the old dynasty of the great Sultan Othman, Mahomet II., and Solyman, the "Lord of his Age," had at last come. In his dire extremity, the sultan besought England for succour. Palmerston had to make the humiliating confession that we had no ships to send to his assistance. Russia was next appealed to. She willingly interfered. A Russian army was sent to protect Constantinople. Mehemet had no desire to meet so potent an adversary; and the march of his troops, under his son Ibrahim, was at once suspended. He, however, dictated his own terms to the sultan. He retained possession of the whole of Syria. Nicholas, by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, imposed his own terms upon the Porte as the price of the timely service he had rendered. The sultan ceded to Russia an extensive territory at his north-eastern Asiatic frontier. He engaged to pay, at the earliest possible date, the balance of the indemnity still due under the treaty of Adrianople. The free passage of the Dardanelles by Russian armed vessels was conceded; the value of this stipulation being enhanced by the circumstance that every other power was excluded from the privilege. Lastly, the important citadel of Silistria was to remain in the possession of Russia as a pledge for the fulfilment of the other conditions. This gave to Russia the effective command of Wallachia and Moldavia, and left the Turkish frontier perfectly defenceless. The treaty bound Turkey hand and foot to Russia. When the news of its ratification reached Western Europe, it was received with the utmost surprise and consternation.

In a little while Lord Palmerston had a chance of effective interference. Mehemet Ali refused to pay his annual tribute to the sultan, and interfered with the sacred cities of Medina and Mecca. The sultan immediately raised a large army to fight for his own. Lord Palmerston at once informed the Turkish government, that if Mehemet Ali pushed matters to an extremity, they might depend upon the active aid of England. France ostensibly was with us; but France had its own interests and views, and was not to be depended on. Events precipitated diplomacy. The old sultan had died. The Turkish fleet had deserted to the Egyptian pacha. Russia was intriguing, and France was eager for the success of Mehemet Ali. Palmerston's difficulties at this time were very great. In the cabinet he was almost alone; and in the House of Commons, many believed, with France, we ought to help Mehemet Ali. Palmerston thus defended himself—"My honourable friend says that if Russia had a person exclusively devoted to her interests in the British cabinet, he could not have served her more sincerely than I have unconsciously done; that I have been labouring to destroy the Turkish empire, and put an end to its integrity, and subject such portion of it as remains

under the nominal sway of the sultan entirely to the views of Russia. Now, I am bound to say, in justice and in candour, that it is impossible for any government to have acted with more honour and good faith, in any matter, than the Russian government has acted with the other powers in respect to Turkey. I feel bound to say this, from a thorough knowledge of all the facts of the case.

"We can only judge of the intentions of Russia from her conduct; and I must say that it is not just to impute to that power that her present conduct has any tendency whatever inimical to the integrity of the Turkish empire. But if Russia really had a desire to destroy that integrity, her readiest tool could not point out a course more likely to accomplish that object than the policy recommended by my honourable friend, because it would lay all that remains to the sultan prostrate at the feet of Russia, or any other power that might wish to attack him. With the best intentions, my honourable friend would pursue a course which, if adopted, must inevitably produce just what is most opposite to his wishes. What would any man say, supposing I were to argue that the best way to maintain the integrity of the British empire would be to make the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland the hereditary sovereign of Ireland and Scotland, because, by so doing, it would more firmly unite the population of the British islands; and that the best friend of the British empire could do nothing better calculated to maintain the integrity of Great Britain than to divide it between two independent sovereigns? And yet that is the policy which my honourable friend recommends."

Long and tiresome were the negotiations on this subject.

Guizot describes his condition, on entering on his task as ambassador, peculiarly embarrassing. "By the note remitted to the Porte on the 27th of July, 1839, we," he writes, "had engaged to treat this question, in concert with Austria, Prussia, Russia, as well as with England; and we had detached the sultan from all direct arrangement with the Pacha of Egypt, promising him that accordance between the five powers was assured. Since then, we had, however, declared for the pretensions of the pacha, not only to the hereditary possession of Egypt, but also of Syria; and when I was appointed to the British embassy, despite the obstacles we had already encountered, we persisted in our resolution. 'The king's government,' said Marshal Soult, in the instructions given to me on the 19th of February, 1840, 'has believed, and still continues to believe, that in the position in which Mehemet Ali finds himself, to offer him less than hereditary rule in Egypt and Syria, would be to expose ourselves to a certain refusal on his part, which, in case of need, he would sustain by a desperate resistance, the rebound of which would shake, and perhaps subvert, the whole Ottoman empire.'

"Thus pledged, on one side, to concert with the five powers, and, on the other, to the pretensions of the Pacha of Egypt, we had against us in the negotiation, England, who refused absolutely to the pacha the right of inheritance in Egypt: Russia, who wished to retain Constantinople under her exclusive protectorship, or only to sacrifice it by embroiling us with England; and, finally, Austria and Prussia themselves, sufficiently indifferent on the question of territory between the sultan and the pacha, but determined to follow, as occasion might arise, alternately England and Russia, rather than unite with us to restrain the pretensions of both.

"The cabinet presided over by Marshal Soult had a feeling of the incoherence and embarrassments of this situation; for, in its instructions, it reanimated me to avoid carefully all that might tend to lead us into the path of conferences and protocols; it being too evident, after what had so recently passed, that we should, in most cases, find ourselves isolated there. But this was a useless precaution. None of the powers thought of demanding an official conference on the East. When I named it to Lord Palmerston, with the view of banishing the idea —'There is not the slightest question,' he said, 'of conference, protocol, or anything of the kind. You are perfectly right; such proceedings would embarrass us all, without tending to any advantage. It is only necessary to negotiate, to

arrive at some arrangement in which we may all agree, and thus terminate the matter.'"

France evidently trusted to making a little capital by opposing English policy in the East. She believed Mehemet Ali to be stronger than he really was; and believed that Russia would never abandon her exclusive or preponderating influence at Constantinople. Events proved Lord Palmerston's judgment was sounder than that of the French ministry, whose views Guizot came over emphatically and warmly to uphold. The opening interview of the ambassador and the Foreign Minister was agreeable. His lordship dwelt much on the benefit of the Anglo-French alliance. "The superior and predominant interests of the two countries," he said, "will ever, in the end, dissipate the clouds which are sometimes raised up between them by accidental facts, or the mischievous effects of certain organs of the periodical press. Nevertheless," he added, "those clouds are a real evil; the evil has increased from a certain epoch; and I confess that we ourselves, since the ministry of Count Molé, have remarked in the French government a less friendly disposition as regards us, and some leaning in favour of other allies." Guizot contended that the French king was as firmly attached as ever to the English alliance; and added, that surely his lordship could not think that, to be united with England, France need be isolated in Europe. "No, no," resumed Lord Palmerston, "we are not jealous on that point; but so many facts have concurred to inspire us with doubt, that it was difficult to look upon them all as accidental."

He then took a review of the different questions, trifling or important, which, since 1836, in Europe, Africa, and America, had sprung up between the two countries, and had proved subjects of disagreement or uneasiness. He dwelt particularly on the obstacles opposed by us to the commercial negotiations entered into by the English cabinet, whether with Spain or ourselves. The ambassador explained. "Lord Palmerston," he writes, "seemed more inclined, at the outset of our communications, to disembarrass himself of his past dissatisfactions than to take advantage of them for the future; and his frame of mind appeared to me exempt from all unfriendly mental reservation, though impressed with a certain degree of susceptibility, and with some doubt as to the future good and solid understanding between the two governments."

On the second interview, Lord Palmerston is reported by the ambassador as follows:—"You have too bad an opinion of the Ottoman empire, and you are not well informed as to the real disposition of the Russian government. A state which is a corpse—a body without a soul, and falling into shreds, are figures of speech we ought not to put faith in. Let a sick state recover territories capable of supplying men and money—let it restore regularity to its administration, it will cure itself, and again become strong. This is already taking place in Turkey. The *hatti-scheriff* of Redschid Pacha is in operation; its good effects are developing themselves. And, as to Russia, be assured that her disposition to act in concert with the other powers on the affairs of the East is sincere. I do not say that the desire of alienating France and England reckons for nothing in her conduct; but she also wishes not to remain in the East in the position which she has assumed. Her treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi weighs upon her. If troubles break out in Turkey—if Mehemet Ali threatens Constantinople—if the Porte demands Russian aid, according to the specified terms, the Emperor Nicholas is resolved to act upon them. He believes that his honour requires him to do so; but the necessity is not agreeable to him. He foresees that neither you nor we would suffer him to take this course; and he has no wish for the contest. He seeks rather to stand upon less compromising ground. It is our interest, yours, and the interest of Europe to second this disposition. Let us seize it while it exists; let us profit by it, to bring back the Ottoman question within public European law. It will be a great advantage to all, to have destroyed, without contest, this exclusive protectorate, which justly inspires so much distrust, and to have bound, within treaties, the power which desired to assume it. Again," his lordship continued, "we speak

without reserve; do we not? Would not France be glad to see established in Egypt and Syria a new and independent power, almost her own creation, and, of necessity, her ally? You possess the regency of Algiers. Between you and your Egyptian friend what would remain? Scarcely anything—merely the poor states of Tunis and Tripoli. The whole coast of Africa, and a part of that of Asia on the Mediterranean, from Morocco to the Gulf of Alexandria, would then be in your power, and under your influence. This would never suit us."

Lord Palmerston then showed Guizot his plan of a treaty between the five powers and the Ottoman Porte. It consisted of—First, an engagement of the five powers to guarantee the Ottoman empire against any new attack from the Pacha of Egypt, and any invasion beyond the Taurus. Secondly, the arrangement, in that case, of the mode of occupation of Constantinople and the Sea of Marmora. Thirdly, the indication of the means to be employed against the Pacha of Egypt, in case he should refuse the injunctions of the sultan and the five powers.

The negotiations were protracted. It is clear France had a little scheme of her own to temporise in London, in order to act at Cairo or Constantinople. M. Thiers admits as much. On the 28th of April, he writes to M. Guizot—"I have recommended our agents at Constantinople not to push on a direct negotiation between the sultan and the pacha, lest England should accuse us of playing a double game. * * * I urge MM. de Pontois and Cochelet to encourage a disposition to make sacrifices. I convey to the Porte that it will never be secured in London by an agreement between the five powers. I cause the pacha to be told that we shall not risk the great interests of France, and of the world, to gratify unreasonable demands. I hold the cable open at both ends, but I do not open any negotiation, to avoid all reproaches founded on duplicity." Like most artful men, Thiers was too clever by half, and precipitated what he was most anxious to avoid—the settlement, in London, of the Eastern question.

On the 20th of June, a telegraphic despatch reached Paris, forwarded from Alexandria on the 16th. It ran thus:—"On learning the dismissal of the Grand Vizier, Khosren Pacha, Mehemet Ali ordered his First Secretary, Sami Bey, to repair to Constantinople, to offer the sultan the homage of his devotion, and to request the return of the Turkish fleet. Mehemet Ali has no doubt that this spontaneous measure on his part will lead to a direct and amicable settlement of the Turco-Egyptian question." In informing M. Guizot of this, and in commenting on it, Thiers adds—"I look upon the new state of things as a powerful argument against any immediate decision in London. I have written to Alexandria and to Constantinople, recommending moderation on both sides; but I have given advice only, and have been careful to restrain our agents from any participation on their own responsibility, and as a French undertaking, in a treaty having for its object this direct arrangement. Should such an attempt be imputed to us, you might deny it. Young Eugéne Périon has been sent to Alexandria, to remonstrate most urgently with the pacha, in case he should incline to pause, and, after having offered the fleet, to retract his word, and become unaccommodating in the general conditions of the treaty. I have even gone so far as to counsel his acceptance of Egypt *hereditarily*, and Syria for *life*."

Guizot was surprised, as well he might be. The bad faith of France was manifest. He writes—"Lord Palmerston, and the three other plenipotentiaries, were scarcely more surprised at it than I was myself. They see in it nothing more—or, at least, they determine that they have a right to see in it nothing more—than an act long concerted between the pacha and France, who, at Constantinople and Alexandria, had laboured to procure it."

All chance of action in concert with France was thus at an end. Guizot writes to Thiers—"Lord Palmerston is urgent. The powers, he says, are pledged in honour to regulate, by their intervention, and in the most favourable manner for the Porte, the affairs of the East. They have promised this to the sultan; they have promised this among themselves. The step taken by Mehemet Ali

ought not to turn them from it. It is an act of little significance, in reality, which promises, on the part of the pacha, no important concession; will change neither the position nor the policy of the Porte; will not lead to the pacification hoped for; and will only produce the effect, if not carefully watched, of trammelling the negotiations between the powers, and of preventing them from reaching the end proposed. Meanwhile the opportunity for acting is favourable. The insurrection in Syria, against Mehemet Ali, is serious. An indifferent spectator, Lord Francis Egerton, who has very recently traversed Syria, while returning from Jerusalem towards Asia Minor, writes that the insurgents are numerous and animated; that the administration of Ibrahim Pacha is violent, oppressive, and detested. Lord Palmerston draws much advantage from this intelligence. He urges, at the same time, the views of France for aggrandisement and dominion in the Mediterranean. The support given by France to the Pacha of Egypt, has, according to him, no other motive. He speaks of Algeria, and of the extension of our African establishment. Finally, he addresses himself to the national susceptibility and jealousy, particularly with regard to the Tories, and to insure some degree of favour with the opposition."

Such were the Palmerston ideas; and, undoubtedly, they were correct. They appear so to us, even though sketched by an opponent.

Palmerston triumphed, as active and laborious men always do. On the 15th of July, the four powers signed a treaty for the settlement of the Eastern question, from which France was omitted.

On receiving this intelligence, the French cabinet felt not only discontented and vexed, but surprised and wounded.

The French ambassador expostulated; Lord Palmerston defended. "We parted," writes the former; "I with cold civility; Lord Palmerston with a degree of politeness almost amounting to friendship."

In the meanwhile Guizot remained silent; and, in answer to inquiring friends, in language more elegant than literally correct, replied—"France has not changed her sentiments or intentions. She is always anxious for peace; ever a stranger to ambitious views."

Events finally solved the difficult situation—events, however, which Lord Palmerston had foreseen, and on which he relied.

The news of the conclusion of the treaty of July had reached Constantinople; and despite some dissensions in the interior of the divan, and some objections by his mother, the Sultana Validé, the sultan, always under the influence of Redschid Pacha, hastened to accept it, and forwarded the ratifications to London, instructing Rifat Bey to carry to Alexandria the successive summonses, which, in the terms of the treaty, the Porte was to address to the pacha. Rifat Bey arrived at Alexandria on the 11th of August; but found no Mehemet Ali there. He had been for some days on a tour in Lower Egypt, under the pretext of visiting the canals of the Nile; but, in reality, to gain time, and prepare his means of defence. Having returned to Alexandria on the 14th, he received Rifat Bey on the 16th; and without entering into discussion with him—scarcely giving him time to speak—he rejected the first summons prescribed by the treaty. On the following day (the 17th), the consuls of the four subscribing powers asked an audience, and remonstrated with him on his refusal. He repulsed them sharply; cut short Colonel Hodges, the English consul; and persevered in his remonstrance; saying—"I shall only yield to the sabre what I won by the sabre."

Nearly at the same moment when Rifat Bey arrived at Alexandria, and before he was admitted to an audience with Mehemet Ali, Admiral Napier, with four line-of-battle ships, and several vessels of an inferior class detached from the squadron of Admiral Stopford, appeared, on the 14th of August, before Beyrout; summoned Soliman Pacha (a Frenchman, formerly a lieutenant in the French army; who commanded there for Mehemet Ali) to evacuate the town and Syria; issued a proclamation to the Syrians, calling upon them to throw off the Egyptian yoke, and to

return under the rule of the sultan; declared that, in case of refusal, he should adopt the most decisive measures against Beyrout and the garrison; and immediately seized the small Egyptian vessels within his reach. At the same time, Admiral Stopford himself, with the remainder of his squadron, arrived in the road of Alexandria, and took up his station there, waiting until Mehemet Ali should reply to the summons of the sultan.

The diplomatic discussions on this new aspect of affairs were being continued, when telegraphic intelligence reached Paris and London, that, on the 11th of September, the English squadron had first summoned, and subsequently bombarded Beyrout, which place surrendered after a weak resistance; that Turkish troops had disembarked, and commenced operations in Syria; and that, during these events, the sultan, at Constantinople, immediately upon the return of Rifat Bey from Alexandria, and despite the efforts of Count Walewski to induce him to accept the propositions of the pacha, had, after two solemn convocations of the divan, pronounced, on the 14th of September, the forfeiture of Mehemet Ali as Pacha of Egypt, and appointed Izret Mehemet as his successor.

When forwarding this intelligence to Guizot, on the 2nd of October, M. Thiers adds—"You can readily imagine the state of public feeling in Paris. It is impossible to say what may be the result, or what the government may determine. I have assembled the cabinet this morning, and shall reassemble it again this evening. I will let you know our resolutions as soon as they are decided on, and it becomes necessary to communicate them to you for our conduct in London. Meanwhile do not conceal that the position is extremely menacing. It has never been so much so."

In vain Lord Palmerston affirmed that Mehemet Ali would be suffered to remain Viceroy of Egypt, and that France had separated herself from the allies. France was angry, and eager for war.

Under the pressure of public irritation and alarm, the French cabinet, as Guizot writes, had adopted, and was every day adopting, measures as serious as they could have resorted to had the perils which seemed approaching actually displayed themselves. Since the 29th of July, royal ordinances had called into active service all the young levies under the classes of 1836 and 1839, and opened the necessary credits for augmenting the navy by ten thousand soldiers, five sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and nine steamers. Decrees of the 29th of September prescribed the formation of twelve regiments of the line, ten battalions of light infantry, and six regiments of cavalry. Decrees of the 5th of August and 24th of September allotted extraordinary credits, amounting to 107,829 francs, for increasing the *matériel* of the army, and its effective strength in men and horses. On the 13th of September, the *Moniteur* announced that the great undertaking of the fortifications of Paris was determined, and that the works would commence immediately. On the 9th of October, Thiers wrote to Guizot—"The position becoming more serious from hour to hour, the armaments must be accelerated in proportion. We now stand at 489,000 men. We shall ask the Chambers for 150,000 from the class of 1841. We shall ask for them by anticipation. Our roll will then amount to 639,000 men; the movable battalions of the national guard will be organised upon paper; and if a moment arrives when the heart of the nation should no longer restrain itself before some intolerable act—before one of the hundred eventualities of the question—we shall appeal to the Chambers and the king, and both will decide."

In the midst of all this folly, one sensible step was taken by the French government. It recalled its squadron from the Levant, being unwilling to leave the policy and future of France at the mercy of an accidental collision between the French and English fleets. Guizot says this act "was warmly attacked by the adversaries of the cabinet; defended with some embarrassment by its friends; and left on the public mind one of those doubtful and gloomy impressions, which weaken power, even when in the right."

France, in her haste to gratify her wounded vanity, had made great blunders. "We had," confessed Guizot, "attached a highly-exaggerated importance to this affair. We had regarded the interests of France in the Mediterranean as much more bound up than they really were with the fortunes of Mehemet Ali. And at the same time, nevertheless, we had not concentrated upon Egypt, and its transformation into an almost independent state, our entire wishes and efforts. We had, on the one hand, given Egypt too important a place in our general policy; and, on the other, we were not eager to seize the opportunity, and to secure, with the consent of Europe, the consolidation, under our influence, of this new dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. In supporting all the pretensions of Mehemet Ali to Syria, we had yielded too much to his ambition, and had thought too little of his permanent establishment on the banks of the Nile, which was of far superior value to France. In rejecting the various concessions proposed for the pacha, we had ourselves aided the efforts of the Emperor Nicholas to embroil us with England, and isolate us in Europe. We had pursued this conduct in the double conviction that Mehemet Ali would vigorously defend his conquests; and that to wrest them from him, the four powers united in the treaty of July 15th, would be called upon for great efforts, which would either prove futile, or compromise the peace of Europe. These powers had scarcely begun to act, and already events falsified our estimate of forces and probabilities; already it was seen that Mehemet Ali would resist feebly, and that an English squadron would suffice to subdue him. And, for a secondary question—for a client so little able to support himself, we had compromised our position in Europe; we had separated from England; we had disturbed Austria and Prussia in their peaceful indifference; we had yielded up these three powers to the hostile influence of Russia: and we now found ourselves alone, confronted by an alliance which neither was, nor desired to become, towards us an aggressive coalition; which feared for itself more than it thought of threatening us, but which awakened in our minds the still burning reminiscences of our struggles against the great European combination, and excited, throughout all France, a fermentation replete with anger and alarm.

"The errors which had brought on this position were of no particular section or person. They were public national errors, universally expanded and sustained in the Chambers as in the country—in the opposition as in the government—in the bosom of the most divided parties. All had placed the Egyptian question higher than the interest of France required; all had rejected the settlements proposed; all had considered Mehemet Ali stronger, and the enterprise of the four powers more difficult than it was found to be. The hour for reckoning up mistakes had arrived, and the cabinet presided over by M. Thiers was doomed to bear its weight."

The looked-for crisis soon came. An attempt made on the king's life frightened the friends of order from a chance of war. "On the 20th of October, the cabinet presented to the king the draft of a speech, by which it proposed to him to open the session. The language was dignified and moderate; but it was conceived with a prospect of war, and to prepare the country for it by demanding the necessary means. The king refused to place himself in the direction, and on the brink of this future. The ministers tendered their resignation; which he accepted without mutual acrimony."

Surely Mehemet Ali was not worth fighting about. "His government," writes Alvanley to Mr. Raikes, "is the most tyrannical and oppressive that ever existed. From the Second Cataract on the Nile, to the frontiers of Syria, the wretched people are ground to the earth. You never see in a village a young man, all having been swallowed up in the army. You never go among them but you are stunned with the complaints, and shocked with the misery of their inhabitants. Their universal prayer is, that some Christian power would take possession of the country, and relieve them from this horrible tyranny. The land pays 80 per cent. of its produce to the pacha. If a village has been rated at 200 male inhabitants for the capitation, and only forty remain in consequence of the others having been

carried off by the capitation, the forty pay the same taxes as the 200 would have done; and if, after selling everything they possess, and in some cases their children, for that purpose, their means and power quite fail, they are inevitably put to the torture; if they hide themselves, their wives are submitted to it, in order to make them discover their retreat. In addition to all this, they are bound to feed all the troops when on march, and to transport the stores, baggage, &c., and the effects of the public servants, at any time of the year, and without reward." Such was the rule of the *protégé* of the French government.

As to his conquest of the dwellers on the Libanus, the same authority tells us, Mehemet Ali began by exciting quarrels between the Christians and the Druses: engaged the former to disarm the latter, and then contrived, by degrees, to do so to themselves. As soon as he had done thus, he forcibly seized 10,000 Druses as soldiers, and introduced his own governors and taxation throughout the whole of the mountains. When he was carrying on his campaign against the Turks on the frontier, symptoms of insurrection appeared amongst the Druses, and the inhabitants of Damascus and the Christians were armed. At the same time, the most solemn promises were made to them that they should retain their arms, and the country governed according to its ancient laws. The symptoms of disorder were, in consequence, repressed; and every promise made them was broken. At this the whole mountain rose: to Christians and Druses the regenerating sway of the pacha was intolerable.

Lookers-on were indignant at the behaviour of the French government. "I cannot," writes Mr. Raikes, "but appreciate the dignified conduct of Lord Palmerston throughout these negotiations, when compared with the petty passions which have been opposed to him on their side."

Again he writes—"Every act which emanates from the men of July is devoid of dignity or sincerity. They are fawning or insolent, false or irritating, according to the deference which they are enabled to exact from other nations; but never calm."

The Duke of Wellington, who was always anxious for peace with France, and, as a party man, had no great love for Lord Palmerston, wrote to Mr. Raikes—"I can understand that France might think that her interests and wishes were not sufficiently attended to in the first negotiation, and in that subsequently proposed; but I confess that I have never been able to discover cause of offence in any of these transactions."

In the East, the question went on settling itself in its own rough way. On the 25th of November, Commodore Napier, with a part of Admiral Stopford's squadron, suddenly appeared before Alexandria, and addressed the following letter to Boghos Bey, Mehemet Ali's chief adviser:—"The pacha knows, certainly, that the European powers are anxious to secure to him the hereditary government of Egypt. Will his highness permit an old sailor to suggest to him an easy method of reconciliation with the sultan? Let him promptly and freely, without imposing any conditions, send back the Ottoman fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria. The miseries of war will then cease; his highness will find ample satisfaction, during the remainder of his life, in cultivating the arts, and in, probably, laying a base for the re-establishment of the throne of the Ptolemies. After what has passed in Syria, his highness ought readily to foresee how little he can do where the people are dissatisfied with his government. Within a month, 6,000 Turks and a handful of sailors have taken Beyrout and Saida; beaten the Egyptians in three actions; secured 10,000 prisoners or deserters; and occasioned the forced evacuation of the forts, and of the passes of the Taurus and Libanus; and all this in the face of an army of 30,000 men. Three weeks after, Acre, the key of Syria, submitted to the allied fleets. Should his highness resolve to continue hostilities, allow me to ask if he feels sure of retaining Egypt? I am a great admirer of his highness, and would much rather be his friend than his enemy. I take the liberty of representing to him that, if he refuses to reconcile himself with the sultan, he can only hope

to preserve Egypt for a short time. A general discontent prevails here amongst the inhabitants and the sailors; his highness's vice-admiral, and several of his officers, have already abandoned him, and are on board my fleet. Let his highness reflect on the danger he will incur if his soldiers are promised, on his fall, to be delivered from his service. Who can say that Egypt would be invulnerable? Alexandria may be taken as Acre was, and his highness, who may now become the founder of a dynasty, would be reduced to the rank of an ordinary pacha." Ultimately, in accordance with this epistle, a convention was agreed to by Mehemet Ali and Commodore Napier, which ultimately was accepted by the Porte and the European powers, who were getting anxious to have done with the matter. The Courts of Vienna and Berlin, anxious for the peace of the continent, thought only of closing, well or ill, the Egyptian affair, and of concluding the "precious engagements" (as Guizot terms them), which, by the treaty of the 15th of July, they had been led to contract. The Emperor Nicholas found that he had done enough in abandoning his pretensions of exclusive preponderance at Constantinople, and, by allowing the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi to fall to the ground, to break up the close friendship between England and France. He had no desire to go further, or to reanimate, at the expense of his own policy in the East, the influence of France, once more added to European concert. Lord Palmerston wished to resume some amicable intercourse with France, always provided that this reconciliation in no way reduced the complaisance lately testified by Russia towards England, and the sacrifices she had made. Before this recrudescence of personal interests and passions amongst the different powers, the general interest of Europe turned pale; the great questions of European futures retired. Neither the real independence of the Turks, nor the fate of the Christians in the East, nor the security and facility of commercial relations between Europe and Asia, stood forward as objects of serious solicitude. Elevated and far-seeing policy no longer held its peace. There was no eagerness but to be delivered from recent embarrassment, without being compromised in any new design. After incredible delays, the convention of the 13th of July, 1841, to which France was a party, was agreed to.

European peace was maintained.

The French government established itself in the isolation made for it by an insufficient estimate of its presence and opinion. "Europe," says Guizot, "felt the weight of the void which absent France left in its councils, and evinced an anxiety for her recall. France declined returning until Europe advanced to invite her, after compelling the Porte to the concessions demanded by the pacha."

Mehemet Ali, driven from Syria, and threatened in Egypt itself, was hereditarily established there.

The Porte was withdrawn from the exclusive protectorate of Russia, and placed within the sphere of general interests and common deliberations of Europe.

By these results, the check France had received—the fruit of her own error in the question—was limited and stayed. She resumed her position in Europe; and (forgetful of Sir C. Napier), Guizot writes, "secured that of her client in Egypt. This was all the success that the situation bequeathed to me in 1840. Admitted, I did not conceal from myself that it was inadequate to satisfy the national sentiment, carried away beyond truth and sound judgment." Guizot had become aware of the failing of his countrymen. "We love," he writes, "appearance almost more than reality. We intoxicate ourselves with our desires, as if they were always our right, and in our power."

Our next extract from the duke's correspondence is worth recording, as a sensible summary of the whole affair. He writes, December 23rd, 1840—"I believe I know as much of the Eastern question as any one individual not concerned in the negotiation of it. There have been many mistakes and much mismanagement on both sides. The original error was to suppose that England and France, both maritime, both commercial, both manufacturing, both having capital, both having, and still seeking colonial dependencies, could be what is termed intimate allies.

The intimacy must always have been the same as that between the cat and the mouse; each watching every step of the other, and each complaining of every advantage enjoyed, and, most particularly, of every one taken by the other.

"The truth of the Eastern question is, that both nations were interested in the settlement of it very much upon the plan stipulated in the treaty of July, 1840. I am certain of one thing—the Eastern question never could have been settled till Mehemet Ali should be turned out of Syria. But both parties—that is to say, each of the nations—looked to the acquirement of some advantage in the negotiation and settlement of the question. England has been the successful party. This is the result of which France has to complain; all the rest is matter of form, of which the legislature and people of both countries have a right, an equal right, to complain."

And what was the result? Was it worth fighting about? We can scarce think it was.

It is true we had battered St. Jean d'Acre to powder, and crippled and humbled the old pacha. It is true, as we have seen it stated, that the fall of Acre had astonished the Arabs, and that, in their tents, the names of England and Palmerston were mentioned with reverence.

And, on the other hand, what did she lose?

Let an observer reply.

"She has forfeited," writes Mr. Raikes, "the friendship of civilisation, in order to shake hands with barbarism. She has strangled in the bud a treaty of commerce with France, which might greatly have benefited her trade; and has ratified another with Russia, which will exclude her for ever from the Black Sea. She has diminished her moral influence over a neighbour who recognised, with admiration, the superior progress made by her in science and liberal institutions, becoming the willing tool of a distant encroaching power, to whom her known superiority is gall and wormwood, and who will never forget the Belgian question, the Spanish question, the Quadruple question, and all the revolutionary quirks and quibbles for which her objects once answered. We shall see whether the Russian ivy does not attempt to check the British oak."

Two questions may be asked. Why should Lord Palmerston have interfered in the East at all? A sufficient reply may be found in the fact that, at that time, the public believed that England was bound to interfere in any event in any part of the world. People did not then believe that the dead should bury their dead. Diplomatically, England was bound to interfere.

But if England was bound to interfere, why not take care to have France on her side?

The reply to this may be found in the following letter of the Duke of Wellington, January 1st, 1841:—"It is very true that England and France might alone have settled the question of the Levant, but not permanently, without an understanding with Russia. But, unfortunately, France never enters into the discussion of any question of general interest without a bias upon some national interest unconnected with the object in view, and, above all, with the legitimate and ancient interests of England. France could not, and would not, settle the Levant question without looking to her objects in Egypt, Candia, &c. England has nothing, nor a desire to have anything, to say to either; but she cannot have these possessions fall into the hands of a rival power, consistently with her interests in Asia. You are mistaken respecting the Russian desire to maintain the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi: that arrangement was very inconvenient to Russia, because she never could be on terms with either of the maritime powers, particularly not with England, so long as that treaty should subsist. But it was absolutely necessary for Russia to settle the affairs of the Black Sea at the same time with the general affairs of the Levant. It was therefore that I say it was necessary to reckon with Russia in the Levant affair. Indeed, the maritime powers could not consider the Levant affair settled so long as the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi existed."

Isolation is impossible. It does not answer for communities or individuals. As England could not act with France, she had to act with the other powers. This led to a new phase. An effort had to be made to soothe the vanity of France —always, in Europe, the dog in the manger. How long, and trifling, and tedious were the negotiations, in consequence, we have seen.

Another topic, also, at this time, came to be very troublesome. England had prided herself upon putting down the slave-trade; had endeavoured to get all the civilised world to side with her in the attempt. Here, again, France was the difficulty. Guizot writes:—

"On the day of signing the convention of July, 1841, the signatures were scarcely affixed, when Lord Palmerston again spoke to M. de Bourqueney of the treaty prepared three years before, between the five great powers, to secure the more effectual repression of the slave-trade, and which had remained in abeyance since 1840. On the 20th of July, I replied to M. de Bourqueney—'I wish to tell you on this subject my real feeling and intention. For nine months I have carefully avoided, with Lord Palmerston, all petty debates. There have been no complaints, no recriminations, no trivial jealousies. In no instance have I exhibited temper or ill-will; I have transacted business simply, tranquilly, without yielding anything substantial, but keeping to main points, and throwing aside incidents and impediments. The political position required this. My opinion of Lord Palmerston justified it. I think highly of his understanding; I have confidence in his word. His manner of treating, though a little narrow and perverse, suits me. He is clear, prompt, firm. I neither believe in his hatred to France or to the king; nor in his imputed perfidies. And, as to difficulties, I may say of the misunderstandings occasioned by his passionate love of argument, his disposition to shut himself up in his own constructions, and to push them to extremities without seeing anything above, beyond, or on either side, I am neither offended by, nor do I complain of them. This is the natural construction of his mind: we must accept it, and with a good face, when we treat with him.'" Guizot, then Foreign Minister, concludes with certain grievances, of which he complains, and which render it advisable to be merely civil to his lordship. They were three; the chief being his lordship's speech at Tiverton, published in the *Morning Chronicle,* 30th June, 1841. His lordship said—"We brought within British influence, in our campaign, a vast extent of country, larger than France, almost as big as half Europe; and the way in which this was done, and the results which have followed, are well deserving of the attention of the people of England. There is a contrast, of which we have reason to be proud, between the progress of our arms in the East, and the operations which a neighbouring power, France, is now carrying on in Africa. The progress of the British arms in Asia has been marked by a scrupulous reference to justice, an inviolable respect for property, and abstinence from anything which could tend to wound the feelings and prejudices of the people; and the result is this—that I saw, not many weeks ago, a distinguished military officer who had just returned from the centre of Affghanistan, from a place called Candahar, which many of you, perhaps, never heard of; and he told me, that he, accompanied by half-a-dozen attendants, but without any military escort, had ridden on horseback many hundreds of miles, through a country inhabited by wild and semi-barbarous tribes, who, but two years ago, were arrayed in fierce hostility against the approach of the British arms; but that he had ridden through them all with as much safety as he could have ridden from Tiverton to John O'Groat's house; his name, as a British officer, being a passport through them all, because the English had respected their rights, and afforded them protection, and treated them with justice. Hence was it that an unarmed Englishman was safe in the midst of their wilds. The different system pursued in Africa, by the French, had been productive of very different results. There the French army, I am sorry to say, is tarnished by the character of their operations. They sally forth, unawares, on the villages of the country; they put to death every man who cannot escape by

flight; and they carry off into captivity the women and children. They carry away every head of cattle, every sheep, and every horse; and they burn what they cannot carry off. The crop on the ground, and the corn in the granaries, are consumed by the fire of the invaders. What is the consequence? While, in India, our officers ride about unarmed and alone, there is not a Frenchman in Africa who shows his face above a given spot, from the sentry at his post, who does not fall a victim to the wild and justifiable retaliation of the Arabs. They professed to colonise Algeria, but they are only encamped in military posts; and while we, in India, have the feelings of the people with us, in Africa every native is opposed to the French, and every heart burns with the desire of vengeance. I mention these things, because it is right that you should know them; they are an additional proof that, even in this world, Providence has decreed that injustice and violence shall meet with their appropriate punishment, and that justice and mercy shall also meet with their reward."

This speech left a sore; and, at length, when Lord Palmerston became pressing for France to sign the convention agreed on, Guizot wrote to M. de Bourqueney—"I told Mr. Bulwer, candidly, that the immediate signature of the convention would not be thoroughly understood or well received here by everybody: that the Minister of Marine had objections to this extension of the right of search: that our public, on this point, entertained prejudices and jealousies: that the papers would cry out: that, as regarded myself, there was an obstacle to surmount—an incidental misunderstanding to arrange; and that, to speak plainly, Lord Palmerston, on the 2nd of November last, had not been so courteous to me, and recently, at Tiverton, so complimentary to my country, that I should embarrass myself in Paris to procure for him a triumph in London."

Lord Palmerston explained: but a new element entered into the calculations. The Whigs were about to retire, and Sir Robert Peel and his party to come into office; and Guizot considered it would be better to signalise their advent to power by the concession.

In London, on the 19th of August, Baron de Bourqueney handed to Lord Palmerston the French refusal to sign, without delay, the new treaty. After assuming for a moment, and for the sake of decorum, the air of discussing the apparent motives of this refusal, Lord Palmerston said—"M. Guizot does not like the slave-trade more than I do myself. I know his principles: they are mine also. It must be painful to him to retard the conclusion of an act more effectually suppressive than any we have yet adopted. As to myself, it would certainly have been personally gratifying to me to crown, by the signature of a general treaty, ten years of labour and devotion to so good a cause; but I have only to produce the documents, and lay the diplomatic notes on the table of the House, to prove to the whole world that, in all that depends on myself, I have brought the work as near as possible to its execution. I have nothing to reproach myself with, and no one else will have reason to reproach me." And thus, in this miserably small way, Guizot had his revenge.

The Conservative ministry got on better with Guizot—a Conservative himself. "Whatever," he writes "might be the difference of origin and position between the two cabinets, we held strongly similar ideas on the duties and conditions of government in the present state of European society; and, starting from separate points, we marched towards the same goal by following similar tendencies." Guizot wished to be on good terms with them; and, towards the end of November, M. de Sainte Aulaire received his powers to sign the convention, intended to render the suppression of negro traffic more general and effective. This was not easy to effect, as Guizot candidly admits, in consequence of French susceptibilities.

The negotiations of 1831 and 1833, with this object, between France and England, had excited no remark. The French opposition equally accepted them readily at that period, as necessary to the triumph of the Liberal cause throughout the world. They had been in course of execution for ten years; during which

time the reciprocal right of search they established had not given rise to numerous or serious complaints. Guizot apprehended a difficulty with regard to the ratifications when the Chambers met. "Though Lord Palmerston," he wrote to Count de Sainte Aulaire, "has fallen, matters are not yet, between the two countries, as easy and gracious as during the time of our intimacy." The difficulty proved to be greater than was anticipated. The discussion in the French Chambers was unusually trying. Guizot defended the government, but only to a certain extent: and an amendment, moved by M. Jacques Lefebvre, about preserving from encroachment "the interests of our commerce, and the independence of our flag," was carried almost unanimously. It was evident that the general feeling for the suppression of the slave-trade no longer retained the intensity which, in 1831 and 1833, had led to the existing admitted objections. National jealousy was, unfortunately, stronger in France than the triumph of justice and humanity.

In this transaction the blame rests with France. Guizot shows the groundlessness of French clamour. Had England exceeded the limits fixed by Article 3 of the convention of 1831, which prescribed that, in all cases, the cruisers of the two nations should not more than double those of the other? Had the number of vessels been so numerous that commerce had materially suffered in consequence? Had the outcries against the excess of the right of search been multiplied to any extent? "I ordered," Guizot writes, "investigations on this subject, which produced the following results:—The number of English cruisers commissioned to exercise the right of search, between 1833 and 1842, had not exceeded 152: that of the French amounted to 120. On the western coast of Africa, the theatre of the most active surveillance and traffic, the French cruisers had searched, in 1837, seven vessels, of which two were French, and five English: in 1833, five: in 1835, two: in 1838, twenty-four, eight of which were English. The reports of the years 1834, 1836, 1837, 1839, and 1840, gave no specifications of the number of searches within the French stations. As to the English cruisers, the years 1838 and 1839 were the only periods respecting which anything like correct details could be collected. In 1838, on the western coast of Africa, five French ships had been visited by the English cruisers, while eight English had been visited by the French; and, in 1839, the English cruisers had searched eleven French vessels. Finally, as regarded the complaints of French commerce, excited by abuses of the right of search, an inspection of the archives of the *ministèries* of foreign affairs and of the marine, during the course of these eleven years, detected only seventeen cases, five or six of which had obtained satisfaction; the others having been rejected as without foundation, or abandoned by the claimants themselves. These were, undoubtedly, facts to be regretted; but neither their number nor their importance served to explain such a clamorous outcry, or to justify the change of conduct required from the king's government."

The diplomatic embarrassment was adjourned. Lord Aberdeen felt the difficulties of Guizot's position, and acted accordingly. Meanwhile the parliamentary embarrassments of the latter went on increasing. The treaty was the favourite ground of attack on the part of the opposition. The general election, which took place in July, 1842, for the Chamber of Deputies, revealed a similar disposition in the public. It was clear to us that the new Chamber would be as strongly decided against the right of search, as that which had just terminated.

France evaded the difficulty by refusing to ratify the treaty, after all. The correspondence on this head is minute and exhausting; but it cannot be better summed up than in the words of the late Lord Aberdeen, who, on returning a letter to the French ambassador, said—"M. Guizot's letters are all perfectly beautiful; but, on reading them, one would readily believe that he is entirely right, and we wrong—that we have ever to praise his proceedings, and he to condemn ours: finally, that in all things it is he, and not us, who is the aggrieved party."

The knot, as Guizot says, was untied. France had receded; and the humane efforts of Lord Palmerston, as regards the suppression of the slave-trade, were

frustrated. Earl Aberdeen had given way, and the treaty of the 20th of December, 1841, as regarded France, was annulled; and, as Guizot joyously writes, "without any recrimination from the other powers, between whom it continued in vigour, and without producing the slightest change in the friendly relations between France and England."

Even this concession was not sufficient. In the Chamber of Deputies (1843), a direct attack was made upon the treaties of 1831 and 1833. In the reply to the speech from the throne, the following paragraph was inserted:—"Uniting in a feeling of humanity, the powers apply themselves to the suppression of the infamous traffic in negroes. We have seen with satisfaction, that, while lending to this just enterprise the concurrence of France, your majesty's government has not given its consent to the extension of the existing conventions. For the strict and loyal execution of these conventions, without infringement, we rely on the vigilance and firmness of your government. But impressed by the objections which experience reveals, and also in the interest of the good intelligence so essential to the accomplishment of the common work, we call with our most ardent wishes for the moment when our commerce shall be replaced under the superintendence of our own flag."

The question was still further delayed. Guizot frankly admitted, that if settled in accordance with the wish of the English cabinet and the other European powers, peace between the two countries would be impossible. "Lord Aberdeen accepted fully the question thus stated, and laid it before his colleagues in the same form, with reserve, however, and subordinating the issue of the negotiation to the practical value of the new methods we should propose. It was his nature always to appear less decided than he really was; and to wait patiently until time and reflection should bring round wavering and refractory spirits to his opinion. Sir Robert Peel entered into no explanation with me on the question itself. He was evidently perplexed and moved by the opposition which the abandonment of this right would encounter in parliament, and by the impression it would convey to the public."

It was not till 1845 that the question was settled, after a commission of inquiry, consisting of the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, had long been taking evidence on the subject.

With regard to the conventions of 1831 and 1833, it was stipulated that they should be suspended for ten years, the time assigned to the duration of the new treaty; and that, at the end of that period, they should be looked upon as definitely abrogated, unless by common accord they were restored to vigour. On the right of verifying the nationality of vessels, no general and absolute maxim was established; but it was agreed, "that instructions, founded on the principles of the right of nations, and the habitual practice of maritime countries, should be addressed to the commandants of the French and English squadrons and stations on the coast of Africa; and that the two governments should communicate to each other their respective instructions, the text of which would be annexed to the new convention." Thus drawn up, the treaty was signed on the 29th of May, 1845, and the right of search abolished.

And thus was Lord Palmerston's darling scheme annulled. Yet, in the chapter in which it was recorded, Guizot writes—"The conventions of 1831 and 1833, in virtue of which it was exercised, had been as loyally executed as conceived. Their effect had not exceeded their object. They had only acted, in reality, against the trade; and had they been accepted and practised by all the maritime powers, they would probably have furnished the surest method of repressing that detestable traffic. But after the treaty of the 15th of July, 1840, and the check of France in the Egyptian question, these conventions, and that of the 20th of December, 1841, which merely formed their supplement, became suddenly, in France, a subject of alarm and national anger."

We now take leave of this part of our subject, in pursuit of which we have had

to outrun our narrative. We must retrace our steps. Of the Peel ministry, and of the Aberdeen foreign policy, we shall have much to say in their proper places.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A COURT INTERLUDE; AND THE POST-OFFICE.

In 1839, the Whigs were getting unpopular. A little life had been infused into them by the accession of the young queen; but the time was fast approaching when they were to give place to the Liberal Conservatism, which appears to be the delight and refuge of the practical politicans of England.

The third session of her majesty's first parliament was opened, with the customary ceremonies, on the 5th of February, when the queen delivered a speech that announced the completion of commercial treaties with the Emperor of Austria and the Sultan of Turkey; and that England, in conjunction with Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, had entered into negotiations with a view to the settlement of the final differences between Holland and Belgium, who were reported as being favourable to the proposals of the allies. No such statement was made as regarded Spain, where the civil war raged with little sensible mitigation. Respecting Persia, it was intimated that, though our ministry had retired from the country, there was a prospect of our difficulties with the shah being amicably adjusted; and the Houses were assured that preparations were being made in India to place our possessions there in a position to resist aggression from any quarter. It was stated that the reform and amendment of the municipal corporation of Ireland were essential to the interest of the queen's dominions, and that there was an urgent necessity that parliament should complete the measures recommended by the ecclesiastical commissioners, for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the established church. A similar hint was given in behalf of law reform. The gentlemen of the House of Commons were then addressed on the subject of the annual estimates. Assurances of economy were given. The West India Emancipation Act was said to work satisfactorily. A reference was made to the lawless proceedings of Canadian sympathisers on the American frontier. The speech ended with the following reference to the chartist agitation:—"I have observed, with pain, the persevering efforts which have been made, in some parts of the country, to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices. In the counteraction of all such designs I depend upon the efficacy of the law, which it will be my duty to enforce upon the good senso and right disposition of my people; upon their attachments to the principles of justice, and their abhorrence of violence and disorder."

In the Lords the address passed without a division. In the Commons, as might have been anticipated, it was not suffered to go off so quietly. Mr. Thomas Duncombe moved an amendment, the purport of which was to acquaint her majesty that the Reform Bill had totally disappointed the expectations of the people, and to pledge the House to take into early consideration its numerous defects. He ventured to state that parliament represented the aristocracy alone; and that though the middle classes made no grievance of their exclusion, the lower link in the social chain was very differently disposed. He further announced that the working-men in the kingdom had absolutely appointed delegates to manage their claims; and that such officials were not only then in London, but had, in full assembly, passed a resolution that the House of Commons was not worthy of being petitioned. Mr. Duncombe's amendment was rejected by 426 to 86.

Various attempts at legislation were carried by the Whig ministers—none of

them calling for specific notice here; but in March, as usual, they began to be in difficulties. On the 21st, they were defeated in the House of Lords, on a motion proposed by the Earl of Roden, for an inquiry into the state of Ireland, which, under the auspices of the Marquis of Normanby, was stated to be in a bad condition. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Brougham expressed themselves in favour of the motion, and Lord Melbourne opposed it; but, on a division, 63 peers voted for it, and 58 against it.

On the 22nd, Lord John Russell intimated to the House that Lord Eglinton had superseded the Marquis of Normanby as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He also intimated that, at an early period, he should take the opinion of the House as to the Irish administration; adding the warning, that an unfavourable result would cause the resignation of the government.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Labouchere, in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill to suspend the executive constitution, and make provision for the temporary government of Jamaica; the House of Assembly there having placed itself in opposition to the governor when he sought to carry out the provisions of an act recently passed by the imperial legislature, called the West India Prisons' Act, to which, it was clear, a very large majority of that assembly entertained insurmountable objections. After some remarks by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulbourn, leave was given to bring in the bill.

On the 15th, ministers challenged a vote of censure. On that day, Lord John Russell proposed, in the House of Commons, "That it is the opinion of the House that it is expedient to persevere in those principles which have guided the executive government of Ireland of late years, and which have tended to the effectual administration of the law, and the general improvement of that part of the United Kingdom." Sir Robert Peel accepted the challenge which had thus been expressed; and—after recalling to the recollection of the House a motion for papers illustrating the alarming condition of Ireland (carried in March previously, without opposition from government), and the appointment of a committee in the Lords, on the 21st of the same month, to inquire into the state of that portion of the United Kingdom—said: "That it appears to this House, that the appointment of a committee of inquiry by the House of Lords, under the circumstances and for the purpose above mentioned, does not justify her majesty's ministers in calling upon this House without previous inquiry, or even the production of the information which this House has required, to make a declaration of opinion with respect to one branch of the executive; still less a declaration of opinion which is neither explicit as to the principles which it proposes to approve, nor definite as to the period to which it refers; and that it is not fitting that this House should adopt a proceeding which has the appearance of calling in question the undoubted right of the House of Lords to inquire into the state of Ireland with respect to crime and outrage, more especially when the exercise of that right, by the House of Lords, does not interfere with any previous proceeding or resolution of the House of Commons, nor with the progress of any legislative measure assented to by the House of Commons, or at present under consideration." The amendment was defeated by a majority of twenty-two.

In their next encounter ministers were not so successful. On the 3rd of May, on the order of the day for the House going into committee on the Jamaica Bill, Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion in a most powerful speech—a speech against which ministers and their supporters contended in vain. The division, which took place on the 6th, showed that their majority had declined to five.

On the following day, Lord John Russell, in the Commons, and Lord Melbourne in the Lords, announced the resignation of themselves and their colleagues—the former, for doing so, putting forward the plea of not desiring to expose to jeopardy the colonial empire; the latter, with characteristic *nonchalance*, after referring to "the great measure," which had been so emphatically condemned, acknowledged that it was now no longer possible for him to administer the affairs

of her majesty's government in a manner that could be useful and beneficial to the country.

Immediately her majesty sent for the Duke of Wellington, who, after hearing the queen's expressions of regret at being obliged to change her servants, and her appeal for counsel, informed her majesty that the chief difficulty in the way of establishing a satisfactory government lay in the House of Commons, and that it would be necessary to send for Sir Robert Peel.

Accordingly, the great leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons had an interview with her majesty. "The conversation that followed," writes the Duke of Buckingham (whom we quote), "has not been reported; but Sir Robert subsequently, in the House of Commons, affirmed that no one could have expressed more fully, more naturally, or more becomingly, the regret which her majesty felt for the loss of her late advisers, or principles more strictly constitutional with respect to the formation of a new government. Unfortunately, the new minister, thus thrust, as it might be considered, on his youthful sovereign, possessed none of the brilliant social qualities of his predecessor." So says the Duke of Buckingham. Guizot writes—"Lord Melbourne, by the amenity of his character; by the impartial freedom of his judgment; by the charms of his mind, quietly humorous and gay; and by attentions at once respectful and almost paternal, had inspired her with a confidence and a liking bordering on affection." Her majesty had given her confidence entirely to the friends of her youth—as the Whig ministers were termed; and it was quite natural that she should regret parting with them. However, the first interview with Sir Robert passed off satisfactorily.

During the day the new minister communicated with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. Goulbourn; and with such success, that, on the following morning, he waited on her majesty with the arrangements completed, according to his promise. The queen looked over the names; and in reference to the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel stated, that his grace had desired to be included in the cabinet without an office which would require him to take the lead in the House of Lords; but her majesty expressed a particular wish that the duke should hold an important post in the administration.

So far all was satisfactory: and now comes the real difficulty.

Peel requested that the principal offices in the royal household might be placed at his disposal. "It was not," says Guizot, "as it would appear, with Sir Robert, but with the Duke of Wellington, that the idea of making this request first originated. The young queen was shocked at it. It was, the Whigs told her, an exorbitant pretension, utterly unauthorised by precedent. It was added, that the great ladies of the Conservative party had spoken of it as a triumph over the queen; and had said that, when they composed her Court, they would be better able to restrain her within constitutional limits than the Whigs had been."

The queen was placed in a position of great embarrassment. As far as regarded noblemen and gentlemen, no grave objection was raised; but the ladies who had been her majesty's associates since her accession to the throne, were, it was evident, not to be so easily parted with. The minister tried to meet the wishes of his sovereign; but he knew the danger of allowing, in his own camp, persons in possession of her confidence, whose nearest male relatives must be his most formidable political opponents. Anxious, however, to meet her majesty's wishes as far as was possible, he proposed that some of the ladies of the household should retain their places; but her majesty insisted that not one of them should be removed: and when the Duke of Wellington subsequently was honoured with an interview, a similar determination was still more firmly expressed.

Afterwards, it is certain—and, not unlikely, before—her majesty sent for Lord Melbourne, by whose advice she wrote the following letter:—

"The queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir

Robert Peel, to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings."

It appears, from a statement made a few days later in the House of Commons, that this letter was submitted by Lord Melbourne to his late colleagues, who approved of it.

In many quarters, Sir Robert Peel was much blamed for the course he pursued. We incline to agree with those who maintain, that if any of the Whig ministers had been in Sir Robert's position, they would have been as exacting. "No minister," adds the Duke of Buckingham, in commenting on these proceedings, "should undertake to carry on the government of his country without the full confidence of his sovereign; and Sir Robert consulted his own dignity in the course he adopted, which, it is scarcely necessary to add, met with the entire approbation of the other eminent men who had expressed their willingness to join with him in forming a new administration."

Without loss of time, he wrote the following letter to the queen, dated Whitehall, May 10th, 1839:—

"Sir Robert Peel presents his humble duty to your majesty, and has had the honour of receiving your majesty's note of this morning. In respectfully submitting to your majesty's pleasure, and humbly returning into your majesty's hands the important trust which your majesty had been graciously pleased to commit to him, Sir Robert Peel trusts that your majesty will permit him to state to your majesty his impression with respect to the circumstances which have led to the termination of an attempt to form an administration for the conduct of your majesty's service. In the interview with which your majesty honoured Sir Robert Peel yesterday morning, after he had submitted to your majesty the names of those whom he proposed to recommend to your majesty for the principal executive appointments, he mentioned to your majesty his earnest wish to be enabled, with your majesty's sanction, so to constitute your majesty's household that your majesty's confidential servants might have the advantage of a public demonstration of your majesty's full support and confidence; and that, at the same time, so far as possible, consistently with that demonstration, each individual appointment in the household should be entirely acceptable to your majesty's personal feelings.

"On your majesty's expressing a desire that the Earl of Liverpool should hold an office in the household, Sir Robert Peel requested your majesty's permission at once to offer to Lord Liverpool the office of Lord Steward, or any other which he might prefer. Sir Robert Peel then observed that he should have every wish to apply a similar principle to the chief appointments which are filled by the ladies of your majesty's household; upon which your majesty was pleased to remark, that you must reserve the whole of those appointments, and that it was your majesty's pleasure that the whole should continue as at present, without any change.

"The Duke of Wellington, in the interview to which your majesty subsequently admitted him, understood, also, that this was your majesty's determination; and concurred with Sir Robert Peel in opinion, that, considering the great difficulties of the present crisis, and the expediency of making every effort, in the first instance, to conduct the public business of the country, with the aid of the present parliament, it was essential to the success of the commission with which your majesty had honoured Sir Robert Peel, that he should have that public proof of your majesty's entire support and confidence, which would be afforded by the permission to make some changes in that part of your majesty's household which your majesty resolved on maintaining entirely without change.

"Having had the opportunity, through your gracious consideration, of reflecting upon this point, he humbly submits to your majesty, that he is reluctantly compelled, by a sense of public duty and the interests of your majesty's service, to adhere to the opinion which he ventured to express to your majesty.

"He trusts he may be permitted, at the same time, to express to your majesty

his grateful acknowledgments for the distinction which your majesty conferred upon him, by requiring his advice and assistance in the attempt to form an administration; and his earnest prayers that, whatever arrangements your majesty may be enabled to make for that purpose, may be most conducive to your majesty's personal comfort and happiness, and in the promotion of the public welfare."

"Thus," writes the Duke of Buckingham, "ended this Court interlude—just as it had been expected by those who enjoyed the reputation of having devised it. The coadjutors, who had remained so conveniently behind the scenes, again came forward; and, apparently, with the same cheerfulness with which they had surrendered office, resumed its possession. Notwithstanding the representations that had been made respecting Sir Robert Peel's indifference to the queen's feelings, so well adapted to create a prejudice against him, some shrewd observers persisted in entertaining a totally different opinion of the transaction.

"Whatever," adds the Duke of Buckingham, "may have been the sentiments of that distinguished statesman as to the part he had been made to play in it, he prudently did not allow them to appear in the explanation he gave the House of Commons on the 15th. Lord John Russell followed with another explanation, which some portion of his auditors considered singularly explanatory. It appears that he, also, had been sent for to the palace, after the resignation of Sir Robert Peel had been received by the queen, who, according to his statement, 'had not gathered the precise manner in which Sir Robert had proposed to exercise the power of removal.' It does not appear that Lord John Russell attempted to explain to her majesty what her majesty had not clearly understood. Indeed, his speech contains the following sentence:—

"'She asked me whether I thought her justified in the line she had taken? and, on my answering that I did, she said she hoped that, as she had supported our administration, we should now be ready to support her.'

"No comment," continues the Duke of Buckingham, "can be necessary to point out the impropriety of representing the sovereign as a partisan devoted to one particular set of men, and exclusively relying on their support."—We at once pass to the explanation given on the next day, in the House of Lords, by Lord Melbourne, which contains other curious revelations. He therein acknowledges that he was admitted to an interview with his royal mistress after the Duke of Wellington had been sent for, and again on the following day, after Sir Robert Peel had proposed his arrangements for a new administration; when her majesty informed him that Sir Robert had required, that "all the ladies about the Court, and all the ladies about the royal person, should be dismissed." Under this impression, he said, the queen's letter had been written; and he and his colleagues had entirely concurred in opinion with her majesty, and were determined, at all hazards, to support her. Towards the conclusion of his speech, he acknowledges that a difference of opinion existed among his colleagues immediately previous to their resignation; but assured the House that he had resumed his position, "because he could not abandon his sovereign in a period of much excitement and difficulty."

Whatever may be thought of the statement made in the House of Commons, this was infinitely more objectionable as regards its reference to the queen. It excited the indignation of many of the peers; and the Duke of Wellington, generally a very cautious speaker, could scarcely refrain within parliamentary limits his desire to expose its disingenuousness. After some remarks on Lord Melbourne, he defended Sir Robert Peel, and clearly stated his opinion that a minister of the crown was entitled to control over all appointments of the sovereign's household, which became doubly necessary when the office of every department had long been in the hands of an opposite party. The duke then got rid of the plea that had been advanced, of Sir Robert Peel's proposal being contrary to usage, by pointing out the important difference that existed between the position of a queen-consort and a queen-regnant. He added that, though he would rather suffer any inconvenience than interfere with the comforts of the sovereign, had he

been in Sir Robert Peel's place, he should have acted exactly as he had done, such being demanded by the exigency of the occasion.

The reinstated ministers, in a cabinet council, absolutely agreed to express their opinion in a Minute, which stated, "that for the purpose of giving to the administration that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of constitutional support of the crown, which are required to enable it to act usefully to the public service, it is reasonable that the great offices of the Court, and situations held by members of parliament, should be included in the political arrangements made in a change in the administration; but that they (the existing ministers) are not of opinion that a similar principle should be applied or extended to the offices held by ladies in her majesty's household."

Sir Robert Peel had to bide his time. The position of the ministers was unpleasant. They were in office, not in power.

Let us pass over rapidly this portion of our parliamentary history.

After the statements referred to, both Houses adjourned for a fortnight. On their reassembling, the first thing they did was to elect a new Speaker; Mr. Abercromby having resigned. The choice fell upon Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

The Jamaica Bill was debated on the 1st and 2nd of July, when a clause to enable the governor and council to make ordinances which should have the force of laws, without the consent of the House of Assembly (which Sir Edward Sugden had, on a former day, moved should be omitted, but which the House then decided to retain), was given up. The despatch of public business was greatly retarded by the events of the session. It was not till the 5th of July that the Chancellor would bring forward his budget.

On the 27th of August, parliament was prorogued with a speech from the throne, that presented no feature calling for remark.

The redeeming characteristic of the budget this year, and of the last hours of the Whig ministry, was the reduction of the postage on letters to a uniform rate of one penny. The idea had been long before the public, and had been mainly advocated by Mr. (now Sir Rowland) Hill.

The earliest date in modern history at which any postal service is mentioned is the year 807, when an organisation was planned by the Emperor Charlemagne: the service, however, did not survive him. The first regular European letter-post was established in the Hanse Towns in the early part of the thirteenth century. In England, while the general post dates from the Stuarts, the establishment of a regular riding post owes its origin to Edward IV. One of the results attendant on the accession of a Scotch king to the English crown, necessitated important improvements in the system of posts, for which it called loudly. Again, James I. deserves some credit for setting on foot a general post for letters to foreign countries. Under the Protectorate the post-office underwent material changes. Whilst extending the bases of the post-office, Cromwell and his council took advantage of the state monopoly to make it subservient to the interests of the Commonwealth. A system of espionage was established. The post-office became now, for the first time, the subject of parliamentary enactment, and the acts passed during the interregnum became the models of all subsequent measures. At this time the post-office was favoured, and the profits thus made were very great. The penny post, started in London two years before the death of Charles II., was an opposition establishment, and soon amalgamated. The Duke of York complained of it; the Protestants hinted that it was a popish scheme; the notorious Dr. Oates said the Jesuits were at the bottom of it; and the government took the affair into their own hands. James II. first commenced the practice of granting pensions out of the post-office revenue. The year after he ascended the throne, the king, acting doubtless under the wishes of the "merry monarch" that provision should be made for her, granted a pension of £4,000 to £7,000 a year to Barbara Villiers, one of the late king's mistresses, to be paid out of the post-office receipts. This pension is still paid to the Duke of Grafton as her living representative. The

Earl of Rochester was allowed a pension of £4,000 a year from the same source during this reign. The first legislative enactment for the establishment of a Scotch office was made in the reign of William and Mary. The Irish post-office, also, at this time had similar honours awarded it.

In 1710, the acts relating to the post-office were completely remodelled, and the establishment was put on an entirely new basis. In 1720, Ralph Allen appeared, perhaps the most fortunate of all the improvers of the post-office. He proposed to the government to establish cross-posts between Exeter and Chester, going by way of Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, connecting in this way the west of England with the Lancashire districts and the mail route to Ireland, and giving independent postal intercommunication to all the important towns lying in the direction to be taken. Allen made a fine thing of it for himself, as well as for the country at large. The privilege of franking, at this time, appears to have been rather abused. The following list is one of many found in old records:—"*Imprimis.* Fifteen couple of hounds going to the King of the Romans with a free pass. *Item:* Two maid-servants going as laundresses to my Lord Ambassador Methuen. *Item:* Two bales of stockings for the use of the ambassadors to the crown of Portugal. *Item:* A deal case with flour, flitches of bacon, for Mr. Pennington, of Rotterdam." Most terribly was this system abused. At the investigation in 1763, it was related that one man had, in the course of five months, counterfeited 1,200 dozens of franks of different members of parliament.

We now come to another important epoch in the history of the English post-office—that of John Palmer. The mails travelled slow, and the post-boys were often robbed. Mr. Palmer proposed to send them by means of mail-coaches well armed, and which should travel at what was then considered a great speed. The post-office officials resisted. They said Mr. Palmer's plans were impracticable, and dangerous to commerce and the revenue. Mr. Pitt was not, however, to be blinded to the merits of the scheme, and Mr. Palmer was installed at the post-office, under the title of Controller-general. The gain to the public was immense; but Mr. Palmer was so badgered by the post-office officials, that it was deemed desirable that he should surrender his appointment; and thus matters remained at the post-office till the time of Rowland Hill. Born in 1795, and for many years a tutor in his father's school, near Birmingham, Mr. Hill became the secretary of the commissioners for conducting the colonisation of South Australia, upon the plan of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. At this post, according to the testimony of the commissioners themselves, Mr. Hill laboured unweariedly, evincing, as they said, considerable powers of organisation. Mr. Hill tells us how he set to work on behalf of postal reform. "The first thing I did," he says, "was very carefully to read all the reports on post-office subjects. I then put myself in communication with the honourable member for Greenock, who kindly afforded me much assistance. I then applied to the post-office for information, with which Lord Lichfield was good enough to supply me." In January, 1837, Mr. Hill published the results of his investigations, and embodied his scheme in a pamphlet, entitled *Post-Office Reform; its Importance and Practicability.* The pamphlet created a sensation. The first edition was circulated privately amongst members of the legislature and official men. It showed that the revenue of the post-office was diminishing in the last twenty years, while the population had increased 6,000,000, and trade and commerce had been developed in a proportionate manner. And he made out an overwhelming case in favour of the scheme identified with his name. The public took up the matter, and forced it upon the attention of government. A parliamentary committee was granted. Their finding was, point by point, in favour of Mr. Hill. The government was compelled to give way; and the penny postage scheme became law, in spite of the protest of the *Quarterly*, which characterised it as one of the most inconsiderate leaps in the dark ever made by a very inconsiderate assembly.

Miss Martineau says—"It is related, that Mr. Rowland Hill, walking one day

through the lake district, saw a postman present a letter to a female at a cottage door; who, having looked at the superscription, said it was from her brother; but declined to take it in, as the postage, which came to a shilling, she was unable to pay. Mr. Hill kindly paid the postage, though the woman was not willing that he should do so; and, when the postman had retired, she told him that what he had done was useless, and, opening the letter, she showed him it was merely a blank sheet of paper, sent, by agreement, from her relation, as was his practice once a quarter, to intimate that he was well, without expense to her, as it was understood that she would decline to receive it. This incident led Mr. Hill to think that the postage system was defective; and subsequent inquiries more than confirmed the impression thus produced. To save postage numerous devices had been resorted to. In some cases, paper of a peculiar colour gave a sort of telegraphic hint, for which the recipient took care not to pay. As newspapers were sent post-free, parties in town corresponded with their friends in the country by marking different words, so as to make known what they desired to indicate. Several letters were frequently written on one sheet, which, sent from the country, were to be separated and delivered to various individuals in London; and numerous letters, in various ways, were smuggled to town in coaches, passage-boats, and parcels. That the evil was great was not difficult of proof; but enormous difficulties lay in the way of its removal. The post-office arrangements were supposed to embody so much of the wisdom of the two preceding centuries, that they had absolutely reached perfection. The persevering inquiries and ingenious calculations of Mr. Hill, satisfied him that the actual cost of transmitting a letter from London to Edinburgh, or a distance of four hundred miles, did not exceed one thirty-sixth part of a penny. Hence, he and others drew this conclusion—that the charge of one shilling for postage was infinitely more than ought to be paid. Further, it appeared that the post-office revenue had not improved, as might have been expected, with the increase of population; but, on the contrary, had, in the twenty years following 1815, materially decreased. In some districts, letters conveyed by carriers, and delivered for a penny each, greatly outnumbered those sent through the post-office; and penny posts, established in several towns, were found to pay well. And Mr. Hill, from these and other circumstances, came to the conclusion that, to fix a uniform postage of one penny on all letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight, would be, in all respects, desirable. He thought, if the postage were paid in advance, so as to save time in delivery, with other regulations which he suggested, were determined on, the increase in the letters sent through the post would be very great—would be fourfold what it had been. He expected, when this point should be reached, that the net revenue of the establishment, after carrying franks and newspapers free of postage, would amount to £1,270,000, which would only fall short of the revenue thus realised by £280,000. It was reasonably concluded, that the number of letters would, eventually, greatly exceed the amount taken into this calculation: so that it was probable that, at no distant period, the revenue would be found to lose nothing by the change."

Out-of-doors, of course, the scheme of Mr. Hill was received with the most enthusiastic support and favour. In the House of Commons the measure was not regarded in quite such a favourable light. "I am bound to say," said Mr. Spring Rice, in introducing the measure into the House of Commons, "that my own anticipation is, that, at the outset, the loss will be very considerable indeed. I am, of course, anxious that this resolution should be carried; but I cannot disguise from the House or the public, the fact that, in my belief, the loss at first will be very great. I am the more bound to declare this opinion, because, if I did not now own it, and if, hereafter, the loss turns out to be considerable, and the House and the public should therefore be called upon to pay an equivalent to supply this deficiency, the House might say that I had given them no warning; that I had deluded them into a vote, and had paltered with the truth." He proposed to do away with the privilege of franking letters, which had long been

enjoyed by members of parliament: official franking was also to be done away with, and each department of the state was to pay its own postage: and concluded by moving, "That it is expedient to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of a penny postage, according to a certain amount of weight to be determined: that the parliamentary privilege of franking be abolished; and that official franking be strictly limited; the House pledging itself to make good any deficiency that may occur in the revenue from such reduction of the postage."

Mr. Goulbourn opposed the scheme. Sir Robert Peel thought it would be better to run the risk without giving the guarantee. However, the resolution was agreed to without opposition. The real fight on the question came off on the 12th of July, when Mr. Goulbourn moved a series of resolutions, which he wished to be substituted for the report of the committee. Sir Robert Peel said there had been a deficiency in 1837, another in 1838, and a still larger one in 1839; and yet it was proposed to incur the chance of a further loss of £1,500,000. This was just the course pursued by the National Assembly of France. They repealed every obnoxious impost, and placed the deficiency under the safeguard of the national honour; repelling, with indignation, the thought that the public credit would not be safe under such protection. But, objecting to the plan itself, he thought it involved various points which could not now be regulated, and which ought not to remain to be determined by any department without the sanction of parliament. On a division, the original question was carried by a majority of 102. A motion, made by Sir Robert Peel, to omit that part of the resolution which pledged the House to make good any deficiency that might occur in the revenue, was rejected by 125 to 29. The report being then agreed to, on the 18th of July, the bill, which was entitled, "An Act for the further Regulation of the Duty on Postages," was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It encountered little opposition, and was passed on the 29th of the month. It passed the Lords, having met with some sharp animadversion from the Duke of Wellington, on the manner in, and circumstances under, which it had been brought forward, in the face of a deficiency in the revenue of a million, which, considering the state of public affairs both at home and abroad, was more likely to be increased than diminished.

The Whig ministry deserve credit for establishing the penny post. In a moral and commercial light, a step of greater value could not have been taken by them. At first the experiment was, pecuniarily, a failure; and bitter reproaches were heaped upon the Whigs for it. It is now an immense success. Trade, commerce, friendship, and love, have all been aided, fostered, and developed by means of the penny post.

In a certain sense, penny postage answered from the first, though Colonel Maberly discovered, at the end of the first week, that Mr. Hill's plan had failed, at any rate, as a question of revenue. The number of letters increased from 75,000,000, in 1838-'39, to 219,000,000 in 1842-'43. Every cause gained. The agitators for the repeal of the corn-laws considered that the adoption of Mr. Hill's scheme saved them a couple of years of arduous and extensive agitation. Joseph Hume, writing to Mr. Bancroft, then United States' minister at the Court of St. James's, 1848, says—"I am not aware of any reform, among the many I have promoted during the past forty years, that has had, and will have, better results towards the improvement of the country, socially, morally, and politically." But we must hasten on. The Postmaster-general reports that, in the year 1854, the number of letters delivered in England and Wales averaged nineteen for every man, woman, and child; in 1863, the number had risen to twenty-six. In Scotland, the number rose from fifteen, in 1854, to twenty in 1863. In Ireland, from seven to nine. In the London postal district, the number of letters delivered in the year to each inhabitant, upon the average, rose from thirty-six in 1854, to forty-eight in 1863. In the Windsor district, from twenty-eight to forty; in the Southampton, from twenty-eight to thirty-eight; Oxford, twenty-five to thirty-six; Dover, twenty-five to thirty-five; Liverpool was stationary at thirty-one; in the Reading

district, the rise was from twenty to thirty-one; Gravesend, twenty-eight to thirty; in Bristol district there was a decline from thirty-one to twenty-nine; in the Plymouth, a rise from twenty-two to twenty-nine; in Birmingham, a rise from twenty-three to twenty-eight; Birkenhead, from twenty to twenty-six; Bradford, fourteen to twenty-six; Portsmouth, twenty to twenty-five; York, twenty-one to twenty-five; Newcastle, twenty-two to twenty-four; Norwich, fourteen to twenty-two; Exeter, eleven to twenty-two; Manchester, eighteen to twenty-one; Halifax, nine to eighteen; Leeds, thirteen to eighteen; Nottingham, ten to sixteen; Sheffield, fifteen to sixteen. But these calculations are made, not for the towns named, but for the postal districts—that is, for the whole area within which the head post-office of the town distributes letters; and, in fact, so many neighbouring small towns and villages are included, as often to give the whole "district" a population double or treble that of the town alone. The returns for watering-places present astonishing results; but the number stated as the population is only the resident population, and the letters include those of visitors who come in the season. Thus Scarborough is returned as having an increase of letters from twenty-three per head in 1854, to forty-two in 1863. Ramsgate, from twenty-seven to forty-two; Margate, from twenty-seven to forty-four; Brighton, from thirty-eight to forty-eight (the number reached in London); Southport, from thirty-six to fifty-two; Leamington, from forty-one to fifty-seven; and Malvern, from fifty-seven to 103.

It now appears that this branch of the public income is silently but steadily growing at such a rate, that, in a few years, it may be expected to produce a revenue equal to that from the income-tax at 4*d.* in the pound. It will do this, too, without the slightest pressure upon the contributors, for it does not represent a tax. If, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be disposed to remove the income-tax gradually, or to abolish it—say in 1875—he will find a substitute ready-made to his hands, and the nation will gain at nobody's cost. The statement we have given is made by Lord Stanley of Alderley in as many words; indeed, it is forced upon him by the inexorable logic of facts. He knows that his department is regarded in some quarters with a certain jealousy, and that it occasionally falls under adverse remark. There are economists who argue that the post-office ought not to be made a source of revenue at all; and that the public should pay for the service rendered only just so much as that service costs. Now, so long as the surplus profit accruing to the revenue was but half a million or so, the economical question was not, in the Postmaster-general's opinion, worth entertaining; but, of late, this surplus has grown with such rapidity, and may be expected to grow so rapidly in future, that the argument can no longer be evaded. A fourpenny income-tax, as Mr. Gladstone has told us, means no less than £5,600,000 a year; and if all this profit is made out of letter-carrying, people will undoubtedly begin to discuss the subject, and investigate the principles on which the business is conducted. So Lord Stanley of Alderley anticipates his antagonists; closes at once with the question; acknowledges the productiveness, both actual and potential, of his department; but boldly maintains, "that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to devise any mode of raising a public income less burdensome, or more equitable in its operation, than that which exacts no payment without giving a service in return, and which is not open to the appellation of a tax."

There may be some exception taken to this statement of the case. If the post-office charges a penny for carrying a letter, when the expense of carrying it could be defrayed for a halfpenny, the unnecessary charge might possibly be "open to the appellation of a tax." If, again, the service actually performed by the department could, except for the profit made upon it, be performed more expeditiously or completely, it would certainly be competent to any one to object to the profit realised on such terms. Still, though the assumptions of the report must be so far corrected, the position itself might very well be maintained. All

taxes are objectionable, and the best tax is that open to the fewest objections. If the Postmaster-general is right in predicting that a few years will suffice to make the produce of the post-office equal to the produce of the income-tax, he is perfectly justified in claiming our admiration for a source of revenue at once so prolific and so imperceptible.

It must now be observed, that this golden shower has descended upon the post-office almost in spite of itself. The Postmaster-general disclaims for himself and his predecessors, any "special" or overruling desire to create a revenue from the department. He avers that the interests of the public have always been considered with due solicitude; and that the post-office has never hesitated to extend its accommodation whenever the advantages to be obtained appeared commensurate with the expense to be incurred. The service was administered with prudence, but it was never starved. On another point, too, some explanations are offered. It has been often alleged, that the servants in the employ of the post-office were unreasonably worked or inadequately paid; but the report states, not only that the force of the department, during the last ten years, has been "largely increased," but that its "emoluments have undergone considerable improvement." In short, "all parts of post-office expenditure have been augmented;" and yet, notwithstanding this liberality, the whole cost of the service, though actually increased, has steadily declined in its relation to the whole revenue—the proportion, which was 81 per cent. in 1856, being only 66 per cent. in 1865.

From these statistics, Lord Stanley of Alderley desires us to infer that the profits of the post-office represent, not inordinate charges or niggardly management, but the natural growth of a well-conducted business in a prosperous country; and there is no doubt that the claim is substantially sound. The revenue of the post-office has simply grown with the correspondence of the country, and that correspondence has been multiplied beyond imagination through the facilities which the post-office has provided for it. The real business of the office is letter-carrying. It is not in its fancy branches that the great profit is made, but in the main work of collecting and distributing letters. This increase of income arises from the extension of district posts. Letters are now posted not merely to correspondents several miles off, but to persons in the next street, or another quarter of the town. Half the business of every-day life is conducted through the post-office. A stamped envelope is made to do the duty of an errand-boy or a messenger. It saves many a visit and many a walk. The commonest orders for the commonest matters are now conveyed through this channel, and the result is an incredible multiplication of letters. We entirely agree, too, with the Postmaster-general in the belief that the extension of the system will still be prodigious. Wherever the office plants a letter-box or a letter-pillar, there the correspondence begins at once to grow. Wherever the deliveries are multiplied, letters are multiplied immediately; and when the district postal system has been developed in our provincial towns, the revenue of the post-office will, we have not the slightest doubt, attain and exceed the dimensions anticipated in the report. It is now about £1,500,000. It is growing at the rate of £300,000 a year, and will probably grow at twice that rate before long. Already Mr. Gladstone could state, that the heavy charges incurred for the enlargements in London had been in great part overtaken by the growth of income; and we see no reason for doubting that the post-office may actually supplant the income-tax in a comparatively short time.

Mark the contrast! While the Whigs were conferring this enormous benefit on the people, the Tories were disgusted; and, as the Duke of Buckingham confesses, "withdrew their attention from politics, and sought more profitable or more agreeable pursuits." In the summer, the Marquis of Londonderry assisted the Earl of Eglinton to revive, at his castle near the Ayrshire coast, the pageant and ceremonies of an age long dead and buried in its spirit and its manners. Their ambition was to reproduce the ancient tournament. Unfortunately for the effect,

though the costumes, the armour, the horses, left nothing to be desired, the weather proved most intractable. Two years' preparation, and enormous expense, were thus thrown away; for although a grand cavalcade left Eglinton Castle on August 28th, with heralds, pursuivants, the knight-marshal, the king of the tournament, the queen of beauty, the lord of the tournament, the jester, and a highly respectable assemblage of knights and ladies, seneschals, chamberlains, esquires, pages, and men-at-arms, and took their way, in procession, to the lists, which were overlooked by galleries, in which nearly 2,000 spectators, many in ancient costume, were accommodated, it was during a drenching shower, that did not cease while the combatants proceeded. The next day the rain confined all parties in-doors; and, after a combat on the third day, the weather proved so stormy that all further proceedings were abandoned.

A few changes were made in the session of 1839—changes which, however, did not strengthen the ministry, or save it from inevitable decay. Mr. Spring Rice ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and became Lord Monteagle. Mr. Baring succeeded to the office which his lordship had vacated. Lord John Russell left the Home Department to undertake the Colonial Office; and Lord Normanby became Secretary of State for the Home Department. Mr. Shiel was made Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and Mr. Poulet Thompson was sent out to Canada as Governor-general. When these changes were effected, Lord Howick withdrew from the ministry. In doing so he entered into an explanation of his views, and of the objects of his late colleagues. When Lord Melbourne and the rest of the cabinet resumed office, it was determined to adopt measures for increasing the power and stability of the government. The changes made, however, did not suit his lordship, and his resignation was sent in, and accepted.

A painful unpleasantness occurred also at this time in courtly circles. Lady Flora Hastings, the daughter of the late Marquis of Hastings (an amiable lady, attached to the person of the Duchess of Kent), was said to be in a situation suggestive of a secret marriage. The mother of the injured lady wrote to the queen—"My husband served his country honourably, and with devoted zeal, and was particularly known to your royal race; and my own family, during a long time, have been distinguished as faithful servants of their kings. My grandfather lost his life in the service of his sovereign. With so many claims on my feelings of old, although now unfashionable aristocracy, it is impossible to suppose me capable of disrespect or want of loyalty towards your majesty—a feeling not less unbecoming towards you than repugnant to what I feel suitable in myself. But I trust a sense of morality is not yet so callous a thing to be held in some due respect even in the sight of a thoughtless world, and to justify my appealing directly to your majesty to refute by some act calculated to mark your indignant sense of the slanders which some person or persons have ventured to cast, in your majesty's presence, on my daughter, and betrayed your majesty to follow up by a course of proceeding such as was, no doubt, done on their part with a wish to try to degrade the victim of their persecution. It is my duty to call, respectfully, your majesty's attention to its not being more important for my daughter than eventually consonant to your majesty's honour and justice, not to suffer the criminal inventor of such falsehoods to remain without discovery. This is not a matter that can or will be hushed up; and it is all-important that no time should be lost in calling the culpable to account." Her ladyship received a letter, in reply, from Lord Melbourne, which seemed to indicate royal displeasure. He stated, that the allowance which her majesty was anxious to make for the natural feelings of a mother upon such an occasion, tended to diminish the surprise which could not be otherwise than experienced by the queen at the tone and substance of her ladyship's lettter. It added further, that the queen had seized the opportunity of testifying to Lady Flora Hastings, her conviction of the error which had prevailed; and was most desirous of doing everything in her power to soothe the feelings of Lady Flora and her family. The indignant marchioness was not

satisfied with this; and understanding that Lord Melbourne had a constitutional right to appoint the members of her majesty's household, she claimed at his hands the dismissal of her majesty's physician, Sir James Clarke. This demand, Lord Melbourne answered, was objectionable and unprecedented; and, in regard to it, he could do no more than acknowledge the receipt of it. Her ladyship replied that she was ready to give the queen any explanation that might be required of anything that was dubious in her letter. Sir James Clarke wrote a long narrative, explanatory of the course he had taken in consequence of the suspicions which had been awakened; and he subscribed a certificate, declaring that, on an examination of the unfortunate lady with another physician, it was proved that there were no grounds for the charges which had been insinuated. His explanation was considered as by no means satisfactory. He was blamed for not setting his face against the insinuations thrown out by the accusers of the lady, who, by this time, had unfortunately and prematurely died. His professional knowledge must, it was urged, have made him aware, that the appearance to which his attention was called might arise from other causes than those which had been pointed at; and this ought to have decided him to raise his voice in favour of the accused. Some dark malice was supposed to be at the bottom of the whole affair. Such was the opinion of the unfortunate Lady Flora herself. Writing to her uncle on the subject, she characterised what had given her pain as "a diabolical conspiracy, from which it had pleased God to deliver the Duchess of Kent." Her ladyship makes other allusions, which are now unintelligible. Nor is it a subject we are anxious to revive. There was a great deal of bad feeling in England at the time. The animosities of the reform era had not quite been forgotten. The Tories had long been excluded from Court and power; the queen had no husband to consult or advise; and it was not in human nature that, under such circumstances, occasions of scandal would not arise, or would not be made the most of when they did appear.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

NEW ZEALAND SETTLEMENT; CHINESE AND INDIAN WARS.

ENGLAND, at this time, attempted to utilise a new possession in her far-reaching and widely-scattered empire. New Zealand had been the receptacle of desperadoes, who were bringing disgrace on the British name. A company was formed to colonise it.

Very sanguine expectations were entertained of the success of the scheme, and numerous were the applicants who came forward, in the hope of sharing in the promised advantages. A sort of lottery was got up to settle their claims; and, on the 29th of July, the purchasers of land in the first township of New Zealand, or their representatives, met at the office of the company, to witness the drawing of lots, by which the order of choosing portions of the land was to be determined. "Persons of all ranks and professions, and both sexes," writes the author of an article in the *Annual Register*, "then and there assembled to try their fortune, comprising not a few of the followers of Penn. The ladies, perhaps, were the most daring speculators; but the fact that, in the course of five weeks, £100,000 had been paid by persons of all ranks, for 100,000 acres of land lying somewhere near the antipodes, and not yet even surveyed, proved that the colonising spirit yet lived and gained strength in Britain. Perched on a table at one end of the room stood a handsome boy, ready to dispense the gifts of fortune from a couple of tin boxes. It was remarked, that the purchasers of many orders, and large tracts of land, were unfortunate; while those who had bargained for single sections,

and the representatives of the natives, obtained priority of choice. For the first time, perhaps, in an undertaking of this kind, was the welfare of the natives really regarded. The New Zealand Company set aside, for the benefit of the aborigines, one-tenth of all the surveyed land in town and country. Their portion, on this occasion, was 11,100 acres, which, the orders being already at a premium, bore the proportionate value of £12,000. It is also worthy of mention, that their lots of lands were mixed up with the white men's lots, making their chance of civilisation much better than if they were banished to a black town on the frontiers. Whenever a good number for the natives was announced, the assembly invariably cheered." In September, the pioneers of civilisation sailed for their new homes. The directors of the New Zealand Company, attended by a vast number of persons interested in the projected colonisation, made an excursion to Gravesend, to inspect the first ships appointed for the emigrants. The object of the directors, on this occasion, was to see that their instructions for the comfort of the emigrants upon the voyage had been carried into effect; and also, as the sanction of government had been withheld from the undertaking, and no steps had been taken to secure the administration of English laws to them, that they might obtain, if not from each of the emigrants, at least from a great body of them, a voluntary agreement to a charter or code of laws, laying down regulations for the maintenance of order, and establishing machinery for the administration of law, and the advancement of justice. For this purpose the emigrants in each ship were summoned on deck, and addressed by Mr. C. F. Young in a feeling and impressive manner, imploring them to weigh well the advantages of good order, and paying due respect to the security of property in the new community, which could not be procured in a better way than by their all signing an agreement (a copy of which he presented to them) to fulfil every engagement due from one to the other.

The British colonists have divided New Zealand into seven provinces. The chief town and capital of Auckland (the most northerly province) is the city of the same name, which occupies a fine commercial position, on a narrow isthmus between two deep gulfs, and is well built. It has a population of 10,000, and is the seat of government for the whole of New Zealand. The colonists have been mostly of a class much superior in wealth, education, and social position, to those of any other English colony. The imperial parliament, in 1852, sanctioned a constitution for New Zealand, of which the main provisions are as follow:—The seven provinces form distinct governments, consisting of a superintendent and provincial council, elected for four years by a suffrage almost universal. The government of the whole colony is vested in a governor, appointed by the crown; and in a general assembly, consisting of a legislative council and a House of Representatives; the latter having thirty-six members, elected for five years; and the former fifteen members, nominated for life by the governor.

The colonists are mostly employed in agriculture. It is said that the Anglo-Saxon race can work and expose themselves to the climate of New Zealand, without injury, during more days in the year, and for more hours in the day, than in any other country. The aborigines are called Maories. Latterly these gentlemen have given us a great deal of trouble. It is little that they have to complain of, save and except one fact—that the soil they deemed the heritage of their fathers is fast passing away from them. According to the colonial view, they have been remarkably well treated. They enjoy equal privileges with the colonists; they have been treated with paternal care; and large sums of money have been spent in the vain attempt to civilise them. Even the fertile lands, which these barbarous tribes withheld from husbandry and the white man, have not been rudely torn from them: the transfer, except in cases of rebellion, has always been made by regular purchase. But it is in vain you treat the aboriginal inhabitant fairly. He is bound to vanish before the white. The law of nature is, for savages to shrink and die off before the march of civilisation. In this state of things, the government of New Zealand,

and even the colonists, on many occasions, have dealt kindly with the perishing race. Exceptions must, however, be made in some cases. Maori lands appear to have been taken unfairly; and it is idle to suppose that the army of settlers, which is now spreading over the territory of New Zealand, has been always humane and scrupulous. The aborigines, as was only natural, have combined in fierce, if impotent, confederacies against this crushing advance of the white man; and if, in the struggle, they have often displayed the faithlessness and cruelty of barbarians, we must recollect that, in some instances, it has not been without provocation, and that national honour and humanity are the virtues of civilisation only. Thus much may be said in justice to a singular race, which, in a few years, is destined to vanish from the face of the earth for ever—a race of whom we must speak with respect; since it is a fact, that a mere handful of them (never, probably, 2,000 fighting-men, without artillery, or a single horseman) have held at bay, for several years, 15,000 British and colonial soldiers, with every modern appliance of warfare. On one occasion, when an offer to surrender was made to them, their reply was—"This is the word of the Maori: we will fight for ever, and ever, and ever." Fighting and colonisation seem always to go on hand-in-hand. This was exemplified in China, where we had some rather unpleasant work. Already we have referred to one difficulty with the Chinese. We have now to chronicle another, far more serious and formidable.

One result, it appears, of the opening of the trade to China, was to stimulate smuggling of all kinds, especially the illicit traffic in opium. Writing in 1838, Captain Elliot, who had then succeeded Sir G. Robinson as chief superintendent, says—"There seems no longer any reason to doubt that the Court has finally determined to suppress, or, more probably, most extensively to check, the opium trade. The immense, and, as it must be confessed, the most unfortunate increase of the supply during the last four years; the rapid growth of the Eastern trade in opium, and the continued drain of the silver, have, no doubt, greatly alarmed the government." Small boats passed up the river to Canton, laden with opium; and the offenders, and sometimes innocent men, were seized in consequence. In September, 1838, an attempt, by the Chinese authorities, to execute a native opium dealer immediately before the factories, led to an affray between the Europeans and Chinese, in which the former would probably have suffered severely had not the Chinese soldiers dispersed the mob. After this event, Captain Elliot took active steps to suppress all the traffic. He also offered to co-operate with the Chinese government in their efforts to put down the river-smuggling; and, if the Chinese authorities had acted promptly with the river superintendent, there is little doubt but that the traffic might have been suppressed—at all events in the Pearl river; and greatly reduced elsewhere.

In 1839, the far-famed commissioner, Lin, made his appearance in Canton. Immediately upon his arrival he issued an edict to the foreigners, demanding that every particle of opium on board the ships should be delivered to the government, in order that it might be burned and destroyed. A bond was also required, in the foreign and Chinese languages, engaging that "the ships should never again dare to bring opium;" and that, "if any should be brought, it should be forfeited, and the parties should suffer death." Moreover, it was to be declared, that "such punishment would be willingly submitted to." Lin also intimated that force would be resorted to, to compel the foreigners to comply with these requisitions. On hearing of these proceedings, Captain Elliot, then at Macao, went to Canton, where he summoned the foreign community together, and exhorted them to be moderate and calm. The same night the factories were placed in a strict blockade; and, under these circumstances, Captain Elliot, having no force at his command, and anxious to save life, issued a circular to his countrymen, requiring them to deliver up to him all the English opium actually on the coast of China at that date. 20,283 chests were given up to Lin at Canton; and leave was given for all to quit except sixteen individuals, who ultimately took their departure, under an edict

never to return. Captain Elliot then wrote to Lord Auckland, at that time Governor-general of India, for as many armed vessels as could be spared for the protection of life and property. It was evident that both were in danger from the Chinese. Captain Elliot took steps to liberate the English, and then returned to Macao, from whence he and all the British residents removed, in August, to Hong-Kong. Soon after, Lin issued a proclamation, calling upon the people to arm, and resist the barbarians.

The advice was soon taken. On the 4th of September, Captain Elliot's cutter, the pinnace of the *Volage*, and a small armed schooner, the *Pearl*, fell in, near Koolung, with three large war-junks, employed in preventing any of the natives from supplying the British with provisions. The junks were protected by a large and well-manned fort; and from them and the fort a fire was opened on the English vessels, from which it was briskly returned. The affair ended in the junks being compelled to retire up the river.—In November there was another engagement. On the 26th of the same month, an edict was issued, commanding the trade with the British entirely to cease after the 6th of December; and, on the 5th of January, 1840, a proclamation appeared from the emperor, ordering that trade to be interdicted for ever.

In June, a formidable fleet, under Rear-Admiral Sir George Elliot, C. B. (Commodore Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, C.B., being the second in command), arrived, and the river and port of Canton were blockaded.

On the 2nd of July, the *Blonde* being off the island of Amoy, and Captain Bourchier wishing to open a friendly communication, he despatched a boat, on board of which a flag of truce was flying, to the shore. This boat was fired upon, and the officers insulted. As soon as they returned to the ship, Captain Bourchier opened a terrific fire, inflicting great damage, and scattering the Chinese troops in all directions. On the 5th, Chusan and ninety-one guns were taken by the *Wellesley*, *Conway*, and *Alligator*. On the 10th, a blockade was established for a considerable distance along the Canton river; and, about the same time, a proclamation was issued, signed by the Chinese commissioner, Lin, offering rewards for the destruction of English vessels, and the capture of British officers and men. Several British subjects were, in consequence, seized, and treated with great severity.

The capture of Chusan, and the appearance of Captain Elliot, followed by several armed vessels, at Tien-tsin, on the Pei-ho, caused the Chinese to temporise; and a commissioner, named Keshen, was sent on board the *Madagascar*, to confer with the chief superintendent. Lin was disgraced; a truce was signed; and the negotiations were then transferred to Canton. Admiral Elliot resigned his command; and a Mr. Stanton, a British merchant who had been captured and confined in a bamboo cage, was released; and just as it was hoped peace would be achieved, an order appeared (January, 1841), ordering every Englishman, and all English ships, to be destroyed wherever they should be met with near Canton. For this gross breach of faith the British soon took a speedy revenge. Forts were captured; war-junks were destroyed. The next day preparations were made for attacking the Bogue forts. Admiral Kwan, however, solicited another armistice, which was agreed to. Keshen now appeared disposed to bring matters to a conclusion; and, on the 20th of January, Captain Elliot announced that a treaty had been signed, by which it was provided—"1st. That the island and harbour of Hong-Kong should be ceded to the British. 2nd. That the British government should receive an indemnity of 6,000,000 dollars; 1,000,000 to be paid directly, and the rest by yearly instalments. 3rd. That there should be direct official intercourse between the two countries, upon an equal footing. 4th. That trade with Canton should be opened within ten days after the 2nd of February; and that commerce was to be carried on at Whampoa till arrangements had been made for carrying it on at Hong-Kong." On the 26th, formal possession was taken of the latter territory; and it was hoped the war was at an end. But, on the 11th of February,

Keshen received an edict from Pekin, disapproving of the terms, and refusing the emperor's assent to them. Accordingly, hostilities were again commenced.

Sir Gordon Bremer, now the commander-in-chief, ordered Chusan to be evacuated, and prepared to proceed at once to Canton. On the 26th of February, the Bogue forts were taken after some sharp fighting, in which Admiral Kwan was killed. On the 27th, the *Calliope*, *Samarang*, *Herald*, *Alligator*, *Sulphur*, and *Nemesis* (called the light squadron, under Captain Herbert), proceeded up the river towards Canton, attacking and capturing on their way the forts and batteries on the island of Whampoa, and the ship *Cambridge*, which the Chinese had, some time before, purchased of the English, and fitted with thirty-three guns. On the 2nd of March, Sir Hugh Gough arrived, having been sent by the Governor-general of India to take the command of the land forces. Again there was a suspension of hostilities—this time for three days. They were again resumed on the 6th.

On the 16th, Captain Elliot sent the *Nemesis* to Canton, with a despatch for the person then chief in authority, in order that hostilities might not be pushed to an extreme. The steamer hoisted a flag of truce; and similar flags were hoisted on board the boats which accompanied her. They were, nevertheless, fired on by a fort called Bird's-eye Fort, standing close to the city. Captain Herbert was ordered to punish this aggression with all possible promptitude; nor was he long in executing his task. The vessels employed were the *Modeste*, the *Algerine*, the *Starling*, and the *Herald*; the *Hope* and *Louisa*, tenders; and the *Nemesis* and *Madagascar*, steamers. The Bird's-eye, the Rouge, the Shameen, and the Dutch Folly forts were captured; a number of junks were destroyed in an inlet on the Pearl river, on the west, opposite Canton. Instead of taking the city, which was completely at his mercy, Captain Elliot, the next day, sought an interview with the Chinese commissioner, Yang-Sang; and, on the 20th, it was announced that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed to. Trade was immediately resumed; but Sir Gordon Bremer, not being satisfied with Captain Elliot's conduct, left the squadron, and proceeded to Calcutta, to consult with the Governor-general. On the 14th of April, two other commissioners, Lung-Wan and Yih-Shan, were appointed to act with Yang-Sang. The trio amused Captain Elliot for some time; and, deceived by their professions, he ordered the vessels of war to fall lower down the river. The Chinese, of course, only wanted to gain time. May was ushered in with hostile proclamations from Pekin. By the 8th of that month, numerous reinforcements, in boats and men, had arrived at Canton; and though, on the 10th, Captain Elliot went to that city, to have an interview with the commissioners (taking Mrs. Elliot with him to inspire more confidence), he found all chance of peace destroyed; and again had to attack that city.

On May 21st, a squadron, larger than had appeared before, under the command of Sir Fleming Senhouse, was moored in front of the factories. The Chinese made an attempt to destroy the British ships with fire-rafts, which failed; and, on the 23rd, operations were commenced against Canton: the troops were landed in five divisions, numbering 134 officers and 2,620 men. Sir Hugh Gough took the chief command. In the night the factories were occupied; and, on the 24th, several of the forts on the east and west were taken. The British flag waved on the walls, and the conquerors looked down on Canton. On the 25th, the forts on the White-cloud mountains, to the north of the city, were occupied, and ninety guns captured. On the 26th, while the troops were engaged in getting up the heavy guns and ammunition, and preparing for the final assault, Captain Elliot, unknown to General Gough, concluded a treaty with Yang-Sang; and the next morning, just as the troops were about to be led up to the walls, it was announced to their commander that hostilities were to be suspended; with the additional information that the city was to be ransomed by the payment of 6,000,000 dollars. One million was paid on the 28th; four more on the 31st; and security being given for the remainder on the 1st of June, all the troops were withdrawn. Trade was reopened on the 16th of July.

Captain Elliot's proceedings were not approved by the naval and military authorities in the East. They met with as little favour at home; and it was now resolved to supersede him. Sir Henry Pottinger succeeded him as superintendent, and Sir W. Parker assumed the command of the fleet. These gentlemen arrived in Macao roads on the 19th of August. Sir Henry Pottinger immediately proceeded up the Pearl river, and issued a proclamation, stating the object of his mission; which was, to conclude an honourable and lasting peace. Having announced his arrival to the Chinese authorities as minister extraordinary, and sole plenipotentiary, as well as chief superintendent of trade, he offered to treat with any one of equal rank; but refused to give an audience to the prefect of Canton, who was inferior to himself in position. As no plenipotentiary arrived from Pekin, it was resolved that active operations should recommence, and that the first movement should be against Amoy.

Amoy, it appeared, had a population of 70,000; and the Chinese army garrisoning it was about 10,000 strong. The following account of the fortifications and defences, proves how serious would have been the attempt to take it by storm, had there been any real defence:—"From the islands at the entrance of the harbour, to Cohun-soo, is about four miles of good anchorage, all the way up, for line-of-battle ships, to about 400 or 500 yards from the shore. On all the islands, at the entrance, are placed batteries: the long battery, in the straight line, contains seventy-six guns—forty feet between each—making it more than half a mile long. This battery is built of solid granite-work, being fifteen feet thick at the bottom, and nine at the top, and about fifteen feet high: excepting at the embrasures for the guns, it is entirely faced with a coating of mud, two feet thick; above the embrasures is also a coating of the same. The masonry is beautiful, and quite solid; and all who saw it, declared they had never seen anything so strong or so well built: indeed, the proof is, that after four hours' hard fighting, not one single breach was made in it by our guns, though placed at point-blank range. On each side of their guns several sand-bags were piled, so as to protect them when loading and firing. At the end furthest from the town is built a strong granite wall, about half a mile long, with loopholes at the top for their matchlocks, but no guns; it is about ten or fifteen feet high, and is, of course, intended to protect their flanks from our troops. Two semicircular batteries are in the middle of the wall; and at the end nearest to the town, one larger one, which is built of granite, covered with chunam: it is supposed that several of the mandarins occupied it. They continued firing to the last, when some of their guns were dismounted, the walls nearly knocked down, and long after our own troops had landed, and hoisted the ensign at the other end of the wall. A high hill runs along the coast, and comes abruptly down behind the long battery, and divides the town—or rather its suburbs—into two parts. The walled city, which is smaller, is on the other side of the hill." The whole number of guns amounted to about 500; and the Chinese believed the place to be impregnable.

Early in the morning of the 26th, an officer of low rank, with a flag of truce flying in his boat, came off with an order from the mandarins, to know what so large a force wanted in the inner waters; and directed, if it were not for trade, that "they should loose sails, and go away immediately," ere the celestial wrath should be kindled against them. The answer to this was, on the part of the British, a summons to surrender. This having failed of any practical result, the attack commenced. In a few hours the ships sailed up, and the forts and outposts were ours. The next morning, Sir Hugh Gough, at the head of the troops, marched into the city, meeting with no opposition. The mandarins and soldiers had all fled, leaving the forts occupied by a few coolies. This success was attained without the loss of a single life on our part; the only casualties being a few wounds, occasioned by the arms of the Chinese: about 110 of them, it is supposed, were killed. When the British troops landed, the mandarin who was second in command rushed into the sea, and drowned himself. Another was seen to cut his

throat, and fall in front of the soldiers as they advanced. On the 30th of August, the troops were withdrawn from the city; but the island of Cohun-soo was retained, which is distant about 1,200 yards from Amoy. Here 500 men were left as a garrison; and the *Druid* frigate and the *Pylades* sloop remained also, with orders to shell the town on the first demonstration of hostilities: altogether, 296 guns were found, and destroyed.

The capture of Amoy was followed by that of the fort and island of Sheipoo, where five junks were destroyed, and thirty guns, with a number of small arms, taken. On the 1st of October, the city of Turghoe was again captured, and the island of Chusan. The next movement was upon Ningpo, which was commanded by the town and fortress of Chinghai. This place was captured on the 10th of October; and, on the 13th, Ningpo was taken possession of. These losses, if made known in Pekin, produced no impression upon the emperor; for, in November, he issued another edict, urging the extermination of the English. The latter resolved to winter at Ningpo: and as it was ascertained that the Chinese were collecting troops in the neighbouring towns, to cut off communication with the natives, if not to attempt to retake the city, an expedition, consisting of the *Nemesis*, *Sesostris*, and *Phlegethon*, steamers—the two latter new arrivals—was sent up the river in December, and captured the towns of Yu-yaou, Tere-kee, and Fonghua. At Yu-yaou, an extensive depôt of arms, ammunition, and clothing was discovered.

In March, 1842, from 10,000 to 12,000 Chinese "braves" attacked Ningpo and Chinghai simultaneously. They were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and left behind them about 6,000 killed, besides wounded, whom they could not carry off. A large force, between 7,000 and 8,000 in number (a considerable part of it consisted of the emperor's body-guard), still remained posted near Tere-kee. On the 15th, about 1,000 of the British, under Sir Hugh Gough, attacked this force, and, although the Tartars fought well, totally dispersed it. In April, the British received reinforcements; and in May it was resolved to attack the important town of Chapoo. As the force was not sufficiently numerous to be divided, Ningpo was evacuated on the 17th; and, on the 18th, Chapoo was captured. The troops rested there for three weeks, when they again embarked; and, on the 13th of June, entered the Yang-tse-kiang, one of the noblest rivers in the world. On the 16th, the town of Woosung, standing on a river of that name, was taken after a brave defence. The army then advanced to Shanghai, about seven miles from Woosung by land, but double that distance by the river. The town surrendered on the 19th of June, after a very faint resistance, being deserted by the troops. A quantity of arms and military stores were found in the arsenal; and 171 cannon were taken, only twenty-three of which, however, were of any value.

Sir Henry Pottinger, on the 5th of July, issued a proclamation from Shanghai, explanatory of the demands and complaints of Great Britain: the latter including indemnity for losses and expenses; the establishment of a friendly intercourse upon equal terms between the two countries; and the cession of towns and territories for commerce, the residence of merchants, and as a guarantee against future aggression. The next day the British fleet advanced up the Yang-tse-kiang. On the 20th it anchored off the Golden Island; and on the 21st, the maritime city of Chin-kiang-foo, forty-eight miles north-east of Nankin, was invested. It was held by a numerous Tartar force, and taken after a brave defence. The city suffered much from pillage, but chiefly from that of Chinese plunderers, who flocked to it in great numbers after the Tartar troops had left it; and the British had much difficulty in restoring anything like order. They found about 60,000 dollars-worth of Sycee silver in the public coffers, and much ammunition and stores in the public offices. As soon as the men had obtained sufficient rest, the main body of the fleet and army moved on Nankin, which the advanced troops reached on the 4th of August. On the 9th the rest of the fleet arrived, and the disembarkation of troops commenced. On the 13th all was ready for the attack, which was to have

commenced next day; but three officials—Keying, a Tartar general, belonging to the imperial family; Neu-kien, a general of the two Kiang provinces; and Elepoo, an imperial commissioner—had arrived at Nankin to treat for peace. On the night of the 13th, they sent a letter to Sir Henry Pottinger, begging him to delay hostilities for a few hours; and the next morning they produced the emperor's commission, authorising them to conclude a treaty. On the 20th, a visit of ceremony was paid by the Chinese negotiators to Sir Henry Pottinger, on board the *Cornwallis*. On the 24th, the chief superintendent, Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir William Parker, returned the visit in form. On the 26th, the negotiations commenced in earnest; and, on the 29th, the treaty was signed. The terms were—1. Lasting peace and friendship to be established between the two nations. 2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars (*i.e.*, 6,000,000 for the destroyed opium; 3,000,000 for debts due to the English by the Hong merchants; and 12,000,000 to the British government for the expenses of the war); 6,000,000 to be paid at once, and the rest in three equal yearly payments. 3. The forts at Canton, Amoy, Foutchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside there; and regular and just tariffs of import, export, and import transit-duties to be established. 4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain. 5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, in confinement in China, to be released. 6. An amnesty to be accorded to all Chinese subjects who might have aided or taken part with the British during the war. 7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of each government. 8. On the payment of 6,000,000 dollars, all the British forces to be withdrawn, except from the islands of Chusan and Kolungfoo, which were to be held as a guarantee until the opening of the forts and the money payments were concluded.—On the 8th of September the emperor signed his assent to this treaty, unpalatable as it must have been. On the 31st of December, the great seal of England was attached by Lord Lyndhurst, then Lord Chancellor; and on the 22nd of July, 1843, a proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, announcing that the ratifications had been exchanged with all the formalities. The trade, upon the new system, was commenced at Canton on the 27th; and, shortly after, an imperial edict was issued, declaring the four ports open to British commerce. In the month of October, a supplementary treaty was concluded, under which the British were to have access to Canton. In the following February, Sir Henry Pottinger returned to England, and was succeeded by Sir F. F. Davis.

One result of the treaty of Nankin was the establishment of Protestant missions at Shanghai, where numerous Europeans had settled; their dwellings and factories, or hongs, being, as at Canton, outside the Chinese city. The first missionary settlement was made there by the London Missionary Society, two of whose labourers—Dr. Medhurst and Mr. Lockhart (worthy successors of the renowned and laborious Dr. Morrison)—arrived there, with the British consul, in December, 1843. The Church Missionary, the Wesleyan, and the Bible Society, and others, have since followed; and in a little while, ten societies, it was found, had sent out no less than fifty-seven missionaries, mostly residing at Shanghai; though some took up their residence at Ningpo and the other ceded forts. It is to be regretted that their labours have not been more successful. The Chinese are evidently not an easy people to convert to the Christian faith.

In the House of Commons, on the 11th of April, 1840, Sir James Graham moved a vote of censure against government, respecting the affairs of China; which was supported by Sir William Follett: and though ministers were defended by Mr. Macaulay and their friends, who supported them during a debate which lasted only three nights, they only escaped by a majority of nine.

The debate was a memorable one. Mr. Gladstone, then a young man, and a new member, especially signalised himself. He censured the conduct of ministers, and thought the Chinese were justified in acting as they had done. "They gave

you," he said, "notice to abandon the contraband trade. When they found that you would not, they had a right to drive you from their coasts, on account of your obstinacy in persisting in this infamous and atrocious traffic. You allowed your agent to aid and abet those who were concerned in carrying on the trade; and I do not know how it can be urged as a crime against the Chinese, that they refused provisions to those who refused obedience to their laws whilst residing within their territories. I am not competent to judge how long this war may last, or how protracted may be its operations; but this I can say—that a war more unjust in its origin—a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of. The right honourable gentleman spoke last night, in eloquent terms, of the British flag waving in glory at Canton, and of the animating effects produced on the minds of our sailors, by the knowledge that, in no country under heaven, was it permitted to be insulted. We all know the animating effects which have been produced on the minds of British subjects, on many critical occasions, when the flag has been unfurled on the battle-field. But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirits of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice; with opposition to oppression; with respect for national rights; with honourable commercial enterprise. But now, under the auspices of the noble lord, that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic; and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and never again feel our hearts thrill as they now thrill with emotion when it floats proudly and magnificently in the breeze."

The debate lasted four nights. On the last of them (April 9th), Lord Palmerston delivered a speech of great power; in the course of which he read a memorial from American merchants, calling on their own government to co-operate with the government of Great Britain in establishing commercial relations on a safe and honourable footing. He contended, it was impossible to suppose, if the same indignities which had been heaped upon British subjects in China, from the time of Lord Napier's experience down to the present period, were to be persevered in, unresisting and unredressed, that any British merchant could, with any regard to his safety or his self-respect, continue his commercial operations in those parts. Towards the conclusion of his speech, his lordship affected to consider that the right honourable baronet had made up his mind that defeat must await the British in China, and generally wished for the removal of the present ministers, that he and his friends might meet the consequences of the minister; but feeling, as he (Lord Palmerston) did, that the object of this expedition would probably be accomplished without resort to warlike operations, and that the demonstration of the British forces, acting on the mind of the Emperor of China, and on the minds of his friends and councillors (who were very different persons from the commissioner Lin), might bring him to a sense of that justice which he was said to possess, he could not help hoping that these disputes might yet be brought to an amicable and happy termination, and the right honourable baronet would be saved the exhibition of his generosity. The right honourable baronet had received a lesson, last year, on the inconvenience of delay, which did not appear to have been thrown away upon him. Last year the right honourable baronet moved for papers relating to the affairs of the East, which were produced; and this year he had almost killed the clerks of the Foreign Office, in preparing these papers relating to China; the right honourable baronet thinking that no time at all could be required for their production; and he had actually broken through—he spoke the literal fact—broken through one of the floors of the Foreign Office with the weight of type accumulated in the printing of them. Last year the right honourable baronet exhibited equal impatience for the Indian papers, as that which he had now manifested for those relating to China; but when they came, the right honourable baronet found that he could not, consistently with the natural candour for which he was distinguished (in spite of the little party feeling which he could not always suppress),

bring himself to make any motion on the basis of such papers. The right honourable baronet, therefore, then gave up the subject in despair; and the result of the events of the year was such, that the right honourable baronet himself, and his party, instead of the vote of censure he meant to move, had been compelled to concur (which they did most cordially) in a vote of thanks to the brave and gallant officers who had so ably executed what her majesty's minister had not unwisely planned. This year, the right honourable baronet, however, was determined not to fall into the same moat. "And," said his lordship, "suspecting that these transactions may lead to results, if not accompanied by such brilliant deeds, characterised by equal success, the generous feeling which actuates the right honourable gentleman opposite so gladly to concur in marks of approbation to our gallant soldiers, compels him and the gentlemen opposite, with chivalrous impatience, to endeavour, though even by a side wind, to place themselves in a situation to meet the victorious account they anticipate, that they may have the honour of proposing, instead of concurring in, votes of thanks to our gallant forces. He believed gentlemen opposite would be deceived in all their little anticipations: he believed that all the little solicitations which had been employed—to one member, 'Don't you disapprove of the opium trade?'—and to another, 'Can you approve, even by implication, of a war, with heavy expenses, and increased taxation?'—he believed all those little attempts to undermine the ministers would be of no avail. He was convinced that those who supported the ministers on a want-of-confidence vote, would not desert them now, and that they would support them in resisting this motion of censure (which they did not deserve), and this palpable endeavour to substitute another ministry in their place."

From China we pass on to India, where there had been dissatisfaction, restlessness, and intrigue.

We begin with Oude, where a king was dying, and where a question of disputed succession was about to arise. Two claimants appeared—the elder brother of the king, and the brother of a still elder deceased brother. The English decided in favour of the former, Nasseer-ood-Dowlah. On the 8th of July, 1837, the king died; and Colonel Low, the British resident at Lucknow, lost no time in causing all the disposable troops in the neighbourhood to march on the capital; while Lieutenant Shakspeare, his second assistant, was despatched to the abode of Nasseer-ood-Dowlah, where he arrived in the dead of night. The prince was called from his couch, and saluted as king; while he was requested to sign a paper, pledging himself that, in his new capacity, he would sign any treaty that the Governor-general might dictate. The queen-mother made a slight resistance; but the people of Lucknow acquiesced in the new rule; and, for a time, all passed off peacefully.

The Afghan difficulty was a more serious affair. This kingdom, lying between East and West Asia, has been called the land of transition; and, it has been said, no one can become King of Hindostan without first becoming lord of Cabul. At this time it had become torn by intrigue and civil war. Cabul owned for its sovereign Dost Mahommed Khan, whose authority was then supported by a force which consisted of 9,000 horse and 2,000 infantry, besides an occasional militia, and a park of fourteen guns. Dost Mahommed was a prince of great ability. Sirdar Soultan ruled Peshawur, but shared its revenues with his brothers, Pier and Sared. In capacity Sirdar was decidedly inferior to Dost Mahommed. Kohun Dil Khan governed Candahar, assisted by his brothers Dil and Sherè Dil. The force which they usually kept consisted of 9,000 horse, and some bodies of infantry. Both the chiefs of Peshawur and Candahar were often at variance with Dost Mahommed, but united when threatened with danger from abroad. Runjeet Singh reigned at Lahore. Herat alone remained to Kamran, the descendant of Ahmed Shah, who, in 1773, was considered as the founder of the empire of Afghanistan. Kamran, it appears, though he did not directly own the sovereignty of Persia, was accustomed to suffer a tribute to be extorted from him by the governor of the

province of Khorassan. In 1833, the Persian monarch died; and Mahommed Shah, favoured by British influence, became his successor. The new king had soon to complain of Kamran. He had engaged to raze the fort of Ghorian, on the frontier, and had failed to do so: he had also omitted to pay the tribute annually expected from him. Besides, he had permitted his vizier to enter Khorassan, to carry off slaves, and compel the payment of tribute. Mohammed Shah, upon this, commenced hostilities, with a view of making himself master of Herat; and when a minister from England, Mr. Ellis, arrived in Persia in 1835, on a mission of condolence and congratulation, he found the young shah preparing for an expedition into the Afghan empire.

Mr. Ellis soon found that Russian influence prevailed in the council of the shah; and the Russian ambassador urged the latter to lose no time in marching against Herat. Mr. Ellis wrote home, that the intention could not be mistaken. Herat, once annexed to Persia, might become, according to the commercial treaty, the residence of a Russian consular agent, who might thence extend his researches, and forward his communications, avowed or secret, through Afghanistan. Persia, in the case supposed, Mr. Ellis concluded would not dare to place herself in close alliance with England: and therefore her policy must be, to consider Persia no longer an outwork for the defence of India, but as the first parallel from which the attack might be commenced.

An agent from Dost Mahommed was sent, at the close of 1835, to the shah, offering to co-operate in the attack on Herat, but claiming the protection of the shah from the Sikhs. A messenger, on a similar errand, was at the same time despatched to St. Petersburg. The shah commenced his march against Herat, but found it impossible to make the progress he had expected. On the 13th of November, 1836, he had only reached Asterabad; and his army was then so reduced, from want of provisions and other accidents, that he determined not to risk a winter campaign; and, in opposition to the advice and remonstrance of the Russian ambassador, he returned to Teheran. By this time Mr. Ellis had been succeeded by Mr. M'Neil; and the latter gentleman made known to the Foreign Office the advice which had been given to the shah by the Russian agent.

In consequence of this revelation, Lord Palmerston forwarded to the Marquis of Clanricarde—in 1838 the British ambassador at St. Petersburg—the draft of a note to be presented to Count Nesselrode, with the view of eliciting explanations. "The British parliament," wrote Lord Palmerston, "readily admits that Russia is free to pursue, with respect to the matters in question, whatever course may appear to the cabinet of St. Petersburg most conducive to the interests of Russia; and Great Britain is too conscious of her own strength, and too sensible of the extent and sufficiency of the means which she possesses to defend her own interests in every quarter of the globe, to regard with any serious uneasiness the transactions to which this note relates. But the British government considers itself entitled to ask of the government of St. Petersburg, whether the intentions and the policy of Russia towards Persia, and towards Great Britain, are to be deduced from the declarations of Count Nesselrode and M. Rodofinikin to the Earl of Durham, or from the acts of Count Simonich and M. Vicovich; and the British government thinks it is also justified in asserting, that if, from any cause whatever, the Russian government has, subsequently to the months of February and May, 1837, altered the opinions which were then expressed to the Earl of Durham, then, and in such case, the system of unreserved reciprocal communication upon Persian affairs, which has of late years been established between the two governments, gives to the British cabinet a good right to expect that so entire a change of policy on the part of Russia, together with the reasons on which it was founded, would have been made known to her majesty's government by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, instead of being left to be inferred from the acts of Russian agents in Persia and Afghanistan." Of course Nesselrode disavowed the acts of Simonich, the Russian agent at Teheran; who continued, however, much to the annoyance of our minister

there, to urge on the shah the necessity of advancing on Herat. Dost Mahommed had solicited Russian aid against the Sikhs: and the growing power of their chief, Runjeet Singh, made all the Afghan chiefs eager for support from Persia or Russia. We, on the contrary, were friendly with him; and he had engaged to assist the Shah Soojah in regaining the throne of Cabul, whom we had permitted to find an asylum in Loodiana.

Determined on war, and declining all peaceful solutions of the question, the shah again marched on Herat. Mr. M'Neil wrote to Lord Palmerston, that Vicovich had everywhere given out that he was authorised to say, a large Russian force was ready to co-operate with the force against Herat. All the while, the intrigues with and among the Afghan princes were numerous and complicated. Russia was suspected to be at the bottom of all the mischief: and at this distance of time, now that we have seen more of the doings of this great power, we can see how the suspicions of English statesmen then, have been justified by subsequent events; for, as Mr. Atkinson, in his exceedingly interesting work, has shown us, while we were thus occupied, Russia was quietly enclosing in a circle of forts, and in that way obtaining immense qualifications in Central Asia—gradually, but surely, incorporating the entire region lying between Oriental Siberia and the Himalayas, which, with their recent territory obtained from China, and the Upper and Lower Amoor, form an addition to her enormous empire greater than the area of Europe. Her steady perseverance in pushing her approaches towards our Indian empire, and concentrating her warlike resources at convenient points, is really something marvellous.

Lord Auckland, then Governor-general of India, was not an ambitious man; but he was aware of the aim of Russia, and he took the best steps he could to meet and thwart it. He despatched Alexander Burnes, on a commercial mission, to Cabul. Commerce, in the vocabulary of that day, was also another term for plunder. By commerce, the East India Company had become the sovereigns of the great Indian peninsula; and this commercial mission was the cloak of grave political designs. Very soon the cloak was thrown on one side; and instead of directing his energies to the opening of the navigation of the Indus, Burnes gave up his mind to the great work of checkmating Russia in the East. In the meantime the Russian agent had put himself in communication with the court of Cabul. The effect of this was to render Burnes less cordially received than he otherwise would have been. Dost Mahommed listened to what he said, and pretended to act according to his advice; and even went so far as to decline to receive the Russian agent without his sanction.

The real interest, however, at that time, was in Herat, whither the Persian army was on its way. It was at the close of 1837 that this army reached the frontier of Afghanistan. The border fortress of Ghorian was immediately assailed, and fell after a siege of ten days. The shah then proceeded to commence operations against Herat, where he met with an unexpected resistance. In Herat, at this time, there was an English officer, Major Eldred Pottinger, who had penetrated thither in disguise. The real power of the place was in the hands, not of Kamran, but of his vizier, Yar Mahommed. The latter was far too astute a man not to see clearly that the presence of an English officer in the besieged city might be turned to profitable account. The Persians invested Herat, and Pottinger's work began. There was much in the mode of defence which excited his contempt and indignation. The following passage from his journal illustrates both the want of humanity and the want of wisdom the Heratees displayed:—"I have not thought it necessary to recount the number of heads that were brought in daily—nor, indeed, do I know. I never could speak of this barbarous, disgusting, and inhuman conduct with any temper. The number was, however, always in these sorties insignificant; and the collecting them invariably broke the vigour of the pursuit, and prevented the destruction of the trenches. There is no doubt that great terror was inspired by the mutilation of the bodies amongst their comrades; but there

must have been at least equal indignation; and a corresponding exultation was felt by the victors at the sight of these barbarous trophies, and the spoils brought in. From the latter great benefit was derived, as it induced many to go out who never would have gone out willingly. Great benefit was derived from the arms and tools brought in on these occasions; but though the Afghan chiefs fully acknowledged and felt the value of proper combinations for this purpose, they were too irregular to carry through any arrangements. It always appeared to me desirable that every sortie should consist of three distinct bodies: one of unencumbered light troops, to break in and chase off the attackers; the second body to be kept by, either as a reserve to support the first in case of a check, but not to follow them further than to a position sufficiently advanced to cover the third party, which should be armed with strong swords or axes, and be ordered to destroy the works, and carry off as many tools or arms as possible, on the return of a sortie. If successful, the prize property should be equally divided, and given to the men on the spot. It is worthy of remark that all the sorties were made with swords alone; and that though many slight wounds were given, very few men were killed outright; and that the Afghans, having, apparently, exhausted the stimulus that carried them on at first, or wanting confidence in their weapons, never once attempted to meet the Persian reserves, the first shot from which was invariably the signal for a general retreat."

The siege was long and protracted. Major Pottinger never could understand what kept the Persians back, as they had effected a breach. Throughout many months the young Englishman was the soul of the defence; but there were many advantages on the side of the Persians: and, at last, towards the end of June, the Heratees were almost at their last gasp. "Yar Mahommed," writes Mr. Kaye, in his *Indian Heroes*, "was beginning to despond; and his followers were almost in a prostrate state. Food was scarce; money was scarce. There was a lack of everything but of the stubborn courage, which continued to animate and sustain the solitary Englishman. On the 28th, the Persians made a desperate attempt to carry the place by assault; and would have succeeded if the wonderful energy of Eldred Pottinger in this crisis had not rescued it from the grasp of Mahommed Shah. The place had nearly been carried, when Pottinger seized Yar Mahommed by the wrist, dragged him forward, and implored him to make one more effort to save Herat. Soon after this the siege was raised. The Persians, moved more than aught else by the demonstration made by the British in the Persian Gulf, struck their camp, and Herat was saved—saved by the wonderful energy of the young artilleryman who had done so much to direct the defences and animate the defenders."

During a part of the time occupied by the investment, Major D'Arcy Todd was in the Persian camp; and he was employed by the English minister, Mr. M'Neil, to negotiate with the Heratees. He was the first English officer who had ever been seen by them in full regimentals; and it is recorded of them, that when he entered the city, "a vast crowd went out to gaze at him. The tight-fitting coat, the glittering epaulettes, and the cocked hat, all excited unbounded admiration. The narrow streets were crowded, and the house-tops were swarming with curious spectators. The bearer, as he was, of a message from Mahommed Shah, announcing that the Persian government was willing to accept the mediation of the British, he was received with becoming courtesy by Shah Kamran, who, after the interview, took the cloak from his own shoulders, and sent it, by the Wuzeer, to Major Todd, as a mark of the highest distinction he could confer upon him. The attempt at negotiation, however, failed. Count Simonich arrived in the Persian camp; and the conduct of the shah immediately changed. He declared that he would not discontinue operations till Kamran consented to acknowledge Herat a portion of the Persian territory. Remonstrances, on the part of England, were met with insincere professions; and, in fact, disregarded. Both Persians and Afghans saw, with amazement, the contemptuous indifference with which the British minister was treated.

Mr. M'Neil at length notified to the Persian Court that he must decline all further intercourse; as, under the circumstances, he could not continue there without dishonour. He withdrew; but was enabled, shortly after, to announce to the shah, that his deciding to occupy any portion of Afghanistan, would be considered a hostile demonstration against England. He further informed the shah that a body of troops from India had already landed at Karrak, and that five ships of war had arrived in the Persian Gulf.

And now, what is called the great game of 1838, was to be played out.

It was thought necessary to do something. It was believed that the King of Persia had become the vassal of the czar; and that he had instigated the march to Herat. At any rate, Herat had been attacked, and there were Russian officers aiding in the siege. The dangers which were apprehended were essentially similar to those which had alarmed us more than a quarter of a century before, and which had caused the despatch of Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Afghanistan. But there were some circumstantial differences. Not only had the Russian power taken the part of the French in the great drama of intrigue and aggression, but there was another actor, also, at Cabul. There had been a succession of revolutions in Afghanistan, as Mr. Kaye condenses it:—"The Suddorye king, Shah Soojah, whom Elphinstone had met at Peshawur, was now a pensioner in the British dominions; and the Barukaye chief, Dost Mahommed, was dominant at Cabul. It was our policy now to secure his good offices: and it was the duty of Alexander Burnes to accomplish this great object. Left to himself he would have done it. He who best knew Dost Mahommed had most faith in him. The ameer was anxious for the British alliance; and nothing was easier than to secure his friendship. But whilst Burnes was striving to accomplish this great object at Cabul, other counsels were prevailing at Simlah, that great hotbed of intrigue on the Himalayan hills, where the Governor-general and his secretaries were refreshing and invigorating themselves, and rising to heights of audacity which they never would have reached in the languid atmosphere of Calcutta. They conceived the idea of rehabilitating the old deposed dynasty of Shah Soojah; and they picked him out of the dust at Loodiana, to make him a tool and a puppet; and, with the nominal aid of Runjeet Singh, who saw plainly that we were making a mistake which might be turned to his advantage, they determined to replace the vain, weak-minded exile, whom his country had cast out as a hissing and a reproach, upon the throne of Afghanistan. It is enough to state the fact. The policy was the policy of the Simlah cabinet, with which Burnes had nothing to do. The young English officer, who had been twice the guest of the Barukaye sirdars of Cabul—who had led them to believe that his government would support them, and who had good and substantial reason to believe that they would be true to the English alliance—now found that he was fearfully compromised by the conduct of his official superiors. He left Cabul, and made his way to Simlah; and it is said that the secretaries received him with eager entreaties not to spoil the great game by dissuading Lord Auckland from the aggressive policy to which he had reluctantly given his assent."

Let us hear another witness—one writing before Lord Auckland's policy had been attended with disasters. Sir Gore Ouseley, a competent authority, writing to the Duke of Buckingham (1838), says—"In the first place, then, I entirely approve of the step taken by Lord Auckland to protect India BEYOND our own frontiers; although I feel certain that such a measure is pregnant with almost insurmountable difficulties. The progress of the Russians in their hitherto well-concealed intentions of invading India, and obtaining, as allies, as many of the neighbouring states as they can cajole or coerce to their purpose, cannot now be either doubted or denied; and although I feel some confidence that we should be able to beat them, even within our own frontiers, yet it might be attended with great risk, and a vast expenditure of blood and treasure. Besides, our conduct to many of the native princes (now quiet vassals) might probably induce many insurrections on several

distant points of our too widely-extended empire, when they saw our troops concentrated in one direction by an invading Russian army. This is not begging the question, or a surmise without a precedent, as attempts were made, although quickly crushed, in Lord Wellesley's time, on a menaced invasion from the same quarter by the Afghans, under Zeman Shah; and again by the Burmese and Nepaulese, when Lord Moira was taking the field against the Mahrattas. From a retrospect of past occurrences, I think it will strike your grace as it does me, that some check should be applied to the approaches of the Russians before they arrive at a point where it may be difficult, if not impossible, to stop them without imminent danger to our existence as the paramount power in India. Had the Shah of Persia succeeded at Herat, and continued faithful to Russia, the most difficult part of the march to India would have been rendered perfectly practicable to a Russian army. Cabul and Candahar would have followed the fall of Herat, and Russia could march to Attock, on the Indus, without any impediment. Runjeet Singh, with his 50,000 or 60,000 Sikhs, now our friend and ally, would then be the only power between us and the invaders; and it is not at all probable that fear or bribery, or both, might make him the friend of Russia against us. He is, besides, a very old *moribonde;* and we are not in any way sure of the next heir being our friend, should the old man even continue faithful to us.

"Under such circumstances, our best plan would be to defend our Indian frontier on the western side of the Indus, giving assistance and heart to the Afghans of Herat, Cabul, and Candahar, against Russia and Persia. This is, probably, Lord Auckland's intention: but the execution of the measure is, alas! most difficult; for, alas! the possessors of the above three cities, and their dependent territories, are at variance among themselves. According to the papers, the Indian army is to take Shah Soojah (at present a refugee in our camp), and reseat him on the throne from which he was expelled, I believe, for cruelty. His elder brother, also, Zeman Shah, now old and blind, has been for some time in our hands as a refugee. I know not if he is passed over from his blindness or other causes; but since the expulsion of him and Soojah, there have been two other brothers, ephemeral kings (Ayub and Mahommed Shah), fighting against each other, and against one of their ministers, Dost Mahommed Khan, who has set up for himself, and holds the power of the state at Cabul without the title of king. Again, Kamran Mirza, the son of Mahommed Shah, and nephew of Shah Soojah, holds Herat, and deserves to hold it after his brave defence of it against the Shah of Persia, assisted by the Russian minister and engineers. You will allow that *componere lites* is here rather difficult; and the suspicion of our policy respecting the restoration of Soojah at the expense of the brave Kamran and Dost Mahommed Khan, may greatly obstruct our entrance into Afghanistan. Should we, however, succeed in reconciling the parties now in possession to yield the paramount power to our *protégé* Soojah, and that we place a strong subsidiary force with him, we are safe from Russia, I trust, for ever.

"Conjointly with the above operations, Persia should be sickened of her alliance with Russia; which might easily be effected now that the king has been foiled at Herat, to attack which he opposed our counsel, and followed that of Russia, given for their own views and ends, and is disgraced in consequence of his abortive attempt. I fear I have tired your patience; but it was necessary to be prolix to put you *au fait* of the various interests that must be drawn together before we can consider India safe from invasion. I do not think it will be necessary to go to war with Russia for our Indian affairs. She is only following up a long-meditated plan."

Such were the views and feelings of one of our most distinguished orientalists in 1838.

A great combination had been formed, it was believed, against England. From the frontiers of Russia on the Araxes, to the banks of the Indus, preparations were ripening for hostilities against British power in Asia. Russia, from the con-

duct of its agents, seemed committed especially in this respect. Lord Palmerston was incessantly remonstrating with the Court of St. Petersburg: but before his strongest despatch had been received, Count Nesselrode had transmitted one to Pozzo di Borgo, which the latter was directed to lay before the British cabinet. In this it was distinctly denied that any project for disturbing the British possessions in India had ever presented itself to the mind of the emperor. It added, that the siege of Herat, though justifiable in itself, the Russian government had constantly dissuaded the shah from undertaking, in the weak and disorganised state of his kingdom; and in the event of its being taken, provision had been made for securing the integrity of the Afghan empire. Great Britain, Count Nesselrode continued, like Russia, could have but one end in view—"the maintenance of peace in the centre of Asia, and the independence of the intermediate nations, in order to prevent the possibility of a conflict between the two great powers, which, though they may remain friends, require not to touch each other in the centre of Asia." Other explanations were given, which were received as satisfactory by the British government. Count Simonich was recalled, on account of the part he had acted; as was Captain Vicovich: and it was announced to the Afghan chiefs, that Russia would take no part in their family feuds and civil wars.

The rulers of our Indian empire were not so wise. In November, 1838, 25,000 troops were assembled on the banks of the Sutlej. By July, 1839, the frontier of Afghanistan had been passed, and the fortress of Ghuznee fell into the hands of the British. Candahar and Cabul were speedily occupied, after a slight and ineffectual resistance; and Dost Mahommed fled to the mountains, whence he subsequently emerged to render himself a prisoner, in which capacity he was sent to Calcutta. British gold and British power had, for a time, obtained a triumph —a triumph to be followed by terrible reverses.

Had the advice of Burnes been taken, this might have been avoided. "What could he do," asks Mr. Kaye, "against a *triumviri* of Bengal civilians, the ablest and most accomplished in the country? It is true that he had an intimate, practical, and personal acquaintance with the politics of Afghanistan; while all that they knew was derived from the book that he had written, from the writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, and from another book of travels, written by a young cavalry officer, named Arthur Conolly. But they had the ear of the Governor-general, whilst Burnes had been working at Cabul; and so their crude theories prevailed against his practical knowledge. It was a sore trial to him; for he felt that it would be said, as it afterwards was said, that he had partaken of the hospitality of the ruler of Cabul; had left him as a friend, and had returned with an army at his back. It was a sorer trial still to him, to see that it was said, by his own countrymen, that he had approved, indeed recommended, a course of policy which was distasteful to him in the extreme. But, as an officer of the government, he felt that he was bound to do his best to bring the policy that had been decreed by a higher authority to a successful issue; though it was hard, indeed, to be identified, as he afterwards was authoritatively identified, with that policy by those who knew better, and who could enlist him on their side only by fraudulently suppressing or perverting his words."

A few lines here must be devoted to Captain Arthur Conolly, who unfortunately happened to be in England at the time the Persians were besieging Herat; and whose information was, of course, specially valuable in Downing Street. The wild, and visionary, and enthusiastic were delighted at the idea of an advance on Afghanistan. His view of the matter was rather that of a grand anti-slavery crusade than of a political movement intended to checkmate the designs of another great European power. He grasped, in very singleness of heart, the idea of a band of Christian heroes entering the remote regions of Central Asia, as champions of humanity and pioneers of civilisation. In his memorandum to the home government, he says—"Now both the Russians and Persians have the most legitimate plea for invading Toorkestan, especially Kharesm, where numbers of their

countrymen are held in abject slavery—a plea last to be disallowed by Englishmen. How, then, can we frustrate the designs of ambition which our rival will so specially cover? Possibly by persuading the Oosbegs themselves to do away with the grievance which gives the Russians and Persians a pretext for invading them. Let the British government send a properly accredited envoy to Khiva, in the first place; and thence, if advisable, across the Oxus, at once to explain our present acts in Afghanistan, and to try this only way of checking a Russian approach, which will entail far greater trouble upon us." He proposed that the British authorities should also negotiate with the other Oosbeg chiefs, and represent to them that, if they would undertake to restrain the Turcoman tribes from carrying off into slavery the subjects of Russia and Persia, the British would use their influence with the governments of those countries to persuade them to fix their boundaries at limits which would inspire our government with confidence, and ensure peace to the Oosbegs themselves. On the other hand, he contended, in treating with Russia, we should best consult our interests by basing all our arguments on the one broad ground of humanity. "It might not be amiss," he wrote, "frankly to put it to the Court of St. Petersburg, whether they, on their part, will not desist from a jealousy which is injuring both us and many people connected with us? Whether, ceasing from an unworthy policy, which seeks to keep alive a spirit of disaffection among the thousands whom it is our high aim to settle and enlighten, they will not generously unite in an endeavour peaceably to abolish rapine and slavery? The cost of our mission would be well exchanged for increased knowledge of countries in which, sooner or later, we shall be obliged to play some part; and for more positive notions than we now possess of the danger against which we have to provide; while it is probable that, though the Oosbegs might desire to be left to fight their own battles with the Russians and Persians, they would accept overtures of a generally amicable nature from us, that might leave some way for the extension of our commercial relations beyond Afghanistan, which we hope to settle."

With these high-flown views, in 1839 Conolly started for Central Asia, by way of Vienna, Constantinople, Armenia, and the Persian Gulf. At the former place he met the Persian envoy halting at Vienna, on his way to England. Koosein Khan—for such was his name—was a match for the Englishman. Koosein said—"You talk of our acting against your interests, and our own real interests: but are we ever to sacrifice what we think to be ours to your notions for us, or your precautions for yourselves? The question of Persian policy lies in a small space; and the sooner it is reduced to its essence the better. We are situated between you and Russia—being weaker than either of you; we therefore want support from one or the other. If you will give it, good: if not, we must just take to those we like least, and make the most of them, whether it pleases you or no. The shah will never give up his claims upon Afghanistan. Why should he resign what he can take with ease, purely to soothe a fear of the British government? The whole country, up to Cabul, was ready to submit to him when he left Herat; and will prove to be so whenever he advances his standard again. You misinterpret his majesty's generosity in retiring at your request; and think you gained your wish by sending troops to Karrak: you encourage revolt to the south. Does it not strike your acute penetration, that we can play the last game, if need be, in Hindostan? We can: and if you provoke us too far, we will." This was not simply threat; as, in a few years afterwards, it was carried out, to our cost.

At Calcutta Conolly arrived at the very nick of time. There was a bright flush of success over our policy in Afghanistan. Besides, Sir William Macnaghten, the envoy and minister at Cabul, was a relative of Conolly's; so Lord Auckland despatched him thither. Thence he started on a new mission, the object of which was to visit Khokund, and the establishment of a correct impression, at every place which he might visit, of British policy and strength, especially with

reference to our interference in Afghanistan. Another object was the strengthening amicable arrangements with the principal Oosbeg powers, which had shown a friendly disposition towards us; and endeavouring to persuade them to help themselves, and enable us to help them, by doing prompt justice to their enemies, and forming an agreement with each other to prevent or redress future injuries done by any one party among them to Russia, so as to deprive the latter of all pretext for interfering with their independence. Either at Khiva or Khohund, Conolly was to learn the result of Shah Soojah's mission to Bokhara to obtain the release of Colonel Stoddart. If, by the influence thus exerted, or by other means, the ameer should be induced to exhibit a decided disposition to atone for his past conduct, and to resume friendly relations with us and the Afghan king, Conolly was authorised to return to Afghanistan, *viâ* Bokhara: otherwise his course was to be regulated by circumstances.

From this journey he was destined never to return alive. He had reached Khiva, and had had many interviews with the khan. From Khiva he went to Khohund; and, at the latter place, he received a letter from Colonel Stoddart, written at the request of the Khan of Bokhara, inviting him to that city. After receiving this summons Conolly hastened thither. "The khan," he wrote, in one of his last letters, "treacherously caused Stoddart to invite me here; and after Stoddart had given him a translation of a letter from Lord Palmerston, containing nothing but friendly assurances (which he could have verified, with our entire consent, at the Russian embassy), he sent us both up here—to pay him, as a kidnapper, for our release, or die by slow rot." This must have happened a few days before the Christmas of 1841. At that time all Afghanistan was in a blaze. The great game had exploded. The Afghans had risen as one man against the English; and the news of their discomfiture had travelled to Bokhara. The Feringhees were at their last gasp: there was no one to deliver or avenge them; so it happened that, the same week that saw Sir William Macnaghten slain at Cabul, saw his kinsman, Arthur Conolly, cast into a hopeless captivity. In 1842, he and Stoddart were cruelly beheaded. When Wolfe, the missionary, afterwards (moved, more than anything else, by the strength of his love for Arthur Conolly) journeyed to Bokhara, to learn the history of his fate, he was told, that "both Captain Conolly and Colonel Stoddart were brought, with their hands tied, behind the ark or palace of the king, where they kissed each other; and Stoddart said to Makrum Saadut, 'Tell the ameer that I die a disbeliever in Mahomet, but a believer in Jesus; that I am a Christian, and a Christian I die.' Then Saadut gave the order to cut off, first the head of Stoddart, which was done; and in the same manner the head of Conolly was cut off."

But we must retrace our steps. For three years the British troops remained in Afghanistan, endeavouring to reconcile the inhabitants to the new order of things. The political officers were active, and the troops put down every little isolated movement on the part of the tribes who had maintained independence. So confident, indeed, had Lord Auckland been made that the Afghans had become wedded to the rule of Shah Soojah, that he gradually withdrew the British force until it had been reduced to one European regiment, one or two sepoy corps, a detachment of artillery, and a weak regiment of native cavalry. But though the surface of things was smooth, a dangerous volcano smouldered below the Afghans; and the mountain tribes in the vicinity watched their opportunity to keep the communication with India open, through Scinde and the Punjaub. The Khyberries and others had at first been subsidised. Believing in the perfect tranquillity of the country, the government, in an evil hour, discontinued the subsidy. The winter of 1841 approached; the snows covered the mountains and the plains: the British force was weak, and was indifferently commanded. Suddenly the Afghans arose, and blockaded Cabul, Candahar, Ghuznee, and all the lesser fortresses. Massacres in, or miraculous escapes from, the smaller places became the order of the day. The government was alarmed: reinforcements were impossible in the

then state of the country. All that could be done was to hold the places until the opening of the season. Meanwhile, the envoy at Cabul, Sir William Macnaghten, sought an interview with the prince, Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahommed, the displaced monarch. At that interview, the envoy and some of his officers were treacherously assassinated; and Sir Alexander Burnes was, at the same time, butchered by an Afghan mob. His Afghan servants told him he was in danger, and exhorted him to withdraw to the cantonments. He said that he had done the Afghans no injury, and asked why they should injure him. He could not think that any real danger threatened him; and he retired to rest with little fear of the results of the morrow. When the morrow came he perceived his danger: the streets were alive with insurgents; an excited crowd was gathering round his house. Still there might be time to secure safety by flight; but he scorned to quit his post: he believed that he could quell the tumult; and so he rejected the advice that might have saved him. Instead, he wrote to Macnaghten for support, and to some friendly Afghan chiefs for assistance. It was then too late. Before any succour could arrive, the crowd before his house had began to rage furiously; and it was plain that no expostulation or entreaties would avail anything there. From a gallery which ran along the upper part of the house, Burnes, attended by his brother Charles, and his friend William Bradfoot, addressed himself to the excited mob. They yelled out their execration and defiance in reply. The enemy had began to fire upon them. Bradfoot was soon shot dead. Then the insurgents set fire to Burnes' stables; rushed into the garden, and summoned him down. All hope of rescue from the cantonments had now gone. Still he might purchase his own and his brother's safety by appealing to the national avarice of the Afghans. He offered them large sums of money if they would suffer him to escape. Still they called on him to leave off firing, and to come down to the garden. At last he consented; and the brothers, conducted by a Cashmeree Mussulman who had sworn to protect them, went down to the garden; but no sooner were they in the presence of the mob, than their guide cried out, "Here is Sekunder Burnes!" and straightway the insurgents fell upon them, and slew them.

It fared better with Major Pottinger. He had been appointed political agent on the Toorkestan frontier; and when the combined movement for the expulsion of the British broke out, he was in the castle of Lugmanhee, some ten miles from Charekur, where a regiment of Goorkhas, in the service of Shah Soojah, was garrisoned. Thither Pottinger managed to repair, under the cover of night. The insurgents attacked them: the little garrison held out manfully against superior numbers. At length Pottinger determined to fight his way to Cabul. Of the little band, only two officers, Pottinger and another, a single sepoy, and two men attached to the civil department, succeeded in making good their escape. When Eldred Pottinger reached Cabul, he was compelled for some time to nurse his wounds; but before long, the great crisis of the insurrection again brought him to the front. Upon the death of Sir William Macnaghten, every one in the camp felt that Pottinger was, above all others, the man to extricate the English from the difficulties in which they were placed. He was compelled to negotiate with the enemy for the surrender of Cabul, and the evacuation of the country. It was a bitter pill for him to swallow; but there was no alternative. The military authorities had determined that they could fight no longer; and that there was nothing to be done but to make an ignominious retreat from the country which they had so proudly invaded. The explanation of the circumstances which at last compelled him, sorely against the promptings of his own courageous heart, to negotiate with the Afghan chiefs for a safe-conduct, is on record. "We received," he wrote, in a report to government, drawn up at a subsequent period, "a tender from Mahommed Oosman Khan, offering to escort the army to Peshawur for the sum of five lacs of rupees, as had been offered him, he said, by Sir W. Macnaghten. At the same time, letters from Captains Macgregor and Mackeson were received,

urging Sir William to hold out, and informing us of the reinforcements which were on their way from India. The information from the city showed that feuds were running very high there; and that Shah Soojah appeared to be getting up a respectable party for himself. When I informed General Elphinstone of these facts, he summoned a council of war, consisting of Brigadier Skelton, Brigadier Anquetil, Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers, Captain Bellew, and Captain Grant. At the major-general's request, I laid the above-mentioned facts and the enemy's tenders before these officers, and also my own opinion that we should not treat with the enemy, because—*Firstly*, I had every reason to believe that the enemy were deceiving us. *Secondly*, I considered it our duty to hold aloof from all measures which would tie the hands of government at a future time: and, *thirdly*, that we had no right to sacrifice so large a sum of public money (amounting to nineteen lacs) to purchase our own safety, or to order other commanding officers to give up the trust confided to them; for it was especially laid down by writers on international law, that a general had no authority to make any treaty unless he were able to enforce the conditions; and that he could not treat for the future, but only for the present. The council of war, however, unanimously decided, that remaining at Cabul, and forcing a retreat, were alike impracticable; and that nothing remained for us but endeavouring to release the army by agreeing to the tenders offered by the enemy; and that any sum, in addition to what had already been promised by Sir William Macnaghten, if it tended to secure the safety of the army, would be well expended; and that our right to negotiate on these terms was proved by Sir William Macnaghten having assented to them before his assassination. Under these circumstances, as the major-general coincided with the officers of the council, and refused to attempt occupying the Balla Hissar (as his second in command, who had been in there, declared it to be impracticable), I considered it to be my duty, notwithstanding my repugnance to, and disapproval of the measure, to yield, and attempt to carry on a negotiation. For the reasons of the military authorities, I must refer you to themselves."

This disastrous retreat was, consequently, commenced on the 6th of January, 1842. The British army was under arms to march out of Cabul; but no promised escort came. "The military authorities, however, refused to wait," wrote Pottinger; "and, notwithstanding my advice to the contrary, marched out of our intrenchments. No precautions were taken to guard the soldiers from the inclemency of the weather." A writer in the *Calcutta Review* says—"Major Pottinger told us that, when the retreat was decided on, and no attention was paid to his, Lawrence's, and Conolly's advice, to concentrate in the Balla Hissar, he urged the officers to have all the old horse-clothing, &c., cut into strips, and rolled round the soldiers' feet, after the Afghan fashion, as a better preservative against the snow than the mere hard leather of shoes. This he repeatedly urged; but in vain: and, within a few hours, the frost did its work. Major Pottinger said there was not an Afghan around them who had not his legs swathed in rags as soon as the snow began to fall. In British annals, the miseries of that retreat are, we believe, unparalleled. As our men entered the passes, the treachery of the enemy became apparent. The mountain-tops were crowded with musketeers; the defiles were blocked up with stones and trees; escape became impossible. Day by day the hopeless force moved on—its numbers every hour diminishing from cold and the fire of the enemy. On the fourth or fifth day a vigorous attack was made on them, and, with the exception of 120, who were made prisoners, 13,000 soldiers and camp-followers were massacred in the Khoord Cabul passes. At last Akbar Khan appeared upon the scene, and promised to escort the remainder safely to the frontier, if three hostages were given up to him as a guarantee for the evacuation of our outposts in other parts of the country. Brigadier Skelton and Captain Lawrence were named; but the former refused to go. Pottinger took his place, and, with George Lawrence and Colin Mackenzie, became prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khan, the murderer of Sir W. Macnaghten. To the bold front which he

assumed when tidings came that General Pollock was advancing victoriously upon Cabul, the captives owed it, mainly under Providence, that they finally obtained their release. There is something ludicrous in the confidence of this little band of Englishmen. At Bameean they deposed the governor of the place, and appointed a more friendly chief in his stead. They levied contributions on a party of Lohanee merchants who were passing that way, and so supplied themselves with funds. And, to crown all, Major Pottinger began to issue proclamations, calling upon all the neighbouring chiefs to come and make their salaam. He granted remissions of revenue; and all the decent clothes in the possession of the party were collected, to bestow as dresses of honour." His services, as chief political officer with the Cabul prisoners, were highly appreciated by those who shared his captivity; and they subscribed to present him, after his release, with a testimonial, which he never lived to receive: but it was requested by the subscribers, who all mourned his decease, that it might be kept as a heir-loom in the family.

We must be forgiven for dwelling a little longer on the career of this noble man. As a boy (he was born of Irish parentage, in Ireland) he was high-spirited and adventurous; and was remarkable for his gentleness and tenderness, forbearance, and self-denial. As a man we have seen what he was. Mr. Kaye writes—"When General Pollock's army marched back triumphantly to the British provinces, it was a matter of official necessity that the conduct of Major Pottinger, who had signed a treaty for the evacuation of Afghanistan, should be submitted to investigation. A court of inquiry was therefore held, over which Mr. (now Sir George) Clerk presided; and what was then elicited only contributed to throw greater lustre on the young artilleryman's name. It was an inquiry of which no man doubted the result. After this, Eldred Pottinger went down to Calcutta; and, after a brief residence there, determined on a visit to his family in Europe. During his residence at the presidency, as I well remember, the attempts to lionise him were very unsuccessful. Everybody was struck by the extreme modesty of his demeanour. He was shy, and reserved, and unwilling to speak of himself. His uncle, Sir Henry Pottinger, was then at the head of our affairs in China. Moved by feelings of gratitude and affection, he resolved to pay his distinguished relative a visit; and during this visit, in a disastrous hour, he caught the Hong-Kong fever; and, on the 15th of November, 1843, a career of the brightest promise was cut short by untimely death. The romance of Indian history has few more interesting chapters than the story of Eldred Pottinger, the defender of Herat."

We resume our narrative. This dire calamity created a profound sensation, not only in India, but throughout Europe. The policy which dictated the despatch of a force to Afghanistan, in the first instance, was vehemently condemned; and the folly of believing in the peaceable disposition of the Afghans bitterly reviled. But the maintenance of the *prestige* of the British rule in India was indispensable to the safety of the empire; and the rescue of the prisoners in the hands of the traitorous Akbar Khan, was due at once to humanity and the honour of our arms. Besides, there were British at Jellalabad; and they had to be saved as well.

Let us here tell the story of General Sale, who was ordered, previous to the murder of Sir W. Macnaghten, to clear the pass of the Khoord Cabul. Enormous were the toils and perils which he had to encounter; but he proved himself equal to the important task. The first regiment which marched out of Cabul was attacked, and suffered some loss; a second was ordered to reinforce them: but it was plain that Sir Robert Sale would have to fight his way through the defile. His march was necessarily slow; nor were his troops fitted out for their work as they might have been. For instance, he applied for 800 percussion muskets, which were lying idle in store at Cabul, to replace the worn-out arms of his infantry; but in vain: and they ultimately fell into the hands of Akbar Khan. On their twentieth day out, in forcing a pass, Sale was wounded, and had to relinquish the command. Only by patience and discipline could the journey be accomplished. In November, Sale heard of the disturbances in Cabul. Unfortunately the

mountaineers heard of them as well; and their audacity increased in consequence. Sale determined to push on for Jellalabad, leaving the private baggage behind, and taking only what was necessary for the efficiency of his force. Hardly had he disappeared when the shah's soldiers plundered the baggage, and went over to the enemy.

Jellalabad, in which Sir Robert Sale now posted himself, was not in a state very favourable for a successful defence. The space inclosed within the walls was far too extensive for the small force under his command. It possessed only a few hundred yards of parapet, and that only about two feet high. The accumulation of earth and rubbish over them was such as to afford a passage to the open country in many places. There was a space of 400 yards together, on which none of the garrison could show themselves excepting at one spot. The people within were disaffected, and the place was completely surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which an enemy might fire at the defenders at the distance of twenty or thirty yards. Immediately the place was taken possession of by the British, the insurgents, to the number of 5,000, posted themselves on the spots which commanded the position. Sale, however, made a general attack on the 16th of November, and displaced them; and a similar army, brought against him in a fortnight after, he dispersed in the same way. Nor were these his only difficulties. The town did not contain two days' provisions; and the general had to organise the supplies, with no money to pay for them, in the midst of an excited and hostile population. However, grain was collected; and the place, owing to almost incredible exertions, was put in a suitable state of defence. It was important—and the general felt it to be such—to remain where he was, to keep open a rallying-point for the troops in Cabul. On the 9th of January, works had been completed by Captain Broadfoot, which consisted in the destruction of an immense quantity of cover for the enemy—extending to the demolition of forts and old walls; filling up ravines, destroying gardens, and cutting down groves; raising the parapets to six or seven feet high; repairing and widening the ramparts; extending the bastions; retrenching three of the gates; covering the fourth with an outwork; and excavating a ditch, three feet in depth and twelve in width, round the whole of the walls. General Sale was summoned, by the leaders of the Afghan rebellion, to give up the place, in fulfilment of a convention entered into by the political and military authorities at Cabul; but, as he was fully aware of the bad faith of his enemies, he refused to surrender. Startling rumours reached him; and, at length, he received the sad news of the disastrous retreat of the British from Cabul, and of their annihilation in the defiles of Ghilzie. At the same time, also, the general heard of the defeat of four regiments marching from Hindostan to his successor. Like grim death, he remained where he was, feeling the importance of retaining the key of eastern Afghanistan in his hand.

On the 13th of January a visitor reached him. The sentinel on the ramparts, looking out towards Cabul, saw a solitary white-faced horseman riding towards the fort. With eager eyes they watched his career: they saw that he was an Englishman, clinging, as one sick or wounded, to the weary pony that seemed to totter under his weight. A party of cavalry was sent out to succour him. The white traveller proved to be Dr. Brydon, who had ridden all the way with death behind him, and who now reported himself to be the sole survivor of an army of some 16,000 men. "I got on," he wrote to his brother, "very well till within about fifty miles of this, with the exception of losing all my baggage, &c. I then lost the horse on which I was riding. Having taken one of my servants, who was wounded, up behind me, we fell rather too far in the rear, when he was pulled off from behind, and I fell with him. I was instantly felled to the earth by the blow of a large knife, which wounded me in the head. I, however, managed to avert the second blow by receiving my enemy's hand on the edge of my sword, by which his hand was somewhat damaged, and he dropped his knife, and made off as fast as he could; and I, following

his good example, managed to reach the main body, *minus* my horse, cap, and shoe, which I lost in the snow. I was then trudging along, holding fast by the tail of another officer's horse, when a native, who was riding close by, said that he could ride no further, and told me to take his horse, which I did without delay. I do not know who the man was, as it was quite dark at the time; but the saddle must have belonged to an Afghan. I now got to the front, where I found a number of officers who were determined to push on, as the men would obey no orders, and were halting every minute. We travelled on slowly all night, fired at occasionally from the sides, and found ourselves, at daybreak, about thirty miles from this—our party consisting of only seven officers, five European soldiers, and myself; the rest having lost us in the dark, and gone some other road. About 10 A.M. we were attacked, and surrounded on all sides by horsemen: three officers, and the five Europeans, were here killed. One of the officers was Lieutenant Bird, of the Madras army, who fell close by my side. I, with the remaining four, got clear of the horsemen, and pushed on. Three of our party being well mounted, left the fourth and myself far in the rear; when he, after coming on some way, said his horse was done-up, and that he would hide until night; for which purpose he left me about four miles from this. He was taken and killed. I proceeded slowly for a short time, when I saw a great many people running towards me in all directions. I waited until they had got pretty close, and then pushed my horse into a gallop, and ran the gauntlet for about two miles, under a shower of large stones, sticks, and a few shots; in which I had my sword broken by a stone, my horse shot in the spine, close to the tail, and my body bruised all over by the stones. I was now attacked by a horseman, who left a party—about six—whom I saw leading away one of our officer's horses, who had gone on a-head. These three were killed; and having nothing left to defend myself with, and my horse being quite done-up, he wounded me on the knee and hand, when, seeing me stoop down, he galloped away as fast as he could, thinking, I suppose, that I was looking for a pistol."

Such letters as these must have created, and did create, a burning desire for a terrible revenge. We had committed a great blunder: we had placed a puppet on the throne of Cabul: we had held him there by British arms and gold: we had been guilty of an unrighteous interference; but that was no reason why British soldiers should be treacherously murdered in cold blood.

An army of retribution was organised, under the command of General Pollock, an officer of great sagacity and experience. A Sikh contingent accompanied; and with this it was necessary to send a British officer, nominally to be the medium of intercommunication between the British and the Sikh commander; but, virtually, to hold the latter to allegiance, and to command his force. To this post Captain Henry Lawrence was appointed. The detachments still in Afghanistan were to be relieved, and the country abandoned. Candahar had not fallen. It was held by Major-General Nott, even after Ghuznee and Cabul had capitulated. General Sale was, as we have seen, still at Jellalabad. It was arranged that Nott should retreat by the Bolan Pass, and that Pollock should move forward to relieve Sale.

Before the plan could be carried out, Lord Auckland retired from the government of India, and was replaced by Lord Ellenborough, whose first impulse was the withdrawal of the armies of Generals Pollock and Nott, without striking a blow. One universal feeling of indignation arose upon the intimation of this decision. His lordship thought better of it, and, ultimately, gave a discretion to the generals to act upon the dictates of their own judgment. They decided for an advance upon the Afghan capital. From that moment Lord Ellenborough threw all his energies into the cause, forwarding troops and supplies, and establishing a *corps de reserve* on the Sutlej. Pollock experienced opposition in the passes; but it was overcome by the gallantry of the 9th and 31st regiments. Nott, with the 40th and 41st regiments, and 5,000 sepoys, cleared the way by defeating the Afghans on the front of Candahar. The junction was effected at Cabul. The

great bazaar of the city, and all the fortifications, were destroyed. The prisoners, among whom were Lady Sale and Lady Macnaghten, were released. Sale, at Jellalabad, effected his own release by a gallant sortie, and the combined forces returned to India through the Punjaub. They were received with great pomp as they crossed the Sutlej; and the triumph of 1842 effaced, in some degree, the mortification of the reverses of 1841.

Afghanistan is an elevated table-land in Asia, consisting of an area of 211,500 square miles, and containing, it is said, a population of nearly 14,000,000. On the east, it is divided from Hindostan by the Indus, from the banks of which, the mountain masses, whose summits constitute the table-land, rise to a height of nearly 6,000 feet above the sea-level. On the west, or Persian side, the table-land is only about 3,000 feet above the sea-level. It is now divided into three independent principalities—Cabul, Candahar, and Herat. The latter is still considered the gate of India on the north-west.

This war with the Afghans was begun and consummated in folly. Colonel Fane (the son of Sir Henry Fane, commander-in-chief of all India at the time), writes, in 1842—"I am prepared to prove that the military head in India, and second member of the council in that country, did oppose, or perhaps point out to the Governor-general, the extreme danger of this wild and unmeasured expedition. * * * * He assured Lord Auckland of the success which did at first appear to attend us; but warned him that, to maintain large bodies of troops in countries so distant, and which scarcely produced food sufficient for the scanty population, was next to impossible." All the way the expedition was beset with difficulties. As a foretaste of what might be expected from him, Runjeet Singh, in spite of the recent treaty which had been drawn up at Lahore by Macnaghten and Burnes, refused to allow our troops to cross the Punjaub. Our principal rendezvous was, therefore, appointed to be at Shikapoor, in Scinde; and thence our line of advance was to be by the Bolan Pass, Quettah, and Candahar. A Bombay column, 5,500 strong, under Sir John Keane, advanced thither. The ameers of Scinde had faithfully promised to provide supplies and the means of conveyance for our armies; but, on arriving at Kurrachee, Sir John found that they had provided us with nothing but jealousy and hatred, and that the mass of the population were eager to attack his column. The Beloochees, it was found, had plundered all the granaries in Hyderabad: it was said that the ameers distributed among them £50,000 or £60,000 to keep them quiet. And at a very early stage of the proceedings the army was weakened, and its discipline destroyed, by jealousy between the officers. As soon as the Bengal column reached Firozepoor, an out-station on the banks of the Sutlej, about fifty miles from Lahore, Sir Henry Fane, whose health was growing infirm, resigned the command, and returned to Bombay. Lord Auckland nominated Sir John Keane to the direction of the whole force, and instructed him to send his orders to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who, as senior officer, had succeeded to the command of the Bengal column, as a temporary measure until its junction with the other troops. This also gave, for a time, the command of a division to Major-General Nott, and of a brigade to Colonel Dennie. It was unfortunate that, before the main body of our army got beyond the frontier, it was left without a commander-in-chief.

Every step taken by our army was pregnant with warning. For instance, at Quettah, a town belonging to the Khan of Khelat, supplies and other necessaries were anticipated, and none were to be found. Yet Burnes had already negotiated a treaty with this gentleman, who had agreed to accept from us £15,000 a year during the continuance of an army in Afghanistan, and to supply provisions, carriages, and escorts, to the extent of his ability—all of which were to be paid for. While they were discussing this precious treaty, the Khan of Khelat told Burnes that Dost Mahommed was a man of resource and ability; and that though we might put him down, and thrust Shah Soojah in his place, we could never win over the Afghan nation. "Wait," said he, "till sickness overtakes your

troops—till they are exhausted with fatigue from long and harassing marches, and the total want of supplies: wait till they have drank of many waters; and wait, too, till they feel the sharpness of the Afghan swords." On another occasion the khan used these words—"You have brought an army into the country; but how do you propose to take it back again?" This was the very question which was asked by the Duke of Wellington, when the intimation of an advance into Afghanistan was made in parliament. Our friend, the Khan of Khelat, kept well the treaty he had made with Burnes. He wrote to the hill chiefs as our army advanced—"What is the use of treaties and arrangements? All child's play. There is no relief but in death; no cure but in the destruction of the English. Their heads, bodies, and goods must be sacrificed. Strengthen the pass." Obstacles met us at every step; robbery and plunder were, on the part of the Afghans, the order of the day. Our soldiers were killed by the climate, by fatigue, by the Afghans, to whom we came with the rich boon of an abhorred and worthless king. Our exasperated soldiers, whenever they captured any of the Afghan marauders, never gave any quarter, but shot or hung them at once, and thus prepared the way for that bloody retribution which, alas! soon ensued. Dost Mahommed told our officers, after he had delivered himself up, that the majority of the Afghan tribes had never been accustomed to obey, and never would obey, any prince; that we should be involved in perpetual embarrassments; that the cunning and intriguing spirit of the chiefs would prove more dangerous than their arms; and that the very courtiers about Shah Soojah, who had been for years fattening on our bounty, would be the first to turn and plot against us.

We had, however, made our way to Cabul; and, at a cost of £3,000,000 a year, were keeping Shah Soojah on his throne. Sir John Keane, wisely, did not wait to see if the new reign prospered, but hastened back to England, to be made Lord Keane, with a pension of £2,000 a year, and to receive the thanks of parliament and of the Court of Directors. Nor was Lord Auckland, as Governor-general, forgotten: he was made an earl; and the Court of Directors, and the Court of Proprietors, honoured him with their thanks, "for the sagacity and promptitude with which he had planned the expedition, and the zeal and vigour he had displayed in preparing the troops to take the field." What bitter sarcasm! what folly there is in human praise! To this noble lord we owe one of the darkest pages in English story; and his reward was—trial—imprisonment—death? No, a peerage. Even at the time while admiration was the order of the day, there was some severe criticism expressed in the House of Lords. The Duke of Wellington said that he had never doubted but that the valour and discipline of our troops would secure victory to our arms in Afghanistan, but that it was when we had completed our first conquests that our difficulties would begin. Lord Ellenborough said the war was a folly; and it remained to be seen whether it might not prove to be a crime. Folly, as we have seen, marked the whole of the proceedings. When the storm began to lower which was to sweep away the British army, and to whiten the mountain passes with our bones, Major Pottinger represented to our envoy the insufficiency of our military force in some places, and the badness of their cantonments in nearly all; but the major was looked upon as an alarmist. Sir Alexander Burnes appears to have been utterly blind as to the real position of affairs. Lieutenant Eyre writes, in his *Military Operations at Cabul*—"No man, surely, in a highly responsible public situation, especially in such a one as that held by the late Sir Alexander Burnes, ought ever to indulge in a state of blind security, or to neglect salutary warnings, however small. It is indisputable that such warnings had been given to him, especially by a respectable Afghan, named Taj Mahommed, who, on the very previous night, went in person to Sir A. Burnes, to put him on his guard; but returned disgusted with his credulity." Lady Sale says—"On the 28th of October the envoy wrote to Sir Alexander Burnes, in consequence of information he had received from Captain Trevor, which indicated an unquiet state of feeling among the people of Cabul. But Sir A. Burnes, on

whom the intelligence department devolved, assured him that Trevor must be mistaken, as *he* knew nothing of any meditated rising of the people, and that it was all as it ought to be. Notwithstanding this, Trevor assured the envoy that a number of Ghilzie chiefs had left Cabul for hostile purposes. On the 1st of November (the very day before the outbreak), Sir A. Burnes congratulated Sir William on the prospect of his leaving Cabul in a perfect state of tranquillity." That Afghan war seems to have accumulated folly upon folly, shame on shame.

When the news came to the cantonment of the riot in the city, and of the assassination of Burnes, Sir William Macnaghten said that the storm would soon blow over of itself. "Instead of blowing over," writes Mr. Macfarlane, in his *Our Indian Empire*, "it increased in violence. Every minute that was lost in inaction raised the numbers and audacity of the insurgents. The chief command of our astounded and bewildered army (bewildered much more by the inactivity and stupor of their leaders than by the proceedings of the Afghans), was at the time held by Major-General Elphinstone, a most amiable and, at one time, a gallant officer; but who had been suffering a long and painful illness, which had affected his nerves, and worn out his mind as much as his body. He was utterly incapable of acting, in this sudden emergency, with the promptitude and vigour necessary for the preservation of his troops; and the officers next in command under him seem to have been, without the same physical and unavoidable causes, as incapable as himself, and to have shrunk from all responsibility. The cantonment occupied by the army for so many months, was as bad as bad could be; and the magazine of provisions was placed in the most exposed and least defensible part of it, detached from our works of strength. All the calamities which befel our ill-starred force, might be traced, more or less, to the defects of our position; and whether we look to its situation or to its construction, this cantonment at Cabul must ever be spoken of as a disgrace to our military skill and judgment."

Panic, fear seized all, and ruined everything. At Jellalabad, Sale maintained his place, because he never lost his head through fear. At Candahar, Nott did the same, and was actually ready, on receiving some supplies and reinforcements, to co-operate with Pollock and Sale in an advance upon Cabul. "It is on record," says Nott, "that I informed the Indian government that I could hold the country (Candahar and Lower Afghanistan) for any time. It is on record that I informed Lord Auckland, as far back as December, 1841, that I could, with permission, reoccupy Cabul with the force under my command. There was nothing to prevent it but the unaccountable panic which prevailed at the seat of government." The Indian government, however, continued to despond. In a letter from the Governor-general in council to the secret committee at home, dated Feb. 9th, 1842 (nine days before the arrival of Lord Ellenborough at Calcutta), it is written—"On the 31st of January we expressly informed Major-General Pollock that Jellalabad was not a place which we desired to retain at all hazards; and that, after securing Sir R. Sale's brigade there, and giving every practicable relief to parties from Cabul, we would wish him, rather than run extreme risks at Jellalabad, to arrange for withdrawal from it, and the assemblage of all his force at or near Peshawur." Shah Soojah (on whose behalf we had undertaken this disastrous expedition), though abandoned and left to his own resources, was able to maintain himself on his throne, and to acquire friends and allies. The Afghan chiefs, ever divided by jealousies, factions, and feuds, began to intrigue one against the other as soon as the English were gone from Cabul; and some of them sent open, and some secret, assistance to the shah in the citadel, who intimated, by letter, that he wanted no more English troops—nothing but a few hundred thousands of our money to enable him to preserve his power.

In war, as in life, it is pluck carries the day. There is nothing like a bold front. As soon as Pollock commenced his march, victory and success were on our side. He gave the Afghans a sound beating in the Khyber Pass, and above it; and before he reached Jellalabad the beleaguering army was dissolved, or was in

rapid flight. When it was known that General Pollock intended to advance, and not retreat, the people of Cabul began to desert the city in great numbers, from dread of our army; and all efforts to induce the people to meet and oppose Pollock on his advance, were utterly fruitless: many of the khans either struck away for their own mountains, or agreed that some one or two of the English prisoners should be released, in order to open friendly negotiations with the victorious general. The victories obtained on the rivers and in the plains of China were rapidly rumoured throughout India, and produced a salutary impression among the mountains of Afghanistan, as well as in neighbouring countries. Our Indian empire had been in jeopardy. Before the news of these victories reached them, our old foes in Nepaul, and some of the Rajpoot tribes in Central India, were in a state of violent excitement: even the Burmese seemed on the point of testing the fortune of war. But as soon as it was known that the Chinese were flying before our troops, that the Afghans had been beaten in every encounter, and that Cabul had been recaptured, amicable professions to the Indian government were the order of the day. Lord Ellenborough had a narrow escape from eternal infamy. The indignation of the country would have broken up the new ministry of his lordship, had he followed the plan which he had been, induced to entertain on first landing. In a happy moment, his lordship, in council, pronounced the word "Forward!" From that time our *prestige* began to brighten, and the dark cloud of our disgrace to pass away. As Mr. Macfarlane remarks—"We speak not of vengeance for the past. This was not, nor ought ever to have been a war of retaliation and revenge: it was a war of retrieval—a war of liberation: it was a war for retrieving all that was highest and most valuable to us—our national character, the honour of our arms, and the spell of our *prestige;* wanting which, we should have had, not one, but many wars to undertake in the East. It was a war for releasing, in the only becoming manner, the sons and daughters of Britain from a foul Afghan imprisonment." What a pity that the number of the rescued should have been so small! The total of all that were released and recovered by Nott and Pollock's brilliant advance to Cabul, was only 122. Of this number, nine were ladies, and three the wives of non-commissioned officers or privates; twenty-two were children; thirty-four were officers; and the rest, with the exception of two or three regimental clerks, were British non-commissioned officers or privates.

And then the cost: that was set down altogether at fifteen millions of money.

It left a stain, too, on Lord Palmerston's reputation. The correspondence relating to Afghanistan was officially published in 1839; and was submitted to parliament with falsifications, intended to show that Dost Mahommed was intriguing against England, and in favour of the Russians; and that was the opinion of Sir A. Burnes. Not a single fact of all those which, in the correspondence, went to prove that Dost Mahommed was a faithful ally, but was fraudulently omitted; not a single sentence among all those which, from the pen of Sir A. Burnes, testified to his esteem for the Afghan chief, but was fraudulently suppressed. In short, the art of arranging and the art of omitting were carried to such an extent, that Sir A. Burnes was made to say the exact contrary of what he thought, and to write the exact contrary of what he had written. No sooner was Sir Alexander Burnes informed of the publication of his falsified despatches, than he sent to England a copy of the true ones.

In a few years the nation underwent a great change. In 1862, the cry was raised—"The Persians are marching upon Herat—the Persians have taken Herat—the Persians are marching upon Candahar!" And, moreover, it appeared that the Afghans were calling upon the English to help them: yet England made no stir; sent no aid. The idea that the underhand progress of Russian influence is a present danger to our supremacy in India, has lost much of its former force.

English statesmen now argue, that it needs only to cast an eye upon the map to see that the only province of the Anglo-Indian empire which is exposed to an invasion is that on the north-west. But what are the states bordering on this

frontier? Beloochistan and the kingdom of Cabul—that is, countries destitute of all regular organisation, and depending for military service on some legions of freebooters. Beyond them is Persia, a country of far greater importance; behind which are stationed the Russians, ever ready to drive their spurs into its flanks. But let the English only despatch a squadron, the Court of Teheran is seized with a trembling fit. Admitting, it is said, that Russia contrived, by means of the Persians, to knock at the gate of our Indian army—admitting that the spectre of an armed invasion rose up even in Scinde. What then? Would not, it is asked, an army, bold enough to set foot on the English territory, run the risk of seeing, at the first step it took, its communications intercepted? Would it be easy to provide an adequate artillery force, or to find supplies for an army of 50,000 or 60,000 men, with 200 leagues of desert between itself and the base of its operations? "Thus," says Louis Blanc, "argue those who have not, like Mr. Urquhart and his friends, what may be called a nightmare when they dream about Russia."

"It remains to be seen," says the same writer, "if the optimists have not somewhat deceived themselves in their calculations—if an exaggerated panic has not given place, in their minds, to an excessive confidence; and if there be nothing but raving in the *dilenda est Carthago* of Mr. Urquhart."

As we write there comes to us a telegram from the East—"The Emir of Bokhara having failed in his engagement, and attacked a Russian detachment, which had commenced a retrograde movement on the faith of his promise, General Romanovsky, the successor of General Tchernaioff, attacked a numerous body of Bokhara cavalry, defeating and pursuing them for a distance of twenty versts." The public now receive, with perfect indifference, news or rumours which, at one time, would have created the utmost consternation. English foreign policy is capricious, uncertain, inconstant, and inconsistent, because it is shaped by a public which, like all public bodies, represents but the passions, the prejudices, the interests of the hour. To-day we laugh to scorn the precautions of yesterday: to-morrow brings a panic.

In defence of this affair, Lord Palmerston, speaking in June, 1842, put the case thus:—

"I say that all persons who were qualified to form a sound opinion thought that immediate measures were necessary, with a view to secure Afghanistan for British interests. The fact is, that for a great number of years we regarded Persia as a barrier for our Indian possessions: but of late her policy has changed; and since the succession of the present shah, the relations between India and Persia have altered, and we have seen Persia disposed to extend her frontier. For a long time we refrained from interference; but at length it became necessary, from the determination on the part of Persia, to incorporate Afghanistan in her system of government. It was then the obvious duty of those who had the charge of affairs, to take vigorous measures that Afghanistan might be secured in our favour, instead of being hostile to our interests. Now, Sir, it was thought by many to be an adventurous attempt; and, in a military point of view, it was looked upon as extremely difficult. But, Sir, there never was a military operation carried on in a part of this country in which there were so many difficulties which have been followed by such easy and complete success. Three years had nearly elapsed since that expedition was undertaken; during those three years no disaster happened. At last a great disaster did happen, no doubt. Into the causes of that disaster I will not now enter. They are matters of inquiry before competent parties elsewhere; and it would be unjust and unfair of me to fix blame upon any one. But I may say that this disaster had no more to do with the original policy of these measures than the wreck of a line-of-battle ship. If we had sent out an expedition three years before, and the line-of-battle ship should be lost unexpectedly in a gale of wind, it would be no proof that the policy of the expedition was not sound and judicious."

This was in reply to Mr. Disraeli. In the year following, Mr. Roebuck returned to the attack, designating—

"The war which has lately been carried on by the English to the west of the Indus, as a war of aggression; and, as such, an unjust and impolitic war."

And, not content with a specific charge, he made this general attack upon Palmerston and his policy:—

"I cannot help fancying that if the name of England has been brought into bad odour with the world, the most active instrument in the production of that mischief has been the noble viscount, the member for Tiverton. In fact, if I might, upon so serious a matter, bring forward an almost ludicrous illustration, I should say that the noble lord was best typified by a late production of modern science, which is called the lucifer-match. No sooner does he meet with an obstruction than a flame immediately bursts forth. He puts his hand upon America, and it required but one move to bring upon us a war that, in all its calamities, would have been equal to a civil war. It was only by a miracle that we were saved from a war with France. It was not owing to anything that the noble lord did not do that we were not thrust into a war with Russia. We had an unnecessary war in Syria—we had an armed body in the Persian Gulf: Englishmen, and those under them, have swept the whole plains of Malta, from the banks of the Indus to the confines of the Hindoo-Coosh, under the noble lord's pernicious influence, bearing with them all the consternation and all the horrors of war. In short, extending his mischievous activity over the whole habitable world—from the western coasts of America to the eastern coasts of China (where war absolutely raged)—wherever the English name is known, the hideous consequences of war have been expected to follow. Therefore, I say, that I do look with suspicion upon every argument and every fact that may be adduced, by the noble lord or those around him, in vindication of the mischievous activity which he has displayed in perplexing and distracting our foreign relations with the world at large."

This attack put Palmerston on his mettle. In the early part of his rejoinder he thus expressed himself:—"The honourable and learned gentleman accused me of a mischievous and restless activity in the discharge of my official duties. Now, with regard to the term 'mischievous,' I must take the liberty of saying that the honourable and learned gentleman appears to me to have peculiar notions of what is, and what is not, mischievous; and therefore he will pardon me for saying, that his opinion that my official conduct was mischievous will not disturb the conviction of my mind that it was of a contrary tendency. That there was activity the honourable and learned gentleman declares, and we have his unequivocal testimony to the fact. I thank him for that compliment. He says that my 'restless activity encircled the globe.' Why, Sir, the interests of England encircle the globe—the sun never sets upon the interests of this country; and the individual whose duty it is to watch over the foreign relations of this country, would not be worthy of his position if his activity were not commensurate with the extensive range of the great interests that require his attention. * * * * Men who are in public life, and in the performance of public duties, must expect that, from some quarter or another, such hard expressions will be applied to their conduct. But it is generally observed that men who use the hardest words are apt, also, to employ the softest arguments. If this position be true, so far from being surprised that the honourable and learned gentleman should have used hard terms in speaking of me and my late colleagues, my only wonder is, that, considering the softness and weakness of his arguments, he did not put greater strength into his interpretation. * * * * I must say that it would be a strange proceeding (Mr. Roebuck having moved for a committee of inquiry into the hostilities in Afghanistan) if, after four years had been allowed to elapse, not only since the occurrence of these important events in India, but even since the late government had laid the case fully before parliament—no attempt having been made to condemn

the late ministers when they were in office, and when they had all the means of defence which official documents could furnish them—these matters should now be made the subject of inculpation. It would, I say, be most extraordinary if parties were to lie in ambush during four years, and then to come out with an attack upon persons whom they might have assailed when in power, but on whom they deferred their assault till placed in a different position, and, of course, with less means of defending themselves."

England has not yet done with Afghanistan. A war with Russia, at one time, was declared to be an impossibility; it is now an admitted fact. Even those writers who have blamed the British government for deciding on the invasion of Afghanistan, when the Persian army, prompted by Russia, was besieging Herat, have been compelled to confess that it is in the possession of this very place that the defence of India must depend. Mr. Kaye, in his excellent and laborious work on Afghanistan, admits, that "it is only by the Herat route that a really formidable, well-equipped army could make its way from the Indian frontier upon the regions of the north-west. Both the nature and the resources of the country are such as to favour the means of the invader." It would, then, be criminal neglect to allow an enemy to establish himself in such a position. At any rate the Herat route would have to be held by the English forces. There, and not on the Indus, would the battle have to be fought to decide who were to be the future masters of India. With all just precautions—such as were, unfortunately, neglected by Sir William Macnaghten and General Elphinstone—the British dominions in Hindostan would be unapproachable. All the materials necessary for the organisation of a great army, and the formation of its depôts, are to be found in the neighbourhood of Herat. The extraordinary fertility of the plain has fairly entitled it to be called the granary of Central Asia. Its mines supply lead, iron, and sulphur; the surface of the country, in almost every direction, is laden with saltpetre; the willow and poplar trees, which furnish the best charcoal, flourish in all parts of the country; whilst from the population, at any time, might be drawn hardy and docile soldiers to recruit the ranks of an invading army. "Upon the possession of such a country," adds Mr. Kaye, "would depend, in no small measure, the success of operations undertaken for the invasion or defence of Hindostan." At a time when the outcry against the policy which produced the invasion of Afghanistan was loudest—when the newspapers were still full of the harrowing details of the calamities which had fallen on the unfortunate troops at Cabul—when invectives against all who had, or were supposed to have had, any share in originating the expedition, were delivered in parliament, and disseminated by the press—Lord Palmerston stood forward, and, with admirable moral courage, declared that this policy was sound, and that, with ordinary prudence, it would have been successful. He was answered with shouts of derision.

Many years later, Lord Broughton (Sir John Cam Hobhouse that was), President of the Board of Control, acknowledged himself the author of what "was certainly a folly, if not a crime"—the Afghan war. It is, indeed, undoubted, that the Court of Directors was strongly opposed to it. Had Lord Auckland sided with the directors, it would never have taken place. He did not oppose it. There were unscrupulous, ambitious men about him, who urged him to it. There were family influences, it is said, which co-operated with them. For forty-eight hours he shut himself up in government-house, at Simlah; and then came forth his famous declaration of war against the Afghans, in the name of the so-called ruler of their country, Shah Soojah, "whose popularity had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." "Strange popularity," as Mr. Ludlow writes: "established by his expulsion from the country, and soon to be sealed by murder at the hands of his subjects." "The welfare of our possessions in the East," said his lordship, "requires that we should have, on our western frontier, an ally who is interested in resisting aggression, and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a

hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggression." Lord Auckland, after the terrible catastrophe had occurred—the most fearful ever experienced by the British arms—was rewarded by his Whig friends by being placed at the head of the Admiralty. Not bad, this, for a man who had begun life in comparative poverty; had been called to the bar, and had chambers in Old Square, Lincoln's Inn!

Attention was called to British India by the events here referred to; and, in 1839, the British India Society, with Lord Brougham as president, was formed. It committed the great fault of attempting to take public opinion by storm, through the agitation of public meetings, instead of slowly training it by the circulation of weighty documents. It principally occupied itself with the case of the Rajah of Sattara—"the ablest and most exemplary prince in India," writes Mr. Ludlow; "who was hurled from his throne, and robbed of all his property, because he refused to confess himself guilty of crimes which he denied on evidence which he never saw." In vain did his gaoler, Major Carpenter, offer to prove the rajah's innocence. The offer was rebuked, by Lord Hardinge, "as unbecoming and uncalled-for;" and so the poor rajah died.

CHAPTER XL.

CHARTISM AND SOCIAL DISTURBANCES.

REFORM had been carried; yet, in a few years, in England there was as much restlessness and discontent as ever. The middle classes had gained political power by the help of the lower. They had left the latter in the lurch; but they had taught the working-man a lesson—the power of organisation and demonstration. At the period to which we refer, there were no cheap newspapers; few schools for the poor; and no education amongst them worth the name: they were in distress besides, and were the natural prey of the demagogue. In 1839, the discontented were called Chartists; and their aim was, to make the Charter the law of the land. The Charter had five points: they were—universal suffrage; annual parliaments; vote by ballot; the abolition of the property qualification required in members of parliament; and payment of members. It was argued, that if the people had a proper control over the revenue of the country, the revenue would be better appropriated, and the national debt would be less; the corn-laws would never have existed; and the rich, instead, would have to pay a property tax: the taxes on malt and soap, and others equally grievous, would be repealed. At a meeting which was held in Oldham, in 1838, one of the leaders of this movement, the Rev. Mr. Stephens, said—"The principle of the people's Charter, was the right of every man that breathed God's free air, or trod God's free earth, to have his home and his hearth, and to have happiness to himself, his wife, and children, as securely guaranteed to him as they are to any other man whom the Almighty had created. The question of universal suffrage was, after all, a knife-and-fork question. If any man asked him what he meant by universal suffrage, he would tell him. He meant to say that every working-man in the land had a right to have a good coat and hat; a good roof over his head; a good dinner upon his table; no more work than would keep him in health; as much wages as would keep him in plenty; and the enjoyment of those pleasures of life which a reasonable man could desire." No wonder the working-man hurrahed for the Charter; for its leader, Feargus O'Connor; or for its organ, the *Northern Star*.

Not contented with dwelling on the happy results to be gained by universal suffrage, many of the Chartists appealed to physical force. At the meeting referred

to, Mr. Stephens said—"I am speaking to hundreds of thousands, three out of four of whom have, in all likelihood, left their arms at home to-day. And why have you left them at home? Because you were afraid to bring them? No. Why, then, have you left them behind? Because the boroughrieve and constables of Manchester have declared that they have the fullest confidence in the peaceable and loyal character of the people. If they had not made that declaration, I should have come myself armed to this meeting; I should have brought 10,000 armed men with me; I should have moved, had there been a necessity for it, an adjournment of this meeting for a month; and I should have exhorted every man in the country, capable of bearing arms, to flock to his standard, and, under it, to fight the battles of the constitution." In the north, Chartism found much favour with the people. It had its poets as well as its orators. One of the former was Ebenezer Elliot, the corn-law rhymer; who asked, in one of his hymns, much sung at Chartist meetings:—

> "God of the poor, shall labour eat?
> Or drones alone find labour sweet?
> Shall they, who call the earth their own,
> Take all we have, and give a stone?"

Feargus O'Connor, an Irish barrister, and M.P. for Nottingham, was the very picture of a demagogue, and had around him men of the most worthless character, whose vices were redeemed by no virtues; who lived on the people, and gave them, in return, an unlimited amount of frothy talk. There were some noble exceptions; such as Lovett, and Thomas Cooper, the author of the *Purgatory of Suicides*—a noble poem for a working shoemaker to have written—written, as it must be remembered, in gaol, into which he had been thrown in consequence of his Chartist opinions. In the poem referred to, in impassioned language he exclaims—

> "I love the Galilean, Lord and Christ:
> Such goodness I could own; and, though enshrined
> In flesh, could worship. If, emparadised
> Beyond the grave, no Eden I could find
> Restored, though all the good of human kind
> Were there, and not that yearning One—the poor
> Who healed, and fed, and blest—nay, to my mind,
> Hell would be heaven with Him! Horror no more
> Could fright, if such benignant beauty trod its shore."

All the past who have died as suicides come and speak to the poet; and when the dream is over, he tells us—

> ————————"I awoke to find my home
> A dungeon—thence to ponder when would come
> The day that goodness shall the earth renew,
> And Truth's young light disperse old Error's gloom;
> When Love shall hate, and Meekness pride subdue,
> And when the many cease their slavery to the few."

And thus ends the brave Chartist's song. Pure, religious, patriotic, it contained not a line fraught with falsehood or injustice. Chartism had quickened his pulse, and stirred his blood to a noble flight: but, alas! Thomas Cooper was not a representative man.

At Birmingham, in July, 1839, the powers that be were alarmed. At a Chartist meeting, held in the Bull-ring in that town, to which sixty metropolitan police had been sent by the Home Office, a collision took place. Summoned by the latter to disperse, they refused to do so, and a desperate conflict ensued. In the affray many of the police suffered severely; nor did the Chartists escape serious injury. About ten of the rioters were apprehended; and amongst them one—a Dr. John Taylor—who had acquired great notoriety. Messrs. Lovett and Collins were brought before the magistrates, charged with having published the following scandalous and malicious libel:—"*Resolutions unanimously agreed to by*

the General Convention, and signed W. Lovett, Secretary.—That this convention is of opinion, that a wanton and unjust outrage has been made upon the people of Birmingham, by a bloody and unconstitutional force from London, acting under the authority of men who, when out of office, sanctioned and took part in the meetings of the people; and now, when they share in the public plunder, seek to keep the people in social and political degradation.—That the people of Birmingham are the best judges of their own right to meet in the Bull-ring or elsewhere; have their own feelings to consult respecting the outrage given; and are the best judges of their own power and resources to obtain justice.—That the summary and despotic arrest of Dr. Taylor, our respected colleague, affords another convincing proof of the absence of all justice in England; and clearly shows that there is no security for life, liberty, or property, till the people have some control over the laws they are called upon to obey."—In a day or two tumults again began; and, on the evening of the 9th, after a public meeting, an angry mob repaired to the Bull-ring, and commenced a general riot: the gas was put out; houses were broken into; shops plundered and burnt; and much property destroyed.

At Kensal Moor, near Manchester, there was a great "moral demonstration" in favour of the Charter. Large bodies of men moved thither, exhibiting banners, on which appeared—"Universal Suffrage!" "Annual Parliaments!" "Vote by Ballot!" "Abolition of White Slavery!" "Universal Suffrage or Death!" "Tyrants tremble, for the People are awake!" "Reason no longer with Tyrants—man has but once to die!" "No Corn-laws!" and similar inscriptions. The president of the day was a Dr. Fletcher, of Bury; and the following propositions were submitted to the meeting:—"Whether they would be prepared, at the requisition of the body calling itself the National Convention, to withdraw all sums of money they might have placed in savings-banks, or in the hands of persons hostile to their just rights? Whether they would be prepared, immediately, to convert all their paper into gold and silver? Whether, if the convention should determine that "a sacred month" would be necessary to prepare the millions to secure the Charter of their salvation, they would firmly resolve to abstain from labour during that period, as well as from the use of all intoxicating drinks? Whether, according to their old constitutional right—a right which modern legislation would fain annihilate—they had prepared themselves with the arms of freedom, to defend the laws and privileges their ancestors had bequeathed to them? Whether they would provide themselves with Chartist candidates, so as to be prepared to propose them at the next general election; and, if returned by a show of hands, such candidates to consider themselves as the veritable representatives of the people, to meet in London at a time thereafter to be determined on? Whether they would resolve to deal exclusively with Chartists; and, in all cases of persecution, rally round and protect all those who might suffer in the righteous cause?" Resolutions affirming these propositions were recommended to the multitude, who were told that, at that moment, the people had no less than £13,000,000 in the savings-banks; and that if they would only withdraw £1,000,000 from their deposits, that would suffice to achieve their liberty. With respect to taking up arms, it was said such a course of proceeding had, on one occasion, been justified by Lord John Russell as a step which the people had a right to take.

In August, the delegates of the National Convention held a meeting of delegates in London, attended by Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien, and others. It was resolved, "That, from the evidence which has reached this council from various parts of the country, we are unanimously of opinion that the people are not prepared to carry out the sacred month on the 12th of August. The same evidence, however, convinces us that the great body of the working people, including most of the trades, may be induced to cease working on the 12th instant, for two or three days, in order to devote the whole of that time to solemn processions and solemn meetings, for deliberating on the present awful state of

the country, and devising the best means of averting the hideous despotism with which the industrious orders are menaced by the murderous majority of the upper and middle classes, who prey upon their labour. We, at the same time, beg to announce to the country, that it is our deliberate opinion, that unless the trades of Great Britain shall co-operate, as united bodies, with their more distressed brethren in making a grand national and moral demonstration on the 12th instant, it will be impossible to save this country from a revolution of blood, which, after enormous sacrifices of life and property, will terminate in the utter subjection of the whole of the working people to the monied murderers of society. Under these circumstances we implore all our brother Chartists to abandon the idea of a 'sacred month,' as being, for the present, utterly impracticable; and to prepare themselves forthwith to carry into effect the aforesaid constitutional objects on the 12th instant. We also implore the united trades, if they would save the country from convulsion, and themselves and their families from ruin, to render their distressed brethren all the aid in their power, on or before the 12th instant, towards realising the great and beneficial effects of this holiday.—Men of trades! The salvation of the empire is in your hands." This fine programme led to nothing. The working-men were wiser than their leaders.

At Sheffield the Chartists came into collision with the military. Even Ebenezer Elliot was obliged to admit the cowardice of the former on the occasion. In a severe and truthful letter, addressed to them as a fellow-townsman, he says—"There are, in this town, about 6,000 adult labourers, and 8,000 great and small capitalists. There are also about 10,000 skilled labourers, who (being themselves capitalists, and more dependent than any other capitalists for their well-being on the conservation of the public peace), would, because they must, whatever their inclinations might be (in any case of tumult or convulsion short of the general overturn), join the other capitalists. From these facts, and one or two others too ludicrously notorious to mention, I draw the following conclusions:—That you could not, if you were unanimous (which you are not), carry, by physical or moral force, or by any means whatever, any great public object without the assistance of some of the other productive classes. That the children of the Sunday-schools who walked in procession through our streets last Whit-Monday, were then better prepared and better able to contend with the military than you were. That if you were this day arrayed for fight with all your present means (be they what they may), a troop of soldiers' wives from the barracks, if they made their appearance unarmed, and with or without their husbands' cloaks over their shoulders, would scare you out of the parish. And that the adult daughters of the other productive classes (because they have surplus funds which you have not, and cannot have until you get rid of the corn-laws), could, if need were, not by coming behind folks as some of your leaders advise you to do, but in fair battle, and without the aid of a single policeman or soldier, defeat and exterminate you."

The National Convention soon came to grief. Its members quarrelled among themselves, and the society was dissolved; the minority charging their late friends with "cowardice in the cause of Chartism, if not crime—tending to create suspicion and distrust in the minds of the people, and to impede, if not destroy, the progress of reform." About the same time, also, the leader of the movement, Mr. Feargus O'Connor, was arrested at Manchester, on a judge's warrant, for being concerned in a seditious conspiracy. He was admitted to bail.

At the close of 1839, Newport, in Monmouthshire, was the scene of a real Chartist insurrection. In this district an immense mining population had sprung up—a population inflammatory and ignorant. The chief actor was John Frost, a linendraper in the town, and a borough magistrate; who had, for his indiscreet acts, been dismissed from the commission of the peace. This offended and annoyed him; and seems to have led him to mix more with discontented parties, who encouraged each other to take up arms. A general rising was projected. The men engaged in it were principally working-men from the neighbouring mines or

iron-works of Newport, Brecon, and Merthyr-Tydvil. Information was brought to the magistrates of Newport on Sunday, the 3rd of November, that the town was to be attacked next day. The extreme wetness of the weather prevented many from attending; and it was not till ten on Monday that the Chartists entered the town in two bodies—one headed by Frost; the other by his son, a lad of fourteen or fifteen. They were armed with guns, pistols, pikes, swords, and heavy clubs. They met in the market-place, and united in front of the Westgate hotel, the door of which was protected by special constables, whom the insurgents summoned to surrender. Upon their refusal the word was given to fire, and a volley was discharged against the bow-window of the room in which the military were located, and simultaneously, the rioters, with pikes and other instruments, drove in the door, and poured through the hall, into the passage. The soldiers were ordered to load; they did so, and fired down the passage. Attacked from the window, the military (there were only thirty of them) fired into the mob in the street, who fled in great disorder; not a few being killed on the spot, or severely wounded. Frost himself was not visible after the first discharge. His comrade, Zephaniah Williams, the leader of aid, arrived too late; as did another band, headed by a man named Jones. The mayor was wounded by a gun-shot in the left arm, and by a severe cut on the right side, which, for some time, quite disabled him. He appears to have acted with great intrepidity; and read the Riot Act, amongst showers of bullets, before he ordered the military to fire. The number of the rioters was variously estimated from 5,000 to 10,000; but a much larger number was collected on the hills. At night Mr. Frost's house was reached, and his papers secured by a solicitor, who then proceeded to the house of Mr. Partridge (Frost's partner), and there apprehended Frost himself, who was quietly supping on bread and cheese, and apparently unconscious of danger, though a reward of £100 had been offered for his apprehension. Partridge was also secured. Both the prisoners had pistols, percussion-caps, powder, and bullets on their persons. Many of the rioters were made prisoners; the bodies of others were found in the streets and in the fields. Their dress and appearance indicated that they were miners, and were well off for their condition in life: the number killed was twenty; the wounded were, of course, more numerous. On the bodies of two rioters, two cards were found, of which this description was given. On the back of the first was written—"William Griffiths, No. 5, A." And, on the reverse, the following inscription was printed:—"The Working Men's Association for benefiting, politically, and socially, and morally, the useful classes." Motto—"The man who evades his share of useful labour diminishes the public wealth, and throws his own burden on his neighbour." Underneath was a ruled form for monthly payments, with two sums of fourpence each, paid within the months of July and August. The other was a similar card, but blue for Merthyr, with three payments of sixpence in May, July, and October, and numbered 2,601. It appeared that the movement had been extensively organised; that with such an overwhelming force as Frost had at his disposal, all resistance was useless; and that the non-arrival of the Welsh mail in Birmingham was to be the signal for a simultaneous rising of the Chartists in that town, and all other parts of the kingdom. Much care was taken to ensure secrecy. Every member of the associated Chartists was bound to obey his captain; but who that captain was to be, or what was the party under his command, was not made known till the moment of rising. There appears to have been a captain to every ten men, each of whom was to summon his corps, and conduct it, at a given time, to his appointed rendezvous in the hills. The unfavourable state of the weather, and the darkness of the preceding night, fortunately disconcerted these deep-laid schemes. Williams, Jones, and Frost were committed for high treason, and tried at Monmouth by a special commission issued for that purpose, on the 1st of January, 1840. The forms customary in cases of high treason were duly observed, and the attorney-general stated the case to the jury. It was not shown that Frost, though very active before, had been seen much after the firing commenced. The leading

counsel for the defence, though he admitted serious disorders had occurred, denied that they amounted to high treason. He considered that the Chartists of 1839 occupied the same position, in reference to the existing constitution, as was held by the reformers of 1832, with respect to the constitution existing at that time, and which they had so vigorously assailed. He especially directed the attention of the jury to the fact, that the persons who now appeared as prosecutors of the Chartists, did not scruple, in 1832, to take advantage of alarming displays of physical force, of tumultuous assemblages, and of an organised opposition to the law, in furtherance of the objects which they then had in view. What they now prosecuted as treason, they did not hold to be treason then. Against all the prisoners verdicts were returned. On the 16th of January, sentence of death was passed on the three leaders, in these terms:—"That each of you, John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and William Jones, be taken hence to the place whence you came, and be thence drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and that each of you be there hanged by the neck till you be dead; and that afterwards the head of each of you shall be disposed of as her majesty shall think fit; and may the Lord have mercy on your souls." It appears it was the intention of government to have suffered the law to take its course. The hangman was said to have received his order to attend on a day appointed for the execution. Eventually, milder counsels prevailed. Petitions were sent to the queen from twelve congregations in Birmingham, praying for mercy; and a petition to parliament, to the same effect, was signed by 21,000 persons. Their lives were spared, on condition that they should be transported for life.

In May, 1842, the Chartists had a grand demonstration in London, on the occasion of carrying up their petition for the Charter to the House of Commons. It was placed on a kind of platform, which had been constructed for the purpose. On the front was placed a placard, displaying the number of signatures which it contained; and from that it appeared to be 3,313,752—an amount subsequently discovered to be exaggerated. The procession was formed soon after one o'clock, the petition being placed in front; and it was followed immediately by a black banner, inscribed—"Murder demands Justice. 19th August, 1819." Then came some staves, surmounted each by a cap of liberty; and then some flags, in all numbering seventy. These were some of the mottoes—"O'Connor, the tried Friend of the People;" "The Sovereignty of the People;" "The Charter;" "No Surrender;" "Liberty;" "Free Press;" "More Pigs and less Parsons," &c. The procession, starting in Lincoln's Inn Fields, went down Little Queen Street, Holborn, Tottenham Court Road, through Westminster, to the House of Commons. There the open spaces were thickly crowded with spectators. At the windows of the committee-rooms were members of the House: in one, Mr. Thomas Duncombe, who was to take charge of the petition, was recognised, and loudly cheered. The petition was taken to the members' entrance; but it was found too vast for admittance. Another door was tried, but with equal non-success; so it was broken up, and carried into the House piecemeal, by a long line of men. This done, the procession filed off, and departed across Westminster Bridge. In the course of the summer the Chartists held camp meetings at Blackburn, and elsewhere.

A special commission was held at Stafford and Liverpool, for the purpose of trying the Chartist prisoners who had taken part in the recent outbreak in the manufacturing districts. Cooper, the Chartist poet, was found guilty of inciting persons to cease from labour until they attained the Charter. The trials and the evidence were much of the same character. For instance, Joseph Cappin, described as the Newstall blacksmith, was put upon his trial. The first witness against him was William Smallwood, a grinder. He said—"The prisoner is a blacksmith, living at Newstall. On the 28th of February, I remember seeing a number of persons at Pepper's house. It was on a Monday night. I heard first a hymn, and then Cappin stood up next the window. I was looking through the window from the street. He said, the words of my text to-night shall be—'To your tents, O

Israel!' The meaning of that is, to be ready in your own houses. He twice called out—'Are you ready? are you sure you are ready?' Some cried out—'Yes, yes.' He said—'Have you got your guns, your swords, or bayonets?' Some people laughed at him, and he said—'I suppose you think Cappin is come with his physical force: it is no laughing matter; we shall have a severe fight, but it will be a short one. What will you do when you have got the Charter? As I am to be one of your leaders, I will tell you what I shall recommend. We shall take the bishops, and clergy, and hypocritical dissenters, and will put them into a vessel, and transport them into *Affinger*, or something like that, to be assassinated among the Hindoos.' I have seen him two or three times at that house, and in the open air, addressing the people. I heard him speaking to a number of women in the same house. On another occasion there were men also present. He said—'If you can't fight you can torch. You see what they have done elsewhere by clamming the people, and starving them, and driving them to madness.' He then referred to the firing of several cities and houses." The whole number of prisoners tried at Stafford alone was 274: of this number fifty-four were sentenced to transportation.

Undaunted by these prosecutions, we find the females in London forming a Female Chartist Association, at the National Charter Association Hall, in the Old Bailey, London. One of the principal speakers, Mrs. Mary Anne Walker, "repudiated, with indignation, the insinuation that if women were in parliament, any man, be he husband or be he lover, would dare be so base a scoundrel as to attempt to sway her from the strict line of duty." Chartism lingered on, penetrating even into the rural districts—everywhere an element of disturbance and disorder; actually, at one time, threatening an attack upon the metropolis, and giving occasion to the enrolling of special constables, one of whom was the present Emperor of the French. As it was originally a knife-and-fork question, in proportion as the people became better off, it languished and died. The repeal of the corn-laws was the death-blow of the Charter. Hence it was that the bitterest opponents of that boon to the working-men, were Feargus O'Connor and his friends.

Under the name of Rebeccaism, in Wales, a kind of Chartism prevailed, consisting chiefly of attempts to evade the payment of tolls. It appears urgent complaints had been made, from time to time, by the inhabitants of the rural districts, of their road taxes. After having paid rates, they had again to pay heavy tolls on the by-roads; so heavy as sometimes to absorb the small profit on the produce the little farmers were carrying to market. In 1839, a particularly unpopular set of gates, which the people believed to have been illegally erected, were pulled down on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. The magistrates declared their intention of overruling the trustees about the re-erection of these gates: some of them became trustees for the purpose, and the gates were never put up again. This victory dwelt on the minds of the rude and primitive people of the district; who had notions of their own, knew little of the world beside, and spoke nothing but Welsh. They held meetings among themselves, and organised a remarkable conspiracy to destroy all gates and toll-houses that they considered objectionable, and to persist till the trustees could not afford to put up any more. They quoted that passage in Genesis, in which it is written—"And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, let thy seed possess the gate of them which fear them." They chose a chief; dressed him in woman's clothes; put a large bonnet on his head, and named him Rebecca—calling his daughters Rebecca's daughters. In the winter of 1842 they began their work; and how well they did it memory yet tells. Suddenly, and when least expected, their attacks were made. The keeper was roused from his sleep by the firing of guns, and the clamour of cow-horns. The door was burst open, and he saw a crowd—some on horses, and some on foot—some in women's clothes, and others with veiled faces; then torches waved, and saws and hatchets flashed as the work of destruction went on. Then the house was sacked, all its furniture carried out into the

fields, or placed by the neighbouring hedge; and when gate and toll-house were no more, away the rioters galloped as quickly as they had come. Of course the soldiers were sent for; but they were always too late, or had been misdirected. In Carmarthen, nearly eighty gates were destroyed; and in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire few remained unassailed. When risings were taking place in other parts of England, Chartist agitators went to Wales, to see whether they could not succeed in obtaining the aid of Rebecca and her daughters. The aspect of the movement then was presently changed. Threatening letters were distributed, declaring Rebecca meant to abolish justice-fees and tithes, to pull down the workhouses, and to compel the landlords to lower their rents. The mob, to the number of many thousands, marched into the town of Carmarthen, destroyed the workhouse, and frightened the magistrates and inhabitants. At length the military arrived, and several hundreds of the rioters were captured. Worse followed—incendiarism; and, on one occasion, murder. An old woman, above seventy, kept a gate, which she knew to be doomed. She had been warned to leave it; and at three one morning her expected visitors came. She ran to a cottage near to ask her neighbour to come and put out the fire. He dared not put his head out, but asked her in. She ran back to save her furniture; Rebecca's children came up and fired the thatch again. The old creature called out that she knew them, and they shot her dead. The coroner's jury, afraid to do their duty, returned a verdict, "That the deceased died from effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffocation; but from what cause is to this jury unknown." The state of things was getting alarming. A proclamation, issued on the subject of the outrages in South Wales, especially in Pembroke, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, offered £500 for the discovery of the perpetrators of incendiary fires, or fatal violences towards the person. Fifty pounds were promised on the conviction of minor offenders; and pardon to all accomplices—the actual perpetrators of the crimes excepted—who would give such information as would cause the rioters to be brought to justice. About the same time, a commission was appointed to inquire into the operation of the turnpike laws in Wales, and the cause which led to the late disturbance. The parties who had been arrested were brought to trial, under a special commission opened at Cardiff. A young farmer, who had violently resisted the civil power, and had been taken in the act, was convicted, and sentenced to be transported for twenty years. Most of the other prisoners pleaded guilty. Some, against whom the evidence was but weak, were liberated; two were transported for seven years; several were ordered to be imprisoned for different periods: and thus law was vindicated, and order restored.

Of course, at this time, true to his crafty policy, Ireland was moved by her great chief. At a monster meeting, held in Tara, in August, 1843, he promised that, before twelve months, an Irish parliament would meet on College Green. "Remember, I pronounce the union to be null—to be obeyed as an injustice must be obeyed when it is supported by law—until we have the royal authority to set the matter right, and substitute our own parliament." At the dinner which followed, Mr. O'Connell used still more threatening language. Early in October, a great repeal meeting was appointed to take place at Clontarf. Several had previously been held, at one of which O'Connell declared he would have his protection society of 300 sitting before Christmas; and he added—what he must have known was beyond his power to promise—that he hoped to be able to give them, for a new-year's gift, an Irish parliament, opening its session on College Green. The government, at length, prohibited the meeting at Clontarf, and declared such meetings to be illegal. O'Connell had the good sense to see the folly of attempting, under such circumstances, to hold a meeting. A military force occupied the ground, and no attempt to break the peace was made. Notwithstanding this check to the agitators, they were considered to have done enough to expose themselves to the terrors of the law. Mr. O'Connell, and his son John, were arrested on a charge of conspiracy and sedition. Mr. Thomas Steele, Dr. Gray,

proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal;* Mr. Ray, secretary to the Repeal Association; Mr. Gavan Duffy, editor of the *Nation* newspaper; Mr. Barrett, of the *Pilot* newspaper; and Mr. Tyrrell and Mr. Tierney, two Roman Catholic priests, were also proceeded against at the same time. O'Connell's reputation, in England, had previously been seriously damaged by a series of well-written articles that appeared in the *Times* journal, describing the real nature of his influence. The writer had fearlessly penetrated into the district over which Mr. O'Connell ruled as the great man and landlord. His game was nearly played out. The bubble of repeal was on the point of explosion; and it came when Sir Robert Peel determined no longer to allow ill-feeling, and disaffection, and disloyalty, to be spouted all over the land by the agitator and his satellites. O'Connell was cowed; nor was he, physically, the man he was. He lost no time in issuing addresses to the people, calling upon them to be peaceable. He used his best efforts to restrain those whom he had urged to the utmost verge of excitement and revolt. He sought, by all means in his power, to restrain the storm he had endeavoured to create. Such was the inconsistency of the man. He and his co-defendants were admitted to bail. They appeared on the 2nd of November, in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, when an indictment was preferred, which contained eleven counts, and extended over ninety-seven feet of parchment. If the proceedings were unsatisfactory, the fault could not be laid on the brevity of the indictment. The 15th of December was named for the trials: but this being objected to by the defendants, who all pleaded not guilty, and more time being prayed, it was finally fixed for the 15th of January in the following year. In due time they were found guilty, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, notwithstanding every effort legal skill could devise to interfere with the course of justice.

The hardships of the new poor-law formed a fruitful text for Chartist orators: and, unquestionably, they were many. People who were prevented from earning their daily bread by the operations of the corn-laws, had a right to complain of being treated as paupers who would not work, and to be fed, consequently, on meagre fare. Feargus O'Connor, Mr. Oastler, and the Rev. Mr. Stephens, aided by Mr. Fielden, M.P. for Oldham, made much capital out of this grievance. A report, made by the poor-law commissioners, successfully vindicated many points which had been attacked. They argued against any relaxation of the system, as tending to destroy all its expected benefits. It had been suggested that it would be desirable to authorise guardians to relieve the labouring classes, by taking one or more children from a poor family into the workhouse; but the objection to this was, that in the practical application of the exception, it would be difficult to avoid establishing a system similar in principle to the scale system—*i.e.*, a regular allowance to the labourer, dependent on the number of his children, and the rate of his wages. It had also been proposed to alleviate the hardship of a man being obliged to part with his cottage and furniture, and take up his abode in the workhouse, by admitting the head of the family only into the house, and leaving the family at home. To this the commissioners replied—"The small degree of inconvenience sustained by the labourer from a temporary sojourn in the workhouse, while his wife and family continued at home, ceased altogether to have the effect on the employer which is produced by the strict workhouse system—namely, the creating a great reluctance, on his part, temporarily to lose the services of the labourer, lest he should find it impossible to regain them; and a desire so to arrange the work of his farm, as to afford employment, during the unfavourable part of the season, to those upon whose assistance he must necessarily depend during the more active period of the year." It was shown that the tables of various unions gave the pauper more food than the free labourer could obtain when at work. Captain Parry's crew, it was said, on the voyage to the North Pole, had been allowed twenty-three ounces less of solid food than was furnished to the poor in the union; and the female paupers at Dudley had been allowed 20 per cent. more than had sufficed for the nourishment of the sailors in the Arctic expedition.

At the commencement of the session of 1840, much of the time of the House of Commons was taken up by the consideration of a question of privilege. The House had published a report, which contained some reflections on a well-known publisher, who brought an action against the printer for a libel. Lord Chief Justice Denman having expressed an opinion that the passage complained of was not a privileged communication, the plaintiff obtained a verdict with damages. Then the defendant, relying on the support of the House of Commons, refused to pay, and the sheriffs levied an execution for the sum of £640. Lord John Russell, on the 17th of January, moved, that "John Joseph Stockdale had been guilty of a high contempt, and a breach of the privileges of the House:" and this being carried by a large majority, he was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Lord John Russell then moved a series of resolutions, that the levy on Messrs. Hansard was a contempt of the privileges of the House; that the sheriffs should refund the money; and that they should be committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. The Court of Queen's Bench issued a writ of *habeas corpus* against that officer to produce the sheriffs, and the House of Commons came to a resolution to protect him. The contest was carried on with unabated spirit: neither party seemed inclined to give way. Another action was commenced by Stockdale against Hansard: the lawyer of the former was then, by a large majority of the House, committed to Newgate, and his client was soon afterwards sent to share his imprisonment. In vain such lawyers as Sir William Follett and Sir Edward Sugden interposed to induce the House to take a more dignified course. When the second action was commenced, Lord John Russell brought forward motion after motion to vindicate what he called the privileges of the House; and opposed, with all the influence of government, every attempt made to settle the dispute. The son of Stockdale's lawyer was next sent to Newgate, and his clerk committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Messrs. Hansard were directed not to plead to the action; and the under-sheriff, officers, and others—of course including the judge—were threatened with the high displeasure of the House if they took any further steps in the matter. Evidence was brought forward, by Lord Mahon, that one of the sheriffs was suffering from disease, that was likely to be seriously aggravated by his confinement; but Lord John Russell, and his supporters, rejected a motion that was made for his release. Subsequently, however, on the 5th of March, that functionary obtained his liberty, on condition of appearing at the bar of the House on the 6th of the following month.

Lord John Russell brought in a bill to stay legal proceedings arising from the publication of papers by the House of Commons; which, when it came before the Lords on the 6th of April, elicited from Lord Denman a manly and dignified declaration of his proceedings. The Lords made some amendments, which were considered by the Commons on the 15th; when a manifest difference of opinion respecting them was expressed by the Solicitor-general and Attorney-general: but Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel agreeing to them, they were suffered to pass. And thus the struggle was terminated: and well was it that the majesty of the law was vindicated. Members should have hesitated before they put themselves in opposition to so sound a lawyer and temperate a judge as Lord Denman. Law-makers should hesitate ere they seek to break the law. There is no excuse for them, as they can alter and amend the laws when they think alteration and amendment necessary.

Let us group together a few facts, occurring about this time, which belong to history. In 1839, the Royal Exchange—a building erected by the munificence of Sir Thomas Gresham, a merchant prince of the Elizabethan period, for the merchant princes of London—was burnt to the ground. The Exchange was the property of the Gresham Committee and the Mercers' Company. The progress of the fire was distinctly visible at Windsor Castle. As the Exchange tower-bells played for the last time, their closing notes were, "God save the Queen," "Life let us Cherish," and "There's nae Luck about the House."

A noble instance of heroism in humble life occurred at this time. The *Forfarshire* steamer, from Hull to Dundee, struck, on the 6th of September, on the Fern Islands. Forty or fifty lives were thus lost. Nine persons were rescued from death by Grace Darling, a girl of twenty-two, daughter of the keeper of the North Sunderland lighthouse. Her father refused, for a long time, to launch the boat, feeling that all attempt at rescue would be vain. Grace pressed on him to make an effort, and offered to take an oar. He gave way, and the result was as we have stated. The public were enraptured, and money was subscribed for Grace, which, alas! she did not live long to enjoy.

In Ireland there was, in 1839, a cold-blooded murder committed. The victim was Lord Norbury. His lordship was walking with his steward in the shrubbery, near his own house at Kilbeggan, when he was shot, and died the same night. The deceased had never taken an active part in politics: he was a kind landlord; and had that confidence in the good feeling of all around him, that, but a short time before the catastrophe, he had spoken in refutation of the charges brought against the Irish character on account of former outrages, and declared his conviction, that he would pass anywhere at that time in perfect safety.

In 1840, the Whigs (about to die) gained, deservedly, great scandal by their conduct in connection with Sir John Newport and Lord Monteagle. The former, at one time, was Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. Being old, and not in affluent circumstances, his Whig connections gave him the Comptrollership of the Exchequer. The office was a recognised sinecure. After a little while Sir John was permitted to withdraw on a retiring pension of £1,000 a year, in order that his sinecure might be handed over to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (now Lord Monteagle), to support the dignity of his title. Altogether, the thing was a job of the worst description. Sir John Newport had been well paid for his services, and it was his own fault if he were poor; and, as if the job was not dirty enough, it was done in a manner most calculated to alienate and offend all classes of the community. The pension, it appears, was taken from the fund of £1,200 granted to the queen, that she might be able to grant pecuniary rewards for "literary and scientific merit." It was felt, indeed, a shame that the chief part of this scanty sum should be appropriated to the reward of a Whig partisan, who had already been well paid for the services he had rendered his friends.

In England, a murder was committed which created a wide sensation; not merely on account of the position in life of the individual murdered, but for the course pursued by Mr. C. Phillips, the counsel for the defence. On the 5th of May, Lord William Russell, uncle to Lord John Russell, was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear. His lordship, who was in his seventy-third year, rather infirm, and very deaf, lived alone in his house in Park Lane, his establishment consisting of two women servants, and a Swiss valet, named Courvoisier. Suspicion fell upon this man; and, eventually, the crime was brought home to him. Before the trial came on, the murderer confessed he was guilty. Notwithstanding this, Mr. C. Phillips acted as if no such confession had been made—acting in accordance with the dictum laid down by Lord Brougham, that an advocate was justified in resorting to any means to save his client. In the conclusion of his address to the jury, Mr. Phillips said—"One of the attributes of Almighty God is now committed to you—the issues of life and death are in your hands. You are to restore that man once more to the enjoyment of existence and freedom, or to send him to an ignominious death, and brand upon his grave a murderer's epitaph. Awful is the consideration—still more awful the responsibility. Violate not lightly that temple which the Lord hath made. Recollect, the word once gone from you is irrevocable. Speak it not lightly—speak it not upon suspicion, however strong—upon moral conviction, however cogent;—not upon argument, not upon probability; but upon broad, clear, irresistible, noonday conviction. I speak this in no hostile spirit, but in a Christian feeling. If you do this deed, do it not lightly, or its consequences will follow you like a

shadow; it will accompany you in your crowded walks; be with you in your homes; and his accusing spirit will hover over your death-beds, and confront and condemn you at the judgment-seat of God. Beware of what you do!"

This defence gave rise to a very warm controversy as to the license permitted to an advocate. The gentleman felt himself aggrieved; and, in the *Times*, a letter appeared upon the subject. It stated, that Mr. Charles Phillips, who defended the wretched man Courvoisier on Saturday, had complained of a very gross and a false statement which appeared in a notorious Sunday paper; and which, he said, might injure him in the estimation of his brethren at the bar, if left uncontradicted. The effect of the statement was, that he had made a solemn appeal to God on Courvoisier's innocence. So far from having done so, the learned gentleman said he cautiously abstained from adopting such a course for the best reason, that the miserable man had previously admitted his guilt to him; and after he had heard the confession, he was about to throw up his brief, until his friend, Mr. Clarkson, persuaded him not to do so. He acted upon that advice, and did the best he could for the guilty wretch, although against his own feelings and convictions. Mr. Phillips added, "that he had spoken to both the learned judges on the subject, and they assured him that they had purposely watched his speech, and felt quite convinced that he never attempted to use the language attributed to him. Many others in the court gave similar testimony."

This defence, in the opinion of many, did not mend the matter. There were the counsel, a brother barrister, and two of the judges, conscious that Courvoisier had committed murder; yet, with this fact known, the jury were, if possible, to be blinded, so as to let the assassin escape. A writer in the *Morning Chronicle* very pertinently asked—"Was Mr. Phillips justified, knowing, as he did, his client's guilt from his own confession to himself, in seeking to cast a foreknowledge of the murder, if not the murder itself, upon the prisoner's fellow-servant, as witnessed on the trial? Secondly, was Mr. Phillips justified in distinctly and solemnly stating his conviction that the stolen articles found in the prisoner's box had been placed there by the police, for purposes best known to themselves, when he well knew, at the time he made that statement, that the prisoner had stolen and secreted them with his own hands? Thirdly, was Mr. Phillips justified in stigmatising the men who, in the discharge of their duty, had been actively and vigilantly employed in tracing the guilty man through all the mazes of his crime, as 'inquisitorial ruffians,' and 'miscreant bloodhounds;' and in applying to them other wild flowers of speech of the like nature, which are easily grown, but have a very foul and rank smell in the nostrils of honest men? Fourthly, was Mr. Phillips justified, when he found he could not weaken the force of that most important and remarkable circumstance deposed to by the landlady of the hotel in Leicester Place, so critically and providentially made known—was he justified, unable to shake this woman's evidence in any degree, in casting disgraceful aspersions on her character—thus seeking to render the discharge of that sacred duty to society which she had come there to perform, not matter of consolatory reflection to her, but a most painful and degrading circumstance?"

A trial, equally remarkable, took place in the following year, when a formidable gang of swindlers was broken up by the courage and determination of the proprietors of the *Times*. A Mr. Allan George Bogle, described as late partner in a banking-house at Florence, brought an action against the proprietors of the *Times* newspaper, for an alleged libel. Some of the correspondents of that journal had, in the preceding May, stated that a great forgery company had been established on the continent, which had been detected. "The object of the company," it added, "was to plunder the continental bankers by means of forged letters, purporting to be of a well-known London banking firm—Messrs. Glyn and Co." The names of some of the parties were given; and among them Bogle, the plaintiff. The plot had for its object the plunder of the principal of the European bankers; and the purpose of the conspirators was to rob these

gentlemen of about one million sterling, by means of circular letters of credit; and, having succeeded, they were, by different routes, to effect their escape to America, India, Algiers, or Egypt, as might be agreed upon. To obtain a knowledge of the facts, in order to defend themselves, the *Times* had to despatch lawyers, at enormous expense, all over Europe. After a lengthened trial, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff—damages, one farthing; and the judge refused to certify for costs—thus leaving each party to bear their own expenses;—virtually a verdict for the journal which had thus dared to expose so formidable a conspiracy. The expenses of the *Times*, in defending the action, were shown to amount to some thousands of pounds. Offers were made by the merchants of London to reimburse the proprietors; but these were declined. A subscription was, nevertheless, entered into, and a costly and enduring honorary testimonial secured by the proceeds, to commemorate the courage and intelligence which had resulted in the utter defeat of so formidable and nefarious a gang of swindlers. The *Times*, by its conduct, secured the approbation and concurrence of the whole mercantile world.

In 1841, another calamity threatened damage to one of London's oldest historic remains. On the 31st of October a fire broke out in the Tower of London. Of all places in the metropolis, this fortress might have been deemed the most secure from such a visitation, being in charge of the ever-vigilant Duke of Wellington, and having soldiers constantly on guard within its walls; with a broad moat, well supplied on one side, and the river Thames on the other. Yet, notwithstanding all these safeguards, a fire broke out there on the night in question. Flames were seen bursting from the windows of the round tower. Their glare having announced the disaster to the metropolis, the engines of the fire-brigade hurried to the spot from every quarter. The tide happened to be out, and the tanks under the Tower afforded but an inadequate supply of water; while the great height of the round tower rendered it of little or no use. By eleven o'clock the destruction of the round tower was complete; and, for a time, hope existed that danger was at an end; but, subsequently, a cry was raised that the armoury roof was in flames. This was also too true; and that fell a prey to the devouring element. The scene is described as magnificent. The flames, which shot up to a tremendous height, illuminated all the metropolis. The jewel tower was attacked, and all the regalia of royalty had to be removed. On this lamentable occasion, of all the stores and trophies deposited in the tower, none escaped the fire but the beautiful cannon taken from the French at Malta, in 1798. An inquiry was set on foot as to the origin of the fire, but no discovery was made to prove it other than accidental.

Little more need be said on these topics. A new era is about to open in our domestic history—the era of peaceful progress; of social, moral, and political reform. For this we are indebted much to the labours of our wisest philanthropists and statesmen; to the teachings of the press; to the eloquence of the pulpit. Many were the labourers in this good work; but there were none who worked harder, or more zealously, or more perseveringly, or from nobler aims and loftier motives, than the young German prince who had come to claim the heart and hand of England's virgin queen.

CHAPTER XLI.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT.

TOWARDS the close of November, 1839, her majesty, having summoned her Privy Council, declared that her object in calling them together at that time, was to acquaint them with a resolution which she had taken, which deeply concerned

her own happiness, and the welfare of her future life. She then named the prince to whom she proposed to ally herself in marriage; adding, that, deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement she was about to contract, she had not come to that decision without mature consideration; nor without feeling that, with the blessing of Almighty God, it would at once secure her domestic felicity, and serve the interests of the country.

When parliament met in January, the intended marriage of her majesty was declared in the speech from the throne. Both Houses received the announcement in a becoming spirit. The Duke of Wellington remarked on the subject, that he had understood the precedent furnished in the reign of George III. was to be followed in every respect; and it had been so followed, save in one instance. It was not declared that the prince her majesty was about to marry was a Protestant. His grace was sure that he was a Protestant; he knew that he was of a Protestant family: but still, as this was a Protestant state, though there was no doubt in the case, he thought the precedent mentioned ought to have been followed, and it should have been declared that the prince was a Protestant. He moved, that in the address, the word Protestant should be used before the word prince. No time was lost in forwarding the marriage. Prince Albert, of Saxe-Gotha, the happy bridegroom to be, was naturalised by a bill passed for that purpose. On the question of income there was a difference of opinion. The ministry proposed a grant of £50,000 a year. The Radicals and Conservatives, together, managed to reduce the grant to £30,000.

The ceremony took place in the chapel-royal, St. James's Palace, February 10th. It was an event in which the public were deeply interested. At an early hour the bells of the metropolis sent forth their joyous notes, and multitudes repaired to the neighbourhood of the palace, to see what portion of the gorgeous festival they could. The morning, unfavourable at first, became bright as the day advanced. Prince Albert, accompanied by his father and brother, left Buckingham Palace for St. James's Palace a little before noon. He wore a field-marshal's uniform, and his coat was decorated with bridal favours. The queen followed about half-an-hour afterwards. Her majesty's dress was of white satin, of English manufacture (being made at Spitalfields), with a very deep trimming of Honiton lace. On her head she wore a wreath of orange blossoms, over which a veil of Honiton lace was thrown. On her left arm she wore the garter. Soon after the arrival of the queen and Prince Albert at the palace of St. James's, the processions were arranged; and, preceded by drums and trumpets, the bridegroom, gentlemen of honour, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Lord Chamberlain, passed in state to the chapel-royal. A more imposing procession attended her majesty. Her Chamberlains went before, and Lord Melbourne, bearing the sword of state.

The ceremony was conducted in the most imposing manner. The altar presented a most splendid appearance. The plate with which it was decorated was valued at £10,000. Two gigantic tapers, in gold candlesticks, were conspicuous in the glittering array. The queen's gallery, at the end of the chapel, facing the altar, was appropriated to the ambassadors. Other galleries were provided for the ministers of state, the Lord Chancellor, and the judges. The Speaker of the House of Commons attended in his full robes, and the Duke of Wellington was present, in the dress, and carrying the bâton, of a field-marshal. The royal and illustrious personages having taken their places, the ceremony commenced. The queen was given away by her uncle, the Duke of Sussex. At the moment of placing the ring on the bride's finger, a signal was given, and the roar of cannon announced the progress of the ceremony to the metropolis. The remaining portion of the service was impressively read by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the royal procession left the chapel as it entered, with the exception of Prince Albert, who remained behind to escort her majesty. The queen, on the conclusion of the ceremony, shook hands, cordially, with the various members of the royal family. On passing the queen-dowager's chair, she went forward to meet her with evident and

Albert

unaffected cordiality, kissing her and shaking hands. Prince Albert then kissed the queen-dowager's hand, acknowledged her congratulations, and then formed, with her majesty, in the procession. At half-past four the royal pair left Buckingham Palace for Windsor. As they passed through Hyde Park they were loudly cheered. At Kensington, where her majesty had passed her earliest years, the most enthusiastic affection was testified. Triumphal arches were reared there, at Hounslow, and at other places. At Eton, opposite the college, a representation of the Parthenon at Athens was erected: it was brilliantly illuminated, and variously adorned; and beneath the royal arms the motto, "*Gratulatus Etona Victoriæ et Alberto*," appeared. A triumphal arch, composed of evergreens, extended across the road. Many festivals were given at Windsor and its vicinity, in honour of the day. A state-wedding banquet was prepared at St. James's Palace, at which the Duchess of Kent headed the table. By her majesty's command, the theatres, in the evening, were thrown open gratuitously to the public; and the west-end of London was brilliantly illuminated: but, eastward of Temple Bar, the lights were few and far between. Neither at the city, however, nor at the west-end, was the full significance of that royal wedding understood.

Prince Albert was born August 26th, 1819, at the castle of Rosenau. After receiving a thorough education from private tutors, he entered the university of Bonn on the 3rd of May, 1837, as a student of jurisprudence. A small house, of most simple aspect, is still shown as the residence of his royal highness during his university career. Here, surrounded by the memorials of ancient Christendom, and in view of the historical Rhine, the prince is said to have devoted himself to the studies of the place with an ardour delightful to behold. It was his custom not to rise later than six every morning, and to pursue his studies until seven in the evening, allowing himself an interval of three hours for dinner and recreation. The labours of the day finished, he would pay visits to families of his acquaintance, or entertain students of worth at his own table. Among the chief professors of Bonn, at this time, were Dr. Walter, a jurist, celebrated for his thorough mastery of the civil and Germanic law; and Dr. Loebell, remarkable for his acquaintance with European history. Besides these may be mentioned Drs. Bocking and Perthes, colleagues of Dr. Walter. The prince was in the habit of attending their public lectures, and of afterwards receiving their more special assistance at his own residence. Having spent three academical seasons at Bonn, Prince Albert left the university. In July of the same year, he, with his father and brother, visited England, to attend the coronation of her majesty; and having made the acquaintance of his future consort and queen, returned to Coburg. After his departure, rumour was busy, in England, in pointing out Prince Albert as the favoured one of royalty; and although the report was contradicted by the ministerial newspapers, the belief was strengthened by a journey made to England about this time by Leopold, King of the Belgians, and the subsequent arrival of the young prince in this country in the autumn of 1839.

In a little while after the marriage of the royal pair, England began to understand and admire the noble, intellectual character of the man. It was known that he was an admirer of the arts, a ready draughtsman, a good musician, and a graceful poet. But it was in 1851 that he first became popular by his patronage of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. To him was due the credit of having suggested that that noble display of human skill should not, as it was first intended, be a mere exhibition of British industry, but should be an exposition of the industry of all nations. Much did he do for the nation, and none grudged him his few well-earned honours and emoluments. In 1857, he was made Prince Consort, by an order in council. He was a member of the Privy Council, Chief Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries; Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle; Grand Ranger of Windsor, St. James's, and Hyde Parks; a Field-Marshal, and Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade; Colonel of the Grenadier Guards; Captain-General and Colonel

of the City of London Artillery Company; and Knight of the Garter, of the Thistle, and St. Patrick. Also, G.B.C., G.C.M.G.; Acting Grand Master of the Order of the Bath, and Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. His scholastic dignities were—Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, LL.D., D.C.L., and Ph. D. He was also Master of the Trinity House; President of the Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of soldiers, seamen, and marines who fell in the Russian war. It is impossible to declare the grief of the nation when, in 1861, at the end of the year, this great and good man passed away from the place and people where he was so beloved. England yet mourns with the widowed queen. The family he left behind him are—

1. Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, born November 21st, 1840 (Princess Royal); married January 25th, 1858, to Prince Frederick William of Prussia.
2. Albert Edward (Prince of Wales), born November 9th, 1841; married March 10th, 1863, to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, born December 1st, 1844; and has issue—Albert Victor Christian Edward, born January 8th, 1864; and George Frederick Ernest Albert, born June 3rd, 1865.
3. Alice Maud Mary, born April 25th, 1843; married July 1st, 1862, to Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt.
4. Alfred Ernest Albert, born August 6th, 1844.
5. Helena Augusta Victoria, born May 25th, 1846.
6. Louisa Caroline Alberta, born March 18th, 1848.
7. Arthur William Patrick Albert, born May 1st 1850.
8. Leopold George Duncan Albert, born April 7th, 1853.
9. Beatrice Mary Victoria Theodore, born April 14th, 1857.

It has been well remarked of the late Prince Albert, that he had not only a scientific and an artistic mind, but that he was full of knowledge, and suggestive on every subject. But that was not all. The expression of this knowledge and of these views had to be compressed and restrained in every direction. He was a prince; and so close to the throne, that he could not but feel that every word he uttered might be considered as emanating from the throne. He was not born in the country, and therefore had to watch, lest any advice he gave might be in the least degree unacceptable, as not coming from a native. He had all the responsibilities of office without having a distinct office to fill. At all points he had to guard himself from envy, from misconception, and from the appearance of taking too much upon himself. The part he had to play was, in reality, one of extraordinary difficulty and delicacy.

This latter subject is well illustrated by a paper left by the prince himself, and published, by her majesty's sanction, in the noble volume entitled, *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort; with an Introduction, giving some Outlines of his Character:* to which we shall have again occasion to refer. In this document the prince clearly defines his own position, and lays out, as it were, the main scheme and purpose of his life.

It appears, on the death of Sir John Macdonald, the adjutant-general, in March, 1850, a suggestion was made to amalgamate the two offices of adjutant and quartermaster-general under a single head, to be called Chief of the Staff. The Duke of Wellington was, in consequence, summoned to Windsor, and several conversations ensued; in the course of which the duke proposed that arrangements should be made, with a view to the prince's ultimately succeeding himself as Commander-in-Chief.

The following are extracts from the minutes made by the prince of those conversations, as far as they related to that proposal:—

"Windsor Castle, April 3rd, 1850.

"I went yesterday to see the Duke of Wellington in his room, after his arrival at the castle; our conversation soon turning to the question of the vacant adjutant-generalship. I asked the duke what he was prepared to recommend. He said he

had a letter on the subject, recommending the union of the two offices of adjutant-general and quartermaster-general; and he placed his answer to it in my hands. He then proceeded to say that he thought it necessary that we should cast our eyes a little before us. He was past eighty, and would next month enter upon his eighty-second. He was, thank God, very well and strong, and ready to do anything; but he could not last for ever; and, in the natural course of events, we must look to a change ere long. As long as he was there he did all the offices himself. * * * * To form a new office, by uniting the duties of adjutant-general and quartermaster-general in the person of a chief of the staff, as was the practice in some foreign armies, would be to appoint two different persons to do the same duty, which would never answer. The chief of the staff would again have to sub-divide his office into an adjutant-general and quartermaster-general's department, and nothing would be gained.

"However, the duke saw the greatest advantage in having a chief of the staff, if, after his death, that arrangement should be made which he had always looked to, and which he considered the best—viz., that I should assume the command of the army.

"He was sure I could not do it without such a chief of the staff, who would be responsible before the public, and carry on the official communications with the other governmental departments. For this contingency he was prepared to organise the machinery now; and he would answer for its success.

"I answered to the duke, that I should be very slow to make up my mind to so great a responsibility; that I was not sure of my fitness for it, on account of my want of military experience, &c. (to which the duke replied, that with good honest intentions one could do a great deal, and that he should not be the least afraid on that score), whether I could perform the duties consistently with my other avocations, as I should not like to undertake what I could not carry through, not knowing what time or attention they would require.

"The duke answered, that it would certainly require both time and attention; for nothing could be done without my knowledge, or without my orders; but that the detail would be worked out by the chief of the staff. He had thoroughly considered that, and would make it work. * * * * He always stood up for the principle of the army being commanded by the sovereign; and he endeavoured to make the practice agree with that theory, by scrupulously taking, on every point, the queen's pleasure before he acted. But were he gone, he saw no security unless I took the command myself, and thus supplied what was deficient in the constitutional working of the theory, arising from the circumstance of the present sovereign being a lady. Strictly, constitutionally, I should certainly be responsible for my acts; but, before the world in general, the chief of the staff would bear the responsibility; and for that office, the man of the greatest name and weight in the army ought to be selected. He repeated that he thought this the most desirable arrangement, and would at once work it out to the best of his ability. * * * * I begged him to leave me time to consider the proposal.

"In the evening, the queen gave the Duke of Wellington an audience, I being present. After having set out by saying he was most anxious to let the queen know and feel all he knew and felt about it—in fact, to think aloud—the duke repeated what he had said to me in the morning, and we discussed the question further. I said that there were several points which still required to be considered. * * * * The offer was so tempting for a young man, that I felt bound to look most closely at all the objections to it, in order to come to a right decision. * * * * The queen, as a lady, was not able to perform, at all times, the many duties imposed upon her; moreover, she had no private secretary who worked for her, as former sovereigns had had. The only person who helped her, and who could assist her in the multiplicity of work which ought to be done by the sovereign, was myself. I should be very sorry to undertake any duty which would absorb my time and attention so much for *one* department, as to interfere with my general usefulness to the queen. The queen added, that I already worked

harder than she liked to see, and than she thought was good for my health; which I did not allow, answering, that, on the contrary, business must naturally increase with time, and ought to increase, if the sovereign's duties to the country were to be thoroughly performed; but that I was anxious no more should fall upon her than could be helped.

"The duke seemed struck with this consideration, and sa d he had not overlooked it, but might not have given it all the weight it deserved, and that he would reflect upon it.

"We agreed, at last, that this question could not be satisfactorily solved unless we knew the exact duties which had to be performed; and the queen charged the duke to draw up a memorandum, in which these should be detailed, and his general opinion explained, so that we might found a decision on that paper. This the duke promised to do."

Again the prince writes—

"Windsor Castle, April 6th, 1850.

"After a good deal of reflection on the Duke of Wellington's proposal, I went to pay him a visit yesterday morning in his room, and found him prepared with his memorandum, which he handed me. After having read it, I said to him, that I must consider my position as a whole, which was that of the consort, and confidential adviser, and assistant of a female sovereign. Her interest and good should stand foremost, and all other considerations must be viewed in reference to this, and in subordination to it. The question, then, was simply whether I should not weaken my means of attending to all parts of the constitutional position alike—political, social, and moral—if I devoted myself to a special branch, however important that might be; and that I was afraid this would be the consequence of my becoming Commander-in-Chief. It was quite true that the sovereign, being a lady, naturally weakened her position to the army, and that the duty rested upon me of supplying that deficiency, and would do so still more when the protection which the duke afforded to the crown should be unfortunately withdrawn. But I doubted whether this might not be accomplished without my becoming especially responsible for the command of the army. There was no branch of public business in which I was not now supporting the queen in. * * * * The duke replied, that he quite saw my position ought to be looked at as a whole. He felt the extreme delicacy and difficulty of it; and was kind enough to add that he approved of it, and the public did full justice to the way in which I had hitherto maintained it. I begged him to leave me a little time for consideration; that I wanted to study his memorandum, and would finally write to him upon the subject."

In a couple of days the letter was written. The following is part of it. The prince begins—"My dear duke, the queen and myself have thoroughly considered your proposal to join the offices of adjutant-general and quartermaster-general into one of a chief of the staff, with a view to facilitate the future assumption of the command of the army by myself. * * * * The question whether it will be advisable that I should take the command of the army, or not, has been most anxiously weighed by me; and I have come to the conclusion, that my decision ought entirely and solely to be guided by the consideration whether it would interfere with or assist my position of consort to the sovereign, and the performance of the duties which this position imposes on me.

"This position is a most peculiar and delicate one. Whilst a female sovereign has a great many disadvantages in comparison with a king, yet, if she is married, and her husband understands and does his duty, her position, on the other hand, has many compensatory advantages; and, in the long run, will be found to be stronger even than that of a male sovereign. But this requires that the husband should entirely sink his *own individual* existence in that of his wife; that he should aim at no power by himself and for himself; should shun all ostentation;

assume no separate responsibility before the public, but make his position entirely a part of her's; fill up every gap which, as a woman, she would naturally leave in the exercise of his royal functions; continually and anxiously watch every part of the public business, in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions or duties brought before her—sometimes international, sometimes political, or social, or personal. As the natural head of her family; superintendent of her household; manager of her private affairs; sole confidential adviser in politics; and only assistant in her communications with the officers of government—he is, besides, the husband of the queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the sovereign, and her permanent minister.

"How far it would be consistent with this position to undertake the management and administration of a most important branch of a public service, and the individual responsibility attaching to it—becoming an executive officer of the crown, receiving the queen's commands through her secretaries of state, &c.—I feel assured, that having undertaken the responsibility, I should not be satisfied to leave the business and real work in the hands of another (the chief of the staff), but should feel it my duty to look to them myself. But whilst I should in this manner perform duties which I am sure every able general officer who has gained experience in the field would be able to perform better than myself, who have not had the advantage of such experience, most important duties connected with the welfare of the sovereign would be left unperformed, which nobody *could* perform but myself. I am afraid, therefore, that I must discard the tempting idea of being placed in command of the British army."

The struggle between duty and inclination must have been severe; but duty gained the day, as it always did, in the prince's mind.

"The prince had," says the writer already referred to, "a noble presence. His carriage was erect; his figure betokened strength and activity, and his demeanour was dignified. He had a staid, earnest, thoughtful look when he was in a grave mood; but when he smiled (and this is what no portrait can tell of a man), his whole countenance was irradiated with pleasure; and there was a pleasant sound and a heartiness about his laugh, which will not soon be forgotten by those who were wont to hear it. He was very handsome as a young man; but, as often happens with thoughtful men, who go through a great deal, his face grew to be a finer face than the early portraits of him promised; and his countenance never assumed a nobler aspect, nor had more real beauty in it, than in the last two years of his life. The character is written in the countenance, however difficult it may be to decipher; and, in the prince's face, there were none of those fatal lines which indicate craft or insincerity, greed, or sensuality; but all was clear, open, pure, high-minded, and honest. Marks of thought, of care, of studiousness were there; but they were accompanied by signs of a soul at peace with itself, and which was troubled chiefly by its love for others, and its solicitude for their welfare.

"Perhaps the thing of all others that struck an observer most when he came to see the prince nearly, was the originality of his mind; and it was an originality divested from all eccentricity. He would insist upon thinking his own thoughts upon every subject that came before him; and whether he arrived at the same results as other men, or gainsaid them, his conclusions were always adopted upon laborious reasonings of his own.

"The next striking peculiarity about the prince was his extreme quickness—intellectually speaking. He was one of those men who seem always to have their powers of thought at hand, and all their knowledge readily producible. In serious conversation he was, perhaps, the first man of his day. He was a very sincere person in his way of talking; so that, when he spoke at all upon any subject, he never played with it; he never took one side of a question because the person he was conversing with had taken the other; and, in fact, earnest discussion was one of his greatest enjoyments. He was very patient in hearing criticism and contra-

diction; and, indeed, rather liked to be opposed, so that, from opposition, he might elicit truth, which was always his first object. He delighted in wit and humour; and, in his narration of what was ludicrous, threw just so much imitation into it as would enable you to bring the scene vividly before you, without, at the same time, making his imitation in the least degree ungrateful." His love of freedom was intense; and, as we have already shown, a strong characteristic of the prince's mind was its sense of duty. Another noble trait in him was his delight in the good deeds of other persons. Flattery, vice, and meanness he abhorred. "The conditions that the prince drew up for the prize that is given by her majesty at Wellington College, are very characteristic of him. This prize is not to be awarded to the most bookish boy—to the least faulty boy—to the boy who should be most precise, diligent, and prudent; but to the noblest boy—to the boy who should afford most promise of becoming a large-hearted, high-motived man." The prince was deeply religious, in a free and unsectarian way. He was singularly impressed with the intellectual beauty of knowledge. He once said to the queen—"To me, a long, closely-connected train of reasoning is like a beautiful strain of music: you can hardly imagine my delight in it."

"If any man in England cared for the working classes it was the prince. He understood the great difficulty of the times as regards them—namely, the finding them decent habitations. He was a beneficent landlord; and his first care was to build good cottages for all the labouring men on his estates. He had entered into minute calculations as to the amount of illness which might be prevented amongst the poorer classes by a careful selection of the materials to be used in the building of their dwellings. In a word, he was tender, thoughtful, and anxious in his efforts for the welfare of the labouring classes. His constancy of purpose in that, as in other things, was worthy of all imitation. He did not become tired of benevolence. It was not the fancy of a day for him. It was the sustained purpose of a life."

The prince's love of art has already been referred to. His skill in organisation was great; and his efforts in the way of promoting agriculture almost deserve a chapter to themselves. The prince may fairly lay claim to having himself done much to effect that improvement in agriculture which, happily for this country, has been so marked and rapid within the last twenty years. Men are always much influenced by what their superiors in station can do. And that the prince should have been one of the first persons in this country to appreciate the merits of deep drainage, to employ steam-power in cultivation, and to apply the resources of chemistry to practical agriculture, ensured the welcomed consequence that there would be many followers where the foremost man of England was ready and anxious to lead the way. That with a large breadth of the land of Great Britain partially tilled, or scarcely cultivated at all, the British nation should not unfrequently have to spend twenty or thirty millions of money on foreign corn, is a reproach against our practical sagacity, in which the prince, at least, had no share of blame. More than any of his contemporaries did he promote agricultural science and prosperity in our land.

There is no doubt but that his life was shortened by his conscientious discharge of duty, and by his love of perfection in everything he undertook. He began life with a fine constitution. Every one of his organs was well developed, with the exception of the heart: that was not quite equal to the work put upon it; so that he had mostly but a feeble pulse. It was his nervous energy that was thus unduly strained.

Of Prince Albert, the good and wise, the most fiting memorial is the recital of his life and acts. What avail temples and monuments to such as he? We have erected them to the basest and wickedest of mankind—to the destroyers of their race—to men infamous for the commission of almost every crime. More than any prince of his time was the late Prince Consort ennobled by a life of true dignity, of lofty endeavour, of usefulness extending from the highest to the

lowest in the land. Since 1840, there is no department of British industry which has maintained a steadier progress than has been witnessed in our agriculture. Much of this success is undoubtedly to be traced to the Prince Consort, who, as an English agriculturist, and as a member of our great agricultural societies, did give an undoubted stimulus by the influence of his high example, by a lavish expenditure, and by the application of science to this most important and universal of all arts. Almost immediately upon the arrival of the Prince Consort in this country, he interested himself in agriculture. During the year 1840, he became a member of the Smithfield Club. His royal highness also at once became the tenant of the Norfolk and Flemish farms at Windsor, which, under General Wemyss, had remained in the hands of the queen on the death of King William IV. The rangership of Windsor Park was early conferred upon his royal highness; and in that capacity he was, for many years, officially the director of the great work of agricultural improvement which has there been carried on. Of the leading agricultural societies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the prince soon became a member, and ultimately became president of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. At most of the exhibitions of these societies he was generally a successful exhibitor. In 1845, his royal highness became, with the queen, the purchaser of the Osborne estate, in the Isle of Wight, and of the Balmoral estate, purchased in 1847. On all these estates, the same system of agricultural improvement was carried on, under the personal superintendence and direction of the prince himself. At Osborne, upwards of 400 miles of covered drains were dug, besides many miles of open ditches through the plantations. The buildings have included new mansions, new farm-buildings, new cottages and school, and a new church. A very great length of new roads has been made, including drives for upwards of twenty miles within the boundaries of the estate, commanding every variety of coast and woodland scenery. By a rearrangement of the fields, the farms have been adapted to the best and newest modes of cultivation. A great deal of planting has been done, principally of elms and pines as avenues; but large numbers, also, of rare coniferæ as specimens, besides evergreens and shrubberies around the house. "The estate," says Mr. Morton, "now presents as striking an example as is possible anywhere to be seen of good land managment; so that in itself, as well as for the agricultural career of an illustrious man, it deserves the attention of agriculturists." At Balmoral, new cottages were built; the character of the land was much improved; commodious school-buildings have been erected; teachers have been appointed, with liberal salaries; and the means of a religious and practical education have been brought within the reach of all. A library, too, was established at Balmoral (the gift of the prince), consisting of upwards of 500 volumes, selected by himself. But it was at Windsor that, more especially, the Prince Consort carried on farming operations on a scientific basis. These farms were—1, the Home, or Dairy, and the Shaw Farm; 2, the Flemish; 3, the Norfolk Farms; and, 4, the Bagshot and Rapley Farms. According to Mr. Morton, a great variety of farm-buildings exists upon them. There is the gorgeous dairy and magnificent cattle-range of the Home Farm, fit for inspection by royal visitors; and the well-planned combination of stabling, cattle-boxes, stalls and yards, poultry-house and piggeries, with the covered sheep-shed over open floor, and manure-tank underneath it, is a special feature of the Shaw Farm. The compact and compendious arrangement, under a common roof, of covered yards, with the stable on one side, and the straw and food-house, with the threshing-barn and granaries, at the end of both—probably the latest improvements in modern homesteads—are seen at the Flemish Farm. There is the old-fashioned thatched and modern barn, with stabling, granary, and cart-sheds, arranged in a large working court, in one corner of which stands the comfortable farm-house at the Norfolk Farm; and there is something similar to this, though an improvement on it in respect to facilities for threshing and for pig and cattle-feeding, at the Rapley Farm. On

all these farms the labourers were as much cared for as the flocks—that is to say, nothing was left undone that could add to the happiness and well-being of either. Indeed, as an employer of labour, the Prince Consort was as benevolent and liberal as he was truly wise. Among his many striking public speeches and addresses, one of the earliest, and several of the most impressive, related to the condition of the labouring class: and Mr. Morton does well in devoting a section of his work "to enumerate and describe the many proofs existing within the royal estates, upon the Prince Consort's farms, and everywhere within the personal influence of his royal highness, of the earnest mind and genuine sincerity with which these addresses were delivered." A striking testimony on this point we have from Mr. Chadwick, C.B., who says, that "if all the cottage property in the United Kingdom were maintained in the same condition as that of her majesty and his royal highness the Prince Consort, the death-rate would be reduced more than one-third, or nearly one-half. It would be as if, every third year, there were a jubilee, and were no sickness or deaths. In Windsor and its neighbourhood, the importance given to the provident, and moral, and intellectual character of the labourers on the royal estates, was of a character perhaps unparalleled. We write this in no spirit of flunkeyism; the conviction is forced upon us by the perusal of Mr. Morton's most valuable and interesting *Memoir*—a book which deserves, and will be sure to find, many readers, especially in agricultural circles. It abounds with facts which will confirm the esteem and veneration with which the late Prince Consort is yet regarded, and unceasingly regarded, by the nation which deplores and laments its loss. We cannot help adverting to one which, as Mr. Morton says, gives ample proofs of that regard for the systematic, the useful, and the practical, which the Prince Consort was known to possess. We refer to the gardens for the royal children at Osborne. The orderly arrangement of the tools (each one bearing its owner's name), the well-tilled plots, the arrangements for practice and instruction in the kitchen, as well as in the admirable collections illustrative of various branches of natural history in the museum up-stairs, all testify to these. Still more interesting is it to learn, as Mr. Morton tells us, that not only are the immediate ends contemplated in these things fully attained, but that the family bond is strengthened here, as in humbler instances, by every homely family enjoyment shared in common. The Crown Princess of Prussia still retains her little garden; and produce from it is sent each summer from Osborne to Berlin."

It may be well to remind the reader that the prince was only forty-two years of age when he died; and that the sagacity and prudence, for which he had gained a just renown, were manifested at an age when many other men, even of the brightest sort, are far from showing maturity of judgment. His early death, too, makes the great amount of knowledge that he had acquired all the more extraordinary. And, altogether, we may say, that seldom has there been compressed into a life, more of thought, energy, and anxious care, than was crowded into his. His death appears specially premature, at a period when we are accustomed to have great soldiers, lawyers, and statesmen, distinguishing themselves, and almost showing new faculties after they have reached the three-score years and ten, so pathetically spoken of by the psalmist. If the prince had lived to attain what we now think a good old age, he would have inevitably become the most accomplished statesman and the most guiding personage in Europe—a man to whose arbitrament fierce national quarrels might have been submitted, and by whose influence calamitous wars might have been averted.

The writer already quoted, adds—"The one of his children who was most capable of judging of what his conduct had been to all his children, as a father and a friend, thus speaks of him:—'But in no relation of life did the goodness and greatness of his character appear more than in the management of his children. The most judicious, impartial, and loving of fathers, he was at once the friend and master; ever, by his example, enforcing the precepts he sought to instil.'

"The prince's marriage [the reader must remember, the writer whom we quote confesses, that in his work he received the most valuable and important aid from those who, by their constant intercourse with the Prince Consort, could best appreciate the high qualities which shone forth in his domestic life; from persons in the royal household, who saw him daily; from members of the royal family; and especially from the queen herself] was singularly felicitous. The tastes, the aims, the hopes, the aspirations of the royal pair were the same. Their mutual respect and confidence went on increasing. Their affection grew, if possible, even warmer and more intense as the years of their married life advanced. Companions in their domestic employment, in their daily labours for the state, and, indeed, in almost every occupation, the burdens and difficulties of life were thus lessened more than by half for each of the persons thus happily united in the true marriage of the soul. When the fatal blow was struck, and the prince was removed from this world, it is difficult to conceive a position of greater sorrow, and one, indeed, more utterly forlorn, than that which became the lot of the survivor, deprived of him whom she herself has described as being 'the life of her life.'"

The works and the words of Prince Albert remain. "He, being dead, yet speaketh." His speeches, though short, are thoroughly exhaustive of the subject. As an instance, take his speech at the Servants' Benevolent Society. "I conceive," he said, "that this society is founded upon a right principle, as it follows the dictates of a correct appreciation of human nature, which requires every man, by personal exertion, and according to his own choice, to work out his own happiness; which prevents his valuing, nay, even feeling satisfaction at, the prosperity which others have made for him. It is founded on a right principle, because it endeavours to trace out a plan according to which, by providence, by self-denial, and perseverance, not only will the servant be raised in his physical and moral condition, but the master also will be taught how to direct his efforts in aiding the servant, in his labour, to secure to himself resources in case of sickness, old age, and want of employment. It is founded on a right principle, because, in its financial scheme, there is no temptation held out to the servant by the prospect of probable extravagant advantages, which tend to transform his providence into a species of gambling; by convivial meetings, which lead him to ulterior expense; or by the privilege of balloting for the few prizes, which draws him into all the waste of time and excitement of an electioneering contest."

Another instance is seen in the passage of his speech delivered at the Royal Academy dinner, in 1851:—"Gentlemen, the production of all works in art or poetry requires, in their conception and execution, not only an exercise of the intellect, skill, and patience, but particularly a concurrent warmth of feeling, and a flow of imagination. This renders them most tender plants, which will only thrive in an atmosphere fitted to maintain that warmth: and that atmosphere is one of kindness towards the artist personally, as well as towards his productions. An unkind word of criticism passes like a cold blast over their tender shoots, and shrivels them up, checking the flow of the sap which was rising to produce, perhaps, multitudes of flowers and fruits. But still criticism is absolutely necessary to the development of art; and the injudicious praise of an inferior work becomes an insult to superior genius.

"In this respect our times are peculiarly unfavourable, when compared with those when Madonnas were painted in the seclusion of convents; for we have now, on the one hand, the eager competition of a vast array of artists of every degree of talent and skill; and, on the other hand, as judge, a great public, for the greater part wholly uneducated in art, and thus led by professional writers, who often strive to impress the public with a great idea of their own artistic knowledge, by the merciless manner in which they treat works which cost those who produced them the highest effort of mind or feeling. The works of art, by being publicly exhibited and offered for sale, are becoming articles of trade—following, as such, the unreasoning laws of markets and fashions."

Again, note the prince's desire to get down, in all his inquiries, to a law or principle. As an instance, take the following extract from his speech when laying the first stone of the Birmingham and Midland Institute:—"Without such knowledge we are condemned to one of three states: either we merely go on to do things just as our fathers did, and for no better reason than because they did so; or, trusting to some personal authority, we adopt, at random, the recommendation of some specific, in a speculative hope that it may answer; or, lastly—and this is the most favourable case—we ourselves improve upon certain processes: but this can only be the result of an experience hardly earned, and dearly bought, and which, after all, can only embrace a comparatively short space of time, and a small number of experiments. From none of these forces can we hope for much progress; for the mind, however ingenious, has no materials to work with, and remains in presence of phenomena, the causes of which are hidden from it. But these laws of nature, these divine laws, are capable of being discovered and understood, and of being taught and made our own. This is the task of science; and whilst science discovers and teaches these laws, art teaches their application. No pursuit is therefore too insignificant not to be capable of becoming the subject both of science and an art.

"The fine arts (as far as they relate to painting, sculpture, and architecture), which are sometimes confounded with art in general, rest on the application of the law of form and colour, and what may be called the science of the beautiful. They do not rest on any arbitrary theory—on the modes of producing pleasurable emotions; but follow fixed laws, more difficult, perhaps, to seize than those regulating the material world; because, belonging partly to the sphere of the ideal and of our spiritual essence, yet perfectly appreciable and teachable, both abstractedly and historically, from the works of different ages and nations.

"No human pursuits make any material progress till science is brought to bear upon them. We have seen, accordingly, many of them slumber for centuries upon centuries; but from the moment that science has touched them with her magic hand, they have taken strides which amaze and almost awe the beholder.

"Look at the transformation which has gone on around us since the laws of gravitation, electricity, magnetism, and the expansive power of heat have become known to us. It has altered our whole state of existence—one might say, the whole face of the globe. We owe this to science, and to science alone; and she has other treasures in store for us if we will but call her to our assistance. It is sometimes objected by the ignorant that science is uncertain and changeable, and that they point with a malicious kind of pleasure to the many exploded theories, which have been superseded by others, as a proof that the present knowledge may be also unsound, and, after all, not worth having. But they are not aware that while they think to cast blame upon science, they bestow, in fact, the highest praise upon her.

"For that is precisely the difference between science and prejudice—that the latter keeps stubbornly to its position, whether proved or not; whilst the former is an unarrestable movement towards the fountain of truth, caring little for cherished authorities and sentiment, but internally progressing; feeling no false shame at her shortcomings, but, on the contrary, the highest pleasure, when freed from an error, at having advanced another step towards the attainment of divine truth—a pleasure not even intelligible to the pride of ignorance."

In a similar vein of thought was the address to the British Association at Aberdeen (1859) delivered. "To define the nature of science—to give an exact and complete definition of what that science to whose service the association is dedicated, is devoted, is and means—has, as it naturally must, at all times occupied the metaphysician. He has answered the question in various ways, more or less satisfactory to himself or others. To me, science, in its most general and comprehensive acceptation, means the knowledge of what I know—the consciousness of human knowledge. Hence, to know is the object of all science: and all special

knowledge, if brought to our consciousness in its separate distinctiveness from, and yet in its recognised relation to, the totality of our knowledge, is scientific knowledge. We require, then, for science—that is to say, for the acquisition of scientific knowledge—those true activities of our mind which are requisite for the acquisition of *any* knowledge—analysis and synthesis; the first to dissect and reduce into its component parts the object to be investigated, and to render an accurate account to ourselves of the nature and qualities of those parts by observation; the second, to recompose the observed and understood parts into a unity in our consciousness exactly answering to the object of our investigation. The labours of the man of science are, therefore, at once the most humble and the loftiest which a man can undertake. He only does what every little child, from its first awakening into life, does, and yet must do, every moment of its existence; and yet he aims at the gradual approximation to divine truth itself. If, then, there exists no difference between the work of the man of science and that of the merest child, what constitutes the distinction? Merely the conscious self-determination. The child observes what accident brings before it, and unconsciously forms its notion of it; the so-called practical man observes what his special work forces upon him, and he forms his notions upon it. With reference to this particular work, the man of science observes what he intends to observe, and knows why he intends it. The value which the peculiar object has in his eyes is not determined by accident, nor by an external cause, such as the mere connection with work to be performed—by the place which he knows this object to hold in the general universe of knowledge—by the relation which it bears to other parts of that general knowledge.

"To *arrange* and *classify* that universe of knowledge, becomes, therefore, the first, and, perhaps, the most important object and duty of science. It is only when brought into a system of separating the incongruous, and combining those elements in which we have been able to discover the internal connection which the Almighty has planted in them, that we can hope to grapple with the boundlessness of this creation, and with the laws which govern both mind and matter.

"The operation of science, then, has been systematically to divide human knowledge, and raise, as it were, the separate groups of subjects for scientific consideration into different and distinct sciences. The tendency to create new sciences is peculiarly apparent in our present age, and is, perhaps, inseparable from so rapid a progress as we have seen in our days; for the acquaintance with, and the mastering of, distinct branches of knowledge, enables the eye, from the newly-gained parts of sight, to see the new ramifications into which they divide themselves in strict consecutiveness, and with logical necessity. But in thus gaining new centres of light, from which to direct our researches, and new and powerful means of adding to our ever-increasing treasures, science approaches no nearer to the limits of its range, although travelling further and further from its original point of departure. For God's word is infinite; and the boundlessness of the universe, whose confines appear ever to retreat before our finite minds, strikes us no less with awe, when, prying into the starry crowd of heaven, we find new worlds revealed to us by every increase in the power of the telescope, than when the microscope discloses to us, in a drop of water, or an atom of dust, new worlds of life and animation, or the remains of such as have passed away.

"Whilst the tendency to push systematic investigation in every direction enables the individual mind of man to bring all the power of which he is capable to bear on the specialities of his study, and enables a great number of labourers to take part in the universal work, it may be feared that that consciousness of its unity which must pervade the whole of science, if it is not to lose its last and highest point of right, may suffer. It has occasionally been given to rare intellects, and the highest genius, to follow the various sciences in their divergent roads, and yet to preserve that point of right from which alone their totality can be contemplated and directed. Yet how rare is the appearance of such gifted intellects!"

How admirable is the prince's defence of statistical science, at the opening of the International Statistical Congress, in 1860:—"We hear it said that its prosecution leads necessarily to Pantheism, and the destruction of true religion; as depriving, in man's estimation, the Almighty of the power of free self-determination; making this world a mere machine, working according to a general prearranged scheme, the parts of which are capable of mathematical measurement, and the scheme itself of numerical expression: that it leads to fatalism, and, therefore, deprives man of his dignity, of his virtue and morality, as it would prove him to be a mere wheel in this machine, incapable of exercising a free choice of action, but predestined to fulfil a given task, and to run a prescribed course, whether for good or evil.

"These are grave accusations, and would be terrible, indeed, if they were true. But are they true? Is the power of God destroyed or diminished by the discovery of the fact that the earth requires 360 revolutions upon its axis to every revolution round the sun, giving us so many days to the year; and that the moon changes thirteen times during that period; that the tide changes every six hours; that water boils at a temperature of 212°, according to Fahrenheit; that the nightingale sings only in April and May; that all birds lay eggs; that 106 boys are born to every hundred girls? Or is man less a free agent because it has been ascertained that a generation lasts about thirty years; that there are annually posted, at the post-offices, the same number of letters on which the writer had forgotten to place any address; that the number of crimes committed, under the same local, national, and social conditions, is constant; that the full-grown man ceases to find amusement in the sports of the child?

"But our statistical science does not even say that this must be so; it only states that it has been so, and leaves it to the naturalist, or political economist, to argue that it is probable, from the number of times in which it has been found to be, or that it will be so again so long as the same causes are operating. It thus gave birth to that part of mathematical science called the calculation of probabilities, and even established the theory that, in the natural world, there exist no certainties at all, but only probabilities. Although the doctrine, destroying man's feeling of security to a certain extent, has startled and troubled some, it is no less true that, whilst we may reckon with a thoughtless security on the sun's rising to-morrow, this is only a probable event, the probability of which is capable of being expressed by a determined mathematical feature. Our insurance offices have, from their vast collection of statistical facts, established to such a precision the probable duration of man's life, that they are able to enter with each individual into a precise bargain on the value of this life; and yet this does not imply an impious pretension to determine when the individual is really to die."

Again, on the important subject of national education, was ever the case put more forcibly than by the prince, at the opening of the conference on national education, in 1857:—"You will probably," exclaimed the prince, "trace the cause of our social condition to a state of ignorance, and lethargic indifference on the subject, among parents generally; but the root of the evil will, I suspect, be found to extend into that field in which the political economist exercises his activity;—I mean the labour market—demand and supply. To dissipate that ignorance, and rouse from that lethargy, may be difficult; but, with the united and earnest efforts of all who are the friends of the working classes, it ought only to be a question of time. What measures can be brought to bear upon the other root of the evil, is a more delicate question, and will require the nicest handling, for there you cut into the very quick of the working-man's condition. His children are not only his offspring, to be reared for a future independent position, but they constitute a part of his productive power, and work with him for the staff of life: the daughters, especially, are the handmaids of the house, the assistants of the mother, the nurses of the younger children, the aged, and the sick. To deprive the labouring family of their help would be almost to paralyse its domestic existence.

On the other hand, carefully collected statistics reveal to us the fact, that while about 600,000 children, between the ages of three and fifteen, are absent from school, but known to be employed, no less than 2,200,000 are not at school, whose absence cannot be traced to any ascertained employment, or other legitimate cause. You will have to work, then, upon the minds and hearts of the parents; to place before them the irreparable mischief which they inflict upon those who are entrusted to their care, by keeping from them the light of knowledge; to bring home to their conviction that it is their duty to exert themselves for their children's education, bearing in mind, at the same time, that it is not only their most sacred duty, but also their highest privilege. Unless they work with you, your work, our work will be vain. But you will not fail, I feel sure, in obtaining their co-operation, if you remind them of their duty to their God and Creator. Our Heavenly Father, in his boundless goodness, has made his creatures that they should be happy; and, in His wisdom, has fitted His means to His ends, giving to all of them different qualities and faculties, in using and developing which, they fulfil their destinies, and, running their uniform course according to this prescription, they find that happiness which He has intended for them. Man alone is born into the world with faculties far nobler than the other creatures, reflecting the image of Him who has willed that there should be beings on earth to know and worship Him, but endowed with the power of self-determination, having reason given him for his guide. He can develop his faculties, place himself in harmony with his divine prototype, and attain that happiness which is offered to him on earth, to be completed hereafter in entire union with Him, through the mercy of Christ. But he can also leave these faculties unimproved, and miss his mission on earth. He will then sink to the level of the lower animals, forfeit happiness, and separate from his God, whom he did not know how to find. Gentlemen, I say, man has no right to do this; he has no right to throw off the task which is laid upon him for his happiness. It is his duty to fulfil his mission to the utmost of his power; but it is our duty—the duty of those whom Providence has removed from this awful struggle, and placed beyond this fearful danger—manfully, unceasingly, and untiringly, to aid by advice, assistance, and example, the great bulk of the people, who, without such aid, must almost inevitably succumb to the difficulty of their task."

In this speech we see the sympathetic nature of the prince. This is still further shown in his speech at the Bicentenary Festival of the Sons of the Clergy:—"Gentlemen, the appellation of a 'money-making parson' is not only a reproach, but a condemnation for a clergyman, depriving him at once of all influence over his congregation; yet this man, who has to shun opportunities for acquiring wealth, open to most of us, and who has himself only a scanty life-income allotted to him for his services, has a wife and children like ourselves, and we wish him to have the same solicitude for their welfare which we feel for our own."

The prince, of course, had to speak under many disadvantages. "The principal elements," says the writer already referred to, "that go to compose a great oration, had often to be modified largely in these speeches of the prince. Wit was not to be jubilant; passion not predominant; dialectic skill not triumphant. There remained nothing as the secure staple of the speech but supreme common sense. Especially have we to regret the necessary absence of the personal element, as whenever that was introduced the prince was eminently successful. For instance, if we were called upon to furnish for history the main characteristics of Sir Robert Peel's mind, we could not refer to any description of that eminent statesman, which would at all compete with that given by the Prince Consort in the speech that he made at the dinner to which he was invited by the Lord Mayor of York. 'There is but one alloy,' the prince said, 'to my feelings of satisfaction and pleasure in seeing you assembled here again; and that is, the painful remembrance that one is missing from amongst us, who felt so warm an interest in our scheme, and took so active a part in promoting its success—the last act of whose public life was attending

at the royal commission—my admiration for whose talents and character, and gratitude for whose devotion to the queen, and private friendship towards myself, I feel a consolation in having this public opportunity to express.

"'Only at our last meeting we were still admiring his eloquence, and the earnestness with which he appealed to you to uphold, by your exertions and personal sacrifices, what was to him the highest object—the honour of his country: he met you the following day, together with other commissioners, to confer with you upon the details of our undertaking; and you must have been struck (as everybody has been who has had the benefit of his advice upon practical points) with the attention, care, and sagacity with which he treated the minutest details—proving that, to a great mind, nothing is little, from the knowledge that, in the moral and intellectual, as in the physical world, the smallest point is only a link in that great chain, and holds its appointed place in that great whole which is governed by the divine wisdom.

"'The constitution of Sir Robert Peel's mind was peculiarly that of a statesman, and of an English statesman: he was Liberal from feeling, but Conservative upon principle. Whilst his impulse drove him to foster progress, his sagacious mind and great experience showed him how easily the whole machinery of a state and of society is deranged; and how important, but how difficult also it is, to direct its further development in accordance with its fundamental principle, like organic growth in nature. It was peculiar to him that, in great things as in small, all the difficulties and objections occurred to him first: he would anxiously consider them, pause, and warn against rash resolutions; but having convinced himself, after a long and careful investigation, that a step was not only right to be taken, but of the practical mode, also, of safely taking it, it became to him a necessity and a duty to take it: all his caution and apparent timidity changed into courage and power of action; and, at the same time, readiness cheerfully to make any personal sacrifice which its execution might demand.'"

The prince's speeches were well received. The words of even the most mediocre princes are generally deemed wise and wonderful, and delight the mob who are privileged to hear them. On one occasion, however, Prince Albert gave great offence. We refer to the speech which the prince delivered at a dinner at the Trinity House, on the 9th of June, 1855. The defence published of it, by the sanction of her majesty, is as follows:—"We had met with much disaster in the Crimea. The sickness and death of her soldiers had touched, most deeply, the heart of the queen; and the prince, who was a patriot, if ever man was, felt for his country the tenderest anxiety. Now let us look at the speech. In every line of it may be seen the prince's intense anxiety to gain support for the government, and unity of resolve amongst the people. Why does he dwell upon the power of despotism? Not that he delights to praise despotism, but that he wishes us to see that we have an antagonist, whose power we must not venture to underrate. Why does he speak of constitutional government being under a heavy trial? Not that for a moment he seeks to decry constitutional government, but because he loves it, is devoted to it, partakes that trial which he points out, and seeks only so to consolidate free government, that it may maintain its pre-eminence. How well chosen are the words used on the occasion referred to, when he says—'We are engaged with a mighty adversary, who uses against us all those wonderful powers which have sprung up under the generating influence of our liberty and our civilisation, and employs them with all the force which unity of purpose and action, impenetrable secrecy, and uncontrolled despotic power gives him.' It seems," continues the writer, "a needless labour to make any defence of this speech; and a labour somewhat open to the censure conveyed in the proverb, that 'excuse is but a form of accusation:' but really the justification, in this case, is so complete, that it does not come within the meaning of the word excuse. Every lover of this free country must perceive, that its only danger of being worsted in some great contest, is a momentary inferiority as regards organisation;

and we should feel much gratitude to any one who, in an exalted position, has the loving boldness to point out what are our dangers. The prince asked for confidence in the government. England gave that confidence, and the cause was won."

One extract more will suffice. At the banquet given by the Lord Mayor to her majesty's ministers, foreign ambassadors, royal commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and the mayors of 180 towns, Prince Albert thus spoke:—"I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch and study the time in which he lives; and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained. Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era, will doubt, for a moment, that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end to which, indeed, all history points—*the realisation of the unity of mankind.* Not a unity which breaks down the limits, and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth; but rather a unity the *result and product* of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities.

"The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease. The languages of all nations are known, and their acquirements placed within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity and even by the power of lightning. On the other hand, *the great principle of division of labour*, which may be called the moving power of civilisation, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art.

"Whilst, formerly, the greatest mental energies strove at universal knowledge, and that knowledge was confined to the few—now they are directed on specialities; and, in these again, even to the minutest points. But the knowledge acquired becomes at once the property of the community at large: for whilst, formerly, discovery was wrapped in secrecy, the publicity of the present time causes, that no sooner is a discovery or invention made than it is already improved upon, and surpassed by competing efforts. The products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal; and we have only to choose which is the best and cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are entrusted to the stimulus of *competition and capital.*

"So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs his creatures; and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer nature to his use—himself a divine instrument.

"Science discovers these laws of power, motion, and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter, which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge. Art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our productions forms in accordance with them. Gentlemen, the Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task; and a new starting-point, from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions.

"I confidently hope that the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectators, will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realised in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other; only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth.

"This being my conviction, I must be highly gratified to see assembled here the magistrates of all the important towns of the realm, sinking all their local, and,

possibly, political differences—the representatives of the different political opinions of the country, and the representatives of the different foreign nations, to-day representing only one interest."

Such was Prince Albert as speaker, thinker, worker—a wonderful contrast to our William IV., or George IV., or George III.—a man whose residence amongst us produced incalculable good; and whose worth was never truly felt until after his lamented and premature decease. It must be, as the editor of his speeches has observed, a fortunate country, indeed, that, even in an extended course of its history, should have two men so placed as the deeply lamented Prince Consort.

And thus the royal pair led royal lives, and the English Court became the home of purity, and piety, and good taste. Yet even the queen had more than one narrow escape from assassination. The first attempt was made one fine evening in June, 1840, as her majesty was taking her accustomed drive in Hyde Park, before dinner. The author of the attempt was an insane lad, named Oxford. He had been employed as a barman at a public-house, the landlord of which had been obliged to discharge him in consequence of a habit which he had got of laughing in the customers' faces. He was found guilty, and committed to Bedlam. In May, 1842, a second attempt was made on the life of the queen, as, on the evening of the 30th of May, she was returning to Buckingham Palace, down Constitution Hill, in a barouche and four. A man who had before been leaning against the palace garden, advanced close to the carriage, drew a pistol from his pocket, and fired at the queen. He was so close to the carriage that the smoke from the pistol covered the face of Colonel Wylde, who rode by the side. The wretched man, it appeared, had endeavoured to make a similar attempt the day before. The queen was made aware of the threatening danger; but she would not remain a prisoner in her own palace, nor yet would she allow the needless exposure of others to the peril which she braved, and, therefore, she did not permit her female attendants to accompany her in her usual drive. The danger to which her majesty was exposed, and the proofs supplied, that the outrage had not been committed under momentary excitement, justified, in the opinion of the law officers of the crown, their proceeding against the prisoner for high treason. Francis (for such was the miscreant's name) was found, accordingly, guilty of it at the Old Bailey. The awful sentence reserved for the punishment of that crime was passed upon him; but it was judged inexpedient to carry it into execution on account of his youth: consequently he was sentenced to transportation for life. In July, the public were horrified by a third attempt on the life of the queen. A deformed youth, named William Bean, was guilty of the infamous atrocity. He was convicted of a misdemeanour, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. These repeated attempts led to an alteration of the law. The nation was irritated—the ministers embarrassed—the queen alarmed by the insane acts of a few insane and wretched creatures, whose only object appears to have been contemptible notoriety. Shortly after Bean's attempt, Sir Robert Peel called the attention of parliament to this question. He reviewed the state of the law on this subject; explained why Francis had been saved from the extreme penalty of the law; and then introduced his bill, which provided that any person who should wilfully discharge any gun or pistol, or employ other offensive weapons or substances against the sovereign, with intent to break the public peace, should be subjected to the same penalties which apply to cases of larceny: and it further provided that a discretionary power of imprisonment for a certain period should be given, with authority to inflict personal chastisement. The feeling of the House was greatly in favour of this latter provision; and the announcement of ministerial statements in this respect was received with loud cheering. He went on to say—"I think such enactments will make known to the miscreants who are capable of harbouring such designs as pointed out by the bill, that instead of exciting for their offence a misplaced, and, I must say, most stupid sympathy for those who, by their base and malignant motives in depriving her majesty of that relaxation which she

must naturally want after the cares and public anxieties of her station, will lead to a punishment proportioned to their detestable acts." Sir R. Peel confidently hoped that, without asking for any process of extraordinary severity, the provisions of this bill would prove effectual; as what they had to guard against was, not any traitorous attack directed against the peace of the nation by taking the life of the sovereign, but it was the folly or malignity of wretches who were guilty of acts prompted by motives which were scarcely assignable. The law, in its charity to human nature, had omitted to provide for the case of any being formed like a man, who could find a satisfaction in firing a pistol at a young lady—that lady a mother, and that mother the queen of these realms. It never entered into the conception of former law-makers, that anything so monstrous could occur as that the Queen of England could not enjoy a degree of liberty which was open to the meanest of her subjects. Lord John Russell gave his cordial assent to the measure; and Messrs. Hume and O'Connell intimated their hearty concurrence. The bill was now carried through the Commons, and, having met with a like reception in the Lords, soon passed into a law. The result was, that we had no more attempts—cowardly and disgraceful—on the life of the queen. Henceforth her majesty could show herself to the people in peace and safety. The poor, wretched, ill-conditioned creatures who had assailed her, were prepared to take their trial for high treason—to be tried by great men—to be defended by learned counsel—to be a nine days' wonder: but flogging was another affair altogether.

In 1843, the royal family lost one of its most distinguished members, in the person of the Duke of Sussex. This prince, who had always taken the popular side in politics, was born at Buckingham House, on the 27th of January, 1773, and was the sixth son of George III. and Queen Charlotte. The education of his royal highness was completed in the University of Göttingen. He afterwards travelled in Italy, where he contracted a marriage with Lady Augusta Murray, second daughter of John, fourth Earl of Dunmore. The marriage was first solemnised at Rome by a Protestant minister, and, subsequently, at St. George's, Hanover Square; and then was declared null and void under the Royal Marriage Act. The duke was an ardent lover; and, in spite of the opposition of the lady and her friends, they had to give way. She, however, bore the penalty. In a letter, written in 1811, she thus expresses her feelings:—"Lord Thurlow told me my marriage was good abroad; religion taught me it was good at home; and not one decree of a powerful enemy could make me believe otherwise, nor ever will. By refusing me a subsistence, they have forced me to take a name—not the Duke of Sussex's; but they have not made me believe I have no right to his. My children and myself were to starve, or I was to obey: and I obeyed; but I am not convinced. Therefore pray don't call this an act of mutual consent, or say the question is at rest. The moment my son wishes, I am ready to declare that it was debt, imprisonment, arrestation, necessity (force being used, in short), which obliged me to seem to give up my claims, and not my convictions of their fallacy." The lady died in 1830. The duke's income was considerably reduced to make a provision for Lady Augusta; but he never came to parliament to get released from his debts. He married again, in defiance of the Royal Marriage Act, Lady Cecilia Letitia Buggin, widow of Sir George Buggin, and daughter of the second Earl of Arran. Her ladyship was permitted to take the name of Underwood, which had been that of her mother; and afterwards she was raised to the dignity of Duchess of Inverness. About the same time, the marriage of the Princess Augusta, eldest daughter of the Duke of Cambridge, with his royal highness, Frederick, Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, was celebrated with great splendour in the chapel-royal of Buckingham Palace. Her majesty was present, as was the King of Hanover, and nearly all the members of the royal family. When the ceremony was concluded, the bride was saluted by the queen and the other ladies present. The service was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHAPTER XLII.

LONDON SOCIETY.

In the gay world of London, at this time, there was unusual lustre. Instead of elderly gentlemen with damaged reputations, we had on the throne a young queen, of spotless character. She had married a prince whom the English were slowly learning to admire; and though times were not propitious, though the nation had many troubles on all sides, society, as it is termed, was little affected by them. Ireland might be, as usual, on the verge of revolt: in the Afghan passes the bones of Englishmen might be bleaching in the sun; the mills of Lancashire might be working only half time and capital; and those who live by it might bo hungering for daily bread; but at the west-end there were still the seasons, and high-born beauty triumphed as of yore. Still there was "a sound of revelry by night;" "music arose with its soft voluptuous swell;" and

"Bright the lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men."

From the company of the men—bachelors of the world of fashion—Lord Palmerston had retired. In December, 1839, he married the widowed Countess Cowper, tho sister of his colleague and Premier, Lord Melbourne. It is reported that, in his early youth, his lordship had been enamoured of this lady, but that circumstances forbade the union. In 1837, Lady Cowper became a widow; and then, as we have seen, in conjunction with his lordship, contracted a fresh matrimonial alliance. In every sense, pecuniarily and politically, the marriage was an advantageous one. Lady Palmerston was one of the most dexterous of tacticians, as well as ono of the most devoted of wives. Her Saturday evening receptions were famed all over Europe; and to them was attributed many a parliamentary conversion. Her cards of invitation are supposed to have gained as many votes as his lordship's speeches. Nay, more; it was intimated that the support of the leading journal had, upon moro than one occasion, been actually secured in a similar way. This new relationship, ultimately, made Lord Palmerston a very wealthy man. At the time of her marriage, it is not probable that her ladyship had any other dower than her income under the settlement of her former marriage. But after she became Lady Palmerston, her two brothers, Lords Melbourne and Beauvale, both of whom were childless, died; and, it was understood, left her all their real, and the bulk of their personal property. Thus Lord Palmerston became connected with many noble and influential families: amongst which were those of the Earls of Roden, Shaftesbury, Cowper, Lucan, Denbigh, and others.

In 1844, Mr. Raikes writes—"Lord and Lady Palmerston set off for Baden to-morrow; and he told me that they meant to visit Berlin, Vienna, and Paris, upon their return. At tho first two ho will, doubtless, be well received. The treaty of July is still remembered with so much acrimony by the French, and his antipathy to Louis Philippe (which, of course, is reciprocal) has made him so obnoxious to the Thiers government, that he will certainly not be a welcome guest in Paris. I found him very little altered by time." Again—"There has been a long debate in the Lords on the Tahiti affair, in which the duke characterised the conduct of the French authorities there as *eccentricitеé*. This Lord Palmerston, with whom I had some conversation during the evening, animadverted on; and drew from it the inference that the government is already prepared to lower its language."

A letter from the Princess Lieven gives the details of Lord and Lady

Palmerston's visit to Paris, where they had not been since the signing the fatal treaty in London, in 1840:—"Their reception has been most hospitable and flattering, both from the king and people of all parties, who have loaded them with civilities and invitations. The meeting with Guizot is described as courteous, and followed by a dinner; but it might be inferred that past events had not quite been forgotten. Thiers loaded Palmerston with civilities and dinners; and took particular pride in showing him all over the fortifications. Their drive for this object lasted ten hours. It must have been a curious *tête-a-tête*." Thus, at home and abroad, Lord Palmerston, aided by his wife, was building up his fame and fortune. It is a great advantage to a public man to be married. It enables him to dispense as well as enjoy the courtesies of society. It gives him an incalculable addition of strength. The gain of a lady, as a partisan, cannot be over-estimated in English society. At the same time, Lord Palmerston did not neglect himself to retain his social influences. As a companion, as a neighbour, as a friend, his lordship was always spoken of highly. Deputations were always charmed with him; and as to her ladyship, it was commonly, and most properly, remarked of her, that as she was by far the most zealous, so she was the most effective supporter her husband ever had.

Mr. Grantley Berkeley writes—"Here (the Reform Club) Lord Palmerston was to be found, genial and jocose enough to satisfy the humour of the most reckless of his Irish followers; and, the next minute, so extremely practical and earnest, as to win the confidence of the grimmest of Scotch economists." And here his lordship acquired that fame as a teller of anecdotes, and an utterer of good-tempered pleasantness, which, at any rate, amused his hearers. Thus it came to pass, that to one deputation Lord Palmerston would tell how his grandfather would set before his guests champagne, and claret, and hock, and port; and specify, in praise of the latter, that he could answer for its goodness, as he made it himself: and, to another, he would tell how a lady of fashion had begged his lordship to procure her some note-paper from Spain, the like of which was supposed to be nowhere else discovered; which, after all, turned out to be of English manufacture—thus cheering the hearts of people too much inclined to be desponding over the idea of foreign competition. Another anecdote, illustrating this period—told the writer, by the party referred to, himself—may also be quoted here. It is an anecdote for which, consequently, we can vouch. "It appears that there is a shoemaker in the Strand of the name of Dowie, a Scotchman, intelligent (as all emigrant Scotchmen are), and one of the old style who remind you how intimate was the connection, years ago, between Scotland and France. This old gentleman has, or had, a theory about the formation of the boot with an elastic heel, which he considers of paramount importance to pedestrians, especially to the soldier. With this view, some years ago he entered into correspondence with the Horse-Guards, and considered himself badly treated. He laid his case before the House of Commons, and has the honour of having been the cause of a Blue Book, or part of one. Thus much by way of introduction. The other morning, said the party in question, 'One day, as I was at my door, I saw a gentleman ride up with a livery servant behind, get off his horse, and come into my shop. He said, 'I understand you have a new sort of boot, and I want to see it, as I don't think you have been well used by the government.' Mr. Dowie, of course, had down his boot in a trice, and was only too happy to explain it to his visitor, who was particularly inquisitive, and stopped nearly half-an-hour, thoroughly examining the new plan. 'Well,' said he, 'I like your system very much; it seems to me a very good one; you may make me a pair.' Mr. Dowie was grateful, and asked his customer's address. 'Give me a pen,' said he; and in that excellent handwriting which enjoyed a European reputation, he wrote, 'Viscount Palmerston, Carlton Terrace.' The shoemaker was now more pleased than ever; and, turning to his lordship, expressed his hope that the latter would lend him a little parliamentary aid if possible. 'O certainly I will,' said his lordship; intimating, at the same

time, his opinion 'that shoemakers had inflicted more misery on mankind than all the rest of the tormentors of the species put together, and deserved punishment the most condign.' 'I hope,' said the worthy tradesman, 'your lordship will not include me in that description.' 'Oh no,' said he; 'I look upon you as an exception. You are a reformer; but you know the Englishman's toast.' 'Indeed I do not,' quoth Dowie. 'Oh, this is it,' said his lordship, holding up his hand as if it contained a glass of wine—

> "'Here's to our friends; and as to our foes,
> May they have tight boots, and corns on their toes.'"

And, thus speaking, his lordship gaily mounted his steed and rode away. It was by this genial, jolly style, that the late Premier made his way. He never could have been a Whig of the cold, repulsive, conceited Earl Russell school.

Kings and queens visited the metropolis. "I remember well," writes Grantley Berkeley, "the Emperor Nicholas's fine bearing, and the example he set our lately lamented Prince Consort, when the czar, observing a remarkably handsome lady standing at one of the receptions, stepped out of the circle, and gallantly placed a chair for her." Mr. Raikes, in describing the emperor's visit to a British man-of-war, when Lord Durham went on a special mission to St. Petersburg, says—"The crew were just going to dinner, and he insisted on going below deck. He tasted their soup, and then said he was thirsty. Wine was brought, but he preferred the seaman's grog; and, taking the glass, he drank first the health of the King of England, and then that of the company present. He captivated the hearts of all ranks by his amiable and condescending manners, which no one has more at command than himself." Louis Philippe, and others whose faces were more familiar to the British public, also paid the Court visits of condolence, or craft, or friendship.

At charity dinners, the perpetual chairman was the Duke of Cambridge. An observer describes him as "a man of imposing personal appearance. He is tall, and finely formed. I have rarely seen a man who has attained his sixty-fifth year, possessing a finer figure. He walks as erect, and with as firm a step, as if only in his thirtieth year. His head is large and massy. His large protruding eyebrows are rendered more prominent by the quantity of white hair with which they are surrounded. His eyes are small, and of a light-grey complexion. The quality most strongly expressed by his countenance is easiness of mind, good-nature, and a disposition to be pleased with everything and everybody about him. His complexion is clear and healthy, considering the number of years which have passed over his head. His features are small, and not very distinctly marked. He has a partially aquiline nose, and a narrow, retiring forehead, rendered more prominent by its entire baldness. The crown of his royal highness's head is also completely bald; but on either side, especially close to his ears, there is a considerable quantity of long white hair. His whiskers are also large and white. He dresses with considerable taste. I should think, indeed, that few men, equally advanced in years, pay more attention to their toilette. He always carries a cane in his hand, and, when sitting in any public assembly, amuses himself by putting the top of it into his mouth. He is a great snuff-taker." It is remarked of the prince, that when an indiscreet committee ventured, on one occasion, the payment of the sum which stood as a donation to his credit, his reply was—"What! would you kill your decoy duck?"—an answer, the force of which was at once admitted, and saved the prince all further solicitations.

Guizot, in his *Embassy in England*, is the principal authority for the following. He arrived in this country in February, 1840: he had never been in England before. His impressions are worth recording. London gave him the idea of "unlimited space, filled with men incessantly and silently displaying their activity and their power. And in the midst of this general greatness, the external neatness of the houses; the wide footpaths; the effects of the large panes of glass, of the iron balustrades, and of the knockers at the door, impart to the city an

air of careful attention, and an attractive appearance, which almost counterbalanced the absence of good taste."

At his first audience with the queen, he was struck with her "gracious manner, at once youthful and serious; the dignity of her deportment added to her stature." He remarked, in Prince Albert, "the political intelligence which, though with much reserve, mingled itself in the conversation."

"On Thursday, the 5th of March, I dined, for the first time, with the queen. Neither during the dinner, nor in the drawing-room afterwards, was the conversation animated or interesting. Political subjects were entirely avoided: we sat round a circular table before the queen, who was on a sofa; two or three of her ladies were endeavouring to work. Prince Albert played at chess; Lady Palmerston and I, with some effort, carried on a flagging dialogue. I observed, over the three doors of the apartment, three portraits—Fénélon; the czar, Peter the Great; and Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon, the first wife of James II. I felt surprised at this association of three persons so incongruous. No one had remarked it, and no one could explain the reason. I thought of one—the portraits were selected for their size: they fitted well in their respective places. On the day after, the 6th of March, the queen held a *levée* at St. James's Palace—a long and monotonous ceremony, which, nevertheless, inspired me with real interest. I regarded, with excited esteem, the profound respect of that vast assembly—courtiers, citizens, lawyers, churchmen, officers (military and naval), passing before the queen, the greater portion bending the knee to kiss her hand—all perfectly solemn, sincere, and awkward. The sincerity and seriousness were both needed to prevent those antiquated habits, wigs, and purses—those costumes which no one, even in England, now wears, except upon such occasions—from appearing somewhat ridiculous."

At Holland House the French ambassador met Lord Holland, "charming in mind, and generous in disposition; as amiable in character as in intellect:" and there he found "the highest enjoyment of conversation and social life." There he met Lords Lansdowne and John Russell. "The Whigs had no leader more important or respected than the former; and Lord John Russell, by his inexhaustible readiness and indefatigable energy, advanced every day with his party. The aged poet, Rogers, called him *our* little *giant*."—"Lord Grey returned to London some weeks after my arrival. I met him, for the first time, at Lord Lansdowne's. His countenance, his tone of voice, pleased me infinitely. There were the elevated head; the dignified and gentle demeanour; the placid look, ready to become animated if any subject of interest arose—the remains of early beauty under the sadness and weariness of age."

Guizot was received as kindly by the Tories as the Whigs. The animosities of the Reform Bill era were passing away. "The Tories returned to Court when the queen began again to invite them. Lord Melbourne advised the step with liberal moderation, particularly recommending her to pay attention to Sir Robert Peel, the leader of a powerful party, he said; and, moreover, a most able and honourable man, with whom the queen ought to be on good terms." Guizot describes Sir Robert Inglis as "the most determined, respectable, and kind-hearted Tory I ever met with." He saw less of the Tories than the Whigs, not only because he had not to treat with them, but because they had, in London, fewer centres of reunion and intimate conversation. "It was chiefly at the house of Lady Jersey that I met the leaders of the party, and of the various shades of the party. She was extremely loyal in their cause, and took great pains to draw them around her, and render her assemblies attractive to them. I there became acquainted with Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Ellenborough, and Sir Stratford Canning, now Lord Stuart de Redcliffe. The first, already old, impressed me by the vigour, precision, and perspicuity of his ideas and language; and, ten years later, I found the same qualities in him in an almost equal degree. Sir Stratford Canning had not then displayed, in the embassy to Constantinople, his prevailing and indomit-

able energy; but the manly frankness of his character, and the tempered elevation of his manners, possessed with me, from the first, a charm which diplomatic disagreements have never effaced. Lord Mahon (to-day Earl Stanhope), distinguished alike by his historic labours and political intelligence, frequently invited to breakfast, at his house, the liberal and literary men of the party—the adherents of Sir Robert Peel—those who, from that time, were called, and designated themselves, *Conservatives*, rather than Tories."

Again and again Guizot returns to Lord Holland, and the society at Holland House.

"The proprietors (Lord Holland particularly) were at once in harmony and contrast with their dwelling-house. In some of his ideas, and in his political and philosophical sympathies; in his tastes, and in the turn of his conversation, Lord Holland inclined to the continent and France, almost as much as he did to England; and he would have been, at best, as well placed in Paris, in a drawing-room of the eighteenth century, as at Holland House, in his own. In the union of his position and manners; in his aristocratic traditions and talents; in his secluded circle and hereditary popularity, he was extremely English, and admirably suited as possessor and inhabitant of that truly English and noble mansion in which he displayed such splendid hospitality. He was, at the same time, an English Whig and a French Liberal. That mixture of natural and continental spirit—that European intelligence, under its Saxon physiognomy—added greatly to the charms of his person and his society. He had travelled much, and often lived on the continent. He was perfectly master of the literature and language of France, Italy, and Spain; and equally familiar with the authors of his own country, from whom he quoted, with delightful readiness, the most celebrated passages.

"I happened to dine one day at Holland House with a very small party. I can only recollect two of the guests—Lord Clarendon, and an old gentleman, Mr. Luttrell, both constant visitors and intimates. We talked, for a long time, of the great French writers and orators, La Bruyère, Pascal, Madame de Sévigné, Bossuet, Fénelon. I forget by what transition we passed from France of the seventeenth century to modern England. Lord Holland began to speak of some of his celebrated contemporaries—of his uncle, Mr. Fox; of Sheridan, Grattan, Curran: not only to speak of them, but to retrace their manners, their language; and to imitate, in order to paint them more correctly. He excelled in this mimicry without caricature. His corpulent, gouty body, which moved with great difficulty, and was rolled into the room in his arm-chair; his fat face gaily animated; the heavy eyebrows, which overshadowed his sparkling eyes—all became supple, agile, and graceful, with an air of refined and good-natured mockery; and I amused myself almost as much in looking at, as in listening to him."

Of the hostess of Holland House we have had various reminiscences. Perhaps those of Guizot are the most favourable. He describes her as "much more purely English than her husband. Sharing with him the philosophic French ideas of the eighteenth century, she was a thoroughly aristocratic Whig, without the slightest Radical tendency; proudly Liberal, and as strongly attached to social hierarchy, as faithful to her party and her friends. She possessed greatness and strength of mind, with an air of authority, natural and acquired. She was often imperious, sometimes affable; dignified even in her caprice; well-informed, without pretension; and though sufficiently egotistical, in fact, capable of attachment; above all, of that delicate and careful attention which renders so easy and agreeable the familiar details of life. She conceived a favourable impression of me; and evinced it, not only in her kind reception, but in rendering me unperceived various good offices, and in giving me, occasionally, useful hints. She lent me books which might be either useful or amusing. She was anxious that I should not commit too many errors in speaking English, and corrected me with friendly solicitude. I happened once to repeat a popular proverb—'*Hell is paved with good intentions.*' She inclined towards me, and whispered, 'Pardon my impertinence; we never use

the word *hell* here unless in quoting from Milton: high poetry is the only excuse.' Like many others in England, she was an epicure, and alive to the merits of a good dinner. Soon after I had established myself in London, whither I had brought an excellent cook, long in the service of M. de Talleyrand, Lady Holland wrote to Paris—'M. Guizot pleases all the world here, including the queen. The public augurs well from his having placed the celebrated Louis at the head of his kitchen: few things contribute more to popularity, in London, than good cheer.'"

Next to Holland House, the principal Whig centre of attraction, was Lansdowne House.

In these Whig circles Guizot never met O'Connell. One day he expressed his surprise at this to Mrs. Stanley (now Lady Stanley, of Alderley), whose husband was, at that time, whipper-in for the Whigs. "Mrs. Stanley herself was an active partisan in the government interest. Lord Palmerston called her 'the head of our staff.' She immediately arranged a party for the purpose. I found Mr. O'Connell exactly the sort of person I had pictured to myself. He was tall, bulky, robust, animated; his head a little sunk between the shoulders, with an air of strength and shrewdness—strength everywhere, shrewdness in the quick glance, slightly indirect, although not always indicating duplicity. He was neither elegant nor vulgar; his manner a little embarrassed, yet firm, with even a tincture of suppressed arrogance. His politeness towards the Englishmen of condition he met there, was mingled with humility and pride. It was apparent that they had once been his masters, and that now he exercised authority over them: he had submitted to their rule, and he accepted their invitations. * * * * I retired towards midnight, and was the first to go, leaving Mr. O'Connell surrounded by four cabinet ministers, and five or six ladies of rank, who listened to him with a mixture (somewhat comic) of curiosity and pride, of deference and disdain." Lady Stanley, of Alderley, was not the only lady who was a powerful ally of the ministry. The Duchess of Sutherland was, at that time, Mistress of the Robes to the queen, and "one of the noblest ornaments of the Whig party." The eminent men at that period, connected with the Whigs, were unusually numerous. Of them, Guizot was most intimate with Mr. Hallam. "I never knew," writes the former, "a man more sincerely and thoroughly Liberal, and, at the same time, more divested of national prejudice and party spirit; no one more exclusively anxious to discover truth, without any thought of pleasing or displeasing adversaries or friends. The natural rectitude of his judgment, his vast and accurate knowledge, the generous devotion of his soul, and his perfect disinterestedness, made him inflexibly just, and a stranger even in the cause he held most at heart—that of political or religious liberty to every kind of idle speculation or fanaticism. He received me in London with friendly eagerness. He loved society, conversation, the familiar discussion of reminiscences or ideas; and often collected at his table the most distinguished men of his country, literary by profession or taste. Mr. Macaulay, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Mahon, Sir Francis Palgrave, Mr. Milman—all delighted to find themselves together, and around him."—"When I personally knew Macaulay, I still more enjoyed my disposition to admire him. The harmony was perfect between the man and the artist, the talker and the writer. Nothing bore a closer resemblance to Lord Macaulay's works than his conversation. There was the same richness and readiness of memory; the same unaffected ardour in the thought; the same vivacity of imagination; the same clearness of language; the same natural and pointed turn in the reflections."

At Holland House, Guizot met, for the first time, the Rev. Sidney Smith and Lord Jeffrey, both founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, and the two men who, at that time out of parliament, had contributed most to the success of the Whig party, and the progress of liberty. Both, in 1840, had long survived the powerful impulses of their youth and enthusiasm; but Mr. Sidney Smith preserved, at sixty-nine, the same vivid originality of imagination and wit, the same startling and agreeable fancy, which displayed themselves on all occasions, in familiar life

as in crowded saloons, and, probably, in communion with himself as he sat alone in his study. After their first interview, in a letter to Paris, Guizot wrote—"I conversed last evening with Mr. Sidney Smith, who really overflows with wit. But everybody expects this, and prepares you for it. It is his condition to be witty, as that of Lady Seymour to be beautiful. All look to Mr. Sidney Smith for wit, as all go to a coachmaker for a carriage. People laugh too much at his jokes. They laugh before, during, and after them; and he jokes a little too freely upon all subjects—even bishops. This, however, does not prevent his having respect, even to timidity, for his cloth. He objects to dine out on Sunday; and dares not say this even to Lady Holland, who invites him on that day to perplex him. Here, indeed, was Mr. Sidney Smith's weak point. The turn of his mind and language was not in harmony with his position. He had not entered the church from taste, and his own free choice: in doing so he had obeyed the urgent wishes of his father; and however scrupulously he endeavoured to fulfil the duties of his post, he could not change his nature, or always confine, within severe proprieties, his inexhaustible and, in some respects, exuberant gaiety. In all other respects he was the best of men; as gentle as courageous; filled with Christian charity as with liberal sincerity; an eloquent preacher in the pulpit; and an eminent critic in the *Edinburgh Review*."

"Sidney Smith," writes Grantley Berkeley, "seemed ever anxious to hide his gown under a suit of motley. His ambition was not merely to set the table in a roar, but the chairs and tables, and family portraits. He was as successful a hoaxer as Hook, sparing neither age nor sex. A young lady from the country—a near relative, who had come to town with her head filled with exaggerated notions of people whose names she had met with only in the newspapers—while he was surrounded by his ordinary evening visitors, came up, and asked, coaxingly, to be told the names of the remarkable men who, she was quite sure, were in the room. 'Certainly, my dear, there are some remarkable men here to-night. You see that gentleman talking to Mrs. Smith.' 'O yes, cousin.' 'That is Hannibal: he lost his leg in the Carthaginian war.' The country cousin looked at the illustrious visitor with astonishment, and then turned her gaze upon the solemn face of her informant, who again resumed the hoax till his gravity gave way to immoderate laughter. On another occasion, Sir James Mackintosh brought with him a Highland ensign, overflowing with military enthusiasm. When introduced to his host, he eagerly caught at the familiar name, and presently asked, in a whisper, 'Is yon the great Sir Sidney?' His *chaperon*, who was sometimes more of a wag than an historian, answered promptly in the affirmative, and then lost no time in communicating to his friend the new honours with which he had invested him. The reverend gentleman seized the opportunity—devoted himself to the highly gratified subaltern; going through the siege of Acre with an ardour never exceeded by his namesake: in short, acting that hero so to the life, that the rest of his guests could with difficulty maintain a proper degree of seriousness." Of Smith, Tom Moore wrote—

"And still let us laugh, preach the world as it may;
  Where the cream of the joke is, the swarm will soon follow:
Heroics are very fine things in their way;
  But the laugh, at the long-run, will carry it hollow.

"Yes, Jocus, gay god, whom the Gentiles supplied,
  And whose worship, not even 'mong Christians declines,
In our senate thou'st languished since Sheridan died;
  But Sidney still keeps thee alive in our shrines."

Of Jeffrey the picture drawn is not so pleasing. Guizot writes—"The Scotch critic, at sixty-seven, bore the impress of the trials and mistakes of life. Profoundly thoughtful and sagacious, his mind had more activity and firmness than inclination to indulge in brilliant and distant hopes. Sincerely attached to

the principles he had maintained, and the party he had served with ardour, he had some misgivings as to their evil tendencies and chances. He had exercised literary criticism with as much integrity and independence as penetration and judgment; but he was tired of criticising, and scarcely found anything left to admire. He liked conversation, argument, the exchange and encounter of ideas: he was fertile, ingenious, vigorously sound, without pedantry; but his social tastes were counteracted and cooled by his increasing preference for his small country-house, near Edinburgh; for domestic life, and quiet meditation in the lesson of attractive natural scenery. After the adoption of parliamentary reform, he had entered the House of Commons; but he obtained, in that new field, neither oratorical success, nor political importance proportioned to his previous celebrity in the world of letters. He left parliament without regret, though with some depression, having accepted a judgeship in the High Court of Session, in Scotland, and only visiting London at rare intervals for a few days. We had a long conversation one morning, at my house, on the existing state of ideas and manners, of societies and government. I was struck by the firm independence and long forecast of his thought. This valiant champion of liberal ideas strongly apprehended the exclusive rule of democracy, as much for human dignity and political liberty, as for the security of different rights, and the strong constitution of states."

Another house at which Guizot frequently spent his evenings was that of the Misses Berry, who, after living as long on the continent as in England, had fixed their residence in London, at the respective ages of seventy-eight and seventy-four—remaining at home, and receiving old friends and intelligent acquaintances; delighted to find them, and to become members of their circle. "They had, for faithful companion, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, daughter of Lord North; also an accomplished woman, replete with anecdotes of the Court and history of England during the ministry of her father, which she delighted in retailing. * * * I found in the little drawing-room of Miss Berry, not only the taste, but the habit of French conversation and society, with more ease, variety, and complaisant sympathy, than in the greater part of the English circles—a lively movement of literary spirit and liberal sentiments, divested of political prejudices."

One other portrait we must borrow from Guizot. He says—"Amongst the English prelates with whom I became acquainted, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Whately, a correspondent of our Institute, both interested and surprised me. His mind appeared to me original and well cultivated; startling and ingenious, rather than profound in philosophic and social science; a most excellent man, thoroughly disinterested, tolerant, and liberal; and, in the midst of his unwearying activity and exhaustless flow of conversation, strangely absent, familiar, confused, eccentric, amiable, and engaging—no matter what impoliteness he might commit, or what propriety he might forget. He was to speak on the 1st of April, in the House of Lords, in reply to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the question of the clergy reserves in Canada. 'I am not sure,' said Lord Holland to me, 'that, in his indiscreet sincerity, he may not say that he sees no good reason why there should be a bench of bishops in the House of Peers.'"

At the house of Mrs. Fry, Guizot met with Quakers and Dissenters. In her *Diary*, Mrs. Fry expresses her fear that she did not improve the occasion spiritually, as she might have done. Guizot tells us—"She might have satisfied herself. She did not neglect this opportunity for religious and moral conversation. A strong-minded, excellent woman, born to convert, console, and command; for she had much Christian charity, feminine sympathy, natural authority, and a slight infusion of vanity."

We have already referred to Lady Seymour's proud privilege to be able to look always beautiful. A further illustration of her ladyship's character will amuse the reader, as it did the general public at the time of which we write. It is printed in the *Annual Register* for 1840, without note or comment, as follows:—

"The following correspondence appears, at this time, in the papers:—(Letter 1).—'Lady Seymour presents her compliments to Lady Shuckburgh, and would be obliged to her for the character of Mary Stedman, who states that she has lived twelve months, and is still, in Lady Shuckburgh's establishment. Can Mary Stedman cook plain dishes well; make bread; and is she honest, good-tempered, sober, willing, and cleanly? Lady Seymour would also like to know the reason why she leaves Lady Shuckburgh's service.' (Letter 2).—'Lady Shuckburgh presents her compliments to Lady Seymour. Her ladyship's note, dated October 28th, only reached her November 23rd. Lady Shuckburgh was unacquainted with the name of the kitchen-maid until mentioned by Lady Seymour, as it is her custom neither to apply for, or give characters of, any of the under-servants, this being always done by the housekeeper, Mrs. Couch; and this was well known to the young woman: therefore Lady Shuckburgh is surprised at her referring any lady to her for a character. Lady Shuckburgh having a professed cook as well as a housekeeper in her establishment, it is not very likely she herself should know anything of the abilities or merits of the under-servants; therefore she is unable to answer Lady Seymour's note. Lady Shuckburgh cannot imagine Mary Stedman to be capable of cooking for any except the servants' hall.' (Letter 3).—'Lady Seymour presents her compliments to Lady Shuckburgh, and begs she will order her housekeeper, Mrs. Pouch, to send the girl's character without delay; otherwise another young woman will be sought for elsewhere, as Lady Seymour's children cannot remain without their dinners, because Lady Shuckburgh, keeping 'a professed cook and housekeeper,' thinks a knowledge of the details of the establishment beneath her notice. Lady Seymour understood from Stedman, that, in addition to her other talents, she was actually capable of dressing food fit for the little Shuckburghs to partake of when hungry.' (To this note was appended a clever pen-and-ink vignette by the Queen of Beauty, representing the three little Shuckburghs, with large turnip-looking heads, and cauliflower whigs, sitting at a round table, eating, and voraciously scrambling for mutton-chops dressed by Mary Stedman, who is seen looking on with supreme satisfaction, while Lady Shuckburgh appears in the distance, in evident dismay). (Letter 4).—'Madam, Lady Shuckburgh has directed me to inform you that she declines answering your note, the vulgarity of which is beneath contempt; and although it may be characteristic of the Sheridans to be vulgar, coarse, and witty, it is not that of a lady, unless she happens to have been born in a garret, and bred in a kitchen. Mary Stedman informs me that your ladyship does not keep either a cook or a housekeeper, and that you only require a girl who can cook a mutton-chop. If so, I apprehend that Mary Stedman, or any other scullion, will be found fully equal to cook for, or to manage the establishment of, the Queen of Beauty.—I am, your ladyship, &c., ELIZABETH COUCH, not Pouch.'"

London, also, at this time, was rapidly extending its limits. There had come to it a man who had begun life as a journeyman carpenter, and who actually had made a voyage to India in that capacity; who had a great faculty for seeing the capabilities of a location, and acting accordingly. This man, by name Thomas Cubitt, found London, as Mr. Jerdan writes, mud, and left it Belgravia. In many a locality he made filth give way to cleanliness, meanness to respectability, and sickness to salubrity. He not only set the example, but proceeded a great way with the accomplishment of these designs. Pimlico he nearly covered as a dry land of luxurious residences, magnificent mansions, and palaces, now spreading over the adjacent districts with such expansive force, and apparently in a style not unworthy of their model. It was he who made Highbury a new town; surrounded Newington Green with commodious suburban abodes and villas; covered the wastes near Gray's Inn Road with handsome squares and streets, from Gordon and Tavistock to Euston; redeemed the infamous Five Fields of Chelsea from robberies and murders, to adorn them with fine buildings: and the builder realised, as he deserved to do, a very considerable fortune. In those days, financing had

not become the art it is now; and it is interesting to hear of his difficulties and his rise. "At first," says Mr Jerdan, who knew him intimately, "there was the usual struggle between limited means and aspiring emulation. By degrees, assiduity and enterprise won their way, and some progress was made. By good management and deservedly high credit the necessary funds were obtained; but (as must be expected) at considerable cost for interest, so as to eat far into and much diminish the beneficial returns. This was not to be endured any longer than could be helped. At last, however, there was so important an amount of structure above ground, and tangible, though heavily burdened by the loans alluded to, that the builder pondered how he might obtain a remedy, and extricate himself from the oppression on his shoulders, and get on more freely with his accumulated undertakings. What has since become a very common practice, was at that time little known, and rarely resorted to. It was to borrow money on fair legal terms, and sufficient security, from an insurance office. Mr. Cubitt turned his mind to the subject; showed the certainty of his substance; and obtained from one of those establishments the money he wanted. Every incumbrance was speedily paid off, and the savings amounted to some thousands of pounds a year. From that hour he never knew what required a pecuniary care."

We may add here that Luttrell was a wit; and, like Rogers, a wit and a man of society. They treated each other accordingly. The constant little bickerings between them vastly amused their friends. It is said they met once without squabbling, and that was at the International Exhibition in 1851, where they were both wheeled in chairs when no longer able to walk. Rogers was a strange mixture of satire and sarcasm; and, in his old age, at any rate, seemed to have had few friends. His personal appearance was extraordinary, or rather unique. His skull and facial expressions have so striking a likeness to the skeleton picture which we sometimes see of death, that Sidney Smith entitled him the Death Dandy; and, it is said, inscribed upon the portrait in his breakfast-room, "Painted from life." Tom Moore sparkled and sang in London drawing-rooms; and Campbell was met—no longer the Bard of Hope, but, as an observer describes him—"The features were pinched; the face joyless; the eyes heavy. The sight was painful. He began to speak (this was at the anniversary of the Literary Fund, Prince Albert in the chair), and he spoke well. His voice, though not strong, was clear, and the intellect awakened, as it seemed, at his bidding; and, in the few short sentences which he was permitted to utter, the fancy and the wit of the Campbell of yore might be observed. Suddenly he broke down; he repeated himself; his compliment to Hallam was reiterated; the nerves were shaken by the effort." Then, in art, there was Sir David Wilkie—"a tall, thin man, with square shoulders, and a bend rather than a stoop in his figure. His dress was extremely plain; of a serious, old-fashioned cut, but very neat"—very different to "the careless air of Northcote, and the grace and beauishness of Lawrence." Chantrey flourished, and Dr. Maginn was a light and glory in literary circles. A lady writes of a party at which she was present—"All were standing—all were listening to some one who sat in the middle of a group—a low-seated man, short in stature, who was uttering pleasantries, and scattering witticisms about him with the careless glee of his country. This was Maginn. His articulation was impeded by a stutter; yet the sentences which he stammered forth were brilliant repartees, uttered without sharpness, and edged rather with humour than satire. His countenance was rather agreeable than striking—its expression sweet rather than bright. The grey hair coming straight over his forehead, gave a singular appearance to a face still bearing the attributes of youth." He was prematurely aged: "his thoughtful brow, his hair, the paleness of his complexion, gave him many of the attributes of age." Wordsworth, the poet of nature, seldom left her for the streets and haunts of men: but when he did, writes Mr. Jerdan, he "was facile and courteous; dressed like a gentleman; and, with his tall, commanding figure, no mean type of the superior order. Well trained by education, and accustomed to good manners, shall I reveal

that he could even go the length of strong (whatever invidiousness might say, not vulgar) expressions in the off-hand mirth of his observations and criticisms."

Ireland, in that day, contributed not a little to the gaiety, and beauty, and fun of the metropolis; for Ireland, before the Encumbered Estates' Bill had been carried, and Father Mathew appeared, was a land of wild and furious living. A most favourite air at that time was—

> "We'll break windows, we'll break doors,
> The watch knock down by threes and fours."

Again, another song, very popular in the land of whisky, was—

> "Beating, bellowing, dancing, drinking,
> Sporting, swearing, never thinking;
> Living short, but merry lives,
> Going where the devil drives."

In the House of Commons, the results of Irish culture had been seen in the person of the celebrated Dick Martin, M.P. for Galway. A friendly critic, Mr. Jerdan, thus describes him. He was "an Irishman all over, and by no means an unworthy type of the Hibernian race. To his humanity and perseverance we owe the law for the repression and punishment of cruelty to animals. It needed the courage and spirit of an Irishman of the right stamp to overcome the obstacles that were opposed to this excellent measure. Arguments were not wanting; but ridicule was at once more annoying, and hardly less potential. It was in one of his speeches in the House of Commons on this subject, that the orator was interrupted by ironical cheers; but he went on to the end without stop or notice; and when he had finished, went quietly across the floor towards the quarter whence the noise had proceeded, and, with infinite mildness of manner, presumed to ask who it was that cried—'Hare, hare!' To an Irish gentleman, and one famous, too, for his skill in the duello, it was no trifle to volunteer a reply to such a question, and the derisive 'Hear, hear!' was unacknowledged; only a member on a back seat pointed slily down to a city representative on the bench below him, and Martin's wrath was instantly appeased. 'Oh!' he exclaimed, 'was it only an alderman?' and, turning on his heel, walked back to his place." Another of his parliamentary escapades was yet more laughable. A leading morning journal incurred his ire by a report of his speech, and he waited upon the editor for an explanation. The editor stated that it was written by one of the most intelligent and accurate reporters upon his staff; and he could hardly imagine any, far less any deliberate intention to misrepresent the honourable gentleman. To this excuse the complainant only replied by pulling a copy of the paper out of his pocket, and indignantly pointing to the obnoxious passage, exclaiming—"Sir, did I spake them in italics?" The effect was so ludicrous that both parties burst into a fit of laughter, and the affair was compromised without rancour or bloodshed. One more anecdote, characteristic of Irish gentry, may be given. On one occasion an attempt was made to serve Mr. Martin with a writ. The gallant bearer made his approaches as gradually and circumspectly as he could to the giant's castle. But the alarm preceded him, and he met with a reception which proved that the long arm of the law did not, at any rate, extend so far as Connemara. As it was absolutely necessary, in order to renew the proceedings, that he should make oath to every circumstance that took place, and every word that passed, he was produced in court, and, *inter alia*, swore accordingly, "that the said Richard Martin, observing him at so many yards distance, with several of his retainers prowling round as if they would tear him to pieces, stepped out upon the terrace of his castle aforesaid, armed with a loaded blunderbuss, or other fearful piece of artillery or fire-arms, and pointing at him, the pursuer, did swear by ——, that if he dared to advance one step further, he would blow his soul to ——; all which this deponent believes he would have done." The wealth of this man, at one time, was great; but it was all dissipated in riotous living. His enormous property,

extending thirty miles from his door to the boundary, on which he had borrowed £300,000 or £400,000, is now in the hands of others, and is worth double that sum. His only daughter—the last of his distinguished race—was reduced to beggary; and if, writes Mr. Jerdan, "my memory does not fail me, died the most piteous death that could befal a woman and a wife, unattended and unassisted, on board a miserable small vessel, on which she was taking her passage to another hemisphere."

Lady Morgan was another Irish adventuress, who, by dint of coaxing and wheedling, had managed to get to the front. Her father and mother were players in a strolling company: the father died, or ran away, leaving his wife and two fine girls without a sixpence in the world, and in debt to everybody. Soon after this, Miss Owenson went into the family of a very respectable lady, Mrs. Featherstone, as governess to her only daughter. There she wrote her *Wild Irish Girl*, which made quite a sensation. "Lady Abercorn, who wanted somebody," writes Miss Wynn, "to *égayer* her *tête-à-tête* with her old lord, and also to make talk and laugh for her guests, took Miss Owenson as a sort of *dame de compagnie.* When Lord Abercorn chose to pass a season at Baron's Court, Lady Abercorn was venting her regrets upon a friend, asking what she could do to amuse herself? Why, said the friend, you take your family physician, whom Lord Abercorn has just got knighted; he and Miss Owenson have a mortal aversion to each other: make up a match between them—that will divert you." This joking advice was literally followed, and the consequence was a very happy marriage. In London, Lady Morgan played publisher against publisher, till Colburn, who paid her £2,000 for one of her works, advertised "*Lady Morgan*, at half-price." The spell was broken, and the charm was gone. Lady Morgan's books never sold after that. She resided, for many years, in London; and to her unceasing agitation of the desirableness of a new entrance into Hyde Park, we owe the formation of Albert Gate. She died at the close of 1862, bequeathing a sackful of her scrawls, to be published as her *Memoirs and Letters*, which a reviewer characterised as a work which can only be read with disgust, showing the career of the most ancient, the most frivolous, and the most incessant little woman ever known in this country. Her greatest feat remains to be told. "She so wheedled and worried the Whig ministers, that, in an age of economy and retrenchment, they gave her a pension of £300 a year, in acknowledgment of her literary merits." It was the highest scale of reward for literary excellence which it was in the power of the government to bestow; but then Lady Morgan was a Whig partisan. A younger and more bewitching literary lady was the Countess of Blessington, famed for her beauty; for her strange career of adventure and success; for the fondness of the uxorious peer who married her; or for the doubtful nature of her intimacy with the handsome and accomplished chevalier, D'Orsay, who was, for years, the star of fashion—the beloved of women, and admired of men—the Magnus Apollo of the votary of pleasure—the frivolous and the fop. All London assisted at the countess's *soirées*.

In looking at a publication, dated 1841 (*Portraits of Public Characters*), I found D'Orsay and Lord Palmerston spoken of as rivals in the world of fashion. The writer says—"Lord Palmerston prides himself upon his personal appearance, on the dandyism of his dress, and on the elegance of his deportment; but Lord Palmerston is not, for an instant, to be compared, in these respects, to Count D'Orsay." The writer adds—"I know, were I not to guard against it, that I should be charged with exaggeration and hyperbole, when I say that, so far superior is the personal appearance of the count to any other man in the aristocratic circles of London, that individuals who never saw him before, but to whom the report of his surpassing symmetry of person and elegance of dress has been familiar, have at once recognised him, among a crowd of noblemen and gentlemen, simply from his exceedingly handsome, firm, and gentlemanly appearance." Tailors named their garments after him. Bootmakers languished for his smile. It was said that the horse-dealers whom he patronised, actually declined receiving payment at

present, thinking themselves only too honoured in being permitted to mount him. Unfortunately, as we all know, a time came when the count's tradesmen were not quite so civil—when they actually served him with writs—when he was put in durance vile—when he was only too glad to escape to Paris, there to obtain from his former guest, Louis Napoleon, a small office, which he did not live long to fill. Mr. Grant, at this date (1841), writes of the count—"His features, as well as his person, are remarkably handsome. His face is full and round; his complexion fresh and healthy. Though he rarely leaves London from one year's end to the other, unless for a few days at a time, his complexion is as clear, and indicative of health, as if he had spent the whole of his life in the country. What may surprise some, is the fact, that he looks as well now as he did twenty years ago: those who have known him intimately all that time, say that they can perceive no difference in his appearance. His features, I should have observed, are small, and slightly partake of a Grecian aspect. There is a mingled expression of dignity, intelligence, and good-nature in his physiognomy. His whiskers are unusually large, and are evidently the subject of great and constant solicitude. His hair is long and bushy, and of an auburn hue." The same writer tells us—"On horseback the count appeared to still greater advantage."

In the theatrical world there were stars still shining; though Miss Farren, Mrs. Siddons, Miss O'Neil, had ceased to tread the stage. Its decline had already commenced: no longer was an actor the talk of the town; and he and his doings had but little influence in intellectual circles. It was not so in 1804, when young Betty played Hamlet; and when the House of Commons, on a motion by Pitt, adjourned, and went down to see him; or when Charles Fox read *Zanga* to the little actor, and commented on Young's tragedy with such effect, that the young gentleman, then in his fourteenth year, had the good sense to renounce all idea of undertaking the part. At that time the stage divided the attention of the literary world with poetry and romance. The appearance of Joanna Baillie's *De Montfort*, Milman's *Fazio*, Maturin's *Bertram*, or Shiel's *Evadne*, was an event little inferior in interest to the publication of *Marmion* or the *Corsair*. One who had seen Kean, and the other glories of the stage, writes at this time—"I went last night to see Macready in *Coriolanus*, feeling that I should not like him; that in this one part, and in no other, the greatness of Kemble was unapproachable. I am quite sure I was extremely interested to feel that I had gained a new view of the character; but cannot decide whether I like it better than the old one. I should say that Kemble was more Roman, more dignified; and Macready more true to universal nature. The first seemed to be impelled, by a feeling of withering contempt bordering on misanthropy, to scorn the tribunes and the people as creatures of an inferior nature. Macready seemed a man of quick, irritable feelings, whose pride was rather galled than wounded; and I suspect this is the Coriolanus of Shakespeare, and of nature. It hardly seemed in nature that Kemble's Coriolanus, so proud, so unbending, should have been led astray—should yield to the solicitations of his mother, though that mother was Mrs. Siddons. In Macready, it seemed impossible that he should resist, though Volumna was odiously vulgar, and gave me more the idea of a *poissarde* than of a Roman matron. Nothing could be finer than his acting in this scene; never did I feel so strongly the tenderness and beauty of his affection for Virgilia. She has so little to say or do, that, being rather handsome and very well dressed, the actress (whose name I forgot) could not offend. I never saw a play so beautifully, so correctly got up. It was not only the costume, the scenery, the numberless accessories that were carefully attended to, but the far more difficult task of regulating the by-play of the inferior actors was also accomplished. The effect given by the number of the mob, by the variety of action, which seemed to give Shakespearian individuality to every member of it, is indescribable. The cowed, degraded appearance of the Volscians was very striking. Coriolanus sitting at the hearth of Aufidius, is as fine a picture as can be imagined."

The popular dramatic author, at this time, is not Sir Bulwer Lytton, but Sheridan Knowles, whose fame had just been made known to the public by the success his *Virginius*, in the hands of Mr. Macready, had acquired upon the stage. Knowles had, however, enjoyed considerable popularity as a teacher of elocution, and a lecturer on our English poets. His lectures on Shakespeare, delivered some eight or nine years previously, at the London Mechanics' Institution, were much admired for the original views he conceived, and enforced, of many of Shakespeare's leading characters; of the genius of the great dramatist; and of the purport and tendency of his writings. As an actor he has not got an extensive popularity. He has a hard, heavy, husky voice, with very little command over it. "Sheridan Knowles," writes Mr. Grant, "has all the ease and simplicity of manners of a child. His dress, too, like his manner, is 'plain and unvarnished.' He would not play the fop, nor ape the deportment of any of the disciples of Chesterfield, though you were to reward him with the price of one of his own plays, previously stated to be £400 or £500, for so doing. I have already spoken of his benevolent, jolly-looking countenance. His face is full, but has more of the angular than the round shape. His cheeks are tinted with a crimson colour. He has a fine lofty forehead; and yet, in the general expression of his countenance, there is nothing very intellectual. His hair is dark, and reposes on his head in a rather disordered state. He is about the average height, and stoutly made, without being corpulent."

It is a singular illustration of the time, that, in the words of the same industrious, but not very acute, observer whom we have just quoted, Mr. Thomas Carlyle is described as one of those authors whose works are more generally talked of than read. His name is familiar to every eye in glancing at the literature of the day; and yet none of his works have enjoyed an extensive sale; while some of them cannot be said to have had any sale at all. He also, as a lecturer, has made his *début*. This year his subject has been "Hero Worship." "He reads very closely. He is not prodigal of gesture with his arms or body; but there is something in his eye and countenance which indicates great earnestness of purpose, and the most intense interest in his subject." He is described as ungraceful, and with a Scotch accent, harsh in no ordinary degree.

We mention the name of David Roberts, R.A., as it enables us to preserve an anecdote creditable to both parties. "At one of her majesty's private visits to the Royal Academy exhibition, it was David's lot to attend upon her. In reply to some royal observations, he quite forgot the obsequious sycophancy belonging to Court etiquette, and gave his opinion freely upon a matter which referred to the royal children and their portraits. The train of courtiers were horrified, and other royal academicians stood aghast; but the queen was amused, and, the next day, gave her volunteer adviser a commission to paint a picture connected (if I remember rightly) with the subject of their conversation."

In the moral and political, as well as religious world, Exeter Hall was beginning to be a power. Plain John Burnet, of Camberwell, the Rev. Earl Roden, Hugh Stowell, and others, were leading actors on that stage. The Rev. Hugh M'Neile, of Liverpool, was considered by churchmen as the great defender of their faith. He is described, at this time, as "a powerful platform controversialist. He not only displays indomitable courage in his conflicts with his opponents, but he is skilful in the distribution of the blows he gives his antagonist: and his blows are, moreover, what Lord Melbourne would call heavy blows. He gives them with a force and a good-will which causes his unhappy adversary to reel and stagger under them. He is ready in debate, and dexterous in turning an antagonist's weapons against himself. He is quite a theological gladiator in all his conflicts with the church of Rome. Even Tom Maguire himself—as he is familiarly termed by friend as well as by foe—even he is afraid to meet Mr. M'Neile in theological warfare, on a public platform. Opposition in a meeting, no matter how great or how menacing, instead of disconcerting him, makes him the more resolute and determined. It is, indeed, a positive luxury to him. I have never

seen him look so much at home, or so happy, as when he had, by his speeches, thrown a large meeting into a state of perfect uproar. He seems, on such occasions, as if the storm were his native element."

At the other extreme of the theological world stands Mr. Johnson Fox, afterwards M.P. for Oldham, and a celebrated anti-corn-law orator. He is now theatrical critic to the *Morning Chronicle*, and preaches at South Place Chapel, Finsbury Square, where his refined literary taste, his distinguished talents, and his singularly chaste and impressive elocution, attract a numerous and an intellectual congregation.

John Murray is the principal publisher. He is described as "exceedingly liberal in all his public transactions, as well as hospitable and generous in his capacity of private individual. From first to last he has given enormous sums to authors and artists. I am told that the brothers Finden received upwards of £20,000 from him, for the splendid engravings they executed for his illustrated edition of the works of Byron. The poet is said to have received, from first to last, nearly £25,000 of Mr. Murray's money; and, if my informant be correct, he himself cleared upwards of £20,000 by Byron's works. It is said that Mr. Murray gave Washington Irving, the American author, £4,000 for his *Life of Columbus*. This I know, that when any particular work which he has published has happened to prove a better speculation than was anticipated, he has, on repeated occasions, doubled the sum he had engaged to give the author. I know one circumstance in which the agreement was, that the author should receive £300 for a particular work; it sold better than was expected, and Mr. Murray gave him a cheque for £600." John Murray looks coldly on the Whigs. To ensure a seat at his table, it is said three things are necessary: first, that the party be an author of some celebrity; secondly, that he be an unexceptionable Tory; and, thirdly, that he be, to a greater or less extent, patronised by the aristocracy.

The great printer is William Clowes. It was thought marvellous, in 1841, that he employed 350 men; that his firm printed 1,500 reams of demy, royal, and post paper; that the stock of paper kept constantly on hand by them, was 6,500 to 7,000 reams; and that the sum they paid for ink, annually, was from £14,000 to £16,000. The capital embarked in type was estimated at a quarter of a million. On one day the amount paid as wages was £630: the cost of the paper annually consumed by them was estimated at £100,000. Mr. Clowes, too, it must be remembered, was the architect of his own fortune: he began life as a journeyman printer.

Wood engraving was in its infancy. Its great illustrators were about to arise, and teach how, in the hands of clever artists, in finish and force, it nearly approximated to steel. As an etcher, this is the era of George Cruikshank. In 1841, he is described as "one of the most extraordinary men of the present day. He is a genius, in the strictest sense of the term; and one of the most original geniuses, too, which the world ever witnessed. Who that has ever glanced at any of his singular etchings can doubt this. Nothing like them was ever seen before." He began to form and execute his designs when a very young man. At first, and for some time, it was doubtful whether the weakness of his eyesight would not prove a barrier to his attaining distinction as an artist. Happily, his own fears, and those of his friends, proved unfounded. The gallery in which Cruikshank studied his art, was, if the statement of a friend may be depended on, the taproom of a low public-house, in one of the dark, dirty, narrow lanes which branch off from one of the great thoroughfares towards the Thames; and it was mainly his *Mornings at Bow Street*, and *Life in London*, that first brought him into general notice. He is now hard at work illustrating Ainsworth's *Tower of London*, and gaining, as he deserves, fame and profit thereby.

Nor, amongst the notabilities of the time, must we forget Robert Dale Owen, the author of the *New Moral World*, who has even had the luck to be presented at Court. He may have meant well; but it is clear that he gained a rich wife by

assuming to be religious; and that it was not until his father-in-law died, and left him the sole control of his large fortune, that Owen began to agitate his socialist views. His personal appearance is anything but prepossessing, and his conversation was tiresome. Mr. Grant, in 1841, thus describes him:—"Mr. Owen is the vainest and most egotistical man of whom I have ever read or heard. His writings are full of illustrations and proofs of this; but I never heard him make such a display of the exalted opinion he entertains of himself, both morally and intellectually, as he did on Monday evening, 30th of March last, when delivering his first lecture at the Mechanics' Institution. He stated, in the plainest terms he could employ, and with an emphasis of tone and gravity of countenance which left no room for doubt that he spoke from perfect conviction of the truth of what he said, that he was the greatest, the wisest, and the best man the world ever produced; that had he chosen to concur in the opinions, and to sanction the conduct of the old, immoral, and worn-out world in which they lived, he would not only have been the richest, but the most influential man in these realms; that he never met with a single man who understood the philosophy of human happiness, though he himself comprehended it thoroughly; that *he* knew how to give *every* child who should hereafter be born, a better education than *any* child had ever before received; and that he had lately brought out a book, the *New Moral World*, which contained more wisdom, inculcated a purer and better system of morality, and would conduce more to the happiness of mankind, than any other book that had ever been written." "Man is made by circumstances: improve them, and you improve him." Such was Mr. Owen's theory, which contained a truth that, when seasoned with a little abuse of priestcraft, made it popular for a time. A practical trial of the new moral world, however, by no means indicated its superiority over the old; and so people remained as they were, leaving Mr. Owen and his female lecturers to harangue empty benches. It is not, however, to be denied, that Mr. Owen was a sincere philanthropist, though a mistaken one. He was a man of superior literary taste; his style was chaste, terse, and accurate. When it was his purpose to be clear, no man could write with greater accuracy. Many passages in his works rise to a high degree of eloquence. "As a speaker he is very unequal, not only in one address as compared with another, but in the same address, however short. When he lectures, his manner is invariably, at the commencement, heavy and unattractive; and he makes a point—at least he has done so on all the occasions on which I have heard him—of reading from notes. He speaks rather slowly for some time; but, as he proceeds, his utterance becomes more rapid, and his manner, which was before lifeless, becomes full of animation. * * * His voice, like his manner, has nothing attractive in it at the commencement of his address; but as he proceeds it increases in the agreeableness and softness of tone. He possesses a perfect command over it. His voice, and looks, and manners are very impressive and winning when he wishes to be pathetic."

Lady Holland wrote to Paris that Guizot had achieved a social success in London, as he had engaged a celebrated *chef de cuisine*. This was the golden age of cooks, when the world went better with them than authors, curates, and the teachers and instructors of mankind. The Reform Club was celebrated all over London by the fame of Soyer. This celebrated *chef* was born in France, in 1800. He was intended for the church, and was educated at the cathedral school of Meaux, where he remained for some time, and officiated as a chorister He was next sent to Paris, and apprenticed to a noted *restaurateur* in the Palais-Royal. There he remained five years, by which time his elder brother, who had also been brought up as a cook, obtained the post of *chef* to the Duke of Cambridge. Alexis, anxious to see the world, came over to England; and, at Cambridge House, he cooked his first dinner for the then Prince George. Soyer afterwards entered into the service of Lord Ailsa (Lord Panmure), and became celebrated for his little dinners at Melton. He then accepted an engagement at the Reform Club; and the

breakfast given by that club on the occasion of the queen's coronation, raised Soyer high in his profession. His (O'Connell's) dinner was remembered for its *soufflès à la Clontarf.* But Soyer's name was brought into more public respect by his offer to government to go to Ireland in the famine year, where he superintended the cooking for 26,000 persons daily. In June, 1847, he was entertained at a public dinner at the London Tavern, given by his friends and admirers, for his philanthropic and disinterested exertions for the relief of the poor. He left the Reform Club in 1850; and his first public undertaking was the great agricultural dinner at Exeter. In 1851 he took Gore House, which he converted into a vast *restaurant*, under the designation of the Symposium, and where he lost £4,000. After that he employed himself on his cookery books, and to improve barrack cookery during the war in the Crimea, where he arrived only a little too late. He came home full of schemes to introduce a new system of cooking into the army; and it was while working out these that he died, from the fatigue and over-exertion in the Crimea. Soyer was a warm-hearted, generous man. His publications were many, and some of them had a large sale. He will be remembered in the records of gastronomy by the hundred-guinea dish, devised by him for the royal table at the banquet given by the Lord Mayor of York, in 1850, to Prince Albert, in connection with the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Such were the leading actors on the London stage twenty years ago.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SIR ROBERT PEEL IN POWER.

Return we now to politics.

The Whigs, as we have shown, were in office, not in power. On the 27th of May, 1841, a vote of want of confidence in them, proposed by Sir Robert Peel himself, was carried by 312 votes against 311. The cabinet, determined to leave no chance untried, appealed to the country. The elections sealed their fate. The new House of Commons, which met on the 19th of August, in the debate on the address, gave the Conservatives a majority of ninety-one votes over the Whigs. On the 30th, Lord Melbourne and his colleagues resigned. Sir Robert Peel was the new Premier. After thirty-two years of patient endurance he had now the political prize: his position was a splendid one; but it appeared stronger than it really was.

"The cabinet," says Guizot, "which Sir Robert Peel had formed, numbered amongst its members men most illustrious by their renown, by their rank, by their capacity, by the esteem in which they were held in the House of Peers—the Duke of Wellington, who had no special office; Lord Lyndhurst, as well skilled in political discussion as in the administration of justice; Lord Aberdeen, a man of conciliatory and elevated mind—prudent, patient, and equitable, and better acquainted than any other person with the interests and diplomatic traditions of Europe; Lord Ellenborough, the most brilliant of the Tory orators. In the House of Commons, Lord Stanley, whom the noble leader of the Whigs, Lord Grey, told me, in 1840, that he regarded as the most direct descendant of the great oratorical school of Pitt and Fox; Sir James Graham, an eminent administrator, a fertile and animated reasoner, full of resources in debate. Around them a group of men still young, yet already highly distinguished, laborious, enlightened, sincere, and devoted—Mr. Gladstone, Lord Lincoln, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir William Follett. Behind this political staff, a numerous majority, trained by ten

years of conflict, contented, and proud of their recent triumph. And at the head of this powerful party and this great cabinet, Sir Robert Peel, an undisputed leader, tried and accepted by all; surrounded by public esteem; invested with all the authority of character, talent, experience, and victory. Never, perhaps, had a first minister united, at his accession, so many elements and guarantees of a strong and safe government."

Unfortunately for his own peace of mind, and for the stability of his cabinet, Sir Robert Peel was compelled to be in a contradictory position. He was obliged to be at once a Conservative and a reformer, and to carry along with him, in the double course, a majority incoherent in itself, and swayed, in reality, by antagonistic interests, prejudices, and passions. Unity was impossible in his policy and in his army. A strong Conservative administration, when change is demanded by imperious necessities, is impossible; and of this Sir Robert Peel soon became aware. He, a commoner, had to be the mouthpiece of the haughtiest aristocracy in the world. He, a true Liberal from conviction and principle, had to look for support to Tories of the old school, and ultra-protestants. Besides, this man was compelled to win over ardent partisans. His character was reserved and unsympathetic. It was true he was able to direct and sway an assembly; but he was ill-adapted to influence men by the charms of intimacy, of conversation, of open-hearted and frank communication. He was more a tactician than a propagandist—more powerful in argument than over the feelings—more formidable to his adversaries than attractive to his partisans. The retiring ministers, perhaps aware of his difficulties more fully than himself, certainly did all they could to enhance the critical character of his situation. In the speech from the throne, which they had drawn up, they took good care clearly to define the double task which they had been unable to accomplish themselves, but which they imposed on their successors. The speech said—"The extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean have occasioned, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive possessions, have made it necessary to consider the means of increasing the public revenue. Her majesty is anxious that this object should be effected in the manner least burthensome to her people; and it has appeared to her majesty, after full deliberation, that you may, at this juncture, properly direct your attention to the revision of duties affecting the productions of foreign countries. It will be for you to consider whether some of those duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, while they are vexatious to commerce. You may further examine whether the principle of protection, upon which others of those duties are founded, be not carried to an extent alike injurious to the revenue of the state and the interest of the people. Her majesty is also desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and, by their operation, diminish the comfort, and increase the privations of the great body of the community." Well might Sir Robert Peel ask, as he did, for time to consider what might be expedient to propose in connection with the financial difficulties of the country; and his defence was equally good when Lord John Russell ventured to find fault with this delay. "If I," said the Premier, "am responsible for not proposing a measure on the corn-laws within one month of my accession to office, what must be thought of that government that has held office for five years, and yet never, till the month of May, 1841, intimated, on the part of that government, a united opinion on that subject? Again," continued the right honourable baronet, "I have been in possession of power three weeks. During that time I have had the charge of forming a government, and of making those constitutional arrangements which became necessary upon the formation of a new administration. I have also, of course, been obliged to devote some part of my time to the consideration of our foreign relations. I could well have wished, therefore, to appeal to the House, whether it be just, whether it be a fair proposal, that I should be

called upon to bring forward a measure introducing permanent taxation?" Lord Palmerston replied, and intimated, that "the opposition did not intend to take the sense of the House on any question that might now be raised as to the conduct of ministers. They knew, from the late experiment, what the result would be; but, however the right honourable baronet might plume himself on his majority, he advised him to refrain from reposing too great and unlimited confidence in that support, as he ought to remember that there was a country as well as a House of Commons. He warned him not to rely too confidently that the opinion of the majority of the House (though, technically, he was entitled to represent it as that of the country) would be borne out by the opinion of the country at large. His lordship complained of the delay in making known to parliament the course ministers were prepared to pursue. He thought the right honourable baronet had given no sufficient reason for abstaining from stating the nature and character of the opinion which he had formed in his own mind. The only influence the country could draw from the silence of the government, and the prolonged delay, was this—that the cabinet, of which the right honourable baronet was the head, was not, at present, a united cabinet. If that were the case—if it were fairly owned that there were divisions in the cabinet, which he had not yet had time to heal—which he had not yet found the means of reconciling—then certainly the good sense and good feeling of the country would induce it to wait: only, in that case, however, he thought that the result might be obtained sooner than in the ensuing February." Parliament was prorogued before Sir Robert Peel stated his plans.

It assembled on the 3rd of January, with unusual splendour. The queen had recently given birth to the Prince of Wales. A strong monarchical feeling animated the country and the legislature: both Houses voted addresses of affectionate congratulation to Prince Albert as well as the queen. The King of Prussia, the first of the Protestant sovereigns of the continent, had come to London to act as sponsor to the young prince, and was present at the opening of the session.

On February 9th, to a crowded house, the Premier stated his proposed alteration in the corn-laws. It was the introduction of his celebrated sliding-scale, of which we shall speak further presently.

The next difficulty with which Sir Robert had to grapple was the financial one. The means which he adopted for restoring an equilibrium in the finances of the state—namely, the establishment of a tax on all incomes above £150 a year—met with strong opposition.

The next measure was his new tariff.

Already he had offended many by his consistent support of the vote to Maynooth.

Sir Robert succeeded in carrying his measures in parliament. By this time he was become fully aware of the difficulties of his position. He had suffered rebuffs; he had exhibited some uncertainty of policy; he had assumed, on several occasions, an inert attitude.. His enemies were satisfied and derisive. The newspapers attacked him insultingly. In many places he had been burnt in effigy. Among impartial spectators many began to doubt his good fortune, and to speak of his approaching dangers. Although the session of 1843 had not been so brilliant or successful to him as that of 1842, his internal policy, whether active or expectant, explicit or reserved, had remained precisely the same. He had continued to prove himself what he really was—the most liberal of Conservatives, and the most conservative of Liberals—the most capable man of all in both parties. He was firmly established in the confidence of the queen; and was more and more trusted in by the parliament and the country.

"I am glad to learn," says Mr. Raikes, "that Sir Robert Peel feels that he is gradually gaining influence with the queen; and her manner is certainly far more gracious towards him than could have been expected. He describes her as endowed with considerable abilities; and not only in a wonderful manner become conversant with state affairs, but also as taking an absorbing interest in them. When a

messenger's box is brought down to Windsor, her countenance, which is naturally serious, brightens up immediately. She reads all the despatches; makes her comments; and is really so much engrossed by this one idea, that she never enters into the light, gossiping conversation to which young women are generally addicted. * * * * On a late occasion, when he and Lady Peel were invited to stay a few days at Windsor, her majesty, in the course of conversation, asked him what was the reason of his great hostility to the system of her late government? He immediately took advantage of this to enter into a detail of the revolutionary tendency of all their measures, and the bad spirit which they had so wantonly excited in the country—a spirit which was rapidly threatening the ruin of the monarchy, as well as that of the country. He said that crowned heads should think not only of what was agreeable to their feelings, but also what was conducive to the welfare of posterity. It was in itself a contradiction that sovereigns should be democrats, or encourage those principles in their dominions; that in another month her majesty might, probably, give birth to a son, to whom it must be the object of her anxiety to leave her crown as a sure and peaceful inheritance; and how could that be accomplished by following the system of concession and revolution into which she had been led, under the false hope of obtaining a short-lived and uncertain popularity, at the expense of undermining the great props of the constitution in church and state?"

It is now time to consider Sir Robert Peel's foreign policy. "Properly speaking," writes Guizot, "Sir Robert Peel had no foreign policy, that was really his own, of which he had a clear conception; which proposed to itself a special plan of European organisation, and the adoption of which he assiduously applied himself to secure. It is the natural condition of free countries, that internal politics, questions of constitutional organisation, and public will, being great measures of finance, occupy the chief rank in their affairs. Unless the national independence is threatened, or a people is a mere instrument in the hands of a master, home affairs take precedence, in its opinion, over foreign affairs. This is more especially the condition of England, defended by the ocean from external complications and dangers. Happy nation! M. de Talleyrand used to say, that has no frontiers. I do not remember that, at any period in English history, the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs has been held by the Prime Minister; custom, with its deep-lying reasons, has usually connected the premiership with the office of the First Lord of the Treasury. Sir Robert Peel was essentially a First Lord of the Treasury; the leader of the home government in state, and of the cabinet in parliament. But if foreign policy was neither his dominant idea nor his principal occupation, he had two powerful and noble maxims, or rather feelings, on this subject; he desired that peace and justice should prevail among states. And these mighty words were not merely for him a profession, a means of acting on the minds of men; he desired that peace and justice should prevail in the relations of England with other nations, seriously and sincerely, as a good and habitual policy. Although very solicitous about the greatness of his country, and even very accessible to popular impressions with regard to the national dignity and honour, he formed no design of aggrandisement for England; felt no selfish jealousy of foreign nations; and had no mania for domination abroad—no fondness for displaying an undesired and arrogant influence. He respected the rights and dignity of other states, small as well as great, weak as well as strong; and regarded the employment of menace or force solely as a last extremity, legitimate only when it was absolutely necessary. I repeat the same words, because they are the most simple and the most true—he seriously desired that peace and justice should prevail in the foreign policy of his country; that is to say, in order to express my meaning, to his greater honour, he believed that morality and good sense are essential and practicable in the foreign relations, as well as in the internal government of states—a commonplace, apparently, which all politicians repeat with their lips; but which, in reality, very few of them truly believe."

His colleague, Lord Aberdeen, is praised by Guizot quite as warmly. He adds—"The confidence of these two men in one another could not but be, and was, entire. The Scottish noble frankly and simply admitted the supremacy of the son of the English cotton-spinner; the parliamentary leader did not seek to direct foreign affairs, and to impose his own diplomatic views, tastes, and modes of action on his colleague. Agreeing in principle, they were sure that the one would not need to vindicate his authority, or the other his independence; they walked loyally together in the same course, each in his own rank, and with the same duties to perform. Sir Robert Peel had no marked preference for any alliance, or for any particular friendship, on the continent: he set great value on maintaining good relations with France, with King Louis Philippe, and his government; and he neglected no opportunity of expressing the sentiments, and holding the language, best adapted to secure this condition of things; but he attached equal importance to being on good terms with Germany, or with Prussia, and was equally careful to manifest it. Lord Aberdeen, while keeping on the best terms with all the powers of Europe, had it chiefly at heart to establish a close friendship between England and France, as he was deeply convinced that the two nations that might do one another the most harm, are also the most interested in living amicably together; and that great human interests, as well as their own national interests, are involved in their peaceful agreement."

Guizot, as we have shown, got on better with Earl Aberdeen than with Viscount Palmerston. The first difficulty was with Syria (the right of search, as we have previously shown, had been disposed of). Mehemet Ali oppressed and drained that country; but, to a certain extent, with impartiality and order. Anarchy and fanaticism returned there with the government of the sultan. Civil war recommenced between the Druses and the Maronites—an old war of race, religion, influence, and pillage. France took the initiative. Guizot, the foreign minister of that country, wrote on the subject to M. de Sainte Aulaire. The latter found Lord Aberdeen somewhat embarrassed. "I asked him whether he would not write to Constantinople on the question. He objected, at first, that the too frequent intervention of the powers in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire might tend to equal consequences. 'We cannot hope,' said he, 'that the Turkish government should ever be legal or paternal. We should vainly endeavour to lead it to exact ideas of order and justice. The powers who assume this task, and act too vigorously in its accomplishment, will compromise themselves uselessly, and, perhaps, not without risking their reciprocal good intelligence.' In these words I recognised a policy not Lord Aberdeen's, but to which, they say, he is disposed to make great concessions. I answered, that if he feared the too active intervention of the European powers in the affairs of Turkey, the only method of preventing that was to put a prompt end to horrors, the prolonged spectacle of which would assuredly excite public opinion in all civilised countries. Lord Aberdeen readily returned to more generous inspirations. He agreed with me in detesting the Turkish Machiavelism, which he believes to be aware of the events in Syria. He answered me, that the letters to Constantinople explicitly urged the necessity of sending disciplined troops to Syria, and of the necessity of placing them under the command of men determined to re-establish order. He accuses the apathy or baseness of some pachas, and positively demands the dismissal of the Pacha of Damascus, who has assisted the Druses in their attacks upon the Christians. 'The Druses, nevertheless,' he added, 'are the English party: judge, after this step, of the importance I attach to these miserable questions of local contentions.'" Guizot says he felt no inquietude, especially as Sir Stratford Canning was despatched to Constantinople—"an envoy very friendly to the Ottoman empire; but, at the same time, fully alive to moral considerations and the rights of humanity." The Porte was obstinate, and France was firm. Prince Metternich, fertile in expedients, suggested a new idea. He proposed, if the Porte refused absolutely to re-establish in the Libanus the old Christian administration,

personified in the family of the Cheabs, that, at least, the Turkish pacha should be withdrawn, and that the two populations, Maronite and Druse, should each be ruled by a chief of its own race and religion, both subject to the governor-general of Syria. The Porte rejected this idea, and offered to place the Maronites and Druses under the authority of two Caimacans, each distinct from, and independent of the other, but both Mahommedans. This the European plenipotentiaries unanimously refused. Lord Aberdeen went so far as to hint at a French and English naval demonstration on the coast of Syria, and the Ottoman power suddenly and wisely yielded.

Greece was the next country to demand the attention of diplomacy. Greece, in 1840, was far from being well governed. King Otho, an honest man, attached to what he conceived his duty and his right, was tainted with the maxims of the Bavarian Court; obstinate, without vigour, and plunged in continual hesitation and permanent sloth, which paralysed his government, and allowed financial disorder and political agitation to increase from day to day in his little state. The people grew impatient; the foreign envoys, especially the English minister, Sir Edmund Lyons (whom Guizot calls a rough and imperious minister), blamed the king. The English and Russian party almost entirely disputed preponderance there. France was determined to have a finger in the pie; or, as Guizot more elegantly expresses it, "I thought the moment had arrived for France also to resume her place. M. Piscatory was accordingly sent to Athens; so that, in seeing him, the attention of the Greeks should be drawn back towards France; that he might explain cordially to them our counsels, and put me in possession of the true state of facts, disfigured in the recitals of interested rivals or desponding friends." For the evils existing, Lord Palmerston had proposed the establishment of constitutional government. To this Guizot objected, at the same time that he promised to support Mavrocardato, the leader of the English party, then at the head of affairs.

In the course of time, Guizot wrote to M. Piscatory—"I have no new instructions to give you. You went to Greece to tell and convince the Greeks that our wishes towards them are really what we declared—a good administration at home, tranquil expectation abroad. Herein lies our whole policy. Greece has reached this point—to rise she has only to live. To live requires, I admit, a certain amount of wisdom. By general consent this was found recently wanting in the Greek government. I hope that M. Mavrocardato may exercise it. In this hope we have supported, and shall continue to support him, without pausing to consider any incidental occurrence, or professing to ourselves any other object. Some complaints reach me against the new cabinet: they say it does not contain enough of our friends, and that our friends are not in the posts best suited to them. Let us sustain our friends, but without urging their pretensions beyond what is necessary for the success of the French government itself, whether presided over by Mavrocardato or Colettis." This letter was shown to Lord Aberdeen. It led him to write to Sir E. Lyons in a similar strain. "It was impossible to impart," adds Guizot, "more loyalty to the common action and concerts of England and France at Athens." Clearly, had there been a quarrel, it would have been of France's own seeking.

Another difficulty with the English government was the French establishment in Algeria: they were considered to have designs on Tunis. The English cabinet showed disquietude; its agents, some of the acutest among them, with little clearsightedness, and governed by habitual apprehension, talked incessantly of the restless spirit and ambition of France. "Lord Aberdeen thoroughly understood our disposition; but he found it difficult, and his colleagues more difficult still, to believe in our persevering moderation."

A little personal intercourse between principals, it was felt, would tend to remove diplomatic difficulties, and to strengthen friendly feeling between France and England. In August, accordingly, the queen paid Louis Philippe a visit at

Eu. At Paris, and wherever the news spread, a great effect was produced—satisfaction for some, discontent for others, surprise for all. Among some members of the diplomatic body, ill-humour vented itself in thoughtless and unworthy expressions. "The freak of a little girl; a king would not have acted so." And when they were answered, "A freak accepted by ministers, who are not little girls," the ill-temper redoubled. "Her ministers think only of pleasing her: they tremble in her presence." Very soon, however, these unworthy feelings were restrained and modified.

The royal visit is thus described by Guizot:—"At a quarter past five cannon announced that the queen was in sight. In another half-hour we embarked in the royal barge—the king, the princes, Lord Cowley, Admiral Mackau, and myself, to anticipate her arrival. We drew up alongside the yacht, *Victoria and Albert*. We mounted the deck. The king and queen were mutually affected: he embraced her. She said to me—'I am delighted to see you again *here*.' She descended with Prince Albert into the king's barge. The queen, as she placed her foot on shore, had the brightest expression of countenance I have ever looked upon—a mixture of emotions—a degree of surprise; and, above all, the most animated pleasure in this reception. There was much shaking of hands in the royal tent. Then the carriages and the journey. 'God save the Queen!' was loudly played; and there were as many shouts of 'Long live the Queen of England!' as 'Long live the King!' * * * As soon as we were alone, Lord Aberdeen said to me, 'Take this, I beg of you, as a certain indication of our policy on the Spanish, and on all other questions: we shall talk thoroughly on all.' It was not easy to talk. The days were passed in general parties; in presentations; in snatches of conversation; in the drawing-room, and promenades. On Sunday, the 3rd of September, after Queen Victoria had been present at the English service, in a hall of the *château*, arranged for that purpose, the king took her, in a large *char a banc*, entirely filled by the royal family, to the summit of a table-land, which afforded an admirable view of sea and forest. The weather was beautiful; but the road bad, narrow, and full of stones and ruts. The Queen of England laughed, and amused herself at the idea of being thus jolted along in royal French company, in a sort of carriage quite new to her, and drawn by six splendid, dapple-grey Norman horses, driven gaily by two postilions, with their sounding-bells and brilliant uniform. Lord Aberdeen and I followed, with Lord Liverpool and M. de Sainte Aulaire in another carriage. Lord Aberdeen had just had with the king a long *tête-à-tête*, by which he was satisfied and impressed—satisfied with the political views and intentions which the king had opened to him, especially on the question of Spain; struck by the fertility of his ideas and recollections—by the rectitude and liberty of his judgment—by the natural and cheerful animation of his language. 'The king has spoken to me without reserve, and very seriously,' he said to me. Lord Aberdeen and I talked, as we drove along, a little of all things. He told me that for two months the queen had projected this voyage, and had spoken of it to Sir Robert Peel and himself; that they had strongly approved of it, requesting her to say nothing on the subject until the rising of parliament, to avoid the questions and remarks, and, perhaps, censures of the opposition. 'The queen,' added Lord Aberdeen, 'would not go to Paris; she wished to pay a visit to the king and royal family, not to divert herself.' In this conversation I expressed a disposition to concert with him liberal modifications in our mutual tariffs, separately arranged by the two governments, in perfect independence, rather than to conclude a solemn and permanent treaty. He seemed to accept my arguments; and I afterwards ascertained that he had said to Sir Robert Peel—'I incline to think that this would be better than a commercial treaty, the importance of which is greatly exaggerated, and never fails to excite, on both sides, much dissatisfaction and complaint.'

"On returning from the drive, the king had no sooner left his carriage than he asked me what effect their interview had produced upon Lord Aberdeen.

'Good sire,' I replied, 'I am certain; but Lord Aberdeen has not given me any details, which I must wait for.' This delay greatly disconcerted the king. He was patient in the end, and for general results; but the most eager and anxious of men at the moment, and in any particular case. Never did he appear more friendly, I might even say more affectionate, to myself. 'We are,' said he to me on that day, 'very necessary to each other. Without you I can arrest bad policy; but it is only with you that I can carry out good.'

"On Tuesday, the 5th of September, during a royal drive, from which we requested permission to absent ourselves, Lord Aberdeen and I walked together for two hours in the park, conversing on all subjects; on both our countries and governments, on the East, on Russia in the East, on Greece, Spain, the right of search, and treaty of commerce—a conversation singularly free and frank on both sides, and in which we visibly enjoyed the pleasure that leads to confidence and friendship. I was more impressed than I can describe, by the calm expansion of Lord Aberdeen's mind, and the modest elevation of his sentiments. I found him at once extremely impartial, and thoroughly English; a practical politician, without contempt for principles; and Liberal from justice, and respect for rights, although decidedly Conservative. At the same time, he seemed to me to have little taste for public and ardent controversy; and disposed to prefer, for the attainment of his object, slow and gentle proceedings. The marriage of the Queen of Spain was evidently, in his eyes, our great affair, and the right of search our leading embarrassment. 'There are two things,' he said to me, 'on which my country is not tractable, and myself less liberal than I could wish—the abolition of the slave-trade, and Protestant propagandism. On all other matters let you and me think only of doing what appears best; I will undertake to ensure approval. The two points I have named embrace impossibilities on the side of England, and great circumspection must be observed.' I asked what might be the strength, in the House of Commons, of the party called *saints*? 'They are all saints on such questions,' was his answer. I convinced him, nevertheless, that our Chambers would persist obstinately in demanding the abolition of the right of search; and that this international question was one for which a solution must be found, and a danger which called imperatively for termination."

The visit was attended with the happiest consequences as regards France. It gave her a European *status*, which she had long desiderated. The Russian Court received the intelligence of the visit with real alarm. From Vienna, Count de Flahault wrote to Guizot—"I can easily see that Prince Metternich (the quarter most favourable to us) is anything but satisfied. It is not that he wishes for unfriendly intelligence between the governments of France and England; he is too much an advocate of peace for that: but he has no desire to see established too close a friendship; and the idea of an alliance between France and England he holds in antipathy. Nothing would tend more to negative the influence he is accustomed to exercise as the grand moderator and mediator of Europe."

We have said Russia was displeased. The czar thought it time to bestir himself, lest this Anglo-French alliance might prove too intimate. Accordingly, on June 1st, 1844, he arrived in England, and remained there eight days. Guizot wrote to M. de Sainte Aulaire—"On this subject I have no private directions to give you. Be reserved, with a shade of coldness. The unfriendly here, or the malicious only, would rejoice if we took umbrage at this journey, or evinced, at least, ill-temper. There will be nothing of the kind. We see things as they are, and reject perverse conclusions. The emperor goes to London because the Queen of England went to Eu. We find no difficulty in looking on this as a retaliation. We are quite sure that he will accomplish no policy with the English cabinet beyond what we know." During his visit, the emperor conducted himself admirably as a courtier. Being present one day with the queen at a review, and complimenting her on the splendid appearance of her troops, he added, with a profound bow—"I beg your majesty to consider all mine as belonging to you:"

and he repeated what he said to many officers of her majesty's staff. At Ascot races he affected the most extravagant admiration; and to assist the expenses of this national amusement, he conferred the annual gift of a gold cup. A subscription ball was to take place on the 10th of June, for the benefit of the Polish refugees. Attempts were made, unsuccessfully, to adjourn it. Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, wrote to the Duchess of Somerset, the first of the lady patronesses, to say that the emperor viewed this act of benevolence with much interest, and would willingly associate himself with it, should the receipts not answer the hopes of the committee; and at the very same moment, he observed, with ill-suppressed humour, to Horace Vernet—"They cry in my ears, even here, '*Long live the Poles!*'" On the whole, his visit was a success. The public were charmed with his splendid person, his open deportment, his haughty simplicity. Shrewd observers, however, suspected that he was but acting a part.

"*Cui bono?*" asked the French ambassador. M. de Sainte Aulaire wrote to Guizot—"I asked Lord Aberdeen what he wished me to say to you on the political object of the emperor's visit. 'I understand your curiosity,' he replied; 'a voyage to England from the Château d'Eu, or from the Château d'Eu to England, may be explained as a party of pleasure; but to arrive in eight days from the extremity of Europe, to return in eight days after, appears less simple; and yet, in spite of all improbability, it is positive that the emperor has neither transacted nor attempted any political business; the only subject on which we spoke in detail is the Turkish empire. The emperor much desires its preservation, and is very uneasy at its weakness. But he proposed no plan, and suggested no project applicable to the different eventualities we may anticipate.' I remarked, however," M. de Sainte Aulaire added, "in the course of our conversation, that the Emperor Nicholas had declared that, under any circumstances, he wanted nothing for himself. He evinced equal confidence in the disinterestedness of England, with which country he is confident of a friendly understanding, happen what may. But the embarrassment will, he thinks, come from the side of France."

The emperor, in 1844, took care not to propose to Lord Aberdeen the plan for the conquest and partition of the Ottoman empire, to the entire exclusion of France; which, in a weak moment, he, nine years afterwards, revealed to Sir George Hamilton Seymour.

The King of France soon followed in the steps of the Russian emperor. Louis Philippe, accompanied by Guizot, came over in October following. The minister writes—"At the Court, filled with Tories, some expressed considerable surprise at seeing around them, and amongst themselves, such marked courtesy to France, and to a King of France sprung from a revolution. But these remnants of the passions and routines of party vanish or remain silent before the evident friendship of the queen for King Louis Philippe and his family; the amicable understanding proclaimed by the Tory cabinet; the adhesion given to this policy by the old and illustrious chiefs of the party (the Duke of Wellington at their head), and the satisfaction which the Whigs could not avoid exhibiting. It was with the general approbation, Whig and Tory, aristocratic and popular, that the queen conferred on Louis Philippe the Order of the Garter; and on the evening of the day on which the city of London presented its address, the ceremony of knightly investiture took place at Windsor by the hands of Queen Victoria herself, surrounded by the full splendour of her Court. Lord Aberdeen, ever thoughtful and just towards his adversaries, took care that, by special favour, the chief of the Whig leaders, Lord John Russell, should be invited to dine at Windsor on the eve of the king's departure; and he engaged me to talk freely with him on the relations between the two countries, and on the right of search. This question ever occupied his mind; he endeavoured to place it beyond party disputes; and he had some hope that Lord John Russell might render some assistance. Lord Palmerston, on the contrary, in the preceding session, had tried to excite on the question a passionate

debate. He gave notice of a formal motion against any attack upon the right of search, and the treaties which established it. The slight favour which his project received, even from the Whigs themselves, led to its repeated adjournment. Mr. Monckton Milnes declared, that to that motion he would propose an amendment, to the effect that the conventions relative to the right of search for the abolition of the slave-trade, ought to be regarded as a temporary essay, ever open to the examination of both countries; and on the day when Lord Palmerston was to develop his proposition, the House was counted out."

France, under Guizot, began colonising in Africa. The English merchants were alarmed: the English cabinet demanded explanations. "Lord Aberdeen," says Guizot, "with his accustomed loyalty, acknowledged our right, and put an end to the discussion. France obtained, on the western coast of Africa, for her commerce, her marine, and her future prospects, the resting-points of which she stood in need."

With the same view, France took possession of the islands of Mayotta and Nozibé, at the north entry of the channel of Mozambique; concluded a treaty with the Iman of Muscat, which gave important securities and liberties; and took possession, in the Pacific Ocean, of the Marquesas islands. This led to an imbroglio with England, of which we shall have to speak presently. In the meanwhile, the relations of England and France were seriously compromised by two very important questions.

Belgium had commenced an agitation for the assimilation of the custom-house duties between herself and France. In 1840, under the ministry of M. Thiers, the question had been introduced, and a negotiation opened. It was resumed in 1841. Four conferences took place in Paris, in the month of September, at which Guizot presided. The Belgians proposed the total abolition of all scale of customs between the two countries, and the establishment of a single and identical tariff on their frontiers. But they attached to it the express condition that the Belgian frontiers should be guarded by Belgian officials. France replied, that she could not entrust to Belgian officers the care of her industrial and financial interests. A new complication came. For two or three years, threads and tissues of English flax had rapidly encroached upon the French market. From 1840 to 1842, their importation had doubled. The French spinning factories were seriously menaced. In 1842, France raised the duties on foreign threads and tissues of flax. This was a blow at Belgium not intended. Accordingly, between the latter country and France a commercial convention was concluded, which exempted Belgium from the increased duty. This question settled, that of the union of customs was resumed. The foreign powers became alarmed. On the 24th of October, 1842, Lord Aberdeen wrote a pressing, though, at the same time, a conciliatory letter to King Leopold, to detach him from a measure "full of danger, it may be affirmed, for the interests of your majesty, and the tranquillity of Europe." Some weeks after, he said to M. de Sainte Aulaire—"It seems that the Belgian question is still pending." The ambassador replied, "that he knew nothing of it, except through the newspapers: that he thought a speedy and definite solution was scarcely possible; that he was glad to notice the indifference of the English peers; and thence inferred, that he would not have to quarrel with his lordship about it." His lordship replied, "that all commercial treaties were popular in England; and that English capitalists would be the less disposed to complain of a Franco-Belgian treaty, as they would hasten to embark their capital in Belgian manufactures; and would promise themselves enormous profits from these speculations." As regarded the union of customs, his lordship intimated, that was quite a different affair. "You can understand," he said, "that England could not see, with a favourable eye, French custom-house officers at Antwerp. You will also encounter opposition on the side of Germany; and, this time, you will find us more united than on the right of search." In fact, Lord Aberdeen had assured himself of this. He had, on the 28th of October, addressed

a despatch to the representatives of England, at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, with orders to communicate it to those three Courts; in which, without fully adhering to the principles which Lord Palmerston had manifested from the earliest reports of the intended Franco-Belgian union, he maintained, in the name of the neutrality of Belgium, and in virtue of the protocol of the 20th of January, 1831, which had established it, that the other cabinets were authorised to oppose themselves to a combination which would present a real danger to the balance of European power. On the 29th of November, he expressed himself still more strongly on the subject to the Belgian minister in London, M. Van de Weyer; and in December, having requested M. de Sainte Aulaire to call upon him, he said—"I am informed that a former minister has had an interview with King Louis Philippe, and that they held a long conversation on the Franco-Belgian union of customs. The ex-minister said that the project would encounter unanimous opposition in Europe. The king replied, 'I have no reason to expect this opposition, and I do not believe it, since none of the powers have caused a word to be said to me on the subject.' In consequence of this speech of your king, and to avoid all misunderstanding on a matter so serious, I have thought it my duty to write to Lord Cowley, and also to tell you that the customs' union between France and Belgium, would appear to us an attack on Belgian independence, and, consequently, on the treaties by which it is established."—"I declined," wrote the ambassador to Guizot, "any discussion on the words or personal opinion of the king; but I affirmed that my government had, for a considerable time, been informed by me, and through other channels also, of the intention of the English cabinet. It was therefore in full knowledge of the case that you had entered on the examination of the question—determined to solve it, in consideration with the national interests, and without pausing at the expression of a discontent founded neither in justice nor in reason." Lord Aberdeen resumed—"I have abstained until now from speaking in any detail upon the subject: and I am glad of it, as your government can defer to the complaints of French commerce without the appearance of its resolutions being influenced by diplomatic considerations; but to-day I felt bound to name it to you, to prevent any false interpretations arising from silence. I have, moreover, taken care that the step adopted with you shall not be in any manner collective."

Happily, the fears and jealousies on this subject were all dissipated by the failure of the scheme. The negotiations, conferences, and royal and ministerial conversations ended in nothing. The idea of the union of customs between France and Belgium was gradually and silently abandoned; and on the 13th of December, 1845, after several more months of restricted and effective negotiations, a new treaty of commerce, lowering the mutual tariff on many commodities, regulated for six years, in a more extensive and liberal manner than that contracted in 1842, the industrial relation of the two countries.

A more serious matter came up next. England has always dreaded the preponderance of France in Spain. In 1840, the designs of France in that quarter were, in England, viewed with profound distrust, though Queen Christina and the chiefs of the French party had lost power, and the new regent was Espartero, the friend of England. The accession of the Tory cabinet, Guizot confesses, made no difference. Lord Aberdeen evinced, on this point, more freedom of mind and impartiality; but the anti-French suspicions of Sir Robert Peel were so deeply rooted, that he declared himself inclined to seek, in Spanish affairs, the amicable understanding and concerted action of England with Austria, Prussia, and Russia—neither of which three powers had acknowledged Queen Isabella or the Spanish constitutional system—rather than a friendly accord with France. His language was—"Resistance to the establishment of French influence in Spain ought to be our principal and constant effort." The English minister at Madrid, Mr. Aston, a man of talent and integrity, but specially selected by Lord Palmerston, was imbued with similar sentiments.

Guizot and Louis Philippe appeared to have been much affected with the helplessness of the Spanish queen. In August, 1841, Guizot wrote to the king—"An idea disturbs me. I fear lest we should assume the air of abandoning, without protection or succour, this poor little queen, who has near her neither mother nor *governante*, nor any faithful and devoted servant. Would not this be an extremely suitable, praiseworthy, and well-selected moment to send an ambassador to Spain, specially accredited to her, in case of revolutionary movements? The government of Madrid would have no right to complain of this. The king would perform an act of political foresight and family protection. No one could misunderstand it; and I cannot see, under any possible hypothesis, how evil consequences could result. I entreat the king to think well of this, and to communicate to me his impression." Louis Philippe, of course, was ready; but Queen Christina, then at Paris, and her faithful adviser, M. Zéia Bermudez, felt it would be better to wait the formation of the Tory cabinet in England. He calculated upon Lord Aberdeen's monarchical and Conservative opinions. This position did not suit France; and M. Salvandy was despatched to Madrid just as the news of General O'Donnell's insurrection in Navarre, against Espartero, reached Paris. Guizot wrote immediately to the great powers, intimating that France, while friendly towards Queen Christina on family and personal grounds, had taken no steps to bring about the downfall of Espartero. On the future of Spain, the document referred to continues:—

"Of the three parties in action there—the Absolutists and Don Carlos, the Moderates and Queen Christina, the extreme Liberals and the regent Espartero, or tutor Arguelles—neither is sufficiently strong nor wise to conquer its adversaries, to restrain them, and re-establish order and regular government in the country. Spain will not reach this result but by an understanding between the three.

"On the other hand, this understanding can never be effected unless France and England labour to that end in concert. The rivalry of France and England in Spain; their struggles for influence; the opposition of their patronage—these causes alone suffice to feed the war of Spanish parties, and to strike them all with impotence when they reach government.

"A good intelligence, and common action, between France and England, are indispensable to the pacification of Spain.

"And, as Lord Aberdeen most truly said to you, in order that France and England may understand each other, and act in concert in Spain, it is essential that they should not be the only actors on that stage; and that the other great powers should appear there with them. With two it is to be apprehended that rivalry might continue: with five we may hope that a more general and elevated interest would ultimately prevail.

"Undoubtedly, interests of a secondary class will not cease to exist. Undoubtedly, there will always be, as between France and England, as regards Spain, questions of national self-love and traditionary jealousy—questions of alliance and marriage. I do not misconceive the importance and difficulty of these questions. I do not hesitate to say, that on them all we shall be found moderate and conciliatory, without reserved thoughts or exclusive pretensions. I have nothing more to add at present. We earnestly desire the pacification of Spain; it is essential to our repose and prosperity. We cannot suffer a hostile influence to be established there at the expense of our own. But I affirm that, on the theatre of Spain, pacified and regularly governed, as soon as we no longer see cause to fear for our just interests and rights, we shall be disposed to live in harmony with all the world, and neither to desire, nor do anything to inspire, unreasonable uneasiness for the proper balance and strength of Europe."—Such were the views of France, as plausibly expressed by Guizot. What was the language of the English cabinet? The French ambassador shall reply.

When the reports of the insurrection of the Christinos reached London, Lord Aberdeen at first evinced little emotion. He spoke of it coldly to M. de Sainte

Aulaire; adding, as if incidentally, "I would not give too much utterance to this idea; but, in reality, I see no safety for Spain except in a union of the parties of Queen Christina and Don Carlos by marriage." On the next occasion he was more animated, as the ambassador assured him that France had taken no part in what was passing in Navarre. "Here, again," said he, "are things that I am bound to believe in the face of all probability; but, assuredly, you will find many incredulous. Is not Queen Christina in Paris? Is she not going to place herself at the head of an insurrection?" When M. de Sainte Aulaire delivered to him the letter from which we have already taken an extract, he was much struck by it: he kept it a few days; and, on returning it, said that he had shown it to Sir Robert Peel, and also to the queen, whom it had greatly interested.

The insurrection was, however, speedily put down, whether Louis Philippe was mixed up with it or not. At Madrid, as well as in the provinces, the regent, Espartero, triumphed rapidly. The most brilliant and the most devoted of Queen Christina's partisans, General Diégo Leon, was taken prisoner, and shot. Espartero did not gain much by his victory. France refused to expel Queen Christina, and actually sent troops to the frontier, and ships to the Catalonian coast. The anarchists attacked Espartero. At Barcelona, Valencia, and on several other points, he was in open contest with disorders and revolutionary insurrection. He laboured honestly to suppress them; and endeavoured, by his ability as a soldier, to compensate for his deficiencies as a statesman. Towards the end of November, M. de Salvandy started for Madrid as French ambassador. A question as to his reception promised to create additional complications. The ambassador wrote to Guizot—"I feel convinced that the hand of an ally has directed all. In a conference with Mr. Aston (and I mentioned this to M. Pageot before this incident intervened), I saw the obstinate Whig—the determined and impassioned continuator of Lord Palmerston's policy—who finds, in the part he plays there, a double gratification—that of revenging himself on France, as also on the very cabinet that employs him. My careful and cordial expressions on the alliance of the two nations, and the relations of the two governments, extracted from him no reply. Neither could I obtain any to my assurances of sincere and sustained efforts to establish a perfect understanding with him. His features and tone alone responded. His external politeness had not concealed from me his vexation at being no longer alone on this theatre, and seeing his influence disputed. Let me repeat, that I fully adopted this impression, and formed this judgment, previous to the incident which has occurred." Guizot adds—"M. de Salvandy's impressions were just, but extreme; and he attached to them, as was his frequent practice, consequences too important. Mr. Aston's dispositions were not more favourable than he interpreted them. Accustomed to represent and practise the policy of suspicion and hostility between France and England in Spain, the minister of Lord Palmerston had more taste for the inspirations of the old chief than for those of Lord Aberdeen; and, in all probability, he troubled himself very little as to the disagreement that sprung up between the new French ambassador and the Spanish government: but his attitude was embarrassed and weak, rather than clear and active. He did not guide the regent Espartero and his councillors in the quarrel in which they were engaged; he merely followed them, writing to London that, according to his idea, they were in the right, and even striving to hold his ground in Madrid by not opposing them. He might have employed a favourable influence, which he did not seek; and that which he exercised was bad, though feeble." The difficulty increased. The English minister is described, by Guizot, as lending "a cold and embarrassed concurrence to insignificant attempts at conciliation."

In London a much more conciliatory feeling was entertained. In January, 1842, after Salvandy had left Madrid, Lord Aberdeen wrote to Mr. Aston as follows:—"It is necessary that I should speak to you with the most perfect frankness on the subject of the quarrel between the Spanish government and the French ambassador. You know, without doubt, that it is attributed solely to your influence.

This is not alone the conviction of M. de Salvandy and the French government. I have seen letters from Madrid, written by persons who have no relations with them, but filled with the same persuasion. I need not tell you I attach no credit to these reports, and that I believe you have endeavoured, by conciliatory measures, to accommodate this misunderstanding. But, at the same time, as you have acted under the idea that the Spanish government was well founded in its pretensions, it is clear that your advice, in whatever mode you may have given it (and you have not explained this to me in detail), was not calculated to produce much effect.

"No one can be more disposed than I am to support the Spanish government when in the right, especially against France. But, in this case, I think it decidedly wrong; and I much regret that your judgment, usually so sound, should have arrived at such a decision. The justification that the Spanish government pretends to find in Article 39 of the constitution, is a mere cavil; and such a sophism suffices to inspire doubt of its sincerity. Consider it certain, that if the present course is pursued in, it must bid adieu to all hope of the recognition of Queen Isabella by the northern powers. They would see in it, very naturally, only an adroit attempt, by the revolutionary party, to lower the monarchy—an attempt supported by English jealousy at the aspect of French influence.

"I am not surprised that the Spaniards regard with suspicion every step of France; and that they see, in all, some intention of slighting the regent and his authority. In the present case I believe this suspicion to be unfounded, and that the French mission has been undertaken in an amicable spirit, and urged by our desire. The natural proceeding, simple and quite obvious, was, without any doubt, that the ambassador should present his letters of credence to the queen, to whom they were addressed; and though I attribute the difficulty which has arisen to an ill-founded suspicion of the Spanish government, others see in it an abasement of royalty, and a determination to quarrel, at any risk, with France.

"I do not hear that M. de Salvandy set forth any pretension as a family ambassador, or that he attempted to revive ancient privileges of communication with the Queen of Spain, beyond the rules which the Spanish government might consider it necessary or convenient to establish. Any attempt of this kind would call for firm resistance. As the family compact has ceased to exist, the French ambassador ought to be on the same footing with all others.

"I need not tell you that this affair has been the source of much embarrassment and displeasure. M. de Salvandy has not yet left Madrid. I do not despair of your being able to bring about an accommodation. There will be violent harangues in the Cortes; the two governments will be more and more compromised; and each day will aggravate the difficulty. It is not improbable that, within a short time from the present, very serious consequences may manifest themselves. At present we look upon the Spanish government as entirely in the wrong: but this incident will be energetically resented in France; and the course of things may, perhaps, lead the French to aggression. Our position then will be extremely difficult and complicated. Even though, in the end, the Spanish government might be right, the origin of the quarrel would be always wrong."

This letter came too late, as we have already intimated. M. de Salvandy had left. Nevertheless, it was considered satisfactory by him and his government.

The next question that came up between France and England was not of such an easy solution. France, as we have seen, wished to acquire, in the Pacific Ocean, a point which would serve at once as a healthy and safe penal settlement, and a station to which its mercantile navy might resort for supplies, or for refuge, without being involved in the burden and expense of a great territorial establishment. The little archipelago of the Marquesas seemed to fulfil these conditions: it belonged to no other power. Admiral Dupetit Thouars received directions to occupy it. No mention was made of Tahiti in his instructions; and, says Guizot, "we had absolutely formed no design, present or future, upon that island. When we learned that, four months after the occupation of the Marquesas,

Admiral Dupetit Thouars, in consequence of a series of complicated incidents which I shall not recapitulate here, had been led to establish the French protectorate in Tahiti, we foresaw, not without regret, that some difficulties might result from this proceeding in regard to our relations with England; but we ratified the act unhesitatingly. Of all our reasons for doing so, I remember but one; and that was the decisive reason that the French flag had just been planted on the islands of Polynesia. Wo could not consent that, at the very moment of its appearance, it should be withdrawn. We interfered neither with the rights nor even with the pretensions of any other state. The treaty concluded by Admiral Dupetit Thouars, when he established our protectorate, respected the sovereignty and internal prerogatives of the Queen of Tahiti. We openly avowed the reasons and the limits of our resolution. The English cabinet understood them, and made no remonstrance. In our turn, we understood its displeasure and its embarrassments, and we mutually promised one another to observe that prudence and forbearance which should be observed, in affairs that are at once small and delicate, by great governments, which are willing neither to bow the one before the other, nor to quarrel about trifles."

This difficulty was seriously heightened by the religious element. Tahiti had been occupied by the English missionaries: they possessed great power in a religious and civil capacity. The establishment of the French protectorate was naturally unpleasant to them: it involved the downfall of their preponderance, and a check to the faith they had left their native land to proclaim. As soon as the news reached London, all the missionary societies grew excited; held meetings; sent deputations to the English cabinet and to the French ambassador, declaring that their labours were endangered throughout Polynesia; and demanding that the joint protectorate of England, France, and the United States of America, should be substituted, in Tahiti, for the exclusive protectorate of France. A letter, pressing these demands, was addressed to Lord Aberdeen, and signed by the Marquis of Cholmondeley, the Bishops of Chester and Chichester, the Earl of Galloway, Lord Bexley, Lord Ashley, Lord Sandon, Lord Teignmouth, Sir George Grey, Sir Thomas Baring, and Sir Robert Inglis. One of them, Sir George Grey, expressed his intention to interrogate ministers in the House of Commons. The movement became still stronger when, a few months afterwards, it was discovered that it was not a mere French protectorate which had been established in Tahiti, but that Admiral Dupetit Thouars had taken full possession of the island and its sovereignty. The supporters of the missionary societies burned with righteous indignation. Even those politicians most friendly to France were troubled. Sir George Grey interrogated Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons; and he replied evasively, and with an emotion he found it hard to conceal. Foreign diplomatists regarded the matter with lively solicitude, thinking it very serious indeed. "Tahiti," said one of them, "will be a greater difficulty to the English cabinet than Ireland." Extreme coolness, if not an utter rupture, between France and England seemed inevitable.

The English cabinet was greatly agitated even before the Tahiti question arose. On hearing the news of the occupation of the Marquesas islands by the French, many symptoms of displeasure and inquietude had been exhibited among the friends of the government. "It is a disgrace and a danger to England," said a thinking man to Lord Aberdeen. His lordship had by no means an easy task. He had not merely to tone down public feeling, but had to keep a watch on Sir Robert Peel, lest he should utter words of anger, suspicion, and fear.

France was as much excited as England. Guizot claims the credit of having pacified the Chambers. "As soon as it was known," he writes, "that we had not ratified the taking sovereign possession of Tahiti, and that we limited ourselves to maintaining the protectorate, which had been accepted eighteen months previously by the natives, all ill-humour and distrust disappeared. Sir Robert Peel hastened to acknowledge our loyal moderation; and Lord Aberdeen no longer met

with any doubt or objection on the part of his colleagues, with regard to the measures which he proposed to take for the purpose of removing from Tahiti those agents who might involve us in fresh embarrassment. The affair seemed settled."

It turned out otherwise. A conflict had been commenced against the French protectorate, at the head of which was Mr. Pritchard, a missionary, and, at the same time, British consul. He was absent in September, 1842, when Admiral Dupetit Thouars established the protectorate; but he returned on the 28th of February, 1843: and as soon as he had done so, the anti-French fermentation, which until then had been feeble and obscure, became strong and continuous. When the incidents of this conflict determined Admiral Dupetit Thouars, on the 5th of November following, to assume the sovereignty instead of the protectorate of Tahiti, Mr. Pritchard immediately hauled down his flag, and declared that his functions as consul were at an end, as he was not accredited by the English government to a French colony in that capacity: but though he abdicated his public character, he did not the less continue his efforts to excite resistance to the French; and after the lapse of four months, on the 3rd of March, 1844, during the absence of the governor, who had been called to a distant part of the island by an insurrectionary movement, Captain D'Aubigny, the provisional commandant at Papeiti, thought it indispensable suddenly to arrest Mr. Pritchard, and to place him in solitary confinement in a blockhouse. On his return to Papeiti a few days afterwards, M. Bruat, reporting this incident to the Minister of Marine, stated—"In the agitated state of the country this measure was necessary; but I could neither approve of the form nor of the motive of the arrest. However, the gravity of the circumstance was such, that I could not undo what had been done without strengthening the hands of the insurgents. On my arrival, I at once ordered that Mr. Pritchard should be transferred from the blockhouse on board the *Meurthe;* and I gave Commandant Guillevin directions to receive him at his table. * * * I also wrote to the English captain of the *Cormorant*, to request him to leave Papeiti, where he had nothing to do, and to take with him Mr. Pritchard, whom I promised to place in his hands as soon as his ship should leave the harbour."

When Mr. Pritchard arrived in England, and gave his own account of his arrest, all the feelings which had been excited at the commencement of the Tahiti affair burst forth with renewed vigour. In reply to a question put to him by Sir C. Napier, on the 31st of July, Sir Robert Peel stated, if the newspaper reports are to be relied on—"We have received accounts from Tahiti; and, presuming on the accuracy of these accounts, which I have no reason whatever to call in question, I do not hesitate to say, that a gross outrage, accompanied with gross indignity, has been committed upon the British consul in that island. Her majesty's government received information of this on Monday last; and the first opportunity was taken of making those communications to the French government which her majesty's government considered the circumstances of the case to call for. * * * Assuming that the statements we have received are correct, I must presume that the French government will at once make that reparation which this country has a right to require." The report of this speech created a great sensation in the French Chambers. Guizot, who denies that he had received any communication from the British government, declined to answer the interrogations addressed to him on the subject, and occupied himself with delicate negotiations with Lord Aberdeen. The two cabinets came to an equitable understanding. That of France maintained that it had a right to remove, from any of its colonial establishments, any foreign resident who might disturb the public order; and, on the other hand, asserted its conviction that the French authorities at Tahiti had good reasons for sending Mr. Pritchard away from the island. At the same time, it acknowledged that useless and vexatious proceedings had been taken with respect to him, and expressed its disapprobation and regret that such should have been the case; and it offered him an indemnity, which was accepted. The English cabinet, on its side,

no longer disputed either the principles or the facts maintained by the French government: it gave up the idea of sending Mr. Pritchard back to Tahiti, and of demanding the recall of the officer who had arrested him.

Nor was the French war with Morocco, which broke out at the same time, disregarded or viewed with indifference in this country. When the English saw a French army, under the command of the Governor-general of Algeria, enter Morocco, and a French squadron, under the command of a prince of the blood-royal, appear before Tangier, the disquietude was very great, and Sir Robert Peel took the matter up seriously. Pressing instructions were sent from London, ordering the English consul-general at Tangier, to use all the influence of England to induce the Emperor of Morocco to comply with the demands of France. The English cabinet would have wished France to leave to it the task of obtaining for her the justice she required. This did not suit our neighbours. They wanted to fight; and so Prince Joinville needlessly, and for the sake of glory, bombarded Tangier and Mogador; and Marshal Bugeaud, on the banks of the Isly, had the questionable honour of routing the whole army of Morocco in a single engagement.

In Europe, France is the disturbing element. It has always been so: it will always be so, at any rate, till her people understand the nature of true glory—till, free themselves, they can respect the freedom of other states. In the last few pages we have had ample proof of her aggressive and domineering spirit. If it had not been for France, Lord Aberdeen would have had little to do.

A difficulty had arisen in America, which, at length, was amicably settled. One of the first measures of Mr. Tyler's government was the adjustment of the boundary line between the United States and the province of Nova Scotia. Lord Ashburton had been sent out by the British government to represent them at Washington; and finding in Mr. Daniel Webster, the new Secretary of State, a sensible and conciliatory officer where the grand principles of republicanism were not conceived, his lordship soon effected a satisfactory treaty, which settled the north-east boundary for ever. There had been great excitement on the subject in England. Boastful, sarcastic, and irritating language had been uttered on both sides. The friends of peace had seen, with real concern, that a rupture with America was but too probable, as, though the subject of dispute was not of paramount importance, language of a violent character had been used. Lord Ashburton still left a bone of contention between England and America, which was revived under President Polk—namely, the settlement of the claim of Great Britain to the land lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the forty-sixth parallel, or the latitude of Columbia river. America claimed the territory on the ground of prior discovery: England, because she had first settled it. Mr. Polk assumed a very lofty tone in discussing the British pretensions; but was, ultimately, obliged to give way; and by a treaty dated 13th June, 1846, Great Britain obtained all that she had claimed. Sir Robert Peel's language was firm. President Polk had said, in his presidential speech—"It will become my duty to assert and maintain, by all constitutional means, the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the Oregon territory is clear and unquestionable; and already our people are preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children." In the British House of Commons, in answer to a question from Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel referred to the speech of the American president, and hoped that the negotiations would be renewed. He, however, expressed his deep regret, that while the negotiations were pending, the president of the United States should, contrary to all usage, have referred to other contingencies than a friendly termination of them. He regretted not only the allusion, but also the tone and temper in which it was made. As the subject had been brought under discussion, he felt it to be his duty, on the part of the government, to state, in language the most temperate, but, at the same time, the most decisive, that they considered "that we have a right to this territory of Oregon, which is clear and unquestionable; that we desire an

amicable adjustment of the differences between ourselves and the United States: but that, having exhausted every effort to obtain it, if our rights are invaded, we are resolved and prepared to maintain them." A tremendous burst of cheers, from all parts of the House, followed this announcement.

Guizot claims, on behalf of Sir Robert Peel and Earl Aberdeen, that they had, without any infraction of peace, without any serious perturbation of friendly relations between powers—but, on the contrary, by maintaining or restoring a good understanding everywhere—settled all the questions of foreign policy which they found pending when they took the direction of affairs, and all those which had arisen during their administration; and they themselves had provoked none: they had sought to obtain strength or distinction for their power on no premature event, or fictitious complication. They had sufficed for all that they found, and originated none. This is the true character, the sensible and moral character, of good foreign policy. It does not consider peoples as instruments which it may use to their success, for its own inventions, and the combinations of its own ambitious or restless spirit; it transacts their business with foreign powers as it arises in natural course, and calls for a necessary solution, ever regarding peace as its object, and right as its law.

By implication, this passage is intended to cast a censure upon the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston. It certainly condemns that of France, even in the time of Guizot; always eager to "win success for its own inventions, and the combinations of its own ambitious or restless spirit."

France had been allowed, by Lord Aberdeen, pretty much to have its own way. It will be admitted that war is so frightful an ill, that a policy of concession, to keep the peace (except under extraordinary provocation), is to be preferred to a spirited vindication, as it is called, of the national honour. There are times when duty calls every one to arm and to fight. When the enemy invades the country, when his armies pollute the soil, peace is a crime. The poet asks—

> "How can man do better
> Than die, facing frightful odds,
> For the ashes of his fathers,
> And the temples of his gods?"

And we all feel the same. It was not from indifference that Lord Aberdeen did not plunge the country in war; but he believed so entirely in the benefits of peace, that he felt that was not lightly or wantonly to be disturbed. It was the happy condition of France and England, at this period, that their two governments were animated by the same spirit, and loyally lent each other a mutual support, in order to make it prevail. How would Lord Palmerston have acted? We honestly believe, in spite of his criticism, very much the same as Earl Aberdeen.

Lord Palmerston found fault with ministers for sending Lord Ashburton to Washington in 1842. We think they could not have done better. He had been the most eminent merchant of the most eminent mercantile country in the world. He had evinced, when the last war between the two nations was begun, his sympathy for the United States: his ideas on colonial questions were known to be extremely liberal. Lord Palmerston maintained that the honour of England had been sacrificed. Yet that there had been no unworthy concessions, is clear from the fact, that the terms agreed on were more favourable to England than those which the King of the Netherlands had formerly awarded; and that, at that time, even Lord Palmerston, who now blamed the treaty of Washington, was ready to accept that judgment.

As regards France, the policy of Lord Palmerston was to be preferred to the more submissive one of Lord Aberdeen. In England, the king of the barricades had found a support denied him elsewhere. He could look for no friendship from Russia, Prussia, or Austria; he could only trust in England. When Lord Palmerston was accused of deserting France, the nature of the connection between

the two countries was misunderstood. No French politician has been able to deny, that the support which England gave to the French constitutional monarchy in the first years of its existence, was most valuable. Had it not been for England, there would have been, in 1831, as in 1814, a general combination against France. As time rolled on, and the King of the French mistakenly thought himself more firmly seated on his throne, his obligations towards England were considered as an incumbrance. He was eager to show to the world that he could pursue an independent course of policy, and that he was not exclusively the ally of England: then came that coolness and divergence which lasted till Lord Aberdeen became Foreign Minister. The conduct of the Oregon difficulty was equally creditable to Lord Aberdeen. This question had been long a subject of controversy. In 1818, 1822, and 1826, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning had both endeavoured to decide the claims of their government. A temporary arrangement had been made in 1818, and, in 1827, was continued for an indefinite period; but the respective rights of England and the United States still remained undetermined. Lord Aberdeen did wisely in attempting a final settlement of the dispute. To leave such questions open for so many years, and to suffer them to recur, from time to time, in a more formidable form, was a policy not creditable to statesmen. The territory in dispute was then, comparatively speaking, of little value. Since the discovery of gold in California and Victoria, the navigation of the river Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and the harbours on the shores of the Pacific, have become important. It was well the question was settled when it was. Lord Aberdeen was firm; Lord Palmerston would not have been firmer.

For the Chinese war it is difficult to say who is responsible. Lord Aberdeen, however, has the merit of the peace. It must be remembered that Lord Palmerston had forwarded instructions to Captain Elliot, stating that "her majesty's government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts."

Out of office Lord Palmerston amused himself and the House, on more than one occasion, with a review, *à la* Lyndhurst, of the events of the session.

In 1842, he sarcastically moved for a return of "the names and titles of all the public bills that had been brought into the House of Commons during the present session of parliament; the date at which the order for bringing in each bill was made; and also the dates at which the said bills passed through their several stages." He made a most amusing speech, from which we can only present a few extracts:—"He hoped that the Duke of Wellington would add another wreath to the laurels that graced his brow (alluding especially to his grace's complicity in Catholic emancipation), and confer commercial emancipation upon his country also." He then referred to the disappointment which the rank and file of the Tory party felt, when they discovered that their leaders had no sooner comfortably seated themselves in the Downing Street arm-chair the year before, than they proceeded to adopt free-trade measures. "Alas!" he said, "how vain is human wisdom, how short the foresight of even the wisest men! When a few months passed over their heads, the songs of triumph were changed into cries of lamentation. The very parties whom they had selected to be their chosen champions—the very guardians whom they had armed with power for their defence, turned their weapons upon them, and most inhumanly, and with unrelenting cruelty, struck blows, which, if they have not already proved fatal, must, in all probability, lead sooner or later to their utter extinction."

How prophetic this was, the triumph of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the disruption of the Tory party, only four years later, sufficiently proved. And then, still further to irritate the squires and "farmers' friends" on the back benches of the Speaker's right hand, he showed them that Peel's growing conversion to free-

trade principles must have been no sudden thing, but the result of long meditation and gradual development of opinion.

"It is not to be supposed that her majesty's ministers applied themselves, between the 3rd of September, when they entered office, and the 3rd of February, when parliament met, to the study of Adam Smith, Ricardo, M'Culloch, Mill, Senior, and other writers of the same kind. No; it is clear that the opinions which they have so well expounded in the present session have been the result of long meditation, of studies deliberately pursued during the long years of comparative leisure, which even the most active opposition affords; and that they must have come into power fully imbued with all the sound principles the enunciation of which has excited so much admiration on this side of the House. In one respect the conduct of right honourable gentlemen opposite is open to animadversion. The right honourable baronet opposite (Peel) accused me, upon a former occasion, of too much assurance; now I am not going to retort that charge, but to complain of his over-modesty. I complain of the over-modesty of the right honourable baronet and his colleagues on this—that upon many occasions when, they being out of power, matters came under discussion in this House, to which the principles they have lately arrived at were fully and plainly applicable, their modesty (for it was that, no doubt) prevented them from doing themselves full justice, inasmuch as, by practising an over-scrupulous reserve, they really conceal from the public the progress they have made in their studies."

Lord Palmerston then proceeded to reply to Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), who charged the late government, and especially the late Foreign Secretary, with having created embarrassments for their successors in every part of the world. To this, Lord Palmerston replied, that he considered Stanley a good enough off-hand debater, but no more. He reminded him of a celebrated minister of a foreign country, who was giving instructions to one of his agents as to the language he should hold with regard to the conduct of another government. The agent, having listened to the instructions, ventured, in a submissive manner, to insinuate that the language he was ordered to hold was not, perhaps, strictly consistent with the facts—nay, indeed, might be said to be rather at variance with facts. The answer was—"Never mind what it is about; it is a very good thing to say, and mind you say it."

The noble lord was in a similar condition, speaking of facts with respect to which he was wholly misinformed.

"I had, indeed, hoped," he continued, "that in regard to foreign affairs, it would be admitted that we had bequeathed only facilities to our successors (a laugh from the ministerial benches.) What! do you laugh at that? Why, you have been absolutely living upon our leavings. You have been subsisting upon the broken victuals left upon our table. Gentlemen opposite remind me of nothing so much as a pack of people who have made a forcible entry into a dwelling-house, and sat down to carouse on the leavings in the larder. Hardly a month, nay, hardly a week, has passed, since the commencement of the session, without ministers bringing in some measure which, they have acknowledged, was proposed by their predecessors."

Palmerston thus concluded:—"In regard to home affairs, he found the prospect was rather cheering than otherwise. Government was pledged to the principle of free trade; they could not recede—they could not stand still—they must go on; and if they should be deserted by any powerful body of their own friends, they would have the cordial support of the opposition in their march of improvement. As to foreign affairs, he looked with considerable apprehension and fear to a government acting upon a system of timidity, apathy, and of compromise. Whether it be in reference to the King of Hanover, or to the French fishery commissioners, or to the United States, or to Akbar Khan, they seemed to be prepared to act on a system of submission; but in that course they would be jealously watched by the same opposition."

The Spanish marriages were not effected till Lord Palmerston had returned to power; but the intrigues connected with them had been carried on long before. It was evidently the scheme on which Louis Philippe had set his heart. At first, M. Guizot assured Lord Aberdeen of the willingness of the French government to co-operate with England in the marriage of the infanta. In 1842, Guizot informed the British government, that France would not consent to any prince but one of the House of Bourbon marrying the Queen of Spain. England did not, in any manner, attempt to interfere in the choice of the Spanish Court: yet surely if any government had an excuse for interfering with the marriage of the Queen of Spain, it was that of England; for, had it not been for England, her majesty might never have worn her diadem. Lord Palmerston had exposed himself to much obloquy, and even put to hazard his own position in the English cabinet, for the purpose of supporting the constitutional cause in Spain. In 1846, it was the object of M. Guizot to make out that there was a marked difference between the policy of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston on these Spanish marriages. He wished to imply that the Foreign Secretary of the Peel government fully admitted the principle, that none but a Bourbon should aspire to the hand of the queen; and that it was only when the Whig ministers returned to power that any difficulty arose. The real truth is, that Lord Aberdeen, if personally more inclined to be complaisant than Lord Palmerston, was equally sound with the latter on this subject.

At Eu, as we have already seen, the French king had a keen eye to business, and was thinking of the Spanish match; the more so, as Lord Aberdeen, since Guizot's hint, had been very reserved on the matter. The common opinion is, that it was decided, between the Foreign Secretaries of the two governments, that France should abstain from proposing one of the sons of the king for the hand of the Queen of Spain; and that England should not put forth a prince of the House of Coburg. It was Maria Christina, and not any English minister, who caused the Prince of Coburg to be seriously regarded as a candidate. She cordially hated her two nephews; and her first wish was, that the queen should have for her husband one of the sons of King Louis Philippe. When she was, with difficulty, made to comprehend the impolicy of this, she began, with the same importunity, to demand the Prince of Coburg. Louis Philippe took the alarm. The match-making propensities of these two intriguers were fully aroused; the discredit which ensued must be cast on Guizot, rather than on Aberdeen. His conduct was scrupulously just. He positively prohibited the English ambassador from taking any steps to advance the interests of the Prince of Coburg, in opposition to France; and, on the other hand, he assured the Spanish ambassador, that though Spain had strong reasons for choosing a consort for their sovereign from the Bourbon family, yet, should the Spanish government and the queen decide otherwise, they might count on the sympathy and support of England, against any attempts that France might make to interfere with their independence.

In the September of 1845, Queen Victoria, when returning from Germany, paid the Emperor of the French a short visit. The marriage of the Queen of Spain and the infanta was again discussed; and Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot arrived at a settled agreement. The fear lest the Prince of Coburg should gain the support of England, caused the king and his Foreign Secretary to pledge themselves, that in the event of the Duke of Montpensier being the accepted suitor of the infanta, their marriage should not take place until all danger of the two crowns of France and Spain being united in the family of Orleans had been obviated by the birth of an heir to the throne. The conference of the two statesmen was most friendly. Lord Aberdeen was frank and sincere. From that time all reasonable suspicion of England acting contrary to France, had Louis Philippe really desired a fair and honourable course, ought to have been set at rest.

It is the curse of crooked and crafty policy that it degrades every one connected with it; that it renders it impossible for the man who is guilty of it to trust another.

Notwithstanding Lord Aberdeen's word of honour, Guizot's suspicions were again awakened by his agent; and Lord Aberdeen was distinctly informed, by the French ambassador, that if the name of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg continued to be mentioned in Spain as that of one of the candidates for the hand of either of the Spanish princesses, France would consider herself free from the obligations she had contracted to England, and would press the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the queen. Lord Aberdeen assured him that he might make his mind easy, for that England had no wish to propose the Prince of Coburg. The French minister, in direct violation of his engagement with England, and while Lord Aberdeen was yet in power, sent positive instructions to M. Bresson to propose the Duke of Montpensier as the husband of the queen or infanta.

M. Guizot's own words, when defending himself in the Chamber of Peers, in the session of 1847, are enough to prove his duplicity, and that, six months before Lord Palmerston returned to office, he had resolved, if he could not have his own way altogether, of breaking with England. "Shortly afterwards," said he, "the name of the Prince of Coburg having been put forward by an eminent person in Spain, I felt alarmed, and wrote to Lord Aberdeen, who replied that I might rest perfectly reassured, and that I had nothing to fear on that side. M. Bresson, however, insisting that an intrigue was on foot to favour a Coburg candidate, I wrote to him on the *10th of December*, 1845, to be on his guard; and, as the arrangement was contrary to the doctrine maintained throughout the affair by France, to defeat the pretensions of the Prince of Coburg by all the means in his power, and to propose the Duke of Montpensier, either for the hand of the queen or the infanta." Yet, in the face of this, Guizot maintains that he and Lord Aberdeen were as one.

Guizot endeavours to acquit himself of the charge made against him of double-dealing. He says—"On the 13th of May, 1843, I wrote to the Count de St. Aulaire. Sir Robert Peel, expressing the opinion of her majesty's government, stated to the House of Commons, on the 5th of this month, that 'they considered Spain was entitled to every right and privilege which belongs to an independent state; and that the Spanish nation, speaking through its regularly constituted authorities, were the exclusive judges of what alliance should be formed by their sovereign.'

"What is the import of this declaration? Does it really seem to say all that it seems to say? Does it signify that, whatever may be the matrimonial alliance that the queen and the legislature may think proper to contract, even if it should be with a French prince, the English government will not interfere, and will not consider itself entitled to oppose it?

"If this is actually Sir Robert Peel's intention, we have nothing to say; and his words, taken in this sense, and with this construction, would, perhaps, greatly simplify the position of Spain, and our own position also.

"But if Sir Robert Peel, while proclaiming the complete independence of Spain in respect to the choice of a husband for the queen, nevertheless persists, in reality, in excluding the French princes from this choice, and in maintaining that England would have a right to oppose, and would actually oppose, such a selection, the greater the respect I entertain for Sir Robert Peel, his character and words, the more I feel myself entitled to be astonished.

"From the first moment that I took part in this question of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, I have made it my duty to bring the most entire frankness into all that I might say or do on the subject. I was aware of the prejudices and mistrusts I should meet with on the road. I was desirous at once to exclude all pretext for either. We have been told, I said, that England excluded our princes from the chances of marriage to Queen Isabella. We replied by excluding, in our turn, all princes not of the blood of Bourbon. I am not, at the moment, discussing either declaration. Ours was made by the same right as that of England, and is based on motives of the same nature.

"In bringing it to the knowledge of the great European powers—in stating it at the tribune of our Chambers, I did an act of loyalty towards Spain, towards England, towards Europe. I wished that every one, everywhere, should know beforehand, and clearly, what would be the policy of France in this great question. In reality—and every sensible man has only to reflect a moment, in order to be convinced of this—we did not thereby make any attack on the independence of Spain. The Spanish nation, their queen, their government, their Cortes, are perfectly free to do whatever they may please about the question of marriage: but states, like individuals, are free only at their own risk and peril; and their will cannot bind that of their neighbours, who, in their turn, are also free to act in accordance with their own interests. To state beforehand, and openly, what attitude one will take, what conduct one will pursue, if such and such an event occurs in a neighbouring country, is imprudence, unless one is resolved firmly to adopt that attitude and course of conduct; but if one is so resolved, it is loyalty to own it."

Guizot continues—"On the 27th of February, 1846, I addressed to the Count de St. Aulaire the following memorandum, which he communicated to Lord Aberdeen on the 4th of March:—

"'I. The principle which we have maintained, and which the English cabinet has accepted as the basis of our policy with regard to the marriage of the Queen of Spain, is becoming very difficult, and uncertain of application. This is, at present, the position of the princes who are descended from Philip V., and who aspire, or may aspire, to the hand of the Spanish queen.

"'The Prince of Lucca is married.

"'The Count de Trapani is greatly compromised—first, by the outbreak that has occurred against him; secondly, by the fall of General Narvaez.

"'The sons of Don Francisco de Paula are greatly compromised—first, by their own false steps; secondly, by their intimacy with the Radical party, and the antipathy with which they are regarded by the Moderate party; thirdly, by the ill-will of the queen-mother, and the young queen herself.

"'The sons of Don Carlos are for the present, at least, impossible—first, on account of the openly-proclaimed opposition of all parties; secondly, on account of their formally-declared exclusion in the constitution; thirdly, on account of their own tendencies, which have always been far remote from the conduct which alone could give them some chance.

"'The actual position of the descendants of Philip V., in the question of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, has therefore become bad.

"'II. I might say much on the causes of this circumstance. I will refer, however, only to two points.

"'1. We have constantly manifested a favourable disposition towards all the descendants of Philip V., without exception. We have said, over and over again, to Queen Christina herself, that the infantes, sons of Don Francisco de Paula, suited us very well. We have done what was in our power to render possible the infantes, sons of Don Carlos. If we have specially seconded the Count de Trapani, it has been because his success appeared to us more probable than that of any other candidate, on account of the good-will of Queen Christina, and of the young queen, towards him.

"'2. The English cabinet has lent us no active and efficient co-operation in respect of the Count dé Trapani. It has maintained a cold neutrality, and its inertia has left a free course to all the hostilities and all the intrigues, both of the Spaniards and also of the inferior English agents, whom its open and active concurrence would have restrained.

"'III. Whatever may be its causes, the fact that the difficulties of the marriage of Queen Isabella to one of the descendants of Philip V. have increased, is indisputable.

"'And, at the same time, very active efforts are being made, and at this

moment with redoubled vigour, to marry Prince Leopold, of Coburg, either to Queen Isabella or the infanta, Dona Fernanda.

"'The Court of Lisbon is the seat of this intrigue. The Spanish and Portuguese newspapers and correspondence clearly reveal it.

"'It is affirmed, that Prince Leopold, of Coburg, who was to have left Lisbon on the 24th of February for Cadiz, Gibraltar, Algiers, Malta, and Italy, will, either secretly or publicly, pay a visit to Madrid. Many circumstances render this statement credible.

"'IV. We have been, and we wish to continue, very faithful to the policy which we have adopted, and the engagements into which we have entered with regard to the marriage both of Queen Isabella and of the infanta, Dona Fernanda.

"'But if the present state of things is prolonged and developed, we may suddenly find ourselves in a position in which we shall be—

"'1. Placed under the pressure of an absolute necessity to act, in order to prevent our policy from receiving in Spain, by the marriage of either the queen or the infanta, a check to which we could not submit.

"'2. Free from all engagements in regard to both marriages.

"'This is what would occur if the marriage, either of the queen or of the infanta with Prince Leopold, of Coburg, or with any other prince not of the blood of Philip V., were to become probable or imminent.

"'In that case we should be liberated from all engagements, and free to act immediately to ward off the blow, by demanding the hand either of the queen or of the infanta for the Duke de Montpensier.

"'V. We sincerely and earnestly desire that matters may not come to this extremity.

"'We see only one means of preventing it; and that is, that the English cabinet should unite actively with us—

"'1. To set afloat again one of the descendants of Philip V.—no matter whom—the Duke of Seville, or the Duke of Cadiz, as well as the Count of Trapani; and to prepare the way for his marriage with Queen Isabella.

"'2. To prevent the marriage of the infanta, either with Prince Leopold, of Coburg, or with any other prince not descended from Philip V.

"'We think that, by the common and decided action of the two cabinets, this twofold object may be attained. And we consider it a duty of loyalty to give notice to the English cabinet, that otherwise we might find ourselves forced and free to act as I have just indicated.'"

Such are the documents Guizot puts forward in vindication of himself. The bad faith shown in the transaction is the fault of Spain, and of Spain alone. France was tempted, and fell. "We did nothing," he repeats: "we acceded to every combination that could present itself within the circle of the descendant of Philip V. We did not press the solution of the question. Even in 1846 we would willingly have postponed it, in order, also, to postpone the complications which we saw would inevitably arise from it; but the whole Spanish government—the cabinet, the queen-mother, the Cortes—would not allow any further postponement: it was their firm determination to have, for the marriage of Queen Isabella, as it was stated, a powerful patron—either France or England; and to compel both those countries to desist from tergiversation and delay."—"The count has expressed to me," wrote Sir Henry Bulwer to Lord Aberdeen, on the 12th of July, 1846, "the necessity of the marriage question being settled without loss of time." Lord Palmerston, who had then been reinstalled in office, replied—"The candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain are now reduced to three—namely, the Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, and the two sons of Francisco de Paula. * * * * As between the three candidates above mentioned, her majesty's government have only to express their sincere wish that the choice may fall upon the one who may be most likely to secure the happiness of the queen, and to promote the welfare of the Spanish nation."

The means employed by the French government to induce the Spanish Court and ministry to act in complete subservience to the views of King Louis Philippe, were the very best in the world. Of the two sons of Don Francisco de Paula, Don Enrique was considered the most capable: for this reason he was less approved of than the other by France, as the future consort of the young and inexperienced queen. Both Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston had given the preference to Don Enrique; and M. Guizot had made a show of inviting Lord Aberdeen to unite with France in recommending his pretensions. The Moderado party and Queen Christina were then omnipotent at the Spanish Court; but Don Enrique had placed himself at the head of the Progresistas, and his success would probably bring about a change of government. Letters were shown by M. Bresson, the representative of the French government, to the queen-mother, and to the Moderado ministers, implying that France and England had now agreed to support Don Enrique. The resolution of the queen-mother and her political friends was soon taken. They determined—as M. Bresson well knew they would—to marry the queen to the rival brother; and to prevent Don Enrique from being proposed for the hand of the infanta, made it a condition—as M. Bresson well knew that they would—that the marriage of the infanta with the Duke of Montpensier should be solemnised at the same time. Thus was this game of perfidy and intrigue played out.

Lord Aberdeen maintained that his policy was, in this matter, the same as that of Palmerston. In a letter to Guizot on the 16th of September, 1846, he says, after all that had been said and written, he could see no difference on the question between Sir Robert Peel's government and the succeeding ministry. The difference was objective rather than subjective, if we may be allowed such a phrase. Lord Aberdeen was considered, by Guizot and Louis Philippe, as more likely to be made a dupe or a tool. They knew Lord Palmerston to be unmanageable. In many ways they found his lordship determined and unbending when the honour or the interests of England were concerned.

As early as 1843, Mr. Raikes writes from Paris to the Duke of Wellington—"I can know nothing of cabinet secrets, but I see growing sympathies around me, that Louis Philippe will be allowed to have his own way in Spain, and that the fear of war will check foreign interference. The altered language of the king would be sufficient to encourage this opinion. I believe he now talks more openly of the marriage, and descants on the benefits which must accrue to France by a renewal of the family compact as it existed during the time of Louis XIV. He must, nevertheless, be blinded by ambition, or he never would compare the despotic era of that period with the revolutionary time in which we live. Supposing even that he may be allowed to reap the fruits of his duplicity, he may find, to his cost, *qu'il a lancé une bombe qu'il ne peut pas diriger.* I was mentioning this subject yesterday to Lord Cowley, who then showed me the heads of a treaty which he signed with Spain just before he quitted his post as ambassador to that Court; which, among other articles, particularly stipulated that, in the relations between France and Spain, no attempt should ever be made to renew the family compact. Appended to this was a note, that when the document arrived in Paris, and was made public, that article had been suppressed by the express directions of M. de Talleyrand!" So much for Louis Philippe's regard for existing treaties.

The man whom Louis Philippe sent to Madrid was just the one for his dirty work. He is thus described by Mr. Raikes:—"Bresson is the man who was secretly employed by Louis Philippe at Brussels, on the formation of the kingdom of Belgium, to intrigue for that crown for the Duc de Nemours. When the plot was discovered, and discountenanced by the powers, Louis Philippe disowned any participation in it himself, and laid all the responsibility on his servant, who pleaded guilty to the charge, and exonerated his master. He has since been sent minister to Berlin."

The English government, all the while, were doing all they could to uphold the arch intriguer. "We," writes the Duke of Wellington to Paris, in 1844,

"here, as individuals, are making every sacrifice in order to avoid the imputation of being promoters of the design to disturb the government of King Louis Philippe, or having even the appearance of entertaining such a wish." In a letter, a little while after, the duke, with his usual sagacity, hinted at the true difficulty as to a good understanding between France and England. He writes—"It will be extraordinary if the governments of these two countries can continue long in harmony; the ministers in each of them being daily cited, examined, cross-examined, in a criminating tone, by the most acute individuals in the chambers of parliament in each country, upon every word that is said by one minister or another. Yet this is the favourite modern constitution of government for mankind." Well might Lord Cowley, in noticing the discussion and angry feeling created by the Tahiti affair, write to the same correspondent as the duke addressed—"I cannot help thinking (between ourselves) that our ministers would have done better if they had declined giving any answer to the questions that were put to them. These interpolations are never made, either here or in England, for any other purpose than to embarrass the government; and when Palmerston was in office, he seldom condescended to answer any question which was put to him upon transactions connected with his department."

We see how Louis Philippe served his friends. The Earl of Aberdeen trusted the king's word: Lord Palmerston did the same. We had a right to complain of the manner in which we had been treated; and to remonstrate against the match, on account of its possible and probable political consequences. "If," wrote Mr. C. Grenville to Mr. Raikes, "Louis Philippe thinks it worth while to conclude this alliance, and does not mind offending us, we certainly have no alternative but to submit; for, most assuredly, this country will not go to war with France for any such cause; and if we are not prepared to do anything, the less we say the better. On the other hand, we cannot be altogether silent, and refrain from expressing our opinion of the transaction.

"Accordingly, Lord Palmerston has made a remonstrance, and such a one as he ought to make. It is calm, temperate, and dignified. He knows well enough that Louis Philippe has gone too far to recede; and, as we do not mean to quarrel with France, it is wiser to couch our remonstrance in terms which may leave our international relations ostensibly on the same footing as heretofore."

Thus, it appears, Palmerston's conduct in this affair was not that of a political incendiary. "Abroad," writes Guizot, "the policy of Sir Robert Peel was, maintaining or restoring peace, and friendly relations all over the world." If, on the return of Lord Palmerston to power, there was any ill-feeling between England and France, the fault was exclusively—not Lord Palmerston's, but that of Guizot and his master.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WAR IN SCINDE AND THE PUNJAUB; THE ANNEXATION OF OUDE.

INDIA was not fated to be long at peace.

One would have thought, after the vindication of our honour in Afghanistan, we had had enough of war.

Lord Ellenborough had issued a proclamation, stating, "that the unparalleled disasters of the former year had, in one short campaign, been avenged upon every scene of past misfortunes; and the capture of the cities and capitals of Ghuznee and Cabul had again attached the opinion of invincibility to tho British arms." He added—"The British army, in possession of Afghanistan, will now be with-

drawn to the Sutlej. The Governor-general will leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government, amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes." In another paper, his lordship indulged in language which was severely criticised at home. The princes, chiefs, and people of India, were told—"Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan; and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mohammed looks down on the ruins of Ghuznee. The insult of 800 years is at last avenged: the gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, have become the proudest record of your national glory—the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus."

Immediately before the commencement of operations in Afghanistan, a body of British troops had been sent to occupy Kurrachee, a port in Scinde, near the mouth of the Indus; and a treaty was entered into with the ameers of Scinde, which bound them to afford assistance in the prosecution of our views.

Of course the treaty was not kept—the ameers had suffered some pecuniary loss by it. They had been obliged to renounce their transit duties on merchandise; and, as yet, they had seen nothing of that hundred-fold benefit which had been promised them in the treaty. Moreover, only some of the chiefs had entered into it; and all of them were excited by the apprehension that the English intended to dispossess them of their hunting-grounds, which lie along the banks of the Indus; and which, besides being the chief source of their amusement, were far more profitable to them than any trade up and down the river was likely to be for some years to come. Lieutenant Eastwick, assistant resident in Scinde, said to Noor Mohammed, the most powerful of the ameers, who complained that he saw no good to be derived from the presence of the British army—"As to the benefits resulting from the introduction of a British force, they are clear and palpable. Employment will be given to thousands. A vast influx of capital will encourage commerce and manufactures; and money will eventually find its way into the treasuries of your highness. The Indus, now so barren, will teem with vessels; jungles will yield to the plough; and prosperity succeed to decay and depopulation." To these fine words, Noor Mohammed replied—"All this may be very true; but I do not understand how it concerns *us*. What benefit do we derive from these changes? On the contrary, we shall suffer injury; our hunting preserves will be destroyed, our enjoyments curtailed. You tell us that money will find its way into our treasury. It does not appear so: our contractors write to us that they are bankrupts, and have no means of fulfilling their contracts. Goats, camels, are all absorbed by the English troops. Trade is at a stand; pestilence has fallen upon the land. You talk about the people. What are the people to us, poor or rich? What do we care if they pay us our revenue? You tell me the country will flourish. It is quite good enough for us, and not so likely to tempt the cupidity of its neighbours. Hindostan was rich, and that is the reason it is under your subjection. No! Give us our hunting preserves, and our own enjoyments free from interference, and that is all we require."

These Scinde ameers were brave, over-confident, and vain; unable to restrain their own people, and much less the armed retainers of their neighbours. They boasted that the English had been compelled to eat dirt. Of course they broke the treaty. Sir Charles Napier was sent to conciliate them, and to make another.

Sir Charles—one of a family of heroes—was an officer who had seen much service, and was appointed, by Lord Ellenborough, to command the army destined to act against Scinde. Napier found those he had to lead repining, in the belief that the weapons in their hands were inferior to those opposed to them. Having satisfied himself that the apprehension was groundless, he took an early opportunity of disabusing his men by inviting an admirer of the matchlock to produce a Mahratta piece equal to a contest with the musket. He practised with some sepoys till he discovered which was the best shot, and then daily exercised himself with that man. They were thought nearly equal; the camp

became interested in the question; bets were made; the partisans of each weapon were fairly pitted against each other, and the minds of the soldiers were fully occupied with the match, as Napier expected would be the case. At the end of two months the desired result was completely attained, and the owner of the matchlock admitted that he could not win. In the language of Sir Charles, the matchlock was laughed at, and the musket got its place again.

The final order of the Governor-general, dated the 26th of August, 1842, directed Sir Charles Napier to assume the command of the troops in Scinde and in Beloochistan, and gave him entire control over all the political agents and civil officers. He was instructed to keep possession of Kurrachee; and informed that, if the ameers, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs, it was the Governor-general's fixed determination never to forgive the breach of faith, and to enact a penalty which should be a warning to every chief in India. Sir Charles embarked from Bombay, on the 3rd of September, for Scinde; and after a deplorable voyage of a week's duration, reached Kurrachee, where, a few days after, he had the misfortune to receive a severe wound from the bursting of a rocket. It tore the calf of his right leg open to the bone; but neither the bone itself, nor the great artery, was injured. Tho wound was instantly stitched up and dressed; and then a life of temperance, aided by a patient spirit of endurance, was repaid by a surprising cure. In four days he was out of his tent; the fifth saw him free from fever, on horseback, travelling with an escort of wild troopers towards Hyderabad. The whole life of Napier had been a series of painful mishaps and fortunate escapes. In infancy he was snatched, when at the last stage of starvation, from a vile nurse. While a boy, attempting a dangerous leap, he tore the flesh from his leg in a frightful manner. A few years after he fractured the other leg. At the battle of Corunna, struggling with several French soldiers, he received five terrible wounds; and but for the aid of a generous French drummer, would then have been killed. He was made a prisoner; and his fate being long unknown, he was mourned for as dead by his family. In the battle of Busaco a bullet struck his face, and lodged behind the ear, splintering the articulation of the jaw-bone; and with this dreadful hurt he made his way, under a fierce sun, to Lisbon, more than a hundred miles! Returning to France, after the battle of Waterloo, the ship sunk off Flushing, and he only saved himself by swimming to a pile, on which he clung till a boat carried him off, half drowned. "Now escaping cholera and a second shipwreck," writes his brother, the celebrated historian, "off the Indus, and marvellously recovering from the stroke of that unlucky rocket at Kurrachee, he was again on horseback, and hastened to conduct, with matchless energy, a dangerous war. Neither age (he was now sixty-one years old), nor accident, nor wounds, had quenched his fiery spirit; but how the spare body, shattered in battle, and worn by nearly fifty years' service in every variety of climate, could still suffice to place him amongst the famous captains of the world, is indeed a mystery."

In a letter to Mr. Roebuck, Sir W. Napier thus gives a condensed view of the operations of his brother, Sir Charles. After referring to his marvellous escapes, he continues—"However, he reached Sukhur safely, and soon afterwards had an interview with the ameers. Now commenced his diplomacy.

"He found the politicals had been playing a ridiculous game, which they and the old Indians called knowing the people; and allowing the ameers to infringe their treaty—a treaty, observe, forced upon them by Lord Auckland, when Keane's army was about Hyderabad;—to infringe this treaty, I say, in the most open manner, until they could no longer remain quiet: then a blustering interference, and pull of the curb; from the ameers, pardon, submission, promises: renewed indolence on the part of the politicals; renewed infringement; then the curb again, and so on. This, he told the ameers, he would not suffer: they disbelieved him, and went on; but he pulled them up at once beforo Lord Ellenborough. 'Now,' he says, 'I say nothing of the justico of Lord Auckland's treaty. My business was to see it maintained.' And as letters were intercepted from the ameers to the neigh-

bouring powers, proposing a combination to drive the British out of Scinde, Charles sent the draft of a new treaty to Lord Ellenborough. The latter adopted the idea, but altered the terms; and his orders were, to enforce the new treaty. The ameers accepted it without a murmur; but secretly raised troops. These Charles was ordered to disperse; and, under the new treaty, to occupy a certain ceded district on the left bank of the Indus, running up between the river and the desert from Roree, towards Bhawulpore. Now Charles judged that, to disperse the troops, was to hunt a will-o'-the-wisp, because his men were sickly—200 out of 300 strong Irishmen, of the 22nd regiment, down at once, and the other 100 convalescent; himself, also, almost the only man of the army who had not had the fever. Thus he acted.

"He fortified his camp at Sukhur; seized Bukhur, on an island in the river, and Roree on the left bank; then sending his movable columns into the ceded district, he covered them with his position on the left bank.

"In this position he wrote to me as follows:—'You see I have seized what our treaty gives us, and I have covered it with my position. The ameers threaten to attack me from Larkhana. Let them: it will be at their peril; for I can put them all into the Indus. In two hours I could bring on a war; and I believe I am the only man in the army who does not wish for one. If they attack me, I can't help it; but I will shed no blood voluntarily; and all my efforts shall be to prevent the necessity of shedding blood. I will await events in this position; but though they are barbarians, I shall act as cautiously as if they were all French.'

"While in this state, he contrived to draw off the most powerful of the ameer brothers, and bring him into his camp; but, at the same time, a young ameer went off from Hyderabad to the desert with 2,000 men, and fixed himself at Emaumghur—a celebrated fort, which no European had ever reached, and which the ameers believed no European could reach. There he raised the standard of war: and Charles now judged that the best way to preserve peace was to dash after him to the desert, and thus convince the other ameers that no security for them was to be found there. Had he wished for war, he could have fallen on their troops at Durjee, where they are all now collected in mass.

"On the 5th of January, Charles marched into the desert, taking with him the ameer who had come over as a guide. The first day's march was twenty-two miles: water was found, but not enough; and Charles sent back all but 200 irregular horse, 300 British infantry, and two 24-pound howitzers. With these and eighty-eight camels he continued his march for two days more, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day; forage then failed, and he sent back his horsemen, but persevered with his guns and the British infantry—300; the enemy being 2,000, and in a fort. The camels dragged the howitzers over the flat surface; the men dragged them up the hills of sand with a vigour and resolution worthy of Alexander's Agrians; the general working and feeding with them, share and share alike. The country is curious—the sand in ridges, like the sea-shore after certain tides; but, instead of being inches high, the ridges are from 50 to 1,000 feet high. Thus toiling, they marched for four days more; and, on the seventh from the time of starting, reached the fort. The ameer fled, and the fort was destroyed. Charles wrote to me from its ruins thus:—'I marched to give them a lesson upon their desert. I destroy the fort, because it can only serve to give the ameers a post in the desert to oppress their miserable subjects, or to form a base to act against us. To-morrow I march towards either Durjee or Hyderabad; but my marches must be guided by where water is to be found, and that is uncertain. However, I think this blow will secure the quiet submission of the ameers.'

"Having returned to the Indus, he took up a position between Sehwan and Hyderabad, and sent Major Outram to negotiate. I will not say anything against him till I know the facts and instructions; but knowing, as I do, Charles's anxious desire for peace, it does seem strange that Major Outram should remain in the ameers' capital against their orders, and when they had an army there. He

must, I think, have known that such an affront would produce an attack; and that an attack on an enemy must produce war.

"This happened; and Charles, though he had 5,000 men at Sukhur, and in the ceded district behind him, determined at once to march, and attack the ameers (who had 28,000) with his 2,000, only 400 of whom could have been Europeans. He resolved on this daring step, because he felt that the whole country would rise if he retreated; and every one was armed. He marched; and though the enemy were more than ten to one, and skilfully posted, he beat them, after three hours' hard fighting, with a loss of 256 men and twenty-two officers to himself, and of 5,000 to them. Thus every man in his army must have brought down two enemies in fair fight. Soult had nearly 40,000 French veterans at Toulouse; he had fortifications, and a hundred pieces of artillery; and he only knocked over, in seven hours, 4,600 of the allies. Lord Clive, at the age of thirty-two, wavered, and called a council of war, which resolved not to fight: he acquiesced; and it was not till twenty-four hours afterwards that he broke out the hero that he was.

"Charles Napier, at sixty-two, with eight deep wounds in his body, and the weight of forty-nine years' service on his head (for he joined at thirteen years old)—service in every climate—never wavered a moment, and won as great a victory from a far braver enemy. I have seen a letter from an officer in the 22nd queen's regiment, in which he says—'The fighting in the Fulaille was, for three-quarters of an hour, hand-to-hand; the enemy repeatedly rushed among us, and tried to wrench the muskets from our men: one fellow was stabbed in the pit of the stomach; he caught the musket with his left hand, and writhed himself on the bayonet until he reached his assailant, and cut him over the head with his sword.'

"The day after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier, the traitor, came into Clive's camp with 10,000 horsemen, who had taken no part in the battle. The day after the battle at Hyderabad, six sovereign princes came into Charles's camp, and surrendered at discretion, rather than stand the storm he had threatened them with.

"Thus army and fortress went to the ground; and a kingdom is awaiting the decision of Lord Ellenborough, with a treasure large enough to pay Lord Keane's bill." The battle of Meanee had previously been fought.

The conquest of Scinde became the subject of much angry discussion and correspondence—of violent personal altercations, and public denunciations. Sir C. Napier, supported by Lord Ellenborough, was at issue with Major Outram; the Court of Directors refused to recognise Sir Charles's claim to an eighth of the prize property captured at Hyderabad; and Lord Ellenborough himself fell into great disgrace with the Court. Several books have been published upon the subject of the conquest of Scinde, vindicating Sir Charles Napier and the Governor-general; but where violence and vehemence are the characteristics of discussion, it is exceedingly difficult to get at the truth. It suffices to say that the annexation of Scinde is a blessing to the people.

This is apparent if we consider the circumstances of the case. Sir C. Napier writes—"About sixty years ago the Talpoor family conquered Scinde; and ever since that period, oppression and bloodshed have been the practice of the conquerors. The Scindian is a fine, industrious, good fellow: the Beloochee is a fine-looking fellow, but a robber: he stalks about with sword and shield—a brigand, and nothing more. He never works, but robs the Scindian, for his own or his master's profit; and heads go off for the slightest delay. The ameers are turning the whole country into a wilderness for nothing; and the Scindian race is actually being extirpated by these robbers."

Sir Charles, in a letter after the battle, says—"I have ridden over the field; and, beholding the hideous carnage, I asked myself, 'Am I guilty of this slaughter?' My conscience answers, 'No; I did everything I could to avoid it.'"

Sir W. Napier, in a letter to Mr. Roebuck, thus justified the expedition:—

"Justice is a wide word. The people flocked to our camp for protection against the ameers' tyranny. It was abstractedly right to protect them; but international justice—*i.e.*, restricted justice—interfered to prevent this. Well, then, international justice demanded the strict execution of treaties, however unjustly forced by a former governor on the ameers. Lord Ellenborough's necessity was great; danger on every side: they owed him tribute; he offered them remission of tribute for cession of land; and he gave that land to the friend who had the original right to it. He guaranteed their territory on conditions; but they broke those conditions, and were secretly preparing for war. He ordered—not war, but a demonstration. That spark fired the train, and the ameers attacked first; for remember that Emaumghur belonged to Ali Moorad; and he went with Charles, and consented to its destruction. The attack on Outram was the first act of war. At all events, Charles is free from blame. He said, early and truly—'I am here, not to discuss, but to maintain former treaties. If I do not mistake, the secret intercourse with Persia and Runjeet Singh was the only *political* breach of treaty advanced by Lord Ellenborough; the other griefs were all violations of commercial treaties, which were never forced on the ameers: they adopted those treaties voluntarily, and before Lord Auckland's intimidation.'"

The gallantry of Sir Charles and of his army, in 1844, and not till then, received its due tribute of praise in parliament.

Sir W. Napier thus comments on the discussion which ensued:—"Lord Ashley speaks of the harsh tone adopted towards the ameers, when prisoners, by Sir C. Napier. Does he know that they were only prisoners in name? That they were intriguing in Hyderabad, sending emissaries into the country, and encouraging and giving information to Shere Mohammed's army, to enable it to destroy the British? That Sir Charles might justly have ordered them to be killed for their abusing the generosity with which he treated them? They were precisely in the position of Photinus at Alexandria, when he was killed by Cæsar. It is most ungenerous to give this colouring to an act of clemency, and hold up Sir C. Napier to public odium by misrepresenting the real state of the case.

"In a council held before the battle of Meanee, the ameers decided that all men, women, and children, of English race or service, should be collected in one mass, and slaughtered in a heap on the field of battle, after the victory, of which none of them doubted. '*So shall we make it famous.*' But the general, he was to be preserved alive, and to be led, with a ring and chain in his nose, through the streets in triumph. Nuseer opposed this as barbarous. He was overruled, and then said—'Let it be of gold, as more honourable.' 'No,' said Shadad, with an oath, 'of iron, and heavy.' Now, with a full knowledge of this intended barbarity, the general gave them back their swords, each sword worth several thousand pounds, from the jewels studding it. He remained several weeks in a tent, with the mercury at 112°, in artificially cooled places, rather than intrude upon the ameers in their palaces. He threatened them, and justly, when he found they took advantage of his generosity to intrigue with the people about his army, and to hold intercourse with his enemies outside: he might, I say again, by the laws of war, have justly killed them. It is very easy for Lord Ashley to talk about hardships in words, as if the ameers were shut up safely in Dorchester gaol; though even there, I suspect, they would receive, from the visiting magistrates, harsher language, and harsher treatment also, than they had had from Sir C. Napier. But his position, exposed to the underhanded practices of the ameers, was one of infinite difficulty and danger; and none but the highest-minded could have refrained from punishing them, instead of confining harshness to words. I speak advisedly. I know that his position was one of extreme danger; and not even in his battles did he display more firmness than he did at Hyderabad.

"He ungenerous to prisoners! He has not, at this moment, £6,000 in the world, of his own; and yet he gave back, besides the ameers' swords, the swords of 400 minor chieftains, each sword worth from £50 to £300. He

forbore all vengeance for their projected barbarities towards himself and his soldiers, and their women and children; and he bore, with unexampled firmness, their attempts to destroy his army. While nominally his prisoners, though treated by him with all respect due to sovereign princes, I again say he might justly have killed them: they merited death. Let Lord Ashley recollect, that to prevent the women and children's throats being cut—to prevent the cruelty intended to himself (the ludicrous imagery only adds to its shocking character)—Sir C. Napier fought one against twenty, and very hardly won his battle.

"His threats to the ameers, so far from being meant as harshness, were the reverse: he endeavoured, by frightening them, to keep them quiet, that he might not be forced to send them prisoners on board his steamers, to stop their dangerous intrigues."

Well might Sir Robert Peel, in proposing the vote of thanks, February 15th, 1844, remark—"Sir, I say that, in the record of gallant exploits, civil, military, and naval, I am justified in asserting, that there is no name which will stand more conspicuous than the name which is borne by the gallant officer who commanded in the battles of Meance and Hyderabad. * * * * Sir, there is one point to which I am particularly desirous of adverting. If it could be imputed to Sir Charles that he had needlessly brought the British army in contact with the force of the ameers, I doubt whether any praise which we could bestow on his valour, would compensate for the painful reflections to which such a conviction, in his own mind, would give rise. But I think it is impossible to peruse all the papers, and to consider the position in which Sir Charles Napier was placed, without coming to a conclusion, not only that the wisest course which Sir Charles Napier could take was the encountering the enemy at once, without delay; but that if he had pursued any other course, the safety of the army would have been compromised. * * * * In estimating the conduct of Sir Charles Napier, I do not think the chief praise is due to him for military skill or personal valour; I think the chief praise is due to him for the judgment which he displayed in so critical a position. Knowing how fearful might have been the consequences of a repetition of the disaster at Cabul, he had the moral courage, on his own responsibility, to act in opposition to the advice which he had received, and to commit both the army and his own reputation to the fate of war; and it is for the exhibition of moral courage which he made, in determining upon the attack, that I think Sir Charles Napier especially entitled to our thanks."

Sir Charles Napier was named governor of Scinde; and his rule was, in the main, admirable. His first acts were the suppression of slavery, and of the transit duties on the Indus.

Lord Ellenborough, and his military favourites, soon found, or made for themselves, new opportunities of victory. The only remnant of Mahratta power, properly so called, lay with Scindia, whose capital was at Gwalior, at the northern extremity of his dominion. The state was under a child, adopted by the widow of the late sovereign, called the Maharanee. The Dada, Khasgee Walla, who was in power, committed various acts which the British government chose to consider as hostile: amongst other things, withheld a letter addressed to it by the Maharanee. This was treated as a usurpation of sovereignty; the Dada was required to be given up to British authority, and troops were ordered to advance into the Gwalior territories, to protect the person of the Maharajah, quell disturbances, and punish the disobedient. This was in December, 1843.

The Mahrattas, utterly unprepared, endeavoured to gain time by negotiations. However, active hostilities were resolved on. Two armies invaded their territory. Two battles were fought the same day (29th December)—at Maharajpore, by Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough; at Punniar, by General Grey. The forces were more equally matched, in the former, than has been usual in our Indian battles. We had 14,000 men against 18,000; but they had one hundred guns to our forty, and occupied a strongly intrenched position; and their troops were commanded by

Europeans and half-castes. We won the day, as usual, by sheer valour, capturing their guns, which were admirably served, by a rush of infantry. The Mahrattas fought desperately, losing between 3,000 and 4,000 men; we lost 797. Lord Ellenborough was present on an elephant. The last Mahratta power was now crushed. Scindia's army was disbanded, and a British military contingent raised. The expenses of the campaign were paid by the Mahrattas. Order was considered as restored.

In Scinde, Sir C. Napier rooted out the robber Beloochees. He invaded them because they had wantonly, and without the slightest provocation, descended from their mountains upon the territory of Scinde—plundered it, destroyed many villages, and murdered men, women, and children, in the most barbarous manner.

During his expedition, which lasted fifty days, he encountered difficulties of the most oppressive nature. In fact, he had to cross a desert nearly a hundred miles wide, not less desolate and arid, and in a hotter climate, than that of Africa; he had to march his troops, and transport his supplies over it, and then to assail numerous robber tribes, moving amidst stupendous rocks, where more than one imperial army had, in former days, been destroyed, and where, recently, those troops had cut off many detachments. His troops had to dig, day after day, for water: they were constantly on half rations. The Indian newspapers all predicted his defeat, and ridiculed his enterprise as that of a madman: his army, officers and men, brave and enduring to the last degree, obeyed his orders, sustained every fatigue, and bore every privation with unbounded devotion and courage, but had no hopes of a successful termination to their labours. He stood alone in his hopes and resolutions to persevere. His journal testifies of his perseverance and indomitable energy.

"February 1st.—The rascally camel-men (commissariat) have, to the tune of 500, refused to bring provisions beyond Shappoor (this was a place midway in the desert, and the army was then in the mountains, as wild and sterile as the desert), and I am fairly put to my trumps. Well, exertion must increase. I will use the camel corps (a fighting body), and dismount half my cavalry. If need be, I will eat Red Rover (his charger) sooner than flinch before these robbers.

"February 3rd.—I knew I was right. I have intelligence that Beja (the great chief of the tribes), and all his men, are at Munda, a place twenty miles in advance, dying of hunger. Many expire daily. Come, I will wait. Let them fast: in four days the pass will be secure, and then I am at you, Beja, and mean to give you a bellyful! Aye, but there are his women, and behanged to them! I must get them and the children out of the way, even though he escape."

Sir Charles, having resigned the government of Scinde, returned to England. What he had done there may be thus summarised.

When he first set foot in Scinde, he found society without the protection of law. Slavery was widely spread: murder—especially of women—of almost daily occurrence; robbery universal; the only law was that of the strongest.

When he quitted Scinde he left it without a slave. The turbulent Beloochees, whom he had found with sword and matchlock—the licensed robbers and oppressors of the poor—had been compelled by him to shoulder the spade and mattock; and were submissive to a constable's staff.

He had, in short, found a divided population—misery and servitude on the one hand; on the other hand, a barbarous tyranny. He left a united, regenerated people, rejoicing in a rising civilisation—the work of his beneficent genius.

Soon after this, the Court of Directors, in spite of the Board of Control, suddenly recalled Lord Ellenborough. The act appears to have been condemned by Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and public opinion generally. Lord Ellenborough had, no doubt, thwarted and snubbed them in every possible way.

"I have," writes Mr. J. M. Ludlow, "the highest admiration for the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough. Still, it is clear to me that he did but continue that unscrupulous policy which Lord Auckland's underlings forced upon the

latter; and which has helped to bring our empire to the brink of ruin. The unprovoked Gwalior campaign has, I doubt not, been one main cause of the late universal defection of the troops in the northern Mahratta states. In one notable instance he gave an example of that spoiling of our native pensioners which the Indian government has been too apt to practise. It will be recollected that many native princes have been induced to surrender their sovereignty in consideration of a pension. Such pensions being in exchange for perpetual rights of sovereignty, were presumably perpetual ones—just as the Duke of Grafton's annuity upon the post-office, and various others, which have been extinguished in our days. The only way in which ministers, in this country, have ever dreamed of extinguishing the like charges on the public revenues, has been buying them up for a round sum. Not so the Indian government. The pension of the Nawab of Surat was confiscated, apparently, for no other reason than that there were rival claimants to it. In other cases, failure of heirs, under whatever might be our government's own interpretation of laws and treaties, has been a sufficient plea; and any arrears have mostly been confiscated with the pension itself."

Lord Ellenborough's wars allowed him little time or money for internal improvements. He began by stopping the progress of the great Ganges canal; and when, afterwards, he reverted to the subject, directed that it should be primarily a canal of navigation; thus utterly falsifying its main purpose—that of fertilising the soil, and preventing the recurrence of famine. As respects Dacoitee, vigorous measures were taken; but he slackened the work of Thuggee suppression, recalling valuable officers who were employed upon it. As respects Suttee, he expressly declined to sanction an offer made by the *charge d'affaires* at Hyderabad, to procure from its Mahommedan ruler a prohibition of the rite. Still, the impulse to good which had been given under Lord William Bentinck's rule, had not worked itself out. Where good men found themselves face to face with evil, they attacked it. Infanticide, and the tendency to human sacrifice in many parts of the country, were checked.

Sir Henry Hardinge installed himself in his office as peace governor, 23rd July, 1844. He busied himself with railways; encouraged education; formed military libraries. One of his early educational measures is celebrated. A minute of his, 10th October, 1844, promises a preference in every possible case, in the selection of candidates for public employments, to those who had been educated in the government schools, or in those founded by private individuals and societies.

But the state of things was ominous of coming troubles. Several native regiments of the Bengal service mutinied, by the fault, as Sir Charles Napier declares, of Colonel Moseley, of the 64th, who was dismissed the service. In the South Mahratta country a double insurrection broke out—in Sawunt Warree and in Kolapore—arising from the oppression and peculation of a Brahmin, named Dajee, who had been made, by our influence, regent of Kolapore. He was frightened when the warlike hill chiefs of the country flew to arms; but the English agent forbade him to yield while the rebels had arms in their hands: so British troops were called in. Operations, however, were sadly mismanaged. Three hundred wretchedly-equipped men held a hill-fort for weeks. A battery train, which reduced it, took twenty-one days to traverse thirty miles. When, at last, after ten months of desultory skirmishing, the British commissioners offered an amnesty, it was refused. They caught a colonel, and detained him as a hostage for some time, and then foolishly let him go unconditionally. Their chief fort, however, was stormed December 1st, 1844; but the insurgents joined those of Sawunt Warree, who were devastating the Concan; and, being good gunsmiths and good marksmen, kept three brigades at bay for several weeks. At last Outram took the field with a light corps of 1,200 men; and though ill seconded by the regulars, in six weeks cleared the country—the chiefs escaping into Goa, where they were henceforth kept under surveillance. Political agents were placed in Kolapore and Sawunt Warree.

We now come to the story of the Punjaub. North-west of British India is an extensive level plain, through which flow five rivers, having a north-easterly source, and a south-westerly course towards the Indian Ocean. These rivers give to the territory the title of Punjaub, from *punj*, five, and *aub*, waters. Their names are—the Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravee, and the Sutlej. This territory contains a population of from 3,500,000 to 5,000,000 souls, of various races, who are generally comprehended under the denomination of the Sikhs; though, in reality, not more than 500,000 Sikhs are to be found in the whole country. When Alexander the Great invaded India, 328 years B.C., he crossed the Punjaub, and found it occupied by Hindoos of the Buddhist religion. This people continued to hold the country, uninterruptedly, until the tide of Mahommedan conquest, in the tenth century of the Christian era, supplanted them by Mussulman domination. The Mahommedan rule lasted until near the middle of the sixteenth century, when a man of obscure origin, a Hindoo, named Nanuk, began to teach the doctrine of the unity of God, and to acquire respect and renown by practising the austerities of a holy man, and leading a life of abstinence and virtue. In a very short time 100,000 men of all sects had become converts to his theory, taking the denomination of Sikh, from the Sanscrit word *sicksha*, a disciple. Towards the close of the seventh century, the accepted leaders of the Sikhs had formed themselves into a religious and military commonwealth, which became exceedingly formidable to the Mahommedan rulers. Gooroo Govind, the spiritual ruler of the Sikhs, in 1690, gave them the title of *Singhs*, or Lions, which elevated them greatly in their self-respect. The development of the system was singular. Nanuk's doctrine seems to have been a sort of Hindoo Quakerism, inculcating forgiveness of injuries, non-resistance to wrong, tolerance to all worships. It was persecuted, and its votaries grew, by degrees, to be a people of marked warlike character, and the founders of the last great native monarchy. They have abolished caste, although retaining one marked Hindoo peculiarity—respect for the cow. They have holy books (the Adee Grunth), not written like the Vedas, in an obsolete language—the monopoly of a priesthood—but accessible to all classes. They are fanatically devoted to their religion—ardent proselytisers. By the end of the eighteenth century, after manifold conflicts with the Moguls, the Sikhs had managed to obtain possession of several portions of the Punjaub; and subsequently, one of their sirdars, or chiefs, Runjeet Singh by name, continued, either by grant from the Mahommedans, or conquest from the contemporary sirdars, to acquire the sovereignty of the entire country between the Indus and the Sutlej. This was in the early part of the present century. It is believed by well-informed persons, that the Sikhs have yet to play a part in Indian history. At any rate, their deadly antagonism to the Mahommedan rule makes them our allies. Their chief seat of worship, since the subjection of the Punjaub, is a temple in the Deccan, standing in a Sikh *jagheer*, or estate, obtained from a Mussulman sovereign, the Nizam.

Runjeet Singh, as sagacious as he was brave and adventurous, formed, at an early period of his career, a just estimate of the power of the British; and although, for purposes of defence against northern and western frontier foes, he had caused a large portion of his army to be drilled and disciplined by French officers, he always cultivated a good understanding with the English; for he had seen, that the inevitable result of a conflict with that power, was the destruction of the independence of the native state that should provoke its anger. Thus he received and exchanged the visits of the successive Governor-generals; yielded to the suggestion of Lord W. Bentinck, that the navigation of the Indus should be free; and conceded to Lord Auckland facilities for the passage of troops into Afghanistan, and an open communication between Cabul and India, during the occupation of the former country by the British.

After the death of Runjeet Singh, whose genius maintained the peace and independence of the Punjaub, the affairs of the country fell into confusion. Successive Maharajahs, or chiefs, either died from extraordinary accidents, or were

assassinated by rivals at their own Courts. To such a pitch of anarchy had affairs attained, that when, during the minority of Dhuleep Singh (1844), a queen held the regency, the army, in the last stage of insubordination, insisted on being led across the Sutlej, that it might plunder the British provinces. The chiefs had urged Shere Singh, the sovereign, at the return from Cabul, to fall upon us. The British agent in the Sutlej had proposed to march on Lahore with 1,200 men, to restore order. The Calcutta papers teemed with plans for conquering the Punjaub. The Governor-general was willing to use force, if desired by the majority of the Sikhs themselves. The Lahore government was so afraid of its own army, that it deemed the dispersion of it, by means of an English war, its only chance of retaining power. They therefore encouraged it; and shortly after the 17th of November, 1845, the troops began marching in detachments from Lahore, towards the Sutlej. It was long believed that they would not cross it; but, on the 13th of December, Sir Henry Hardinge had positive information that they had done so, and issued a proclamation of war, annexing all Sikh territory on the left bank of the river. Lall Singh, the vizier, and paramour of the queen-mother, wrote to Captain Nicholson, the political agent—"I have crossed with the Sikh army. You know my friendship for the British: tell me what to do." Nicholson answered—"Do not attack Ferozepore. Halt as many days as you can; and then march towards the Governor-general." Lall Singh did so, and Ferozepore was saved. Had he attacked, our garrison of 8,000 men would have been destroyed, and the victorious army (60,000) would have fallen on Sir Henry Hardinge, who had then but 8,000. So utterly unprepared were we, that even this treachery on the part of our enemies, and in our own favour, scarcely sufficed to save us.

Battle was offered before Ferozepore by Sir John Littler, and refused. The commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was, on the 11th, at Umballa. By double marches on alternate days, the troops traversed, with much suffering, 150 miles in seven days, and reached the village of Moodkee on the 18th of December. The British troops were exhausted, and very much inferior in number to the Sikhs, who had 15,000 to 20,000 infantry, and the same number of cavalry, with forty guns. The battle was won, as usual, by us with the bayonet, the British infantry capturing seventeen guns. The loss was nearly 900 killed and wounded, including two generals—one of them Sale, of Jellalabad. But the victors were so weakened that they needed two days before they could march again. Being now reinforced by Littler from Ferozepore, Sir H. Gough, with 16,000 men, marched upon the Sikhs, intrenched at Ferozeshahur, to the number of from 48,000 to 60,000, with 108 heavy guns. The battle begun late in the afternoon of the 21st of December. Again the attempt was made to carry the guns at the point of the bayonet. Before it was wholly successful night fell, and both armies passed the night on the battle-field. The Governor-general placed himself under the orders of the commander-in-chief, and took the command of the left wing. All were exhausted; the sepoys nearly useless from thirst. The Sikh fire was so terrific that the weaker British guns were blown into the air: yet, after a while, the British were masters of the field. All was not over, however. With fresh troops, Tej Singh, the Sikh commander, renewed the attack. The ammunition of the British was exhausted, when suddenly the threatening, or imagined threatening, of cavalry attacks on the Sikh flanks made them desert the field. The English loss, in killed and wounded, was 3,415, or more than one in eight: seventy-eight guns were taken.

A Sikh division threatening Loodiana, Sir H. Smith was sent after it. There was a good deal of able manœuvring, this time, on the Sikh side; and at Buddewal the baggage of the English was cut off, with a loss of about a hundred, killed and wounded. At Aleewal, however, Sir H. Smith attacked the Sikhs, 28th of January, 1846, the forces being very nearly matched—11,000 on the English side, and 15,000 on that of the Sikhs. The village of Aleewal itself was

held for the latter by battalions of hill-men, indifferent to the Sikh cause, and who fled in confusion after a straggling volley. The Sikhs themselves made a gallant resistance; but the English again carried the day, taking the enemy's camp, with forty-two pieces of artillery. All the forts on the left bank at once surrendered. Still the main body of the Sikhs was on the left bank, on British territory, intrenched at Sobraon—their number, 35,000; their lines, however, showing no traces of scientific skill, or unity of design. They were attacked by Sir H. Gough on the 10th of February; the British troops being formed into a semicircular line, instead of a column, so that every shot of the seventy pieces of Sikh artillery told upon them. The fight was most determined; no Sikh asked for quarter. The rout was at last complete; and hundreds perished in crossing the river. The loss on the English side, in killed and wounded, was 2,383.

On the night of the victory, Sir J. Littler crossed the Sutlej; and on the 13th, Sir Hugh Gough, with the bulk of the forces, was thirty-two miles from Lahore: 20,000 Sikh troops still kept together, but without provisions or munitions of war. It was agreed that Golab Singh (one of Runjeet Singh's generals, who was considered a favourite with the British) should go and make terms. They were—the surrender, in full sovereignty, of the Dooab, or mid-river space between the Sutlej and the Beas; the payment of £150,000 for war expenses; the reorganisation of the army—no further force being raised without British consent; the surrender of all guns used against the British; full powers to the Governor-general to regulate both the frontiers and the internal organisation of the country. These conditions were accepted. Dhuleep Singh, the boy-king, came out to meet the army, and was required to submit before he was received. He was conducted to his palace by British regiments, no Sikh soldier being allowed to enter Lahore; and the Governor-general proclaimed his intention of protecting the Maharajah and his subjects. Sufficient money not being forthcoming from the Sikh treasury, Golab Singh—"the most thorough ruffian that ever was created—a villain from a kingdom down to a halfpenny," as Lord Hardinge described him to Sir Charles Napier—paying down £1,000,000, was vested with the sovereignty of Cashmere and the hill states, from the Beas to the Indus, paying tribute to the Company as his suzerain. This scoundrel had conquered Cashmere, some years before, for Runjeet Singh. By his own account, he took 5,000 prisoners; skinned all the chiefs alive; half-skinned the others—that is, so as not to kill them outright—and sent them to die at their villages. The Cashmerians, very naturally, objected to receiving him as their sovereign; and a British force, under Brigadier Wheeler, had to be sent to seat him on his throne. Lall Singh was dismissed; and it was resolved that the government should be administered at Lahore by a council, under British superintendence, during Dhuleep Singh's minority, which was to terminate in 1854.

Beyond this annexation no other took place at this time, except that of the small principality of Mandavee, confiscated on the plea of failure of legal heirs. The Danish settlements were also bought up in 1845.

Thanks, hearty and unanimous, were voted in parliament to Sir H. Hardinge and Sir H. Gough, and the officers. The two former were raised to the peerage. The remainder of Lord Hardinge's rule was peaceful. He greatly reduced the army and the expenditure. His administration, Mr. Ludlow admits, was marked by several useful steps and undertakings. As regards the Sikhs, he was specially cautious and tender. He avoided direct interference with the usages of the people, and recommended a similar course to the native princes. He promoted education by establishing vernacular schools; devoted the revenues, as far as the war would allow him, to public improvements—roads, railway-bridges, &c.; continued the good work of his predecessors, in putting down infanticide and human sacrifices; and so ably managed the finances of the country, that there was no deficit on his departure from India: and that is saying much, considering that, when he arrived, the annual expenditure had exceeded the income by two millions sterling.

In January, 1848, Lord Hardinge was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie.

He had hardly set his foot in England when, to add to the turmoil of the Chartist agitation, and the Irish rebellion, and the continental revolutions, the news was received of the perfidy of Moolraj at Mooltan, and of the murder of two English officers at that place. The East India Company treated this as a partial and insignificant outbreak; but Sir Charles Napier, who had just arrived in England, knew better. Its accounts, received from a trustworthy native correspondent, led him to consider it as very serious. The Duke of Wellington was of a similar opinion. "It is not generally known," writes Mr. H. A. Bruce, the biographer of Sir W. Napier, "that the Duke of Wellington urged upon the East India directors to send Sir Charles Napier at once to India, as commander-in-chief. But that body was not yet reduced, by the necessities of its position, to stomach such a humiliation. The directors told the duke that Mooltan had been represented to them as a very weak place; but the duke had examined the plans with Sir Charles; and when the latter said he should not care to attack it with less than 15,000 men, the duke added—'Ay, and with a covering army besides, to keep the country quiet during the siege.'" Things, however, remained as they were; and Sir Charles, instead of being exposed to the perils of the Sikh cannon, had to encounter those of English feasts (more distasteful to him) for some months longer, until the whole country was startled from its propriety by the battle of Chillianwallah.

The Mooltan affair—the prelude to a terrible disaster—may be thus described:—The hereditary governor of the rich province of Mooltan for the Sikhs—the Dewan Moolraj, a Hindoo of low-caste origin, whose capital was the strongest fort in India—had come to Lahore to resign his government, because, he said, the people would no longer pay him the taxes. A young Bengal civilian, and a lieutenant of the Bengal Fusileers, Vans Agnew and Anderson, were sent to receive his fort from him, accompanied by Sikhs only. Moolraj made no sign of resistance; handed over the keys; let them place sentries. But as they were leaving, unarmed, two of Moolraj's soldiers pushed Vans Agnew off his horse: a scuffle ensued, and, eventually, the two Englishmen were cut to pieces. It appears Moolraj fled at first; but, stimulated by his followers, he turned against the English officers, received the oath of fealty from all his soldiers, and, on Vans Agnew's head being brought to him, reproached the Sikh commander of the escort, who was weeping over it, for his sympathy with foreigners. This happened on the 19th of April, 1848. Vans Agnew had time to write both to the Resident at Lahore and to Lieutenant Edwardes, at Bunnoo. The latter, hurrying to the spot, at least prevented the spread of insurrection. The Sikh government, applied to by the Resident, professed itself unable to coerce Moolraj. Notwithstanding the most urgent representations, Lord Gough, commander-in-chief, and Lord Dalhousie, both concurred in thinking it unwise to move up British troops to Upper India, against one of the hottest places there. Lieutenant Edwardes alone remained to check Moolraj, who, however, did not venture upon an attack. Edwardes raised a body of Mussulmen; was supported by 4,000 Sikhs, under Van Cortlandt, a Sikh officer, who had entered our service, and was promised reinforcements from the Nawab of Bhawulpore. The right bank of the Indus was, by this means, quieted; but to prevent the junction of the Bhawulpore troops, 5,000 in number, Moolraj sent 7,000 men. Edwardes kept him at bay for seven hours at Kenеyree, until Cortlandt's troops came up, when the Mooltanees were defeated with great loss. The allies then marched on Mooltan. Moolraj came out against them with 11,000 men, but was again defeated at Suddoosam.

A change took place in the English force. A respectable officer, General Whish, arrived, and the gallant Edwardes was relieved of his responsible charge. A regular siege was now commenced, and a regular siege-train sent for. Of course there were innumerable delays; but the besiegers were now nearly 28,000, including a body of Sikh troops, under Shere Singh. Before the siege-train arrived, on

the 1st of September, Shere Singh's father, Rajah Chuttur Singh, governor of the Hazareh province, in the north-west of the Punjaub, had revolted; and it was evident that a new Sikh war was impending. A first attack on Mooltan (4th September) failed, with great loss. A second, made on the 12th, pushed the British posts within battering distance, though not without much slaughter on both sides; but, before further operations could be taken, Shere Singh and his troops deserted to Mooltan. This gave the besieged 15,000 men; while the whole force under General Whish was only 20,000, of whom 13,000 were irregulars. The chief engineer reported the attacking force insufficient. The siege, consequently, was raised the 15th of September. On their retreat, our troops were attacked by some of Shere Singh's cavalry, but they were soon dispersed by Cortlandt's guns.

Disasters never come singly. Dangers accumulated, and once more the supremacy of England in India was in jeopardy. In May, a conspiracy had been detected at Lahore; and three of the leaders, including a general, and a confidential agent of the queen-mother, had been executed. She herself was taken to Ferozepore; thence to Benares. There was a combination against the English, in which it was sought to include Dost Mahommed and Golab Singh. The latter gave fair words to both sides; the former raised and marched an army, hoping to recover Peshawur, his ancestral burying-place. In the Hazareh, in Attock, the British political agents could scarcely hold their ground. Shere Singh issued proclamations, appealing to the religious and patriotic feelings of the people, and tampered with our irregulars and Sikh auxiliaries. Peshawur was handed over to Dost Mahommed by Chuttur Singh.

In Mooltan, things went on worse and worse with the British. In November, the latter were besieged by the Mooltaneese; our camp was bombarded for five days: ultimately, the enemy was driven back to the fortress, with the loss of many men, and five guns. For nearly a couple of months nothing more was done.

Meanwhile, the great army of the Punjaub was assembled under Lord Gough. On the 18th of November, the proclamation went forth, that it "would not return to its cantonments until the full punishment of all insurgents had been effected; all armed opposition to constituted authority put down; and obedience and order re-established."

The first affair of the campaign was as senseless as it was disastrous. At Ramnuggur, a cavalry attack was made, by order of the commander-in-chief, on an island and a strongly fortified position. The most gallant charges were unavailing; and General Cureton, a brave soldier, who had risen from the ranks, and other officers, were killed—the total loss being about 230. A more successful, though not decisive affair, was that at Sadoolapore, where General Thackwell attacked, and caused Shere Singh to fall back.

Reinforcements were now sent to Mooltan. A division of the Bombay force, from Scinde, joined the attacking force. Colonel Cheope, who had been at Bhurtpore, was sent as chief engineer. There were now nearly 15,000 regulars, including 300 cavalry, with ninety-seven guns; sixty-seven of heavy irregular cavalry. Moolraj had about 12,000 men. On the 25th of December, the Bengal division resumed its old position, and the siege was commenced on the 27th. Operations were at last vigorously conducted; positions stormed; sallies repelled; the fort shelled: the principal magazine, containing 400,000 lbs. of powder, was blown up, carrying with it the great mosque of the town, and killing 500 men. On the 2nd of January, 1849, breaches were practicable. On the 3rd, the city was won; but the fort remained—Moolraj endeavouring to treat. On the 4th, he surrendered unconditionally. He was eventually tried for the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson; found guilty, though recommended to mercy as the victim of circumstances, and imprisoned for life.

By this time the second Sikh campaign had commenced in earnest. On learning that Attock had been taken notwithstanding a gallant resistance, many Afghans co-operating with the Sikhs, and that Chuttur Singh was advancing to

join Shere Singh, who had between 30,000 and 40,000 men, and sixty-two guns, Lord Gough resolved to attack. The battle of Chillianwallah was, consequently, fought on the 13th of January—a battle which it pleased the commander-in-chief to represent as a complete victory. "If it was," writes Mr. Ludlow, "it certainly was not—thanks to those who directed the battle, crowding up the corps together, and actually placing cavalry in front of horse-artillery—a case, as an old officer, Colonel Hough, drily remarks, 'for which, perhaps, there is no parallel in military history.' The order to charge, and take the enemy's guns, was given at too great a distance; so that the natives, not being able to keep up with the Europeans, one-half of the queen's 24th was killed, with Brigadier Pennycuick, and many officers. The right brigade of infantry had thus to retire; the right brigade of cavalry got into confusion, and, running off in a panic, upset four of the horse-artillery guns behind them in their retreat. The battle raged till night. The English remained in possession of twelve Sikh guns, out of many more that they had captured. The Sikhs, on their side, took five stand of colours, and four English guns. The carnage was very severe, that on the English side amounting to 2,357. If Lord Gough gained a victory, he made but little use of it. For a whole month the armies remained in position. At length, on the 12th of February, the Sikhs retreated."

The news of the battle of Chillianwallah was received in London in March, 1849. It irritated and alarmed the public.

Sir W. Napier pleaded for the heroes who had fallen. In a letter to the *Times*, he asked leave to give the world a statement of the touching circumstances attending the deaths of those intrepid soldiers, Brigadier Pennycuick and his self-devoted heroic son, in the recent battle on the Jhelum; introducing it by a rapid sketch of the general's previous services.

"He entered the army in 1807. His first campaign was in Java, in 1811; and he was wounded severely, having fought so well as to draw forth the public admiration of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and the celebrated Colonel Gillespie.

"In 1811, he was at the storming of Djokji Kerta.

"In 1813, having command of a small detachment, he displayed such skill and courage, defeating an immense body of insurgents, that he obtained the thanks of the commander-in chief, and the government of Java; and the public approbation of the Governor-general of India, Lord Hastings—no mean judge of military merit.

"He fought again, with distinction, in 1814, at the assault of Boni, in the Celebes; and, during 1825 and 1826, he served against the Burmese.

"In 1839, he fought under Sir John Keane and Brigadier Wiltshire, at the storming of Ghuznee and Khelat, and was the foremost man to enter the last-named fortress.

"In 1841, he marched out of Aden at the head of 600 men, and gave a signal overthrow to the Arabs.

"In 1846, he served under Sir C. Napier, in Scinde, and gained the esteem of that general.

"In 1848, he commanded a brigade in the Punjaub, under Lord Gough; and, on the 13th of January, 1849, he died in battle—thus closing a career full of honour with a soldier's death; and, upon his yet warm body, fell his young son, a boy worthy of such a father.

"Let the moving, the painful, but glorious story be simply told.

"The 24th regiment marched, on the 13th of January, against the Sikh army; it was unsupported, exposed to the full sweep of the Sikh batteries, and to the deadly play of their destructive musketry. More than one-half of the regiment went down in ten minutes; the remainder, still stricken by the artillery, assailed by thousands of infantry, and menaced by swarms of cavalry, could no longer keep their ground. The elder Pennycuick had fallen, and two soldiers attempted to carry him while still breathing; but the Sikhs pressed them so

closely, that, unable to contend, they dropped their honourable burden, and drew back. The gallant boy—the son of the noble dead—only seventeen years of age, now first aware of his misfortune, sprang forward, sword in hand, bestrode his father's body for a moment, and then fell across it a corpse.

"Such, sir, is the simple tale of the deaths of that brave old man and his boy; and if it is not sufficient to obtain for them the honest fame for which they fought so well and died so well—if it does not swell the hearts, and moisten the eyes of their countrymen, I know not why general impulses are component parts of human nature."

And the countrymen of Pennycuick and his brave boy, and Cureton, were affected.

A general cry arose, over the length and breadth of the land, for Sir Charles Napier, and was listened to in Leadenhall Street with sullen gloom, but with the consciousness that the time had arrived when the Court of Directors would be compelled to make a practical recantation of their offensive charges against the general. At this time they were particularly sore against Sir Charles, in consequence of a victory he had obtained over them with respect to his share of the Hyderabad prize-money. They had, against all precedent, declared that the general was entitled to receive only one-sixteenth of the whole, in place of one-eighth, which was his proper share. The matter was so clearly an injustice that the Treasury reversed the decision of the Court of Directors, and apportioned to Sir Charles one-eighth. Still smarting from this defeat, they were now called on to undergo a yet greater degradation, in themselves nominating the man they feared and hated to the chief command of their armies. When first proposed to them by the Duke of Wellington, the recommendation was declined. Sir George Napier was suggested, and reluctantly accepted by them. But he "loved his country and his brother too well to step into the place of the best man: he refused." Long was the hesitation, and grievous the faces they made before they could be got to swallow the unpalatable physic, which was prescribed by the unanimous cry of England; but it was done at length, and Sir Charles was named commander-in-chief in India. Even then, however, the ill-will of the directors was manifested by their resolving that the commander-in-chief in India need not necessarily be a member of the supreme council; and that, therefore, Sir Charles should not be so—thus seeking to deprive him of much of his dignity, and of its accompanying emoluments. But, on Sir Charles declaring distinctly that, under such circumstances, he would refuse to go to India, even though he had been appointed commander-in-chief, the directors were obliged to submit, and withdraw their resolution.

And so, in less than a year after his return from India, at the age of sixty-seven, suffering from old wounds, and labouring under an internal mental disease, Sir Charles Napier again quitted his family and country; and, in the words of Thackery, "he took his two towels, and his piece of soap, and his scimitar, and went away to the ship that was to carry him to the sea."

Meanwhile matters were mending in India. The English had been strengthened by Whish's joining with the cavalry, and part of the infantry, from Mooltan. The Sikhs had been unable to effect their purpose of marching on Lahore; but, having been joined by Chuttur Singh and his forces, and by 3,000 Afghans, under a son of Dost Mahommed, they encamped themselves at Goojerat to the number of 60,000 men, with sixty-nine pieces of artillery. We, with 25,000 men, commenced the attack, February 21st.

Victory was on our side, and without that frightful loss of life which was the case at Chillianwallah. Brigadier-General Tennent, commandant of artillery, urged a three-hours' cannonade, and his proposal was carried out. This compelled the Sikhs, with guns of smaller calibre, to fall back. The whole English army now advanced; and, for the first time, the Sikhs fled, thoroughly routed, leaving camp, ammunition, stores, baggage, and fifty-three guns, and were pursued from mid-day until dark. The loss on our side was not much more than 800. Sir Walter Gilbert took

up the pursuit; the English prisoners were recovered; and, finally, at Rawul Pindee he received the surrender of Chuttur Singh, and the whole body of the Sikh army. Forty-one guns were given up, and 16,000 stand of arms, afterwards increased to 20,000. The horsemen were allowed to keep their horses, and a rupee was given to each soldier. In this campaign, 158 guns had been captured, with a loss of about 4,500 men. In the first campaign our loss was 6,250.

Gilbert now pursued the Afghans to the Indus; recovered Attock; crossed the Indus; and, finally, recovered Peshawur, destroying the Sikh cantonment; whilst Dost Mahommed was making a hasty retreat into Afghanistan.

Now comes that doubtful transaction—the annexation of the Punjaub. Dhuleep Singh was an infant: his minority was to end in 1854. We were his declared protectors. On our last advance into the country, we had proclaimed that we had come to punish insurgents, and to put down all armed opposition to constituted authority. We fulfilled that pledge by annexing his whole kingdom within six months. On the 24th of March, 1849, the kingdom of the Punjaub was declared to be at an end; the child, our *protégé*, was pensioned off; all state property confiscated to the Company; and the celebrated diamond, Koh-i-Noor, surrendered to the queen. In other words, we protected our ward by taking his whole territory from him. It reminds us of the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. If it were right to annex the Punjaub, the deed should have been done after the first Sikh war. Then they were the aggressors. We were entitled, having conquered them, to make what terms we pleased: we were under no engagements with the boy-sovereign. Sir C. Napier saw and exclaimed against the blunder; but in vain. Lord Dalhousie's deed of injustice was sanctioned by the British people, and parliament, and crown.

In this matter Lord Dalhousie acted in conformity with his own principles. "I cannot conceive it possible," he wrote, in 1848, "for any to doubt the policy of taking advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength; for adding to the resources of the public treasury; and for extending the uniform application of government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby."

Again Lord Dalhousie writes—"I take this fitting opportunity of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British government is bound not to put aside, or to neglect, such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may, from time to time, present themselves."

Against this particular annexation a warning voice was raised—that of Sir Henry Lawrence. "I am sorry," he wroto to a friend, "that you have taken up the annexation cry. It may now, after all that has happened, be, in strictness, just; but it certainly is not expedient."

Sir Henry Lawrence—although one of the class sneered at by the Napiers as "politicals" (*i.e.*, political agents)—had saved the honour of the British army on a very memorable occasion. After the battle of Chillianwallah, which both sides claimed to have won, Lord Gough proposed to withdraw his army some five or six miles from the scene of action, for the sake of obtaining better fodder for his cattle. Against this Lawrence warmly protested, saying, that if the British fell back at such a time even a single mile, the Sikhs would accept the fact as evidence of our defeat, and take new heart and courage from our retrograde movements. Nay, more—it might be said, from one end of India to the other, that the English had retired, beaten from the contest, in confusion and dismay. These arguments prevailed: the British army remained on its old encamping-ground; and, at the worst, it could only be said that there was a drawn battle.

The Punjaub, as we have seen, was annexed; and its affairs were to be

administered under the superintendence of a Board, of which Sir Henry Lawrence was president: associated with him were his brother, Mr. John Lawrence (then a rising civilian on the Bengal establishment), and Mr. Mansel, of the same service. The task was a difficult one; but it was successfully performed. Since the death of Runjeet Singh, there had been no government in the Punjaub worthy the name. The power of the soldiery was broken; but their presence was a danger: and to reconcile them and the sirdars, or privileged classes, was not an easy task. How well Sir Henry succeeded, his admirers have testified; how hard he worked to carry out the policy ordered, let us hear from himself. He writes to a friend:—

"I have been twice all round the Punjaub, visiting every station, and staying at each a few days. I have not missed one; and though I have not travelled in the usual style of Indian governors, or, indeed, in the style of most collectors, I have managed to see everything, from the bottom of the salt-mines at Pinddadim Khan and Kohat, to Kohat-Ladakah and Ishardt, on Golab Singh's northern frontier. Each year I have travelled three or four months; each day riding usually thirty or forty miles, with light tents, and sometimes, for days, with none at all. Thus I, last cold weather, rode close round all the frontier, visiting every point of interest, and all our posts, small and great; and riding through most of the passes from Huzara, by Yugufzye, Peshawur, Kohat, and the Derajat, down to the Scinde border. Each day we marched fifteen or twenty miles, sending tents on direct to the next ground, and ourselves riding long circuits; or, from the new ground, visiting points right or left. At stations, or where anything was going on, we halted one, two, or three days, visiting the public offices, gaols, bazaars, &c.; receiving visitors of all ranks; inspecting the Punjaub regiments and police; and receiving petitions—which latter was a daily occurrence, sometimes a couple of hundred coming in." Sir Henry was ultimately replaced by his brother John, whose views appear to have coincided more closely with those of Lord Dalhousie.

Another case of annexation occurred at this time—that of Sattara, the deposed rajah of which had died in 1847. In 1848, his brother, who had been set on the throne in his place, died. Both princes had exercised the Hindoo rite necessary for the due performance of obsequies of adopting a son. Our treaties were of the most binding character. One would think, therefore, that the only question as to the succession to the throne of Sattara, would have been as between the adopted sons of the two late princes, as we had guaranteed the rule to the sons, successors, and heirs of the rajah. According to Hindoo law, heirs is a term synonymous with adopted sons. Lord Dalhousie decided otherwise. This matter was a momentous one. Mr. Ludlow writes—"It was the carrying out, on a larger scale, of the fatal precedent of Colaba; the deliberate invasion, for our benefit, of a recognised rule of Hindoo law. There was not a Hindoo family whose property it did not threaten; still less any native sovereign before whose feet it did not open a gulf; and coming, as it did, as the last act of a series of incredible outrages upon justice—for there is not a native in India, nor, I believe, five persons in the world, who believe now that the deposed rajah was guilty—it could not fail to produce the most painful sensation among the princes and people of India. We know that, at the present day, the South Mahratta country is the chief seat of discontent in Southern India. The affections of the people still clung round the rajah's adopted son."

But we must return to Sir Charles Napier. It is well known, that when he arrived in India, the Sikh power had been completely broken by Lord Gough, at the battle of Goojerat. Sir Charles had, consequently, to occupy himself with the ordinary duties of commander-in-chief in time of peace: but the state of feeling among the native troops was very ticklish and uncertain; and more than once, within the few preceding years, there had been indications, and even acts, of mutiny.

By a regulation of the Indian government, sepoy as well as European regiments were entitled to increased pay when serving beyond the frontier of the

British dominions. Under this regulation, the troops stationed in the Punjaub received that increased pay up to the period when the Punjaub was annexed. When that country was declared an integral part of the British Eastern empire, the extra pay was suddenly stopped. And how was it stopped? No account was taken of the feelings of human nature in general, which never willingly accommodate themselves to any diminution of creature comforts once enjoyed. No account was taken of the susceptibilities of the sepoy soldier in particular, which had already, on more than one occasion within Sir C. Napier's own experience, manifested themselves in open mutiny on this very question of reduction of pay. The extra pay was simply stopped by a dry official order, without explanation, without reflection on the danger of tampering with the pay of mercenaries, who, while they were bound by no tie of fidelity but their pay, had many grounds of estrangement in religion, colour, and race;—mercenaries, too, of such power, that when once aroused nothing could restrain them.

Although Sir Charles disapproved—as any man of common sense must have done—this "*modus operandi*," he set himself to enforce the order, and to repress the mischief he feared would result from it. The discontent, as he foresaw, spread widely. Two regiments at Rawul Pindee and Wuzeerabad, in the Punjaub, refused to receive the reduced pay; and an active correspondence was discovered to exist between them and other corps—some of them already in the Punjaub, others under orders to proceed thither.

The 41st native infantry at Delhi, 400 miles from the other malcontents, refused to enter the Punjaub without the higher pay; and it was well known that many other regiments were prepared to follow their example. Sir C. Napier, by dexterous management, checked the disaffection in the 41st, and the regiment marched. But another regiment, the 66th, just arrived from Lucknow, broke out into open mutiny, and actually attempted to seize Govindghur, one of the great fortresses in the Punjaub, which was in the midst of the most disaffected portion of the Sikh population.

The danger was very menacing; yet, by tact and firmness, it was averted. The severest punishment which a government could inflict on a whole regiment, was to disband it; but the disaffected felt sure this measure would not be resorted to, as the discharged soldiers must be replaced, according to immemorial usage, by men of the same race and religion—their brothers and cousins. Indeed, the Brahmins openly boasted that the government could get no soldiers if they chose to stop recruiting.

Sir C. Napier, however, broke through the trammels of Indian routine—disbanded the 66th, and gave its colours and number to a Ghoorka regiment, which thenceforth became the 66th infantry.

By this means he checkmated the mutineers. To have disbanded the regiment, as a salutary measure, would only have been productive of mischief. The sepoys felt sure that the government would not go on playing that game; they could not disband a whole army: but when they found that government was prepared to replace them by men of a different race, they trembled to incur the same penalty as the 66th had suffered, and murmuring was at an end. It should be here mentioned, that the Ghoorkas make far better and braver soldiers than the Bengal sepoys generally.

The Governor-general approved of Sir C. Napier's action of disbanding the 66th; but disapproved of his adoption of the Ghoorkas in their places—the only thing that could give point or efficacy to the measure.

But the real quarrel between Sir Charles and Lord Dalhousie arose as follows:—

Twelve days before the mutiny of the 66th at Ghovindghur, a new commissariat regulation of the supreme government (unimportant in itself) came into operation. This regulation caused the usual allowance made to the sepoys for purchasing their food, to vary with the market-prices of the places where they

were stationed. It happened that its operation in the Punjaub would be to diminish to a very trifling extent indeed, but still to diminish, the pay of the sepoy in that province.

Sir Charles Napier judged that, to promulgate and enforce this ordinance at a time when it was proved, twelve days afterwards, by the Ghovindghur meeting, very serious dissatisfaction existed, would make the smouldering embers of sedition blaze forth, and would be, in fact, an act of judicial madness. It was not the amount; for that was trifling: it was the fact that it was a further reduction made while the sepoys were in an angry and suspicious mood, that constituted the danger.

Sir C. Napier consulted Sir Patrick Grant, adjutant-general in India; Sir W. Gilbert, commanding in the Punjaub; and General Hearsay, commanding at Wuzeerabad. All informed him that the new regulation was unknown to the sepoys; and that to enforce it in the active temper of their minds would be highly dangerous.

Sir Charles, therefore, took upon himself to suspend the operation of this (as yet unknown) measure, until its impolicy could be represented to the imperial government. The whole sum, in value, amounted to but a few pounds.

For thus overstepping his legal powers, Sir C. Napier was, by the governor in council, publicly and offensively reprimanded; the general order conveying the reprimand being signed by a major in the Indian army under his command. He was forbidden ever again to exercise his discretion in such matters, under any circumstances; and the commander-in-chief immediately tendered his resignation of a post which he could no longer occupy with advantage to the public, or with honour to himself.

One thing is clear—Sir C. Napier was right. "It is useless for me to go back to India; I have too many enemies there to let me do public service," was Sir C. Napier's remark when the duke pressed the situation on him. A laugh of derision at his mention of enemies, and "*If you don't go, I must*," was the reply.

The resignation of Sir Charles was a disastrous event. Had his plans been followed, he would have saved us from the fearful mutiny which was soon to deluge the land with the blood of the best and bravest of England's sons.

Sir Charles, on his arrival in India, had found the troops in a most deplorable state. He had written, of Lord Hardinge's army, that "it was, for discipline, the worst he had ever seen. The men who went on guard sent their beds to the forts, and went to bed." There were no pickets or patrols, not even when close to the enemy. The army, from its state, was unmanageable, and could not manœuvre. In reviewing the troops, Sir Charles found commanders of regiments unable to bring them into line; regiments charging without being ordered; men discharging their firelocks straight in the air, or even to the rear. In the whole course of his service he had never witnessed such a scene. In six months he had to decide forty-six cases of courts-martial on officers—some for gambling, some for drunkenness—in which only two were honourably acquitted, and not less than fourteen cashiered. He elsewhere describes our army as "scattered, like pepper from a pepper-box, over the land." One great reason of this was, that, in the Punjaub alone, somewhere about 1,800 men were employed as guards of honour to commissioners and assistant commissioners, and over treasures from sixteen to one hundred miles distant from any military station—sometimes in the most unhealthy spots. "If the civil power," he writes, "is allowed to look to the military for protection against robbers and ordinary difficulties of government in time of peace, it becomes weak and inefficient. * * * A military guard is seen at every town—all seems secure; idleness pervades the civil power—neglect of duty follows, and want of vigour becomes universal. The same thing arises with the troops. Discipline becomes slack; officers on detachment are idle; soldiers insolent and disobedient; guards do their duty slovenly, or not at all; and the whole becomes weak and worthless. * * * The troops being at the call of the civil power, the

commander can have no system; and when a rising takes place, nothing like a proper distribution exists, and they are in a fair way to be overpowered and destroyed." Sir Charles found an omnipotent military Board, careless about the health or equipment of the soldier. The engineer department was nominally under the command of the commander-in-chief; but works were stopped by the order of the civil government direct to the engineer. The bread and meat were bad at Umballa, "because the military Board put the whole contracts up to auction, and at such a price, that the contractors could not keep their contracts. In a tour through the Punjaub, he found, in one place, that an examination of the barracks left "no wonder at the sickly state of the men. In rooms badly ventilated, and only twelve feet high, they put 142 men: only ninety-four should have been in these barracks, at the very most." At a second place, amidst fine mountain scenery, the soldiers were sickly, the barracks "infamous." At a third, the barracks were good, yet men died from cramming.

Sir Charles had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in war: the only thing approaching to it was an event disgraceful to the authorities. A hill tribe, the Afreedies, attacked some sappers while making a road between Peshawur and Kohat, in the far north-west. Without consulting the commander-in-chief, two regiments were directed to force their way to Kohat, an isolated post. The commander-in-chief found them at Peshawur. One, despatched to operate among rocky hills, was a cavalry regiment; the other, an infantry regiment, was, so to speak, unarmed—muskets without locks, and so on. Sir Charles furnished them, on his own responsibility, with arms, and conveyed them, in person, to their destination; the road being so difficult, that, with 3,000 men and six guns, he lost two officers and twenty men killed, besides wounded. He learned, on the spot, among other reasons for the hostility of the Afreedies, that the Lahore government had raised the price of salt—one of the oppressive government monopolies of India—*two thousand per cent.*

"Sir Charles Napier," writes Mr. Ludlow, "seems to have offended Lord Dalhousie, from the first, by severely criticising the Punjaub administrative system, which was the governor's own work. He offended him afterwards, unwittingly, by placing the Ghoorkas on sepoy allowances, which Lord Dalhousie sought to withhold, although these gallant fellows, whilst very proud of our service, were actually starving upon their scanty pay as irregulars; and many had deserted from sheer want of food. The frugality of Sir Charles—who reduced the establishment of the commander-in-chief, on inspection, from eighty or ninety elephants, 300 or 400 camels, and nearly as many bullocks, with all their attendants, and 332 tent-pitchers, including fifty men solely employed in carrying glass doors for a pavilion—to thirty elephants, 334 camels, and 222 tent-pitchers, at a saving of expense to the treasury of £750—was a standing rebuke to the Governor-general, whose travelling camp consisted of 135 elephants, 1,060 camels, 700 bullocks, 135 carts, 488 government tents, and 6,000 men, exclusive of the escort; and, if I mistake not, exclusive also of the coolies, pressed from village to village, where they can be caught for the service, and too often left unpaid. After the rebuke Sir Charles had received, he could not remain in command, and did not. 'All he had done,' he wrote, 'on leaving India, was to give a vigorous tone to the army, which it had, in a great degree, lost.' Next to tone, he ought to have drawn the cords of discipline and drill tight; but could not without time and camps of instruction, neither of which he could obtain. But before he could improve discipline the troops must have been freed of the oppressive civil duties required from them: until this was accomplished, no good could be done; so the Bengal army lost its last chance of peaceful renovation."

On the 9th of December, 1850, appeared the celebrated address, in which Sir Charles Napier took leave of the officers of the Indian army; at the same time severely complaining of them for neglecting to pay their debts, and having to be brought before Courts of Request. "A vulgar man," he wrote, "who enjoys a

champagne tiffin, and swindles his servants, may be a pleasant companion to those who do not hold him in contempt as a vulgar knave; but he is not a gentleman. His commission makes him an officer; but he is no gentleman." Thus wrote the grandson of a duke, and the descendant of a king. The Napiers have royal blood in their veins.

No wonder Sir Charles was not sanguine as to our future in India. He wrote, in 1849—"I see the system will not last fifty years. The moment these brave and able natives know how to combine, they will rush on us simultaneously, and the game will be up." He planned, even then, how, "if forced to fight for life and India, we could close *en masse*, to retire on Calcutta or Bombay, with all the Europeans, civil and military, and any faithful native troops. This may seem a wild idea of danger; but it is not impossible, and we should always be prepared: for if ever mischief comes in India, it will come like a thunderbolt." Four years later, his opinion was pretty well made up that our power in India was crumbling very fast. He could not agree with Lord Ellenborough as to the revision of the Company's charter in that year, being the last revision of the charter during his life. "I think you will live to see a much rougher revision than people imagine, or than we shall like in England. I do not expect to see this; but I think you will: and grieved you will be to see that empire lost which you have done all that mortal could do to save."

We may add here, Sir Charles Napier did not long survive his return to his native land. During the whole of 1853 he had been very ill; but in August it became serious: and, on the 29th of that month, he died at his residence, Oaklands, near Portsmouth. The funeral, though private, was voluntarily attended by the whole of the troops forming the Portsmouth garrison; by the Lords of the Admiralty, and the naval officers in a body: the shutters were closed in every house in the village through which the procession passed on its way to Portsmouth. The line of road and sea-wall were densely crowded with people; and as the procession passed along, the one conspicuous figure was that of his mourning brother, Sir W. Napier. At the end of the ceremony he endeavoured to say a few words of thanks to those who had attended, but was quite overpowered by his feelings; and, after a few sentences, was unable to proceed. "Soldiers," was all he could say, "there lies one of the best men, the best soldiers, the best Christians that ever lived; he served you faithfully, and you served him faithfully. God is just."

In January, 1851, Bajee Rao, the old Peishwa, died. He wished his pension—£90,000 a year—to be continued to his adopted son, Nana Sahib. This was refused; but the jagheer of Bithoor, with all its privileges, including the employment of troops and possession of artillery, was left temporarily to the latter, to be employed, as we shall afterwards find, in the frightful massacre of Cawnpore.

In March in the same year, a disgraceful trial was decided against the government. Jotee Persâd, a contractor, of real genius, had undertaken the whole subsistence of the armies during the Afghanistan and Gwalior campaigns. At the close of the war he claimed a balance of half a million sterling. It was not paid, vouchers not being forthcoming. On the occurrence of the Punjaub war he was requested to undertake the commissariat. He refused; but yielded, at last, on promise of an adjustment of arrears after the war, and of a title of honour. When the war was over he received neither: his new accounts were still more rigidly examined. He threatened an action. A native, employed in the commissariat, brought charges of corruption, embezzlement, and forgery against him: aud Major Ramsey was ordered to inquire into them. He reported him blameless to the military Board. Of three members, two agreed in the report; a third proposed to refer the matter to the Governor-general and his council: and now the wealthy native, to whom we were in debt, and who alone had provisioned three armies, was required to give bail to appear in a penal action brought against him by the government. He fled to Calcutta, hoping to be safe under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The warrant was, however, executed there, and he was taken to Agra, and tried. The

trial lasted twelve days. The prosecutor, the jury, the court, were all nominated by government; but Jotee Persâd gained the day. It was creditable that he did so; but it was most discreditable to British rule in India that such a trial should have ever been instituted at all.

In 1851, also, broke out the second Burmese war. It arose in this way:—

Two masters of English ships, at Rangoon, were proceeded against in the Burmese court by English subjects. One was fined £55; another, £70. They complained to the English authorities; laid claim to nearly £2,000 for demurrage; and the claim having been reduced one-half, was urged and enforced by the appearance of a British squadron. The King of Burmah, at first, sent complimentary letters to Commodore Lambert; recalled the governors of Rangoon; and sent two deputy-governors to make inquiry. Finding out, apparently, what the nature of the grievance was—a squabble between two foreigners as to the decision of his own magistrate, who had been called by one of them to interfere—his Burmese pride was wounded: he restored the late governor to favour, and was so foolish as to throw sixty English subjects into prison. Hereupon the English had good ground for action; and, by way of material guarantee, a Burmese ship was taken, and brought as a prize to an English ship anchored outside the fort. The fort fired; was silenced; and a blockade of the rivers of Burmah established, January, 1852. Moderate terms were offered. The prize was to be restored if the Burmese would pay the sum first asked. Instead, they sent an insulting reply by the hands of a dirty fisherman, and fired on our ships. War was inevitable.

General Goodwin, the commander of the expedition, arrived in Rangoon on the 2nd of April. The war lasted two years: its main feature was the same as that of the preceding one—the ascent of the river Irawaddee. General Goodwin was an old man, whose sole claim to command, apparently, was, that he had been in the first Burmese war, and had survived it. He was jealous, it is said, of the younger and more active officer in command of the navy, Commodore Lambert. Our force of steamers was fortunately overwhelming, and gave us immense advantage in the river warfare which was carried on; whilst the Burmese showed no longer the generalship which they had exhibited in the first war. Still, the operations were far from creditable to us. "The general system seemed to be," writes Mr. Ludlow—"having taken a town with little loss, to leave in it a force sufficient to retain it; and then to retake it with severe loss. Prome had thus to be taken twice; Pegu, three times, though in a country which rose of itself in our favour. Detachments were cut off; officers were murdered; Pegu was annexed; but it was so overrun with robbers and patrols, that the natives complained bitterly of our protection." Fortunately for us, a revolution broke out in Ava, and a more peaceful monarch was placed upon the throne. Peace was restored in 1855; and Pegu is now our own.

It is said of Lord Dalhousie, by Mr. Ludlow—"As an English officer, in full daily battle with his equals, he would have been a great minister. He had shown the stuff of one already, in endeavouring to reduce our railway chaos into order through the Board of Trade—a work in which he was, unfortunately, left unsupported by Sir Robert Peel. But the governorship developed his vast tendencies. His firmness became mere arbitrary wilfulness; his boldness, insolence: to his preconceived theories, all considerations of right and honour must bow down." Others describe him "as the idol of the Calcutta community." Undoubtedly, he was a man of great ability and energy.

No sooner had the annexation of the Punjaub given Lord Dalhousie time and opportunity to devote himself to the civil affairs of the country, than he set to work in real earnest. He gave it a strong and wise government; he personally visited the northernmost stations, to arrange for the pacification of the frontier; thence he proceeded to the west of India, and afterwards returned to Calcutta. He was not content to see with the eyes of other men. Young, ardent, original, he investigated every part of the administration *in propriâ personâ*. He found

the civil service endangered in its integrity and independence, by the pecuniary embarrassments of many of its leading members. He dismissed from employment all who were in a state of thraldom from their pecuniary embarrassments. Had he stopped here—had he merely improved the internal administration of India, his lordship would have left behind him a lasting fame: he would have ranked as a second Lord W. Bentinck. As it was, he but accelerated that fearful mutiny which was soon to carry dismay, and ruin, and bloodshed through the land.

Lord Dalhousie's object was to give consistency to the empire, and to annihilate systems of rule which were incompatible, in his view, with the advancement of the natives in enlightenment. Concurrently with these measures, laws were passed which enabled Hindoos to inherit property, even if they should change their religion. Christian education was encouraged; and the connection of the government with the idolatry of the people was severed. These, with the resumption of lands to which no satisfactory titles could be shown, laid the foundation of much uneasiness among the higher classes of natives, who began to suspect, as they supposed, a settled design, upon the part of the government, to interfere with their faith, and to reduce them to one common level. "So many overthrown estates," wrote Lord Bacon, "so many votes for troubles."

Lord Dalhousie made the mistake of ardent and young men. Internal peace and order are economical; but you must pay a high price for them. Lord Dalhousie did not care to pay the price.

With the best intentions, Lord Dalhousie found himself defeated. For instance, there was a Sontal insurrection almost under his nose. The Sontals, an aboriginal race, were invited to settle, as cultivators, on the Rajmahal hills (about 200 miles from Calcutta), some quarter of a century ago. Their district had been placed under Mr. Pontet, an uncovenanted officer, said to be a man of great ability and benevolence; and its population had increased, in thirteen years, from 3,000 to 83,000. Suddenly, in January, 1855, they all rose in arms. Captain Sherwin speaks of the Sontal as "a short, well-made, active man, quiet and inoffensive; an intelligent, obliging, but timid creature; very cowardly towards mankind, but brave when confronted with wild animals. * * * An industrious cultivator of the soil. The men swear by the tiger-skin: but swearing them at all is unpardonable; for the truth is, by a Sontal, held sacred." It must have been sad mismanagement to make enemies of such men. It appears that they had various grievances: railways had begun to be constructed through the district; offence had been offered to their women; and they were sorely ground down by tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Fanaticism had also something to do with the matter. One of their leaders announced, to a great concourse, that he had seen the godhead descend in the shape of a cart-wheel; after which two pieces of paper had fallen on his head, ordering the extermination of the offending classes. They began by murdering two European ladies; and some of the native police forced one or two railway stations, and spread themselves over about one hundred square miles of territory, destroying hundreds of villages, and thousands of lives. Six thousand troops had to be sent against them. Railway officers made a most gallant stand at two or three places. The Sontals, though chiefly armed with bows and arrows, are said to have fought with a good deal of bravery. On one occasion twenty-three of them took refuge in a mud-walled house, and fought till every one was killed. A first offer of pardon to them was not accepted; but, by the burning of many of their own villages, and one or two successful actions (in one of which two of their leaders were taken), General Loyd succeeded in quelling them by the end of the year 1855. It appears, however, that the quelling was only for a time, and that they rose again when the mutiny began to spread.

The last act of Lord Dalhousie, to which we must refer, was the annexation of Oude. Undoubtedly this precipitated the Indian mutiny.

Ever since Lord Wellesley's time the English had interfered in the affairs of Oude. Remonstrances had been made against the misgovernment of that state;

but in vain. Under Lord Dalhousie's rule, however, and after the proclamation of his annexation policy, complaints of misgovernment at Oude became louder and louder. In Oude itself these complaints were justified on the ground of Moslem fanaticism. Towards the middle of 1855, a sanguinary conflict took place at Lucknow, between Hindoos and Mussulmen, in which the king took part with his co-religionists, against the advice of Colonel Outram, the then Resident. British troops began to centre round Lucknow, and the newspapers began to discuss the policy of annexation. A private meeting of chiefs was held to oppose it. It was proposed to spend £150,000 to prevent it, by means of bribery and agitation. In other quarters bolder counsels were urged. Pamphlets, appealing to Mussulman fanaticism, were largely circulated. Of one of these, *The Sword, the Key of Heaven and Hell*, 300 copies were seized by the Indian government at Cawnpore. At Fyzabad new disturbances broke out between Hindoos and Moslems. The former were victorious. A moolavee, or doctor, of high repute, named Ameer Alee, proclaimed the holy war. Troops were ordered out against him. He then assembled 3,000 men, proclaiming the intention of destroying a particular Hindoo temple, on the site of which a mosque was to be erected. In vain were native troops sent against him. Actually the lieutenant of the district supplied him with provisions. At last the king gave directions to Captain Barlow, of the subsidiary force, to disperse the insurgents. His troops were mixed—Hindoos and Mussulmen: by dexterous management he separated the one from the other, placed the guns under charge of Hindoo gunners, and, leaving all the Mussulmen behind, marched, with five reliable companies, against Ameer Alee. The latter was wounded at the first discharge; but a force of Pathans with him behaved with desperate gallantry, charging up to the muzzles of the guns. While the day was yet doubtful, some Hindoo zemindars, with their retainers, attacked the Pathans. They died at their guns. Only one Mussulman gunner went with Barlow. He refused to fire, and was sabred by the Hindoos. Two hundred Hindoos, and 300 Pathans, fell in this contest, fought November the 7th, 1855. On their return, the Mussulman soldiers drew swords on the Hindoos. The tumult was only quelled by dispersing the regiments. Great excitement was aroused in Lucknow on hearing of the affair; sentries at the vizier's gate were cut down; disorder and confusion reigned supreme.

The weak and foolish King of Oude played Lord Dalhousie's game—played it, too, with his eyes open. He had been forewarned.

The talk of annexation grew riper. The Indian government assembled 16,000 men at Cawnpore. For months the Indian papers had been calculating what revenue Oude yielded its native prince, and what it might yield under the Company's management.

About to leave India with a constitution impaired by ill-health, and great personal anxiety and exertion, the Marquis of Dalhousie bequeathed to Viscount Canning, now become Governor-general, a dissatisfied people, and a disappointed army.

The new ruler was already at Bombay when Lord Dalhousie hastened to annex Oude, on the plea of the good of the people. "Lord Dalhousie," writes Mr. Ludlow, "saw no force in any argument for maintaining Sattara on native good government; but to native ill-government he is keenly sensitive: although whatever may have been the faults of this royal race (said the proclamation) towards their own subjects, they had always been faithful and true to their friendship to the English nation." The king had been warned by Lord W. Bentinck, by Lord Hardinge. He had declined to sign a new treaty, vesting the government of his country exclusively in the East India Company; and he went on his way, careless to all but the pleasures of a life of extravagance and sensuality. On February 7th, 1856, he was accordingly deposed; and all who withheld obedience to the Governor-general's mandate were rebels.

The king withdrew his guns; disarmed his troops; shut up his palace: and

thus we entered on the possession of 24,000 square miles of territory, with from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 inhabitants—yielding a revenue of £1,000,000 annually. The king received a pension of £12,000 a year; or did do so till the mutiny broke out, when it was suppressed on account of his connection with it.

It is clear the people had been little bettered under our rule. Mr. Kay writes—"The administration of Mr. Jackson, in Oude, was not successful. A man of undoubted ability and unquestioned integrity, he wanted temper and discretion; moreover, he wanted sympathy, so he quarrelled with his subordinates, and failed to conciliate the privileged classes, whom it was the inevitable tendency of the introduction of British rule to impoverish and humiliate, and who ought to have been dealt with gently and generously in their misfortunes. So, after a little while, Lord Canning, seeing that affairs were drifting rapidly from bad to worse, removed Mr. Jackson from the Oude commissionership, and appointed Sir Henry Lawrence to his place. No better selection could have been made; but the wisdom of the act was marred by one fatal defect—it was 'too late.' When the new commissioner reached Lucknow, he found that almost everything that ought not to have been done had been done, and that what ought to have been first done had not been done at all; and that the seeds of rebellion had been sown broadcast over the land. He saw plainly what was coming. On his journey to Oude he spent some little time with an old and honoured friend; and he told the civilian that the time was not far distant when he (Mr. Reade), with the lieutenant-general, and other Brahmins, would be shut up in Agra by a rebellion of the native army.

"But the appointment pleased him. No higher proof of the confidence of the Governor-general could have been afforded him; no more important duties could have devolved upon him. How he wished that he had gone there a year sooner! But he did all that could be done to repair the errors of the past. He found the aristocracy, the princes and nobles of the land, bowed down to the dust; keeping body and soul together—men and women alike, of high birth, with the best blood in their veins—by selling their shawls and jewels, after dark, in the bazaar. At once he took up a duty so mercilessly neglected by his predecessor, and began, without wasting time in preliminary inquiries—for investigation and starvation, in such cases, are synonymous—to pay the stipends of the old nobility. But it was not in mortal power to arrest the growth of that rebellion which was then striking deep root in the soil. In other parts of the country, the disaffection which was exhibiting itself in the spring of 1857, might be nothing more than military mutiny—a mere professional agitation—accidental, superficial; but in Oude there was small likelihood of its stopping short of a national insurrection. Firstly, it was plain that the introduction of British rule had turned against us all the great territorial chiefs—feudal barons, with large bodies of armed followers; and all the once powerful classes which had been maintained in wealth and luxury by the Court of Lucknow. It was plain, also, that the disbanding the old native army of Oude had scattered over the country large numbers of lawless and desperate men, owing their ruin to the English usurpation. But, plainest of all, was the fact that a large proportion of the sepoy army of Bengal was drawn from the small yeomanry of Oude; that the province was, indeed, the great home of our native soldiery; and that in every village there were numerous families sure to sympathise with the discontents, and to aid the efforts, of their sons and brothers in the Company's army."

Elated with what he had done—blind to the future—Lord Dalhousie returned home to die. In the meanwhile a terrible retribution was preparing for those whom he had left behind.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CORN-LAWS.

WE have referred to the foreign policy of the Peel ministry. Let us now glance briefly at the other measures by which he conferred benefit on this country, and built up for himself an enduring fame. It is chiefly as a free-trader Sir R. Peel will be remembered by posterity. His crowning glory was, that he carried the repeal of the corn-laws.

The corn-laws were passed by the landlords to keep out foreign corn, and to keep up high rents. They were passed at the close of the war, when prices were rapidly falling, and when rents ought naturally to have been lowered in the same way.

The legislation on the subject which did all the mischief was Mr. Robinson's bill, to prohibit the importation of corn, except for bonding purposes, until the average price of wheat had reached 80*s.* a quarter. This was carried in 1815, when Miss Knight saw "the walls, in various places, chalked with invectives against the Corn Bill;" and when Miss Berry saw and testified to the same. Miss Knight writes, March 1st—"I called, in the evening, on Lady Aylesbury, Lady Neave, &c. The people are discontented with the Corn Bill, and write hard things on the walls; such as—'Bread or blood!' 'More Bellinghams!' 'Bread, or else the regent's head!' It is, however, said, and I believe with truth, that the regent is against the bill. There was a sort of riot yesterday in the borough, and the horse-guards were sent to quell it." A note explains that this riot took place on the chairing of Mr. Barclay, who was compelled to take refuge in the "Horns," Kennington. The tumult arose from a misapprehension with respect to Mr. Barclay's vote on the corn-law question. On the 9th, Miss Knight hints that "the drawing-room is postponed, probably, on account of the discontent of the people with respect to the Corn Bill." She writes—"I made several visits in the evening, and heard much of the discontent about the price of bread." Again—"I passed the evening with Lady Aylesbury, where I heard much, as I had likewise at dinner, of the mob which had been attacking houses in different parts of the town, on account of the Corn Bill. A loaf, steeped in blood, had been placed on Carlton wall." Again, she writes—"The riots still continue. My servant tells me he has just come from Old Burlington Street, where they are pulling up the iron rails before a house which, he heard, was that of the Chancellor's private secretary; but which was Mr. Robinson's: and they were only finishing the work they began last night. In the evening they knocked at Prince Castelcicala's door, where I dined; inquired who lived there, inquiring for some person whose name I could not learn. They went away quietly after this; but I have since heard they did much mischief to a house in Harley Street, and to Lord Bathurst's, in Mansfield Street. The horse-guards are on constant duty, and I hear the 16th light dragoons are ordered into town from Hounslow." Miss Knight continues—"I hear that Lord Uxbridge has the command of the military force, which increases hourly; but which does not seem to prevent the people from doing what they like. Two persons were, however, killed at Mr. Robinson's, by officers, as it is said, firing from the house. One, a young midshipman, lies to be owned. In the evening, about eight, I went to Weymouth Street, to Miss Egerton's; and met with no mob going or returning from thence to Lady Charleville's, in Piccadilly, where, however, the party was rather small, many being afraid to venture out * * * When I returned home, I heard that the people had broken the windows of Mr. Ponsonby, in Curzon Street, and had apologised for breaking one window by mistake in the adjoining house. Lord

Yarmouth had a strong guard of soldiers to prevent anything happening where he lives, at no great distance from Mr. Ponsonby's. I saw written on the walls, on Tuesday—'Guy Faux for ever!'" One more entry will suffice—"London is full of soldiers. The depôt is in Manchester Square, and Bedford Square looks like a *place d'armes*. People are so full of these riots that very little mention is made of the failure at New Orleans."

If we turn from the *Diary* of the courtier and lady of fashion, to the less pretentious pages of the *Annual Register*, we find further particulars. Thus, under the date of March 8th, we read—"They next proceed to Mr. Ponsonby's house, No. 19, in Curzon Street, Mayfair, with their numbers increasing on the way. On their arrival at Mr. Ponsonby's, they presented a very formidable force. They instantly commenced a very furious attack upon the house; demolished the windows, and broke the iron palisades in front. During this, some firing began from the inside of the house through the door, while the mob were endeavouring to break it open. The door is much injured by the bullets, which were fired through it; but we have not heard that any person was hurt. The house of Mr. Martin Dick, next door to Mr. Ponsonby, is also considerably injured from the misdirection of the stone-throwers. In a few minutes the cavalry made their appearance, and the populace immediately dispersed in various directions." Lord Eldon lived at No. 6, Bedford Square, which was attacked by the mob on the 6th; the iron railings torn up, and every pane of glass and much furniture broken and destroyed. The windows being broken, it was facetiously remarked that his lordship at last kept open house. The mob was resisted by a party of soldiers, sent from the British Museum, until a troop of the horse-guards arrived and cleared the square. Lord Ellenborough's, in St. James's Square; Lord Darnley's, in Berkeley Square; and other houses, were also attacked.

And thus the obnoxious law was passed.

As early as 1813, the sight of a bountiful harvest excited apprehensions in the agricultural mind for the maintenance of the prices, to which the agricultural interest had fully accustomed itself; and the nearer prospect of open markets raised that apprehension to determined self-defence. A select committee of the House of Commons reported, that while the export duty of 1*s*. per quarter, imposed on wheat by the corn-law of 1760, might with safety be rescinded, the prohibitory duty on importation, which was fixed by the same law at 80*s*. per quarter, should be carried up to 105*s*. 2*d*. per quarter. It was subsequently agreed, that wheat at 84*s*. should be admitted on the payment of 2*s*. 6*d*. per quarter. There were numerous petitions against this proposed perpetuation of war prices; so the positive enactment of the measure was permitted to stand over till the session of 1815. The landlords, and their excited tenants, could then wait no longer. They all feared open ports as if an enemy were at hand.

Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton) was one of the few who resisted this senseless clamour; who contended that steady prices were never produced by restriction; that bread would be high or low, according as we had a good harvest; and that, as the whole of England was to any particular county in this respect, so was the whole of Europe to England. In the upper House, there were also men who had the wisdom to foresee, and the courage to declare—"We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates, all its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity, must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country, is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalising to man the variations of season and of climate."

Not a year elapsed before the truth of this was felt; and Mr. Western, the

mouthpiece of the agricultural interest, again appeared at the table of the House, to demand further increase of protection, and the remission of peculiar burdens. It was demanded that so much of the act of 1815 be repealed as permitted the warehousing of foreign corn (even precautions against scarcity were now regarded with jealousy); and that the government advance loans of money to such individuals as were inclined to buy up our native produce.

And what was the state of the poor while the agricultural interest was endeavouring to deprive them of food? In a letter to Lady Proby, dated April, 1817, Mrs. Richard Trench writes—"The sight of the poor in London is even more melancholy than that of the dark, foggy, and snowy sky. I speak not of those who ask; but of the silent and drooping figures, in the prime and middle of life, seated, shivering and dying, on the steps of houses; without stockings, without linen; in ragged clothing; above that of the lower class, with famine sunken in every line of their faces. This is, indeed, a sorry sight in this once happy country."

Again, she writes—"Poverty goes on increasing, and, like the spider in an empty house, spreads her thin gray pall over the kingdom, widening swiftly, though imperceptibly."

The matter now rested till 1826, when Mr. Hume made a motion in parliament for a committee of inquiry into the existing distress. Huskisson was then in office. Sounder views began to prevail; and ministers were evidently unwilling to be left without authority to mitigate the death that evidently was impending while there were large stores of foreign corn in the ports. They carried, with some difficulty, two bills—one releasing 300,000 quarters already in bond; and the other authorising the admission of 500,000 quarters, if it should be necessary to do so. There was a great drought in the land; and as accounts from the north of Europe foretold a scarcity, the final price at which corn was excluded from our shores, was passed before parliament was over: but as six weeks must elapse before the average would be struck in the regular manner, an order in council at once admitted those kinds of grain which were most needed. The wheat crop, after all, was not deficient; but it was felt that the subject of the corn-laws must be once more reconsidered; and, during the recess, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson elaborated a measure which it eventually fell to Mr. Canning's lot to introduce, May, 1827. The bill provided that foreign corn should be imported and warehoused duty free, and released on the payment of a certain scale of duties: wheat at 1*s.* duty when it was 70*s.* a quarter; the duty increasing 2*s.* with every 1*s.* of decrease in price. It passed the Commons by majorities of three to one. In the Lords, it was destroyed through a singular misunderstanding among ministers themselves; one of them, the Duke of Wellington, actually proposing and carrying an amendment fatal to the principle of the bill, in the opinion of its authors. The next year it was revived; and, with some slight modifications, carried.

In 1832, Mr. Whitmore moved, "That the corn-laws, instead of producing equality of prices and permanent good, had produced a permanent effect, and tended materially to injure trade." Mr. Hume, amid much outcry, denied that any particular burden fell upon trade. Mr. Feargus O'Connor and others resisted the motion. Lord Althorpe did so, contending that, at that period of the session, it would be unwise to agitate the question, as they had already more work than they could do.

As soon as parliament was reformed, the question was again ventilated there by Mr. Hume. On the 5th of March, 1834, he initiated a two nights' debate on the subject. He entered into a variety of calculations to show what had resulted from prohibiting free trade in corn; and drew from them the conclusion, that the foreign had a great advantage over the English manufacturer. The latter became unable to compete with the former; and, unable to sell his goods, he ceased to manufacture them. The result of this was, his workmen were dismissed; and, wanting employment, were forced to look to the poor-rates as the only means of obtaining

subsistence. Under the law of 1828, great fluctuations in price occurred, and landlords and farmers suffered severely; many of the latter having become bankrupt, being forced to pay their rents, not out of their profits, but out of their capital. The law which was passed in favour of the landed interest had not saved them from the evils he had mentioned, though the rest of the population had been starved by it. The object of the law was to keep up the price of bread; and it had that effect, though not to the extent which had been wished for and expected. As it had failed for those whom it was intended to favour, why not at once repeal it? Every one who heard him knew that the effect of the law had been to starve the majority of the population; to deprive them of employment, and to throw them on the poor-rates for existence. He was confident that the manufactures of this country might be doubled or trebled if the cost of production were so reduced as to enable the British to compete with the foreign manufacturer. He did not think that, under a system of free importation, the price of corn would fall, permanently, below 48*s.* or 50*s.* a quarter. Holding this opinion, he might be asked what advantage could be expected from a free trade in corn? One great advantage sure to result from it was, that an end would at once be put to the present fluctuations in the price. Mr. Hume then enlarged on the various evils produced by the present corn-laws, and contended that the landed interest had been unduly favoured. The system appeared to him so mischievous, that he considered the very name of a protecting duty ought not to exist; and the present was, he thought, the most favourable opportunity for endeavouring to get rid of an injurious monopoly. He appealed to the friends of protection—to those who said they must have the corn-laws to keep the agricultural population comfortable; and he would ask, were the agricultural population comfortable under them? He would go further, and would ask, could any population be in a worse situation than that in which they were, unfortunately, at that moment? It appeared to him that nothing would be so beneficial as a trade in corn with foreign nations, their corn being admitted at a fixed duty. What, then, ought to be the amount of that duty? On a former occasion he had proposed to commence with a duty of 15*s.* a quarter; to go down 1*s.* for every advance in price till it reached a point at which, if the agriculturists claimed it, the country must be prepared for one of two things—to relieve the agricultural interest from the taxes which pressed exclusively on it, or to place a protecting duty to that amount on the importation of foreign corn. The former course was that which he should prefer. He was now of opinion that the duty should be commenced at 10*s.*, and be decreased 1*s.* every year. He admitted that that was but slow progress; but he would rather establish a good principle then, and go on decreasing the duty gradually, but slowly, than repeal the duty at once, and throw all classes into confusion; as, if the duty was suddenly repealed, it might lead to disastrous consequences. The duties placed on other articles of foreign growth and manufacture, for the protection of British articles of the same kind, ought to be removed in such a manner as would cause the protecting duty on manufactured goods to expire on the same day with the protecting duties on corn. From that day the prosperity of the country would take a start; and instead of the gloomy anticipations which some men then indulged, all would be mirth, joy, and cordial satisfaction. An honourable gentleman had insinuated that Mr. Hume's interest lay in the funds. If there were one interest more than another from the property of which he was likely to derive benefit, that interest was the land. He advocated a change in the corn-laws, because he was convinced that, unless the change took place, landed property, in many cases, would prove worth nothing. The motion was resisted by Sir James Graham, as the change proposed would be at once dangerous and overwhelming: it would be equivalent to an agrarian law, and effect a complete change in the existing frame of society. No measure could be productive of general benefit which was calculated, as that was, to cause much individual misery, and the total destruction of an entire class of the community. Little did

Sir James anticipate, that he would have, in a few short years, to assist in sweeping away the corn-laws altogether, and that he would live to see the wisdom of such an act. Of course Mr. Hume argued in vain. On a division, the numbers were—for, 155; against, 312.

In 1835, the farmers were in great distress; wheat had fallen to 40*s.* a quarter; and a motion was brought forward, by the Marquis of Chandos, to abate the burdens which pressed on agriculture. The motion was, however, rejected by a large majority.

In 1837, Mr. Clay moved the adoption of a fixed duty of 10*s.* a quarter on wheat, which was supported by the following members connected with government:—Lord Howick, Lord Morpeth, Sir G. Grey, Mr. J. Parker, Sir R. Rolfe, Mr. C. P. Thomson, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. J. A. Murray, Mr. W. Cooper.

In March, 1838, Mr. Villiers moved for an inquiry into the operations of the corn-laws. The House would not inquire—would scarcely listen. A motion to permit the grinding of foreign corn in bond was equally unsuccessful. In August, wheat was 72*s.* a quarter, and rising in consequence of wet weather. People were getting anxious.

In 1839, a considerable amount of time and attention were given by parliament to the subject. Great discontent was manifested in many places at the effects of the corn-laws.

Lord Brougham moved that the petitions on the subject should be referred to a committee of the whole House, and that evidence on the facts they stated should be heard at the bar of the House of Lords. He pressed on the House, as one reason for the adoption of his motion, the insecurity of the corn-trade under the existing system. Were the existing laws repealed, he did not anticipate that the fall in the price of corn, consequent on its free importation being permitted, would exceed 5*s.* a quarter; while, among the inevitable results of a free trade in corn, a security would be found against famine. But the motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne, and negatived without a division.

About the same time, Mr. Villiers, who was for years the parliamentary leader on the question, moved, in the House of Commons, that certain parties, petitioners, should be heard at the bar of the House, by their agents, witnesses, or counsel, in support of the allegations of their petition complaining of the operation of the corn-laws. He entered into a series of statements, tending to show that the effect of the corn-laws was extremely injurious to the commerce of the country; while it encouraged the progress of manufactures in foreign countries. He especially noticed the manufacturing condition of the German states. While the machinery employed in the hosiery trade had increased in England 10 per cent., in Saxony it had doubled itself every six years. At the peace, England had the monopoly of the world in that trade. In 1838, the exports from England were but 447,291 dozen; while those of Saxony were 150,000: and Saxony had continued to gain ground, insomuch that, with an additional expense of 25 per cent. on its manufacture, it came into this country, and undersold the English manufacturer. Sir Robert Peel, as well as ministers, opposed the motion. On a division, the numbers were—ayes, 172; noes, 361.

Again Mr. Villiers returned to the charge. He now took bolder ground: he prayed for no inquiry; he assumed that the corn-laws had a disastrous effect upon all classes in the land. And first he showed that high prices were no benefit to the farming population; nor had the corn-laws rendered the agricultural labourer content. The fact was so far from it, that since they had been actually in operation, agricultural labourers had been more dissatisfied than before. In 1830, the corn-laws had been fifteen years in operation; and he ventured to say, that at no period were the labourers in a greater state of dissatisfaction and wretchedness. What was the ground on which protection to the landowners was claimed? It was that the productive classes were not able to compete with

foreigners in highly taxed and cheap-living countries. Why, that was the very case of English artisans and manufacturers. They said they could not compete with the cheaper-living and higher-taxed artisans of the continent, and they asked for protection against a law which made living dear here, in order that they might compete with their neighbours abroad. They were employed, in fact, by a foreign customer, who cared not by whom he got his work done. He cared not whether his workmen were English, German, Swiss, or Belgians; he only cared for getting the best article at the cheapest rate. If he found that the artisans of Belgium and Switzerland could produce their work cheaper than those of England, because their rate of living was cheaper, he would employ the inhabitants of those countries; and on that ground it was that Englishmen ought to be placed under no legal disadvantage as regards foreigners. There was this important difference, however, between the claim of our artisans for protection, and that protection which the supporters of the corn-law claimed—namely, that the former did not ask for a law to make food cheap, but only for the repeal of the law to make food dear. Our manufacturers felt themselves, each year, less able to compete with foreigners. The difference between them was, that they lived at different rates. To live on equal terms, the Englishman claimed the protection of that House; and he should like to hear on what grounds such protection could be withheld. He believed that but for the restraints which the corn-laws had imposed upon the industrious energies of the country, we should almost have been able to discharge our national debt, and to have indefinitely have extended our commerce. It required such a scheme as the corn-laws to check our commercial career; and the promoters of them had accomplished this object. They had lowered the price of labour, and made it, and made food, as it were, a mere drug in particular countries, while they had raised the price of it at home. They had thus offered a premium to foreigners to engage their capital in manufactures; and, if they persevered, a great evil, already felt, would continue, and the capital and artisans of the country would be yearly leaving it, in greater numbers and larger amount than they were now. On the other hand, he was satisfied that if the laws in question were promptly repealed, the progress of existing evils would be checked. English capital would be prevented from leaving the country; and, what was more important still, fresh capital would not be further invested in manufactures abroad, because the demand from our market, for agricultural produce, would give employment to their capital in agriculture. The price of labour would be raised, and the foreign manufacturers would no longer have the advantage of superabundant labour at a minimum price. Mr. Villiers then alluded to circumstances in connection with German and American tariffs, as forming a peculiar argument at that time for the measure he advocated. He continued—"Is it in keeping with the present day for the public to submit to an impost of this kind, unless assured of its necessity? I really ask the landlords of this country if they see no sign in the present times that should make them pause before they determine to maintain a system opposed by the industry, the intelligence, the commerce, and the numbers of this country, and which they cannot, beyond a limited time, expect to retain? Are they blind, moreover, to the fact, that the people who are now chiefly demanding a repeal of these laws, are those who have placed confidence in the present legislature, and have relied on its present adequacy to redress their wrongs, and reform the abuses of which they complained? And can they suppose that these are so weak in purpose, or so weak in mind, that they will sit down quietly under disappointment and rebuff, or be diverted from the obvious reflection that they have misplaced their confidence in this House; or that, in vindication of their opinion, and under a sense of wrong, they will not call for those changes in the constitution of the legislature which will place it more in unison with their general interests? Surely, then, it is matter of serious consideration for the landowners to determine whether they will, for the paltry profit which these laws can afford them, forfeit the respect of large classes of their fellow-

subjects, and place in jeopardy that great social and political station, which, though accident has conferred it upon them, it would be yet in their power by conduct to confirm." Sir George Strickland seconded Mr. Villiers's motion; but it was all to no purpose. Mr. Cayley moved a direct negative to it, and dwelt on the strong claim of the landed interest to protection. He was not willing to let the prosperity of the country be dependent on her foreign trade, which was hourly slipping from our feet, and might leave England at the mercy of the caprice, of the tyranny, or of the necessities of other powers.

The debate was well sustained. It lasted five days. Mr. O'Connell was among the supporters of the motion, and unsparingly assailed the landed interest, as being, to the last degree, sordid, and opposed to the well-being of the poorer classes of the community. "They wished," he said, "to make bread dearer than it otherwise would be. The principle of the corn-laws is this—to get more money for the landed proprietors out of the working classes. It is a principle that I repudiate; it is a principle that at once decides me to vote for a repeal of the corn-laws. But there is another principle involved in this matter. It is the principle of free trade. I know it has been denied that a class who are calling for a free trade in corn are not ready to give up the protection they have for articles of commerce. Now, the delegates of that body have passed a unanimous resolution, calling upon this House not only to repeal the corn-laws, but also to remove every protection from the articles of manufacturers. I would not be their advocate upon any other principle; for I am the advocate of free trade in everything."

On the fourth night of the debate, Sir Robert Peel delivered a most remarkable speech—remarkable for the powerful opposition which it gave to the motion, and the earnestness with which he supported the views of the protectionists. He quoted returns to show that we were in an improving condition; that the corn-laws had not repressed "the elastic energy and buoyancy of manufacturing industry." He concluded by reminding his hearers, that, under the influence of protection to agriculture, continued two hundred years, the farm had been drained; the wild heath reclaimed; the health of a whole people improved; their life prolonged: and all this, not at the expense of manufacturing industry, but concurrently with its wonderful advancement. The following is an analysis of the division which took place:—

For the motion (tellers included)	197
Against (tellers included)	344
Pairs (thirty-two)	64
Ministerialists absent	33
Conservatives absent	16
Vacant—Richmond, Devonshire, Leicester	3
Speaker	1
	658

And thus, as regards the House of Commons, the matter rested till Sir Robert Peel took office; who, at the head of the Conservative party, was deemed a tower of strength. Sir Robert still boasted of the attachment and confidence of his party, in spite of his leaning to free-trade principles. It was not merely from motives of prudence, and with a view to strengthen his party, that he used such language. As he had reminded the House, he had, on more than one occasion, in the presence of his assembled adherents, proclaimed his principles, and asserted his independence. In spite of evident differences of opinion, and manifestations of ill-temper, the bulk of the party had remained, and still continued, faithful to him. Necessary to one another—agreeing on the fundamental principles of government—invariably defeated whenever they were disunited—the leader and the majority of his partisans kept together without asking importunate questions; doing nothing mutually to deceive, but avoiding the necessity of undeceiving, one another; and

covering their disagreements and miscalculations by concessions or by silence;—a rare example of intelligence and patient moderation in an incurably false position—a position which could not continue without growing worse; but which, thanks to the exercise of these political virtues, could, and did, last for a long while yet. The country gentlemen believed Sir Robert was their man; that they could make him, or unmake him, as they pleased; and when Disraeli hinted to Lord George Bentinck that Sir Robert was turning, his lordship received the idea with ridicule and disdain. And so they went on, eating and drinking, and making merry, till the deluge came, and they found themselves without a leader, or an ark of refuge. No sooner had Sir Robert manifested his intention to reduce the protective duties of the sliding-scale, than a schism began in his party, and even extended to his cabinet. The friend of the farmer, the Duke of Buckingham, resigned office. In the House of Commons, 104 Conservatives voted for the amendment in favour of enacting higher protective duties than those proposed by the ministerial plan. Messrs. Villiers and Cobden obtained ninety votes in favour of a complete abolition of the corn-laws. The difficulties of the Premier were great, and were foreseen by Lord Palmerston. At the close of the session of 1842, his lordship said—

"Surely the day on which we gave up the seals of office, and when power was transferred to our opponents—surely that day was a day of triumph and of exultation to the Tory party—surely that was a day which secured, for years to come, the maintenance of that system of monopoly and restriction to which they are attached, and which they conceive to be no less conducive to the public interest than their own. But, alas! the vanity of human wisdom! Alas! how short-sighted are the most sagacious of men! But a few short months passed over their heads before their songs of triumph were changed into cries of lamentation. Great is now their disappointment, and bitter their complaints. We have not heard much of these complaints in this House. There are reasons for that; but every other house in London, all the clubs, and every street of the town, have been ringing with the invectives of men who represent themselves as the victims of the grossest deception. I say it is true that they have been grossly deceived; but by whom? Not by the right honourable baronet, but by themselves. They have themselves, and themselves only, to blame for any disappointment they have suffered in consequence of the course pursued by her majesty's government. Why did they not, during the ten long years they were following their present leaders in opposition, take due pains to ascertain what the opinions of those leaders were upon matters which they deem of vital importance? * * * What those opinions are, we in this House have, during the present session, had full opportunities of learning. We have heard them stated fully, explicitly, and unequivocally; and I am bound to say, that more liberal doctrines, more enlightened views, sounder or juster principles, could not have been propounded by any advocate of free trade on this side of the House. But no man can suppose that the gentlemen opposite inherited these principles from us with their offices; or that they found them locked up in the red boxes which we left on our tables. * * * Still less can it be supposed that these recently-propounded doctrines and opinions are the result of deep studies to which the Tory leaders have devoted themselves since their accession to office in September last. We know, by experience, what are the labours of official men. We know that the stream of business comes flowing in with unceasing volume every hour of the day, like the current of the Thames; and the man who ventures to delay will soon be irretrievably ruined. * * * The measures, indeed, which they have proposed, have fallen far short of the necessities of the country—far short of the wishes of this side of the House—far short of the principles on which they were founded and recommended. But a great step has been made in the right direction, when we have got a Tory government speaking out as the present government has done. This should inspire us with hope for the future, and make us endeavour to be content, for the present, with what we have gained."

Peel felt this speech keenly; and replied effectively. However, there was

truth in his lordship's charges. Events were rapidly educating the Premier: the state of the country, and the power of the League, were training Sir Robert Peel to be the great free-trader of the day.

Manchester was the birthplace of the League. It began to agitate the question as soon as the great battle of reform had been gained. It returned, at the first election, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Poulet Thomson.

At that time Lord Palmerston had characterised protecting duties as disturbing duties, and had expressed his opinion that we had little to dread if we depended on foreign nations for supplies of wheat.

In 1834, Manchester went so far as to hold a meeting (by circular) of merchants and manufacturers, to consider how the repeal of the corn-laws could be obtained.

At this time the press began to aid the good cause. Mr. A. Prentice, the editor of the *Manchester Times;* Mr. Weir, the editor of the *Glasgow Argus* (afterwards of the *Daily News*); Colonel Thompson, the author of the *Anti-Corn-Law Catechism;* Ebenezer Elliot, the corn-law rhymer; and last, and not least, Richard Cobden, were in the field.

The mention of Cobden's name demands that we glance at the career of this truly illustrious man.

At the farmhouse of Dunford (a short distance from Midhurst), on the 3rd of June, 1804, Richard Cobden was born. His father farmed his own land—a holding of moderate extent; and in the grammar-school of Midhurst, Cobden received most, if not all, the scholastic training with which he was ever favoured. Cobden, senior, died, and the boy was taken to London by his uncle, and placed in his warehouse. In time he became a commercial traveller; and, in 1830, took up his residence in Manchester, and commenced business on his own account.

The fortunes of the house rapidly progressed. "The custom of the calico-trade, at that period, was to print a few designs, and watch, cautiously and carefully, those which were most acceptable to the public; when large quantities of those which seemed to be preferred were printed off, and offered to the retail dealer. Mr. Cobden introduced a new mode of business. Possessed of great taste, of excellent tact, and remarkable knowledge of the trade in all its details, he and his partners did not follow the cautious and slow policy of their predecessors; but, fixing themselves on the best designs, they had these printed off at once, and pushed the trade energetically through the country. Those pieces which failed to take in the home market, were at once shipped to other countries; and the consequence was, that the associated firm became very prosperous. Cobden travelled much, in the old world and the new, in pursuit of business." But these journeys, as we shall soon see, had political results.

Cobden had no sooner settled in Manchester than he became a man of mark. The circumstances connected with his first public appearance, are thus described by Mr. Cathrall, one of the proprietors and editors of the *Manchester Times:*—

"Whilst my late partners and myself were early engaged, as journalists (now about thirty years back), in the severe struggle then entered upon by the inhabitants of Manchester, for obtaining the incorporation of the town, we received a series of letters, upon that and other subjects of public interest, from an anonymous correspondent, under the signature of 'Libra.' These letters, which were generally furnished alternate weeks, were marked by so much thought and ability, that we were desirous to have an interview with the writer; and, accordingly, inserted a line in our paper to that effect, mentioning a time for the purpose. About noon the same day that this notice appeared, the publisher of our paper notified to me that a gentleman in the outer office wished to see me; when the stranger, on being invited into my private room, introduced himself as Richard Cobden. His person and his name being alike unknown to me, and not recollecting, for the moment, that a stranger was expected in accordance with the notice inserted in our journal, I begged he would inform me of the object of his call;

when he said he was 'Libra;' adding, 'I observe, from your paper, that you wished to see me.' We at once became great friends. Soon after, poor Prentice, my partner, entered the room; and, on being informed that it was 'Libra' who was with me, shook him warmly by the hand, and, at the same time, complimented him on the skill, &c., displayed in his letters.

"We gathered that he was engaged in business in Mozley Street; that he had only recently come to Manchester, and had but few acquaintances there.

"I well remember that, in this interview, he was very diffident, and somewhat nervous in temperament. At the same time, it was obvious to us, even then, that he was, in ability and promise, much above the average stamp of young men. It happening that a public meeting, under the presidency of Mr. Prentice, in furtherance of the incorporation of Manchester, was to be held that same evening, at the Cotton-Tree Tavern, in Ancoats [a favourite political rendezvous of the period referred to], my partner at once solicited Mr. Cobden to accompany him, and to take part in the proceedings.

"Although so many years have passed since, I well recollect that Mr. Cobden declined to attend the meeting: in fact, he evidently shrunk from the task of speaking on the occasion; and it was not till repeatedly pressed to do so, that he consented, although the meeting was quite of a minor character. 'I assure you,' he said, 'I never yet made a speech of any description, excepting, perhaps, an after-dinner one at a commercial table.' Having, at length, obtained the promise of his attendance, it was arranged that he should take tea at our office, on the way to the meeting; which he accordingly did.

"After the opening speech of the chairman, he called upon Mr. Cobden to move the first resolution, introducing him as his young friend who had recently contributed to the *Manchester Times* the able letters signed 'Libra.' His speech, however, on this occasion, was a singular failure. He was nervous, confused, and, in fact, practically broke down; and the chairman had to apologise for him; but, at the same time, expressed full confidence as to the success and usefulness of his future career.

"Such was Mr. Cobden's *débût* before the Manchester public as a speaker. So far as his own feelings were concerned, for some time he was so discouraged by his maiden effort, that I am pretty confident, had this lamented and remarkable man, whose oratory, subsequently, was of so persuasive a kind, been allowed to follow the bent of his inclination, he would never again have appeared as a public speaker.

"Our professional acquaintance with Mr. Cobden, thus formed, led to his introduction to the political circles of Manchester; and, in a short period, he took an active part in most public matters affecting the interests of the town, and was chosen one of the first members of the corporation, whose charter he materially assisted in obtaining."

In 1836, an Anti-Corn-Law Association was formed in London. Bad times were impending; and thoughtful people (a very decided minority of the population) were getting anxious as to the future.

In 1837, there was great commercial depression. At the general election in consequence of the death of William IV., Mr. Cobden, who was travelling on the continent at the time, was very nearly returned for Stockport. Thirty-eight free-traders were returned for constituencies numbering five millions of souls. A banquet was given to Mr. Brotherton, to celebrate his return for Salford. Mr. Cobden was present, and was one of the principal speakers. At Manchester, he sought to get the Chamber of Commerce in that town to organise a decided anti-corn-law agitation. The effort, however, failed.

In 1838, an Anti-Corn-Law Association was formed in the manufacturing districts. In September of this year, Dr. Bowring was entertained at a public dinner in Blackburn. A number of free-traders met him in Manchester. Dr. Bowring denounced the corn-laws in most severe language. He had been all over

the continent and Egypt; and he said—"It is impossible to estimate the amount of human misery created by the corn-laws, or the amount of human pleasure overthrown by them. In every part of the world I have found the plague-spot." This speech led to the formation of the association. A provisional committee was formed, and announced by public advertisement. Mr. Cobden's name appeared in the second list issued. Mr. Paulton—a young medical student who had signalised himself by delivering an *impromptu* lecture at Bolton, on the corn-laws—came to Manchester, and declared the fundamental principle of the association. "It has been established on the same righteous principle as the Anti-Slavery Society. The object of that society was to obtain the free right of the negroes to possess their own flesh and blood. The object of this is to obtain the free right of the people to exchange their labour for as much food as can be got for it; that we may no longer be obliged, by law, to buy our food at one shop, and that the dearest in the world; but be at liberty to go to that at which it can be obtained cheapest." At the conclusion of a second lecture in Manchester, Mr. Paulton quoted these lines; which were often re-quoted, and always received with renewed enthusiasm and applause:—

> "For what were all these landed patriots born?
> To hunt, and vote, and raise the price of corn:
> Safe in their barns, these Sabine tillers sent
> Their brethren out to battle. Why? For rent!
> Year after year they voted cent. per cent.,
> Blood, sweat, and tear-wrung millions. Why? For rent!
> They warred, they dined, they drank: they swore they meant
> To die for England. Why then live? For rent!
> And will they not repay the treasures lent?
> No! down with everything, and up with rent!
> Their good, ill-health, wealth, joy, or discontent,
> Being, end, aim, religion—rent! rent! rent!"

The new association was placed upon a popular basis; for the want of which, it was said, all former efforts had failed. It was resolved that the subscriptions should be as low as 5*s*., in order that all classes might be welcomed as members. Again the subject was revived in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and, this time, not in vain: they petitioned parliament for the total repeal of the corn-laws.

The association now determined to prosecute their work with augmented vigour. A meeting was held in January, 1839; at which, among other proposals, "Mr. Alderman Cobden recommended an investment of part of the property of gentlemen present, to save the rest from confiscation." Before leaving the room £1,800 were subscribed, and large additional subscriptions were speedily announced. In a few days the total exceeded £6,000.

In the meanwhile the Tories formed the Central Agricultural Society, and the Chartists commenced denouncing the anti-corn-law movement as intended for the injury of the working-man, and for the benefit of the manufacturer alone.

In February a meeting of delegates was held. These delegates had an interview with Lord Melbourne; and though Mr. Villiers prayed to be heard at the bar of the House, in support of that gentleman's annual motion, the prayer was, of course, rejected. After the interview they met a large number of metropolitan free-traders. Mr. Cobden said—"He thought there was no cause for despondency because the House over the way refused to hear them. They were the representatives of 3,000,000 of the people. They were evidence that the great towns had banded themselves together, and their alliance would be a Hanseatic League against the feudal corn-law plunderers. The castles which crowned the rocks along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Elbe, had once been the strongholds of feudal oppressors; but they had been dismantled by a League, and they now only adorned the landscape as picturesque memorials of the past; while the people below had lost all fear of plunder, and tilled their vineyards in peace."—"Why should we not have a League?" exclaimed one of his audience.

"Yes," answered Cobden, "an Anti-Corn-Law League." The suggestion was immediately and unanimously adopted: it spread rapidly wherever the Manchester movement had penetrated; and the association which had waged war against the taxes on corn, had thenceforward, as Guizot well remarks, "a striking name, a popular leader, unity, and grandeur of purpose."

In an address, issued by the delegated free-traders to the public, they recommended "the formation of a permanent union, to be called the Anti-Corn-Law League, composed of all the towns and districts represented in the delegation, and as many others as might be induced to form anti-corn-law associations, and to join the League.—With the view to secure the unity of action, the central office of the League shall be established in Manchester, to which body shall be entrusted, among other duties, that of engaging and recommending popular lecturers, and the establishing and conducting of a stamped circular, for the purpose of keeping up a constant correspondence with the local associations."

The League also commenced a vigorous publication of appropriate popular pamphlets; such as *Facts for Farmers*, &c. Within a month of the formation of the League, the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular* was started. Shortly after came the boon to the public of the penny postage; and it increased the labour and influence of the League a hundred-fold.

About this time we find the name of John Bright occur as a speaker. It is said, the first time he and Cobden met was on the occasion of his calling on the latter to ask him to speak at an education meeting in Rochdale. Bright himself also spoke; and Cobden was so struck with him that he sought to gain him over wholly. "Come with me," said Cobden, as he (Bright) was grieving over the loss of a young wife, "and we will never rest until we abolish the corn-laws." The result of that speech was soon apparent. All along his future career Mr. Cobden had a courageous friend and a powerful supporter ever by his side. Mr. Bright is the son of John Bright, Esq., of Greenbank, near Rochdale, and was born in 1811. He is one of the firm of John Bright and brothers, cotton-spinners and manufacturers of Rochdale. Mr. Bright may be said to have first distinguished himself, in political life, by his hostility to the corn-laws, the worst evils of which, he said, and truly, were felt in the manufacturing districts. Hence he became one of the earliest members of the Anti-Corn-Law League. It was not, however, until the League visited London, and began its system of tours into the agricultural districts, that Mr. Bright became extensively identified with the proceedings of this body. His speeches at the Drury Lane meetings were circulated all over the kingdom, and ensured him great attention at the provincial gatherings of farmers; and his earnest and impassioned manner of dealing with facts and figures told well at such audiences.

John Bright is the finest product of the middle class in this our land and age. Brought up amongst the Quakers, imbibing at his birth their noblest traditions, he early attained that independence of character, and unsophisticated and unconventional way of looking at human affairs and actions, which has always been the leading characteristic of George Fox and his followers. As a rule, we fancy Friends rather avoid the political arena; but John Bright was impelled thither by circumstances over which he had no control. As a manufacturer, the impolicy—as a philanthropist, the iniquity—of the corn-laws was forced upon his attention. He was young, ardent, gifted by nature with a command of language, and idea, and voice: and how could he be silent when trade languished; when the mills were deserted; when those who had filled them with busy life had become emigrants or paupers; or, perhaps, urged by hunger and want, had been driven to the commission of crime? Even clergymen, and benevolent ladies, and well-meaning ministers, stood appalled at the state of affairs. Under such circumstances, the manufacturers had no alternative but to agitate for the repeal of laws which hindered their trade, and, by refusing work to the operative, not alone taxed his daily bread, but actually deprived him of the means of earning it. "Man shall live by the sweat

of his brow," says the Bible: the English corn-law, passed by landlords to protect their rents, said, "Man shall not live at all." Tory landlords were alarmed, and said, if the anti-corn-law people gained the day, they would sell their estates, as England would be no longer fit for a gentleman to live in. The Chartist demagogues were equally terrified, as they saw, in the increase of the industry and happiness of the million, their occupation gone. Happily the anti-corn-law people triumphed; and the consequence has been, that the landed property of the country has been doubled—in many cases quadrupled—in value; that never had industry more constant or more remunerative operation; that never was there more content and intelligence in the land than at the present time: and for these incalculable blessings, speaking after the manner of men, we have to be thankful to Richard Cobden and John Bright. To neither of them can we ever repay what we owe. This corn-law question had been for years one of the puzzles of political economy, reasoned about in scientific language, and in a way which only a few could understand; but Cobden and Bright made the matter clear and simple to the plainest understanding. Paid lecturers and hireling advocates could never have done what they did. They preached a crusade as holy, and with as untiring a zeal, as was ever done by hermit of the olden time: they told how the naked could be clothed, the hungry fed, the sick healed, the profligate reclaimed, the hereditary jealousies of nations broken down, and peace, and civilisation, and religion advanced; and they told this in words which, once listened to, could never be forgot—in words which were things—in words which took a question of science, and made it quicken and stir the heart of the nation. We must return to Mr. Bright. Alas! his honourable ally has fallen by his side—

"I weep for Adonais; he is dead."

People who read the *Times*, tell us Mr. Bright's aim is to set class against class. It is nothing of the kind. His aim is the emancipation of the people from legislation which must be unfair, more or less, seeing that in the production of it the people have no part. In parliament he is a power by virtue of his honesty, his courage, and his brain. Everything was against him when he was, in 1843, returned as member for Durham. All his antecedents were against him. He was not merely not a landlord, but he was a cotton-lord. He was not merely not of the church of England, but of the sect whose harmless peculiarities have been more laughed at than its virtues admired. He was not merely of the Anti-Corn-Law League, but, with the exception of Richard Cobden, its greatest man. He was not only at the head of an agitation thoroughly revolutionary, as it seemed to his opponents, but he was one of those who let it be clearly understood that that agitation was but the means to an end. He not only had no respect for shams, but he expressed his contempt in the clearest and most unpalatable form. A weak man would have quailed before the storm which raged when the new member for Durham made his appearance; but in the howling benches opposite there was nothing to intimidate John Bright. In the main the House is generous, and offers a fair field to a man of capacity and pluck. When Manchester refused to re-elect him, the House mourned the loss of one of its brightest ornaments; and his return for Birmingham, in 1857, was an event hailed with joy. As an orator, Mr Bright is unrivalled. His charge is irresistible. In length he has never vied with Mr. Gladstone, or in feats of legerdemain with Mr. Disraeli. His are not the contortions of a Whiteside, or the classic and resounding periods of a Bulwer Lytton; but in force—in the art of saying the right thing at the right time—of striking while the iron is hot—of hitting the nail upon the head—he is infinitely superior to them all.

In appearance, Mr. Bright gives you an idea of a man of business of a superior class. He is growing stout; also, his hair is getting grey, for hard work has told on him. He is always dressed in black; his complexion inclines to fair, and his eyes are light: he looks intelligent and genial, but you would scarce imagine that he could use such scathing words as at times fall from his lips. His place is

below the gangway on the ministerial side, where, it is to be hoped, he may remain many years to be the mouthpiece of the English people, and to see the triumph of those reforms in our home and foreign policy, which, perhaps, would have been long postponed had it not been for his earnest endeavour and his tongue of fire. As it is, he has deserved well of his country; and his presence in the government would be a pledge to America, and France, and the world, that England was on the side of peace and progress; that, free and Christian herself, her sympathies would be with freedom and Christianity wherever they exist or struggle after life.

We find, in 1840, the Anti-Corn-Law League resuming its operations with fresh vigour. A numerous meeting was held in Manchester, and a Free-Trade Hall erected. It was opened with a banquet, at which Daniel O'Connell, and all the leading free-trade members of parliament, and delegates from the chief towns of the empire, were present. So little did Messrs. Cobden and Bright put themselves forward, that the latter never spoke; and the former only for ten minutes. On the next night, a working-man's banquet was held, 5,000 of that class being in the hall, and their wives and families in the galleries. Mr. Cobden was present.

A deputation, more than once, waited on government this year. Cobden and others came back very much dissatisfied.

Another deputation waited on Mr. Baring, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade. Mr. J. B. Smith (subsequently M.P.) began, we are told, in a modest, but firm manner. Mr. John Brooks, the borough-reeve of Manchester, followed, and stated many instances of serious depression in the property of men of his own class; but when he came to give a detail of the distresses of the working classes, and to describe one particular family, the members of which, after a life of economy and industry, had been compelled to pawn articles of furniture and clothes, one after another, till nothing was left but bare walls and empty cupboards, his feelings completely gave way; convulsive sobs choked his utterance; and he was obliged to pause till he recovered from his deep emotion. The tears rolled down the cheeks of Joseph Sturge. John Benjamin Smith strove in vain to conceal his sorrow. There was scarcely a tearless eye in the assembly; and the ministers looked with astonishment at a scene so unusual to statesmen and courtiers. Joseph Sturge made a powerful appeal to the ministers, placing the whole question on the eternal principles of justice and morality, which, he said, were shamefully outraged by a tax upon the food of the people. At the close of the conference, Mr. Cobden boldly told the government that their decision would become a matter of history, and would stamp their character.

The League now felt that they had no more to hope from the Whigs; that they must appeal to the country; that ladies, also, must join in the work. Mr. Cobden began lecturing. The first of the great League parties was held in the Manchester Corn Exchange, in October, 1840. Mrs. Cobden presided at one of the tables, and her husband was one of the speakers.

Next year the League made itself felt in parliament. Their first fight was at Walsall. Two candidates appeared—Mr. Gladstone (fresh from Oxford University) and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton. Both candidates refused to pledge themselves to League principles; and the Leaguers started Mr. J. B. Smith as a candidate of their own. The Whig found he had no chance, and retired. The Tories gained the day: but the real victory remained with the Leaguers, who almost carried their man. At a meeting held at Manchester, shortly after the election, Mr. Cobden said—"So effectually had repeal possessed itself of the people of Walsall, owing to the information circulated there on the subject by the members of the League, and more especially by the aid of our talented lecturer, Mr. Acland, that Mr. Smith was never once asked his political opinions. In his address, he never mentioned one word of his political opinions; and all the time he was there, I believe not an individual put a question to him as to party politics. This is a remarkable fact; and there cannot be a doubt that, at the next general election, come when it may, the great rallying-cry will be, 'No bread-tax.'"

The Melbourne administration, in view of its approaching dissolution, began to think it desirable to obtain the support of the League. Lord Russell, in 1841, got the House to resolve itself into a committee to consider of the acts relating to corn, and proposed a fixed duty of 8*s*. The Leaguers redoubled their efforts; and meeting after meeting was held to demand the immediate abolition of the corn-laws. At the general election consequent on the defeat of the Whig ministers in parliament, the League secured several seats. At Walsall, their candidate was triumphantly returned. Dr. Bowring was elected for Bolton; Mr. Cobden for Stockport. At Manchester, Mr. Milner Gibson (a promising convert) and Mr. Mark Phillips, free-traders, were returned.

Sir Robert Peel had to meet this new power—a power armed with right—speaking for the starving and the poor all over the land.

Lancashire languished, and was unable to maintain its own. Out of forty manufacturing establishments in Bolton, thirty were closed; one-fourth of the houses was uninhabited; while the prisons were full to overflowing; children were dying of hunger in their mothers' arms. Thus graphically did Colonel Thompson describe the state of affairs in that wretched town:—

"I have been at the siege of Bolton for nothing: but some such cause suggests itself as adequate to the phenomenon. And is it not a siege?—not, perhaps, carried on by an enemy within gunshot, but by one working on a wider radius, and making his blockade by sea upon the means of life.

"Many sights it has been my chance to see. I think I know what is the minimum of help by which horse, ass, dog, pony, or monkey can sustain existence, and where it must go out for want of appliances and means of living. But anything like the squalid misery, the slow, mouldy, putrefying death by which the weak and the feeble of the working classes are perishing here, it never befel my eyes to behold, nor my imagination to conceive. And the creatures seem to have no idea of resisting, or even repining. They sit down with oriental submission, as if it was God, and not the landlords, who was laying his hand upon them: and when their honourable representative gave a description of their sufferings, liar was the best word applied to him by the organs of tyranny. Did you ever set eyes on a pennyworth of mutton? Come here, and you shall see how rations are served out under the landlords' state of siege. It might bait a rat-trap, though a well-fed rat would hardly risk his personalities for such an existence. Pennyworths of mutton, and half-pennyworth's of bread, cut off the loaf, are what the shopkeepers of Bolton deal out to the inhabitants of their Jerusalem. I saw a woman come for one half-pennyworth of bread, which was to be the dinner of herself and children twain; and, when I reflected that, of this transparent slice, the other half was gone to buy the landlord's sack, astonishment possessed me at the endurance of that long-bearing ass, the public, and the extent to which ignorance and divisions will prop the rich man's robbery.

"I saw another mother of a family who said she had not tasted meat for many months; and on one of the children being sent off to the butcher's for some of that strange luxury, she was discovered making many efforts to intercept the messenger. Her anxiety was to instruct the boy to bring back nothing but one pennyworth of bacon. There was a to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow, for which she had conceived the idea of spinning out existence by means of the remainder of the fund.

"If you are curious in human misery—if you are anxious to know what a shabby tyranny can bring the rank and file to suffer, come, at your leisure, to the Leaguer of Bolton, and see what the people sleep upon—if they do sleep. Chopped dirt; the sweepings of a hen-house mingled with a portion of sparrows' nests, to show that men had heard of straw, would be the best representatives of what they huddle up in a corner, and call it resting. And all this because Sir Raving Greedy votes, in the House of Commons, for closing honest trade as the means of doubling his rents.

"The minister, meanwhile, and his associates, are racking their tender hearts to find a remedy. As in O'Connell's celebrated story of the horse, will they try corn? They will try anything except allow the sufferers to help themselves, for that would interfere with the plans of those who, being rich already, used their riches as the means of doubling them by confiscation of the poor man's bread."

At the time when parliament was prorogued, there were 20,936 persons in Leeds, whose average earnings were only 11¾*d.* a week. In Paisley, nearly one-fourth of the entire population was in a state of starvation. In one district in Manchester, the Rev. Mr. Beardsall visited 218 families, consisting of 1,000 individuals, whose average earnings were only 7½*d.* per head. A public meeting was held at Stockport, at which the Rev. Mr. Baker and Mr. Coppock, the town clerk, gave harrowing details of the wide extent, and the intensity, of the suffering. While millions were in this detestable condition, the duty on the importation of wheat was 24*s.* 8*d.*; on oats, 13*s.* 9*d.*; on barley, 10*s.* 10*d.*; and on rye, 14*s.* per quarter.

No wonder poetry took up the theme. As one instance out of many, we give Dr. Bowring's—

"DIED OF STARVATION.—CORONER'S INQUEST.

"I met Famine on my way,
Prowling for human prey;
Clogged with filth, and clad in rags;
Ugliest of all ugly hags.
Lo! a sceptre, wreathed with snakes,
In her withered hand she shakes:
And I heard the hag proclaim,
'Bread-tax is my sceptre's name.'
On remorseless mission sent,
Maiming, murdering as she went,
Spreading death from street to street:
Oh! I heard the hag repeat,
Shuddering while I heard and saw,
'Mine is RIGHT, and MIGHT, and LAW.'
Then to solitude I flew:
'Gracious Heaven! can this be true?'
On my trembling knees I fell;
'God! thou God of mercy, tell,
Can the very fiends of hell,
In Thy name these pandects draw,
And declare their license *law?*
Dare they, in Thy holy sight,
To proclaim their robbery right?
Rouse Thee! raise Thine awful rod;
Lord, how long, how long, O God?'"

The ladies of Manchester addressed the queen. Mr. George Thompson, in recommending them to do so, said—"She is a woman; she is a wife; she is a mother. Tell her the nation which has just rejoiced in the birth of a son she has given to be the sovereign of these realms, contains millions of husbands, wives, and children, who know not where to obtain to-morrow's bread. Implore her, as she desires to save her country from distraction, to gladden homes that are desolate—to bring upon her the blessings of the perishing, and to rule over a happy and contented people—to exercise all the influence the constitution gives her in favour of that great measure we have advocated to-night. Let the memorial which shall express your wishes be carried to the homes of those for whose welfare it prays. Carry it to the cellar, where mothers are perishing; ascend from the cellar to the garret; gather, as you go, the signature of those who are perishing for bread. Thus let those who have nothing, and those who at present enjoy competence, appear together in the presence of our patriot queen. If it be possible, let millions of women urge their wonted appeal to a woman's heart; it cannot be that it shall prove a vain appeal. Your queen has told you that she pities the sufferings of the

people, and desires to relieve them. Consolidate their sufferings; present them in the mass before her eyes; claim her attention to them; tell her that the corn-laws have produced them; tell her that nothing but the abolition of the corn-laws can remove them; and beseech her, with the earnestness which women alone can display, to declare herself yet again on the side of the people. If, in the midst of this work of mercy, any one should cry 'politics,' silence it with the cry of 'bread.' If any should tell you you are unfeminine in that which you do, tell them it would be still more unlike women to slumber when mothers and their little ones are perishing for bread. Do this, and you will sanctify this question."

Mr. Cobden at once made his *début* in the House of Commons, where it was observed that he was not received with that courtesy due to a new member. His maiden speech was delivered on the 25th of August, being the second night of the debate on the address in answer to the queen's speech. This first speech deserves notice.

"He called the attention of the House to the working of the bread-tax. The effect was this—it compelled the working classes to pay 40 per cent. more. That is a higher price than they should pay, if there was a free trade in corn. When honourable gentlemen spoke of 40*s*. as the price of foreign corn, they would make the addition 50 per cent. He did not over-state the case, and therefore he put down the bread-tax as imposing an additional tax of 40 per cent. He had now to call their attention to facts contained in the report of the committee on the hand-loom weavers. It was a report got up with great care and singular talent. It gave, amongst other things, the amount of the earnings of a working-man's family, and that was put down at 10*s*. Looking at the metropolitan and rural districts, they found that not to be a bad estimate of the earnings of every labouring family. But let them proceed upward, and see how the same tax worked. The man who had 20*s*. a week still paid 2*s*. to the bread-tax; that was to him 10 per cent as an income-tax. If they went further, to the man who had 40*s*., the income-tax upon him in this way was 5 per cent. If they mounted higher, to the man who had £5 a week, or £250 a year, it was 1 per cent. income-tax. Let them ascend to the nobility and the millionaires—to those who had an income of £200,000 a year. His family was the same as the poor man's; and how did the bread-tax affect him? It was one halfpenny on every £100."

Mr. Cobden continued—"Probably honourable gentlemen were aware that a very important meeting had lately been held at Manchester. He alluded to the meeting of the ministers of religion. (A laugh.) He understood that laugh; but he should not pause in his statement of facts, but, perhaps, notice it before concluding. He had seen a body of ministers, of all denominations, 650 (and not thirty) in number, assembled from all parts of the country, at an expense of from £3,000 to £4,000, paid by their congregations. At that meeting most important statements of facts were made relating to the condition of the labouring classes. He would not trouble the House by reading these documents; but they showed that, in every district of the country (and these statements rested upon unimpeachable authority), the condition of the great body of her majesty's labouring population had deteriorated wofully within the last ten years, and more especially within the last three years; and that, in proportion as the price of food increased, in the same proportion the comforts of the working classes had diminished. One word with respect to the manner in which his allusion to this meeting was received. He did not come there to vindicate the conduct of these Christian men, in having assembled in order to take this subject into consideration. The parties who had to judge them were their own congregations. There were, at that meeting, members of the established church, of the church of Rome, Independents, Baptists, ministers of the church of Scotland, and of the Secession Church Methodists; and, indeed, ministers of every other denomination: and if he were disposed to impugn the character of those divines, he felt that he should be casting a stigma and a reproach upon the greatest body of professing Christians in this country. He

happened to be the only member of the House present at that meeting; and he might be allowed to state, that when he heard the tale of misery there described—when he heard those ministers declare that members of their congregation were kept away from places of worship during the morning service, and only crept out under cover of the darkness of the night—when they described others as unfit to receive spiritual consolation, because they were sunk so low in physical destitution; that the attendance at Sunday-schools was falling off—when he heard these and such like statements;—when he, who believed that the corn-laws, the provision monopoly, were at the bottom of all that was endured—heard these statements, and from such authority, he must say that he rejoiced to see gentlemen of such character come forward, and, like Nathan when he addressed the owner of flocks and herds, who had plundered the poor man of his only lamb, say unto the doer of injustice, whoever he might be—thou art the man. The people, through the ministers, had protested against the corn-laws: those laws had been tested by the immutable morality of Scripture. Those reverend gentlemen had prepared and signed a petition, in which they prayed the removal of those laws—laws which, they stated, violated the Scriptures, and prevented famishing men from having a portion of those Fatherly bounties which were intended for all people; and he would remind honourable gentlemen that, besides these 650 ministers, there were 1,500 others, from whom letters had been received, offering up their prayers in the several localities, to incline the will of Him who ruled princes and potentates, to turn your hearts to justice and mercy. When they found so many ministers of religion, without any sectarian differences, joining hearts and hands in a great cause, there could be no doubt of their earnestness. He begged to call to their minds whether these worthy men would not make very efficient ministers in this great cause. They knew what they had done in the anti-slavery question when the religious public was aroused; and what the difference was between stealing a man, and making him labour, and robbing a man of the fruit of his industry, he could not perceive. The noble lord, the member for south Lancashire (Lord Stanley), knew something of the abilities of these men. The noble lord had told the House, that from the moment the religious community and their pastors took up the question of slavery, from that moment the agitation must be successful. He believed this would be the case in the present instance. Englishmen had a respect for rank, for wealth—perhaps too much: they felt an attachment to the laws of their country. But there was another attribute in the minds of Englishman—there was a permanent veneration for sacred things; and where their sympathy, and respect, and deference were enlisted in what they believed to be a sacred cause, you and yours," said the orator, with sudden fire, addressing the Tories, "will vanish like chaff before the whirlwind."

Ere the autumnal session was closed, Cobden denounced, in the strongest manner, the refusal of the Premier to announce his financial policy until the next year. Mr. Cobden said—"In the borough of Stockport, which he represented, the distress was fearful. One out of every five houses in Stockport was untenanted; half of those occupied were not paying rent; nearly half of the manufacturers' mills were closed; and thousands of working-people, who, in other countries, would be a valuable possession, were walking about the streets, seeking employment, but unable to find it. Yet, in the face of such facts, were they to wait five months for measures of relief? God knew whether or not he should have constituents in six months. If emigration went on for the next six months as it had done for the last twelve months, he feared he should find very few of his constituents left. If, however, they were to have the discussion adjourned for six months, he begged leave to place the responsibility, and the particular consequences to the labouring population that would flow from such a course, on the shoulders of the right honourable gentleman opposite. They had fraternised with the Chartists to some purpose during the last twelve months. A coalition had taken place between them, which, he believed, was now about to be dissolved:

but let them beware, when going back to a people deprived of work, discontented and dissatisfied, that the cause of the delay was placed on the right shoulders. It was right that the working classes should know that they had six months of privation and suffering before them because certain honourable members were desirous not to miss the pleasures of shooting."

"The following facts," says Mr. McGilchrist, in his *Life of Cobden*, "furnish a tolerably fair indication of Mr. Cobden's pluckiness—we can employ no better term—at this early and, as some thought, hopeless period of the anti-corn-law agitation. The League held one of its usual meetings at the dullest, and saddest, and most distressing period of the year, at Manchester. Silk Buckingham was introduced. Every one remembered what good service he had rendered to the state by his lectures, in former years, against the East India monopoly. He addressed the meeting; so did homely Joseph Brotherton, whose very sensible annual motion, that the House of Commons should dismiss itself, and betake itself to bed at the sensible hour of twelve every night, many of our readers will recollect. But there was a sort of damper in the meeting. Mr. Cobden jumped up with alacrity, and, to cheer his friends, first informed them that Mr. Buckingham was going to join their gallant crew as a recruit—he was going to become one of their lecturers. Then he said he was for national co-operation. It must be a mere Manchester matter no longer; the League must print a million copies of each of their three prize essays. In a fortnight he would have every Manchester printing-press in full swing. They must not any longer dispense free-trade tracts, but condensed libraries on the corn-laws. Every lecturer must have his district; and as for the monopolist papers jeering them, and saying they would not raise their £50,000, why he thought they might just as well ask for £100,000 at once. They say this to the country—'We'll spend the money first—we'll put ourselves in pawn for it, and we'll trust to our bread-eating countrymen to take us out of pawn.'"

At length the time had arrived when Sir Robert Peel had to do something.

After five months' study and consideration he did his best.

It consisted of his famous budget of 1842, with its sliding-scale of duties on corn, and its abolition or reduction of 750 duties of greater or less importance; and its other well-known features. Cobden and the League would not accept that portion of it which had reference to corn. Delegates were at once again, to the number of 600, sent to London; and, to the infinite annoyance of ministers, made preparation for a session concurrently with that of parliament, at their head-quarters in Palace Yard. On one occasion the deputies proceeded in a body to the House of Commons. They were flatly refused admission into the House; at which they were justly indignant. They congregated round the House, shouting, "Total Repeal!" and "Cheap Food!" as the members entered. After thus amusing themselves, and giving three hearty cheers for free trade, the delegates returned, and proceeded up Parliament Street. Just at Privy Gardens they met Sir Robert Peel, proceeding in his carriage to the House. He seemed to think at first they were going to cheer him; but when he heard the angry shouts of "No Corn-Law!" "Down with Monopoly!" "Give Bread and Labour!" he leaned back in his carriage, grave and pale.

The question before the country was between Sir Robert's plan of a fluctuating duty, and Lord John Russell's proposition of a fixed one. Mr. Cobden, in one of his most telling speeches, protested against both. He dealt especially with the fallacy that high prices of corn produced a high rate of wages: he accused the Tories of utter ignorance on the subject; and being met, thereupon, with a storm of derisive "Oh, oh's!" he turned to the benches whence they proceeded, and said—"Yes, I say an ignorance on this subject which I never saw equalled in any body of working-men in the north of England (oh, oh!). Do you think that the fallacy of 1815—which, to my astonishment, I heard put forth in the House last week—viz., that wages rise and fall with the price of food—can

prevail after the experience of the last three years? Have you not had bread higher during that time than during any two years during the last twenty years? Yes; but during these three years the wages of labour, in every branch of industry, have suffered a greater decline than in any three years before."

As a specimen of admirable close hitting, Mr. Cobden said—"You don't fix the price of cotton, or silk, or iron, or tin. Why don't you? But how are you to fix this price of corn? Going back some ten years, the right honourable baronet finds the average price of corn is 56*s.* 10*d.*; and therefore, says he, I propose to keep up the price of wheat from 54*s.* to 58*s.* The right honourable baronet's plan means that or nothing. I see in a useful little book, called the *Parliamentary Pocket Companion*—in which there are some nice little descriptions of ourselves (laughter)—under the head Cayley, that that gentleman is described as being the advocate of such a course of legislation, with regard to agriculture, as will keep wheat at 54*s.* a quarter (hear, hear); new milk and cheese at from 54*s.* to 60*s.* per cwt.; wool and butter at 1*s.* per lb. each; and other produce in proportion (hear, hear, and laughter). Now, it might be very amusing to find that there are gentlemen still at large (hear, hear, and great laughter) who advocate the principle of the interposition of parliament to fix the prices at which such articles should be sold: but when we find a Prime Minister coming down to parliament to avow such principles, it becomes anything but amusing. I ask the right honourable baronet—and I pause for a reply—is he prepared to carry out that principle in the articles of cotton and wool?"

Sir Robert Peel said it was impossible to fix the price of food by legislation.

Mr. Cobden continued—"Then on what are we legislating. I thank the right honourable baronet for his avowal. Perhaps he will oblige us by trying to do so. Supposing, however, that he will make the attempt, I ask the right honourable gentleman—and I again pause for a reply—will he try to legislate so as to keep up the price of cotton, silk, and wool? No reply! Then we come to this conclusion, that we are *not* legislating for the universal people."

Unweariedly the League continued its labours. Deputations waited on all the leading ministers, to represent to them the true condition of the country. The agricultural districts were invaded. The League sent out agents to all the southern and purely agricultural districts: they conducted inquiries of the most scrutinising character. The general substance of their reports was a revelation of bad tillage, and every kind of waste; overweening rents; uncertain profits; and wages reduced below the point of possible maintenance. Cobden himself went through the southern counties in the recess, holding meetings on market-days, and maintaining his ground against all comers. The eyes of the farmers began to be opened, and they joined the League. The council of the League advertised for prize essays, showing the injurious operation of the corn-laws upon farmers and farm-labourers.

In London the League carried everything before it. They hired Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres, and there got together such audiences as were never seen before. The houses were arranged for the purpose: a small platform was erected for the speakers; a numerous crowd of every rank, station, and sex, filled the pit, boxes, and galleries; and, at stated intervals, some of the most noted men of the day came there to attack protection, and to demand commercial freedom in the name of humanity. One of the most powerful speakers on these occasions was Mr. W. J. Fox, afterwards M.P. for Oldham. "It is much to many here," said the orator, "that through every station, in every rank of life, the pressure is felt: the demon seems to be omnipresent, and they cannot escape his pestiferous influence. But even this is not the deadliest influence of the corn-laws. Did one want to exhibit it in this great theatre?—not by calling together such an audience as I now see here; but by going out into the by-places, the alleys, the dark courts

and cellars of the metropolis, and by bringing thence their wretched and famished inmates. One might crowd them here—boxes, pit, and galleries—with their shrunk and shrivelled forms, with their wan and pallid cheeks, with their distressful looks—perhaps with dark and bitter passions pictured in their countenances; and thus exhibit a scene that would appal the stoutest heart, and melt the hardest—a scene that we would wish to bring the Prime Minister upon the stage to see, and we would say to him—'There!—delegate of majesty! leader of legislators! conservator of constitutions!—look upon that mass of misery! That is what your laws and power, if they do not create, have failed to prevent—have failed to cure or mitigate.' And, supposing this to be done, could this scene be realised? We know what would be said: we should be told—'There has always been poverty in the world; there are numerous ills that laws can neither make nor cure; whatever is done, much distress must exist.' They will say—'It is the mysterious dispensation of Providence, and there we must leave it.' I would say to the Premier, if he used such arguments—'Hypocrite! hypocrite! urge not that plea yet: you have no right to take it. Strike off every fetter upon industry; take the last grain of the poison of monopoly out of the cup of poverty; give labour its full rights; throw open the markets of the world to an industrious people; and then if, after all, there be poverty, you have earned your right to qualify for the unenviable dignity of a blasphemer of Providence."

The League continued to make the most rapid progress; they had with them the Duke of Bedford, Earls Spencer, Radnor, and Ducie. A seat became vacant in the representation of the city of London. Mr. James Pattison, who stood on free-trade principles, was elected in opposition to Mr. Thomas Baring, the Conservative candidate, the most eminent of London bankers. Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd gave in his adherence to the League. The *Times* newspaper, which had hitherto spoken slightingly of the movement, changed its tone, and solemnly declared that the League was a great fact.

"Peel," as Guizot observes, "watched this movement with kindly but anxious eyes. A friend of the principles advocated by the League, he was offended by the violence of its language, and the impatience of its demands; and his thoughts ran more and more on the immediate difficulties which he foresaw it would produce, than on the strength which he might one way derive from it. The public distress which still continued filled him with sorrow; he persisted on thinking, as he had stated on his assumption of power, that the corn-law was neither its sole, nor even its principal cause. Neither the new law which he had carried on this subject, nor his measures for the reduction of the tariff, had as yet brought about any great and evident results. The public revenue was in a depressed state. The encroachment which had been already made on the protective system, and the still more serious peril with which it was threatened by the League, redoubled the anger of the exclusive Tories. Their attacks upon Peel for the treason he had already consummated, and his obscure designs, daily became more violent. He was irritated rather than intimidated by them: but in the midst of this turmoil of parties—in presence of all these hostile or compromising passions—in view of so many facts and problems as yet uncertain and unsolved, he deemed it wiser rather to slacken than to hasten his progress in the difficult path on which he had entered."

A painful event occurred to add a feeling of personal sadness to this disposition of his mind. As he was one day walking with his private secretary, Mr. Drummond, an unknown Scotchman, who had recently arrived in London, Daniel Macnaughten by name, met him, and asked some by-standers if that was not Sir Robert Peel? A few days afterwards, on the 21st of January, 1843, Mr. Drummond, while walking near Charing Cross, was shot by Macnaughten, who had mistaken him for Sir Robert Peel. At the trial, it was clearly proved that the assassin had acted from personal, rather than from political motives; that he was insane; and that he fancied he had been persecuted by Sir Robert. The assassin was sent to a madhouse; but the impression produced by the distressing occur-

rence on Sir Robert was of a painful character, and one which long manifested itself.

In February, 1843, on the very day of the opening of the session, and in the debate on the address, Sir Robert Peel hastened to make an unequivocal declaration of the expectant policy which he intended to pursue in reference to the corn-laws. He said—"I made, in the course of last year, with the aid of my friends and colleagues in office, more extensive changes in the commerce of the country, and the code which regulates it, than were made at any former period. If I had contemplated any further immediate extensive changes, I would at once have proposed them in the course of last session. Why should I not have done so? I stated the general principles on which I proceeded, and to those general principles I adhere. Whatever changes I propose, will be in uniformity—when I do propose them—with those general principles; but I did not lead honourable gentlemen to expect that I would go on, year after year, introducing extensive changes. * * * I cannot forget that, in this country, protection has been the rule; that, under it, great and extensive interests have grown up; and that if, in stating better principles, and substituting a better system for one that is defective, you proceed too hastily—if you produce distress in consequence of your beneficial efforts to introduce contentment and happiness, you run the risk of obstructing the free and rapid progress of these principles. * * * I should be deceiving honourable gentlemen if I led them to expect, in the present session, any such extensive alterations as those which have been hinted at. I will not now enter into a vindication of the corn-laws; an opportunity will probably be afforded by some gentleman who takes a different view of the subject from myself, for discussing their operation and effects. But when I am asked to come forward and declare whether I contemplate extensive changes in the corn-laws, I feel it right to avow that her majesty's government have it not in contemplation to propose such extensive changes."

This declaration increased, not allayed, agitation. The attacks of the Leaguers became more harassing and pressing. Mr. Cobden declared that he held the right honourable baronet "individually responsible for the present condition of the country." Sir Robert replied—"Sir, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Cobden) has stated here, very emphatically, what he has more than once stated at the conference of the Anti-Corn-Law League—that he holds me individually—(great excitement)—*individually* responsible for the distress and sufferings of the country; that he holds me personally responsible. But, be the consequences of these insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces, either in this House or out of this House, to adopt a course which I consider ——" (The rest of the sentence was lost in shouts from various parts of the House.)

Mr. Cobden said—"I did not say that I held the right honourable gentleman responsible (shouts of 'Yes you did.' Cries of 'Order, order!' Sir Robert Peel—'You did.') I have said that I hold the right honourable gentleman responsible by virtue of his office ('No, no!' and much confusion); as the whole context of what I have said was sufficient to explain. ('No, no!' from the ministerial benches.)"

Sir Robert Peel, still haunted by the shade of Mr. Drummond, rose, and repeated his assertion that Cobden had twice declared that he held him individually responsible. At a later period of the debate, Mr. Cobden again, on essaying an explanation, was hooted down.

In referring to this extraordinary scene, Miss Martineau writes—"The Anti-Corn-Law League had not yet had time to win the respect, and command the deference, which it was soon to enjoy; but it was known to be organised and led by men of station, character, and substance—men of enlarged education, and of that virtuous and decorous character which distinguishes the middle class of England. Yet it was believed—believed by men of education—by men in parliament—by men in attendance on the government, that the Anti-Corn-Law League

sanctioned assassination, and did not object to carry its aims by means of it. This is, perhaps, the strongest manifestation of the tribulation of the time." It is only right to remark that, subsequently, Sir Robert Peel withdrew the imputation in the handsomest manner. In 1846, in one of the debates on the total repeal of the corn-laws, Sir Robert Peel said—"The honourable member thought fit to recall to the recollection of the House something which took place about three years since, in the course of a heated debate, when I put an erroneous construction on some expressions used by the honourable member for Stockport. An explanation was given of the meaning of those expressions by that honourable member; and my intention at the time, after that explanation, was to have relieved the honourable member for Stockport, in the most distinct manner, of the imputations which I had put upon him. If any one who was present at that debate, had stated to me that my reparation was not so complete, and the avowal of my error not so unequivocal, as it ought to have been, I should at once have repeated it more plainly and distinctly. It was my intention to have made the fullest explanation. That my intention must have been so, will indeed appear in reference to my speech. I am sorry, certainly, that the honourable member for Shrewsbury has thought fit to revive the subject—or, at least, I should have been so, if his reference to it had not given me an opportunity of fully and unequivocally withdrawing an imputation on the honourable member for Stockport, which was thrown out in the heat of debate, under an erroneous impression of his meaning."

A new aid came to the Leaguers. At this time we find Carlyle writing, in his *Past and Present*—"Oh, my Conservative friends! who still specially name, and struggle to approve, yourselves Conservative, would to heaven I could persuade you of this world-old fact—than which fate is not surer—that truth and justice alone are capable of being conserved and preserved! The thing which is unjust, which is not according to God's law—will you, in a God's universe, try to preserve that? It is old, say you? Yes; and the hotter haste ought you, of all others, to be in to let it grow no older. If but the faintest whisper in your hearts intimate to you that it is not fair, hasten, for the sake of Conservatism itself, to probe it vigorously—to cast it forth at once and for ever, if guilty. How will or can you preserve it? * * * If I were the Conservative party of England—which is another bold figure of speech—I would not, for £100,000 an hour, allow these corn-laws to continue. All Potosi and all Golconda together would not purchase my consent to them. Do you count what treasures of bitter indignation they are lying up for you in every just English heart? Do you know what questions—not as to corn-laws and sliding-scales alone—they are forcing every reflective Englishman to ask himself—questions insoluble or hitherto unsolved—deeper than any of our logic plummets hitherto will sound—questions deep enough, which it were better we did not name, even in thought. You are forcing us to think of them. The utterance of them is begun; and where will it be ended, think you? Where now millions of our brother-men sit—in workhouses; and 5,000,000, as it is insolently said, rejoice in potatoes. There are various things that must be begun; let them end where they can."

In January, 1845, the League published certain statistics of its doings for the preceding ten years. In that time it had held 150 meetings in parliamentary boroughs, and fifty in other places; 15,000 copies of the *League* newspaper had been published weekly; more than 2,000,000 of tracts had been distributed; and in one year, 30,000 letters had been received, and 300,000 despatched.

In May, 1845, a new agency was called into play. Covent Garden Theatre was fitted up as a free-trade bazaar. It was transformed into a fine Gothic hall, and crowded with articles of elegance or utility. Four hundred ladies acted as saleswomen. Each contributing town had its stall, with its name, and, in some cases, its arms painted above. The bazaar was open during the month of May; 125,000 persons entered it; and it yielded £25,000 to the funds of the League. It did more—it spread far and wide its principles as well. Douglas Jerrold wrote—"As a

spectacle it was magnificent in the extreme, but not more grand materially than it was morally. The crowd who saw it thought as well as gazed. It was not a mere huge shop for selling wares, but a great school for propagating an idea; and the pupils were not Londoners alone. From every part of the land monster trains hurried up their visitors. From the tracts where tall chimneys stand like forests—from the districts where the plough, not the engine, labours; where the farm-steading takes the place of the factory; where the mill means, not weaving yarn, but grinding corn; from town and country; shipping-port and inland city—steam has whirled its tens of thousands to see a great demonstration—to take a great lesson, and then to narrate and teach what they have beheld and learned to others." The bazaar created an immense sensation: all the papers had long articles respecting it. Enough goods were left unsold, at its close, to furnish another well-stocked and remunerative bazaar at Manchester.

In 1845, parliament was chiefly occupied with the question of free trade and protection. A general discussion on the policy of the protective laws was raised by a motion proposed by Mr. Cobden, on the 13th of March, for "a select committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged existing agricultural distress, and into the effects of legislative protection upon the interest of land-owners, tenant-farmers, and farm-labourers." He proved the existence of distress among the farmers by quoting the declarations of some of the highest authorities in the agricultural interest—that half the farmers in the country were in a state of insolvency, and that the other half were paying rents out of capital, and fast hastening to the same melancholy condition. This was, therefore, the proper time for bringing on a motion for inquiry. The doubts as to the cause of this distress were also sufficient reasons for instituting it. Sir R. Peel had said that the distress was local, and did not arise from legislation. Mr. Bankes, on the contrary, maintained that it did, and was general. It had also been said that the corn-law had been successful in keeping up the price of corn; but to this it had been replied, that the price of wheat, when the present corn-law was passed, was 56*s.*; that it was now only 45*s.*; and that it would be only 35*s.* a quarter next year, if we had another plentiful harvest. Under such circumstances, might it not be well to inquire, what was the benefit of protection? He proceeded to show that the first great evil under which the farmer laboured was his want of capital. The land required an expenditure of £10 an acre, and had only £5 applied to it. Why could not capital be profitably employed on the land? Because there was no security of tenure; and capital shrunk from insecurity of every sort. In England leases were the exception; and he was sorry to say that farmers with leases were in a still worse condition than those who had them not; for the covenants in their leases were quite antediluvian, and were not fitted for the present state of agricultural science. He created much amusement by reading the covenants of a Cheshire lease; and contended that such covenants were nothing more than traps to catch the unwary, and fetters to bind the honest and intelligent. He advised the Anti-Corn-Law League to purchase a model farm, a model homestead, model cottages, and model gardens; but he would also have a model lease, and a farmer of intelligence, with sufficient capital. It was said that farmers would not now take leases. What did that mean? It meant that, by the process which the landlords had adopted, they had rendered the farmers servile, and, therefore, not anxious to become independent. The cause of the want of capital, and the insecurity of tenure, was the corn-laws. Free trade in corn would be more beneficial to the farmers and the labourers than to any other class. Sir Robert Peel had recently admitted foreign fat cattle, but he refused to admit the raw material which was necessary to make the cattle fat. He had absolutely reversed the course which Mr. Huskisson adopted with regard to manufactures. He maintained that all grazing and arable farmers were interested in having a large and cheap supply of provender. They were sending out vessels every day to Ichaboe, for grain as manure, when the importation of cheap provender, which was now prohibited,

would give every farmer a cheaper and more valuable species of manure, produced upon his farm. He described the lamentable condition of the labourers; and asked the landlords, after they had brought their dependents to so melancholy a state, whether they would be afraid to risk—he would not say this experiment—but this inquiry? Protection had been a failure when it reached a prohibitive duty of 80*s.*; it had been a failure when it reached the pivot price of 60*s.*; and it was a failure now, when they had got a sliding-scale, for they had admitted the lamentable condition of their tenantry and peasantry. He called upon all the gentlemen who entered the House, not as politicians, but as the farmer's friends, to support his motion, which was intended for their benefit, and not for their injury. The motion, of course, was negatived by a large majority.

And now the time is arriving when the free-traders were to triumph. In the course of the session, Lord John Russell brought forward a series of resolutions on the condition of the labouring classes. He stated that he could not now recommend the fixed duty of 8*s.*, which he had proposed in 1841. He supposed no one would propose a smaller duty than 4*s.*: he himself, if it were his affair, should propose one of 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or 6*s.* Sidney Herbert, too, a member of the ministry, talked in terms of depreciation of the agricultural interest coming to parliament, "whining for protection." Cobden and the free-traders made abundant use of this expression—an expression which filled the hearts of the agricultural interest with sore dismay. If we turn to *Punch* of that year, we find coming events cast their shadows before. There are parliamentary symptoms that the Anti-Corn-Law League has not been working in vain. "Papa Cobden, taking Master Robert a free-trade walk," exclaims, "Do step out!" The fat little boy, dragged along, answers, "You know I cannot go as fast as you do." Later in the year, the "Political Robin," driven, by the severity of the time, to seek for grain, shows us the little bird Peel at the cottage-door, looking up to the good child Cobden, who has got an ear of corn in one hand, and a full bag in the other. In the same spirit, Peel, the country boy, is throwing open the gate of monopoly. *Punch* had long been hitting the landlords hard. Leech, in 1844, drew "The Home of the Rick-burner." A wretched peasant sits in a dilapidated room, ragged, shivering, with four starving children around his knees. He looks despairingly towards the pallet on which his wife lies dead; whilst one of the children is appealing to him for food. The demon, in the background, holds a lighted torch. "The Game-laws" is a sketch in which an altar is surmounted by the landowners' idol, the hare. A labourer, manacled, kneels before it, about to be sacrificed by the robed and coroneted high-priest, who holds the sword of justice in his hand, labelled, "According to law." Two women, with their children, are slowly making their way to the Union in the distance. "The Poor Man's Friend" is a picture of death as a beneficent visitor. An emaciated old man lies upon the hard bed, his broken spade on the floor: "Testimonial" on the wall. The friend stands by the bed-side. "Reconciliation, or, as it ought to be," is a prophecy by *Punch*. The nobleman, uncovered, points to poor-laws and game-laws, which he has trodden under foot. The labourer, touching his forelock, tramples his bludgeon beneath his heavy, hobnailed shoe. The little gentleman on the ground is exhibiting the alphabet to the labourer's boy.

The new era is about to dawn. It came in heralded, as is often the case, by storms.

But we must return to the parliamentary debates. Mr. Sidney Herbert's speech was bitterly commented on by Mr. Disraeli a few days afterwards. He said—"I remember to have heard the right honourable baronet at the head of the government, say he would sooner be the leader of the gentlemen of England than possess the confidence of sovereigns. We don't hear much of the gentlemen of England now; but what of that? They have the pleasures of memory—the charms of reminiscence. They were the right honourable baronet's first love; and though he may not kneel to them now, as in the hour of passion, still they can

recall the past. He does what he can to keep them quiet; sometimes he takes refuge in arrogant silence, and sometimes he treats them with haughty frigidity; and, if they knew anything of human nature, they would take the hint, and shut their mouths. But they won't; and what then happens? The right honourable baronet, being compelled to interfere, sends down his valet, who says, in the genteelest manner, 'We can have no whining here.' And that is exactly the case of the great agricultural interest—that beauty which everybody wooed, and once deluded. There is a fatality in such charms; and we now seem to approach the catastrophe of her career. For my part, if we are to have free trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport, than by one who, by skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this, at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative government is an organised hypocrisy."

Mr. Disraeli had now become the mouthpiece of the country party, who did themselves much injury by their obstinacy in fighting a hopeless battle, and in endeavouring to preserve *intact* the duties of butter, bacon, and cheese. Their adversaries availed themselves of this with, as Guizot writes, insulting and effective irony. In one of his speeches at Covent Garden Theatre, Mr. Fox said—"All that I have said here about the aristocracy has been of certain members of that body—not in their capacity of aristocrats, but in their occupation of tradesmen. In that character they are, I imagine, most legitimate objects of animadversion. A man is not to be protected if he keeps a chandler's-shop, and cheats because he happens to be one of the members of the aristocracy. This is what I complain of. They keep a great chandler's-shop; and they look to every minute article in their store, how they can pervert the power of legislation to make the community pay more for the benefit of the aristocracy. There was a time when trading at all was thought inconsistent with the possession of that dignity. Your feudal baron did not mind robbing with the strong hand; but he turned away with contempt from robbing by the short weight of a protective duty. * * * Now, when nobles become tradesmen—when dukes become dealers in various commodities—when the memory of the Plantagenets serves to make a better barter in Mark Lane—why I think it is time for us to call out, and say this is unfair dealing with the other tradespeople of the country. I confess I never picture to myself—it has got such a hold of one's fancy—the Duke of Richmond but with a coronet on his head, with a corn-sample in his pocket, a salmon in one hand, and a whiskey-bottle in the other, and enthroned upon a butter-firkin. The coronet rubs the sample till the grains are more golden; the coronet is thrown into the scale with the salmon, and makes the fish-eater pay a higher price for it; the coronet is a false-bottom to the whiskey-bottle, and cheats the purchaser of his Glenlivat; and, last of all, if the butter be not his own, the coronet makes a hole in the firkin, in order to pour in the pitch and tar. Why this incongruity, this perversion of all dignity of station, and whatever is most honourable and majestic in legislative power? This cannot save a set of tradesmen."—Such speeches as these made the anti-corn-law sentiment irresistible out-of-doors.

Sir Robert Peel in vain strove to remain silent; the opposition incessantly raised the question, which he did not know how to solve, although he daily felt himself more imperiously urged forward to its solution. A fortnight after Lord John Russell's motion, Mr. Villiers repeated his, for the complete abolition of the corn-laws. The leading Liberals strongly supported him. Outside St. Stephen's, people began to believe that this pressure was not displeasing to Sir Robert. Mr. Bright, at Covent Garden Theatre, said—"Sir Robert knows well enough what is wanted. He has not been for nearly forty years in public life, hearing everything,

reading everything, and seeing almost everything, without having come to a conclusion that, in this country of 27,000,000 of people, and with an increase of 1,500,000 since he came into power in 1841, a law which shuts out the supply of food which the world would give to this population, cannot be maintained; and that were his government ten times as strong as it is, it must yield before the imperious and irresistible necessity which is every day gaining upon it. From his recent speech, I would argue that he intends to repeal the corn-laws. He cannot say what he does, and mean ever to go back to the old foolish policy of protection. Sir Robert Peel came from the very county where the League had its origin; and his fortune was made out of those little delicate fibres of cotton which are destined yet to revolutionise and change the face of things in this country. He sprang from commerce; and until he has proved it himself, I will never believe that there is any man—much less will I believe that he is the man—who would go down to the grave, having had the power to deliver that commerce, and yet not having had the manliness, honesty, and courage to do it." Mr. W. J. Fox, in his vein of impassioned irony, went still further:—"There is a scene," he said, "in Talfourd's play of the *Athenian Captive*, in which the vanquished hero, made a slave, has first to take off his helmet, and so to deposit his buckler; then to give up his sword; and then to sink into his servile condition. Now, in this way Sir Robert Peel is serving the corn-law. He takes national independence; 'that is your buckler—put that down.' Class interest; 'that is the plume in your helmet—lower that.' The effect on wages and the agricultural classes; 'that is your sword—give that up.' He strips off one thing after another; but with this difference—the Athenian captive was stripped of his appendages, that he might be made a slave: Sir Robert Peel strips monopoly of all its powers and appendages, in order that the country may rise to the condition of commercial freedom. He leaves but one plea for the laws which he has so stoutly defended—one, and only one; and that is, that protection law is 150 years old. So old a law might have been a little wiser. Well, this hoary-headed sinner has been made, by Sir Robert Peel, to confess to all sorts of iniquities; to having been an inveterate sophist; to having played off all sorts of humbug upon the nation, in order to gratify his private interest; to having been the occasion of innumerable distress and suffering. * * * His age shall not save him; his day of doom shall arrive. * * * This is not the place in which political matters, or political characters, not necessarily involved in our own peculiar topics, are to be discussed. I therefore go not into my opinion of the career of Sir Robert Peel, or of the many reasons that would present themselves to my mind why I might prefer that the country received this great retribution from other hands than his. But there are some reasons why it would be better that he, rather than any other man whatever, should at last grant this great measure, and become its author; and that, after having, in various ways, gradually led forward the adoption of free-trade principles in the various bearings of our commercial legislation, he should at length crown the whole with this. * * * All my animosity towards Sir Robert Peel would be gratified, and the worst vengeance I may wish inflicted on him would be this—that in the contemplation of the blessings of freedom to the country, by him conferred, he might read how much better is one single, simple act of right, than a whole life of parliamentary tactics and political expediency."

As the session of 1845 drew to its close, it became more and more evident that the approaching crisis could not long be delayed. On the 5th of August, Lord John Russell formally reviewed the labours and the results of the session which was about to terminate, without concluding with any important or positive proposition, but simply with a view to depreciate the merits of the cabinet; to point out in what respect its acts had been defective or incomplete; to display its embarrassments; and to put the opposition in a position to profit by the chances that might arise. Ireland and the corn-laws were the two points on which Lord John particularly dwelt—a heavy burden, which he strove to render still more

heavy on the shoulders of his opponents. Peel made no reply. Sir James Graham undertook the task, and acquitted himself of it with prudence and propriety. Grave apprehensions weighed on all minds. The weather was bad; the harvest uncertain. Mr. Villiers unsparingly expressed the public anxiety, and made it a weapon of attack upon the government, which did not allow free admission to the means of subsistence when the internal supplies were on the verge of failure. The cabinet remained silent. An obscure Conservative, Mr. Darby, endeavoured to reassure the House. "He had," he said, "seen with regret a sort of fiendish delight, on the part of some, at the bad weather; but he had the pleasure of telling the House that for some days the glass had been rising." This announcement was received with bursts of laughter from all sides of the House. Four days afterwards (on the 9th of August) parliament was prorogued; and the abrogation or maintenance of the corn-laws was left, it was said, dependent on the variations of the barometer.

Events were all on the side of the free-traders. The state of affairs was worse than was anticipated. The weather continued damp and cold. The harvest was late, and miserably deficient. An unknown disaster attacked the potatoes; and in Ireland, especially, threatened the whole nation with famine. By the middle of autumn the nation was alarmed. Every one saw the necessity of vast purchases of foreign wheat; but how were they to be effected? All the money in the country was locked up in the construction of railways. The railway calls, for the works already in progress, would involve an outlay of more than £1,300,000 a month; and plans for similar undertakings had been prepared, and were ready for submission to parliament during the ensuing session, which would require a further outlay of more than £100,000,000 sterling. A financial crisis seemed as threatening as the famine. In vain did the Tories assure their friends that all was going on well; the public alarm was increased by the very efforts to allay it. The Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture, which had been formed for the defence of the protective system against the League, addressed to all the local associations which had been instituted with the same object, a circular to contradict the prevailing reports as to the insufficiency of the harvest, and thus to excite the zeal of the partisans of protection by reviving their confidence; but the League, which had slackened their efforts for a moment, burst at once into renewed life. At a great meeting held at Manchester, on the 28th of October, Mr. Cobden, with his usual vehemence, called on Sir Robert Peel to save the country from impending famine. He exclaimed—"Witness Russia! Witness Turkey! Witness Germany, Holland, and Belgium! These governments have not waited; but when their people have been threatened with want they have at once thrown open their ports. Why has not our government taken a similar course? Why have they waited to learn Christianity from the Turk, or humanity from the Russian? Is it because our government is less merciful than that of the Mahommedan sultan? Is it that our boasted constitutional power is less humane than that of the despot of Russia? Or is it that our Prime Minister, who holds the responsible position of sultan in this country, is afraid that, if he takes the step, he will not have the support of the country? If that be his doubt, we meet here to give him all the support which we can give him. * * * * There is no man in the world, whether he be the Grand Turk, or whether he be a Russian despot, who has more power than Sir Robert Peel has in this country. He has the power; and I say he is a criminal and a poltroon if he hesitates a whit." The League, equal to the emergency, decreed a levy of £250,000, of which £62,000 were subscribed at one meeting. At the conclusion of his speech already referred to, Mr. Cobden said—"We must not relax our labours; on the contrary, we must be more zealous, more energetic, more laborious than we have yet been. When the enemy is wavering then is the time to press upon him. I call, then, on all who have any sympathy with our cause, who have any promptings of humanity, or who feel any interest in the well-being of their fellow-men—all who have apprehensions of scarcity

and privations, to come forward to avert this horrible destiny, this impending visitation."

The appeal was not made in vain. Lord Ashley (afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury) declared against the corn-laws; Lord Morpeth joined the League; Lord John Russell retired to Edinburgh, and wrote, as was his wont, a letter. It was dated the 22nd of November; addressed to his London constituents; and ran thus:—

"Gentlemen,—The present state of the country, in regard to its supply of food, cannot be viewed without apprehension. Forethought and bold precaution may avert any serious evils; indecision and procrastination may produce a state of suffering which it is frightful to contemplate.

"Three weeks ago it was generally expected that parliament would be immediately called together. The announcement that ministers were prepared, at that time, to advise the crown to summon parliament, and to propose, on their first meeting, a suspension of their import duties on corn, would have caused orders at once to be sent to various ports of Europe and America, for the purchase and transmission of grain for the consumption of the United Kingdom. An order in council, dispensing with the law, was neither necessary nor desirable. No party in parliament would have made itself responsible for the obstruction of a measure so urgent and beneficial.

"The queen's ministers have met and separated without affording us any promise of such seasonable relief.

"It becomes us, therefore, the queen's subjects, to consider how we can best avert, or at all events mitigate, calamities of no ordinary magnitude.

"Two evils require your consideration. One of these is the disease in the potatoes, affecting, very seriously, parts of England and Scotland, and committing fearful ravages in Ireland.

"The extent of this evil has not yet been ascertained; and every week tends either to reveal unexpected disease, or to abate, in some instances, the alarm previously entertained. But there is one misfortune peculiar to the failure in this particular crop. The effect of a bad corn-harvest is, in the first place, to diminish the supply in the market, and to raise the price. Hence diminished consumption, and the privation of incipient scarcity, by which the whole stock is more equally distributed over the year, and the ultimate pressure is greatly mitigated. But the fear of the breaking-out of this unknown disease in the potatoes, induces the holders to hurry into the market; and thus we have, at the same time, rapid consumption and impending deficiency; scarcity of the article, and cheapness of price. The ultimate suffering must thereby be rendered far more severe than it would otherwise be. The evil to which I have adverted may be owing to an adverse season; to a mysterious disease in the potato; to want of science or care in propagating the plant. In any of these cases, government is no more subject to blame for the failure of the potato crop, than it was entitled to credit for the plentiful corn-harvest which we have lately enjoyed.

"Another evil under which, however, we are suffering, is the fruit of ministerial council and parliamentary law. It is the direct consequence of an act of parliament passed three years ago, on the recommendation of the present advisers of the crown. By this law, grain of all kinds has been made subject to very high duties on importation. These duties are so contrived, that the worse the quality of the corn, the higher is the duty; so that when good wheat rises to 70*s.* a quarter, the average price of all wheat is 57*s.* or 58*s.*, and the duty 14*s.* or 15*s.* a quarter. Thus the corn-barometer points to fair while the ship is bending under a storm.

"This defect was pointed out many years ago by writers on the corn-laws, and was urged upon the attention of the House of Commons when the present act was under consideration.

"But I confess that, on the general subject, my views have, in the course of twenty years, undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and expe-

rience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food. Neither a government nor a legislature can ever regulate the corn-market with the beneficial effects which the entire freedom of sale and purchase are sure, of themselves, to produce.

"I have, for several years, endeavoured to obtain a compromise on the subject. In 1839, I voted for a committee of the whole House, with the view of supporting the substitution of a moderate fixed duty for the sliding-scale. In 1841, I announced the intention of the then government of proposing a fixed duty of 8*s.* a quarter. In the past session, I proposed the imposition of some lower duty. These propositions were successively rejected. The present First Lord of the Treasury met them, in 1839, 1840, and 1841, by eloquent panegyrics on the existing system; the plenty it had caused; the rural happiness it had diffused. He met the propositions for diminished protection in the same way in which he met the proposal to allow Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to send members to parliament, in 1830.

"The result of resistance to qualified concessions must be the same in the present instance as in those I have mentioned. It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841, the free-trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8*s.* per quarter on wheat; and, after a lapse of years, this duty might have been further reduced, and ultimately abolished. But the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. The struggle to make bread scarce and dear, when it is clear that part, at least, of the additional price goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply injurious to an aristocracy which, this quarrel once removed, is strong in property—strong in the construction of our legislature—strong in opinion—strong in ancient associations and the memory of immortal services.

"Let us, then, unite to put an end to a system which has proved to be the blight of commerce; the bane of agriculture; the source of bitter divisions among classes; the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people.

"But, if this end is to be achieved, it must be gained by the unequivocal expression of the public voice. It is not to be denied that many elections for cities and towns, in 1841, and some in 1845, appear to favour the assertion that free trade is not popular with the great mass of the community. The government appears to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present corn-law. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek. Let the ministry propose such a revision of taxes as, in their opinion, may render the public burdens more just and equal; let them add any other provisions which cautious and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest; but let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing used by the mass of the people, be required, in plain terms, as useful to all great interests, and indispensable to the progress of the nation."

Great was the surprise of the public; great the rejoicings of the League; great the emotion of Sir Robert Peel, on reading this letter. He was reproached with his changes of opinion—his concession to popular wishes—his parliamentary manœuvres: and here was the first of the Whig aristocrats—the leader of the opposition—abandoning that which he had supported for twenty years—a certain measure of protection to native agriculture, and a fixed duty instead of a sliding-scale; and abruptly passing over into the Radical camp, and demanding entire freedom of trade. Mr. Macaulay, at Edinburgh, and others, were doing the same. Sir Robert might well ask himself what would be the position and strength of the cabinet during the next session? Amid a movement thus hastened forward, and beneath a pressure daily becoming heavier, what was government to do?

Sir Robert Peel, in his *Memoirs*, reveals the gradual changes forced upon him, and the slow and careful way in which he felt, amidst doubts and contests, for solid ground.

In August, 1845, Sir Robert first hears of the potato disease. In September, apprehensions were entertained as to the failure of the crop. In October, the reports from Ireland became very unsatisfactory. About this time Sir Robert Peel writes to Sir James Graham—"I have no confidence in such remedies as the prohibition of exports, or the stoppage of distilleries. The removal of impediments to import is the only effectual remedy." Sir James replies—"The suspension of the existing corn-law, on the avowed admission that its maintenance aggravates the evil of scarcity, and that its remission is the surest mode of restoring plenty, would render its re-enactment, or future operations, quite impracticable; yet, if the end be as urgent as I fear it will be, to this suspension we shall be driven." In a few days, the writer adds—"The anti-corn-law pressure is about to commence, and it will be the most formidable movement in modern times. Everything depends on the skill, promptitude, and decision with which it is met."

On the 31st, there was a cabinet council, at which Sir Robert Peel read a memorandum, recommending, in the first place, measures of relief for the Irish famine; secondly, the calling parliament together early; and, thirdly, the consideration of the question of the corn-laws. "The calling of parliament," says Sir Robert, "at an unusual period, on any matter connected with a scarcity of food, is a most important step. It compels an immediate decision on these questions:—

"Shall we maintain unaltered?

"Shall we modify?

"Shall we suspend the operation of the corn-laws?"

In the course of the conversation which followed the reading of the above memorandum, it became evident that very serious differences of opinion existed. The cabinet separated, fixing another sitting for the 6th of November. The accounts received in the interim were not calculated to allay the apprehensions to which former reports had given rise. These apprehensions were not confined to persons in high official stations. A meeting had been held in Dublin, on the 31st of October (the Duke of Leinster in the chair), calling upon his excellency, the Lord-Lieutenant, forthwith to order the ports of Ireland to be opened for the importation of Indian corn, rice, and other articles suited for human food. Privately the Duke of Portland, Lords Clare and Kenion, had written to Sir Robert, asking what was to be done; the former promising a donation of £1,000 towards the relief of Irish distress. This distress was not to be met and alleviated by charity alone.

On the 25th of November, Sir Robert again assembled his colleagues, and proposed to them the only course of conduct which appeared practicable. The debate in the cabinet lasted for several days. The Duke of Wellington gave way; but some others (and among them Lord Derby) refused to break with his party by abandoning agricultural protection. It was thought, for a moment, that Sir R. Peel had carried the cabinet with him; and, on the 3rd of December, the *Times* announced that the abolition of the corn-laws had been resolved upon, and that parliament was to meet at once, to deliberate on the measure. Three days afterwards, however, the question was settled in a very different way. The ministers were out, and Lord Russell was sent for.

In tendering his resignation to the queen on the 8th of December, Sir Robert thus wrote:—

"Sir Robert Peel presents his humble duty to your majesty, and, influenced by no other motive than the desire to contribute, if possible, to the relief of your majesty from embarrassment, and to the protection of the public interests from injury, is induced to make to your majesty this confidential communication, explanatory of Sir Robert Peel's position and intentions with regard to the great question which is now agitating the public mind.

"Your majesty can, if you think fit, make this communication known to the minister who, as successor to Sir Robert Peel, may be honoured by your majesty's confidence.

"On the 1st of November last, Sir Robert Peel advised his colleagues (on account of the alarming accounts from Ireland and many districts in this country, as to the failure of the potato crop from disease, and for the purpose of guarding against contingencies which, in his opinion, were not improbable), humbly to recommend to your majesty, that the duties on the import of foreign grain should be suspended for a limited period, either by order in council, or by legislative enactment; parliament, in either case, being summoned without delay.

"Sir Robert Peel foresaw that this suspension, fully justified by the tenor of the reports to which he has referred, would compel, during the interval of suspension, the reconsideration of the corn-laws.

"If the opinion of his colleagues had been then in concurrence with his own, he was fully prepared to take the responsibility of suspension, and of the necessary consequence of suspension—a comprehensive review of the laws imposing restrictions on the import of foreign grain, and the other articles of food, with a view to their gradual diminution, and ultimate removal.

"He was disposed to recommend that any new laws to be enacted should contain within themselves the principles of gradual reduction and final repeal.

"Sir Robert Peel is prepared to support, in a private capacity, measures which may be in general conformity with those he advised as a minister.

"It would be unbecoming in Sir Robert Peel to make any reference to the details of such measures.

"Your majesty has been good enough to inform Sir R. Peel that it is your intention to propose to Lord John Russell to undertake the formation of a government.

"The principle on which Sir Robert was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food, was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of the city of London.

"Sir Robert Peel wished to accompany the removal of the restrictions on the admission of such articles, with relief to the land from any charges that may be unduly onerous, and with such other provisions as, in the terms of Lord John Russell's letter, 'caution and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest.'

"Sir Robert Peel will support measures founded on that general principle, and will exercise any influence he may possess to promote their success."

Lord John Russell arrived in London on the 10th of December; and, having consulted with his friends, he waited on the queen the next day at Osborne, with the full intention of resigning. But when the queen put Sir Robert Peel's letter in his hand the case was altered, and he returned to London, once more to communicate with his friends. Negotiations were commenced between him and the late Premier. Lord Russell wanted to know what measures of a free-trade character Peel would have proposed had he continued at the head of the government. Peel declined thus to enter into particulars. Lord John then offered to draw up his plan, and communicate it to Sir Robert Peel; but the offer was firmly declined. He had clearly expressed the principle of the measure to which he had promised his support, and he would go no further. Ultimately, Lord Russell was, to a certain extent, satisfied. He had written a letter to the queen on the 16th, in which he communicated his plan for the immediate and complete abolition of the corn-laws, and which her majesty had communicated to Sir Robert Peel.

Sir Robert replied, that no member of the existing cabinet was prepared to undertake to form a government on the principle of maintaining the present corn-law. Sir Robert, at the same time, wished to remain unpledged as to the bill to be introduced by Lord John Russell.

At five in the afternoon of the 18th of December, Lord John Russell returned to Windsor Castle, and stated to her majesty that, after considerable consultation, and a full consideration of his position, he was ready to undertake the formation of a government.

In consequence, Sir R. Peel was invited by her majesty to a parting interview on his relinquishment of office, and to take his leave of her majesty; and the time for that interview was fixed at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th. When Sir Robert repaired to Windsor at the time appointed, it was found Lord John Russell had declined the task of forming an administration. Earl Grey had refused to act with him if Lord Palmerston (of whose foreign policy he did not approve) had a seat in the cabinet. On entering the room, her majesty said to him, very graciously—"So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation, and to remain in my service."

Sir Robert immediately returned to town, and called together his late colleagues. They all agreed to support him, with the exception of Lord Stanley. Mr. Gladstone gave the new administration the weight of his high character and great abilities, by undertaking to succeed Lord Stanley as Secretary of State for the Colonial Department; and a vacancy having been created by the death of Lord Wharncliffe, the aid, in office, of Lord Ellenborough was received.

The crisis gave us one of Leech's celebrated cartoons. Peel is going out at the door; Lord John Russell presents himself, in the character of a page, seeking the vacant situation. Her majesty replies—"I am afraid you are not strong enough for the place." Robert Peel comes back to power, and proposes to the House of Commons his plans of commercial policy. Robert Peel, baker, opens his cheap bread-shop. He stands at his shop-door in Parliament Street, calm and confident, with his hands under his white apron; whilst the Duke of Wellington carries a placard—"Down again! great fall in the price of bread!" We have then an anticipation of "the British Lion in 1850." He sits in his easy chair, with a large loaf and a foaming jug on his table; and he puffs his cigar in happy tranquillity. Actæon, worried by his own dogs, is a type of the great baiting which the minister had to endure before he was driven from power. "Manager Peel takes his farewell benefit amidst showers of *bouquets* from the boxes, and the waving of hats from the pit; whilst a policeman is holding back a rioter in the likeness of Mr. Disraeli, who doubles his fist, and wants to fight the favourite actor."

Sir Robert returned to power, seemingly stronger than ever. It was not expected that the ensuing parliamentary session would be an eventful one. The resuscitated administration were in high spirits. A witty diplomatist communicated to an illustrious personage the opinion of a member of the government, that "it would only be a fat-cattle opposition, and that the protectionists would be unable to keep up the debates for two nights."

This would have been the case had it not been for Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Benjamin Disraeli. "One man," wrote Mr. Disraeli, "alone brooded in indignation over the unexampled scene; and he was one who, from the little interest he had taken in political life, could not have occurred to the government as a possible opponent. Lord George Bentinck had sat for eighteen years in parliament; and before he entered it, had been, for three years, the private secretary of Mr. Canning, who had married the sister of the Duchess of Portland. Such a post would seem a happy commencement of a public career; but whether it were the untimely death of his distinguished relative, or a natural indisposition, Lord George, though he retained the seat for King's Lynn (in which he had succeeded his uncle, the late Governor-general of India), directed his energies to other than parliamentary pursuits. For some time he had followed his profession (that of arms); but, of late years, he had become absorbed in the pastime and fortunes of the turf, in which his whole being seemed engrossed, and which he pursued on a scale that has, perhaps, never been equalled.

"Lord George had withdrawn his support from the government of the Duke of Wellington when the friends of Mr. Canning quitted that administration; and when, in time, they formed the not least considerable portion of the cabinet of Lord Grey, he resumed his seat on the ministerial benches. On that occasion an administrative post was offered him, and declined; and, on subsequent occasions,

similar requests to him to take office were in vain. Lord George was, therefore, an original and hearty supporter of the Reform Bill; and he continued to uphold the Whigs in all their policy until the secession of Lord Stanley, between whom and himself there subsisted warm personal as well as political sympathies. Although he was not only a friend to religious liberty, and always viewed with great sympathy the condition of the Roman Catholic portion of the Irish population, he shrank from the taint of the ultramontane intrigue. Accompanying Lord Stanley, in time he became a member of the great Conservative opposition; and, as he never did anything by halves, became one of the most earnest, as certainly he was one of the most enlightened, supporters of Sir Robert Peel. His trust in that minister was, indeed, absolute; and he has subsequently stated, in conversation, that when, towards the end of the session of 1845, a member of the Tory party ventured to denounce and predict the impending defection of the minister, there was no member of the Conservative party who more violently condemned the unfounded attack, or more readily impugned the motives of the assailant.

"He was not a very frequent attendant of the House. He might be counted on for a party division; and when, towards the termination of the Melbourne ministry, the forces were very nearly balanced, and the struggle became very close, he might have been observed, on more than one occasion, entering the House at a late hour, clad in a white great-coat, which softened, but did not conceal the scarlet hunting-coat.

"Although he took no part in debate, and attended the House rather as a club than a senate, he possessed a great and peculiar influence in it. He was viewed with interest, and often with extraordinary regard, by every sporting man in the House. With almost all of these he was acquainted; some of them, on either side, were his intimate companions and confederates.

"His eager and energetic disposition; his quick perception, clear judgment, and prompt decision; the tenacity with which he clung to his opinions; his frankness and love of truth; his daring and speculative spirit; his lofty bearing, blended as it was with a simplicity of manner very remarkable; the ardour of his friendship—even the fierceness of his hates and prejudices, all combined to form one of those strong characters who, whatever may be their pursuit, must always direct and lead.

"Nature had clothed this vehement spirit with a material form, which was in perfect harmony with its noble and commanding character. He was tall, and remarkable for his presence; his countenance almost a model of manly beauty; his face and his complexion clear and mantling; the forehead lofty and white; the nose aquiline, and delicately moulded; the upper lip short. But it was in the dark-brown eye, that flashed with piercing scrutiny, that all the character of the man came forth—a brilliant glance; not soft, but ardent, acute, imperious—incapable of deception, or of being deceived."

Such was Lord George Bentinck, the leader of the forlorn hope of the protectionists—a man, however, who could have done nothing without the ready tongue and cunning brain of his ally, Benjamin Disraeli.

The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, novelist, biographer, and statesman—son of the well-known author of the *Curiosities of Literature*—was born in London, about 1805. He spent the early years of his life in an attorney's office; and, in 1826, commenced his career by writing in the columns of the soon to be defunct *Representative*. He acquired extensive popularity by his novels, *Vivian Grey*, *The Young Duke*, *Henrietta Temple*, *Contarini Fleming*, *Venetia*, *The Wondrous Tale of Alroy*, and other brilliant works of imagination. We next hear of him travelling in the East; and on his return, in 1831, he appeared at Chipping Wycombe, as a candidate for the honour of a seat in parliament, though with no very decided political bias. He next contested Taunton as a Conservative, and managed to attract the scurrility of O'Connell, who, alluding to his Hebrew origin, described him as a descendant of the crucified thief. "We shall meet at

BENJ. DISRAELI

Philippi," was Mr. Disraeli's rejoinder: and meet they did, as the enterprising candidate found his way into the House as member for Maidstone. His *début* was eminently unsuccessful: so great was the laughter created by his appearance and style of speaking, that he was compelled to resume his seat, prophesying, however, with characteristic confidence—"Though I sit down now, the time will come when you will hear me"—a prediction which, of course, made the House more merry than ever.

In 1841, Mr. Disraeli took his seat as M.P. for Shrewsbury, and a follower of Sir Robert Peel. It was said that he made the latter an offer of assistance, which he was so indiscreet as to decline. Be that as it may, the same year which saw his political novels, *Coningsby*, and *Sybil*, and *Tancred* appear, also witnessed their author impeaching and defying the great head of the Conservative party. Peel was described as "a great parliamentary middleman, who bamboozled one party, and plundered the other." The attacks of the new orator were witheringly effective. They were long remembered for their brilliancy, point, and satire; and when 1846 came, and Sir Robert avowed himself a free-trader, the orator enjoyed the reputation of success. Thus inspirited, he returned to the charge, and badgered Sir Robert as no Prime Minister had been badgered since the days of Walpole. And no sooner had Sir Robert Peel been driven from power, than Mr. Disraeli, with the assistance of Lord Bentinck, organised an opposition to the Whigs, and offered to the shattered hosts of the Conservatives a rallying-point and a battle-cry. The party of which Mr. Disraeli was the guiding spirit, was opposed to the rudest shocks; but the leader was not disappointed or cast down: and, at the general election for 1847, he was returned, to his own intense delight, M.P. for Buckinghamshire—an honour he has ever since retained. In the autumn of 1848, just as matters were beginning to brighten, death suddenly carried off his particular friend and ally; but in the ensuing session, he signalised his accession to the leadership by proposing an inquiry into the state of the nation, and by asking for a reduction of the burdens on land. After the death of Sir Robert Peel, Disraeli's leadership became considerably strengthened; and in February, 1852, he appeared, for the first time, in the position to which his talents and energy gave him every claim—as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Conservative administration, of which Lord Derby was the head. The spectacle of a novelist figuring as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at first made the wise and prudent shake their heads; and afforded the silly and stupid an opportunity for a sneer. But when the autumn session was held, and the financial scheme of the new Chancellor had been explained in a speech of five hours' duration, a loud clamour was raised against the increase of the house-tax, and the decrease of the malt duty. An impassioned debate took place; Mr. Disraeli was left in a considerable minority; and, in a few days, the Derby cabinet was a thing of the past. In 1858, the Derbyites resumed office, and Mr. Disraeli was again Chancellor of the Exchequer; but only for a very short time. As soon as parliament met, and the government Reform Bill was proposed, it was summarily, and, as many think, unwisely rejected by a combination of Whigs and Radicals: and ever since, Mr. Disraeli has continued the leader of the country party, who, for the loan of his splendid talents, have, since the death of Lord George Bentinck, given him but a cold and unwilling support. However, as they have no one equal to him as a leader—no mind so subtle—no oratory so brilliant as his own—they must endure and obey. In these days of "the steamship and the railway, and the thoughts that shake mankind," the aristocracy of birth must be ruled by that of intellect.

Parliament met in January; and the royal speech, at the opening of the session, suggested an inquiry whether there might not be still a remission "of the existing duties upon many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries." Large reductions in taxation on tallow, timber, silks, sugar, and other articles were announced. On the 27th of January, these remissions, and also the ministerial

intentions with respect to the corn-laws, were announced. Peel proposed to admit all agricultural produce used for cattle-feed duty free. Colonial-grown wheat was to pay a mere nominal duty, and protection to cease totally in three years; the delay being granted to enable the farmers to arrange for the new state of things The opposition was chiefly personal. The Conservatives felt irritated and betrayed: they made a stiff fight, in spite of the West India interest turning against them. On the 27th of February, the motion for going into committee was carried. When the numbers were announced, at nearly four o'clock in the morning, "the majority," writes Mr. Disraeli, "had not reached those three magical figures supposed to be necessary under the circumstances." In a House of 581 members present, the amendment of the protectionists was defeated only by ninety-seven; and 242 gentlemen, in spite of desertion, difficulty, and defeat, still maintained the "chastity of their honour."

Sir Robert Peel repeatedly, and in the most pointed manner, rests his conduct solely upon public grounds. "Two matters," he said, "have occupied the attention of the House during this debate: the one, the manner in which a party should be conducted; the other, the measures by which an imminent public calamity shall be mitigated, and the principles by which the commercial policy of a great empire shall, for the future, be governed. On the first point by far the greater part of this debate has turned. I do not undervalue its importance; but, great as it is, surely it is subordinate, in the eyes of a people, to that other question to which I have referred—the precautions to be taken against impending scarcity, and the principles by which your commercial policy shall hereafter be governed. On the party questions, I admit I have little defence to make. These are, I admit, the worst questions which, for party interests, could have been brought forward. I admit, also, that it is unfortunate that the conduct of this measure, so far as the corn-laws are concerned, should be committed to my hands. It would, no doubt, have been far preferable that those should have the credit—if credit there be—for an adjustment of the corn-laws, who have been uniform and consistent opponents of those laws. I was prepared to facilitate that adjustment by others by my vote, and by the exercise of whatever influence I could command. With respect to the course which I have pursued towards those who so long have given me their support, I admit that it is but natural that they should withhold from me their confidence. I admit that the course I am pursuing is at variance with the principles on which party is ordinarily conducted. But I do ask of them whether it is probable that I would sacrifice their favourable opinion and their support, unless I was influenced by urgent considerations of public duty? Notwithstanding that which may have passed in this debate—notwithstanding the asperity with which some have spoken—I will do that party which has hitherto supported me the justice they deserve. No person can fill the situation I fill without being aware of the motives by which a great party is influenced. I necessarily have an opportunity of knowing what are the personal objects of those around me; and this I will say, notwithstanding the threatened forfeiture of their confidence, that I do not believe (speaking, generally, of the great body of the party) that there ever existed a party influenced by more honourable and disinterested feelings. But, whether holding a private station, or placed in a public one, I will claim for myself the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and conviction, and acting upon the results of enlarged experience. It may be supposed that there is something humiliating in making such admissions. I feel no such humiliation. I have not so much confidence in the capacity of man to determine what is right or wrong, as to make me feel abashed at admitting I have been in error. I should feel humiliation if, having modified or changed my opinions, I declined to acknowledge the change for fear of incurring the imputation of inconsistency. The question is, whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and the motives for it are pure and disinterested."

On another occasion, in answer to the taunt launched at him, that the party

who had placed him in power was strong enough to displace him, Sir Robert said —"Let us understand—and I am speaking, not for myself, but for many honourable men, of different parties, who have preceded me—let us understand what is the nature of the obligation which we owe for being placed in office. I have served four sovereigns—George III. and his three successors. I served each of those sovereigns at critical times, and under critical circumstances. I did so with constant truth to each; and I constantly said to each of those sovereigns, that there was but one favour, one distinction, one reward which I desired, and which it was in their power to offer me—namely, the simple acknowledgment, on their part, that I had been to them a loyal and faithful minister. I have now stated my view of the obligations which are conferred on those in power. Believe me, to conduct the government of this country is a most arduous duty. I may say it without irreverence, that these ancient institutions, like our physical frames, are fearfully and wonderfully made. It is no easy task to ensure the united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed constituency."

On the 16th Sir Robert spoke in a loftier view. "This night," said he, "is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or of the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be 'Advance' or 'Recede?' Which is the fitter motto for this great empire? Survey our position; consider the advantages which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the old world and the new. The discoveries of science, the improvement of navigation, have brought us within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater, in proportion to our population, and the area of our land, than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity, in skill, in energy, we are inferior to none. Our national character; the free institutions under which we live; the liberty of thought and action; an unshackled press, spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science, combine, with our national and physical advantages, to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly, artificial atmosphere of protection?"

This speech excited the utmost admiration. Mr. Bright said—"The right honourable baronet delivered last night a speech, I will venture to say more powerful, and more to be admired, than any speech which has been delivered within the memory of any man in this House. I watched the right honourable baronet as he went home last night, and, for the first time, I envied him his feelings." Then, turning to the Conservatives, he continued—"You chose the right honourable baronet, and placed him in office. Why? Because he was the ablest man of your party. You always said so, and you will not deny it now. Why was he the ablest? Because he had the great experience, profound attainments, and an honest regard for the good of the country. * * * * There are such things as the responsibility of office. Look at the population of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and ask yourselves whether, with all your valour, and although you talk of raising the standard of protection, there are men in your ranks who will take their seats on the Treasury bench, pledged to a maintenance of the corn-law? I defy them to do it."

The second reading of the bill was fixed for the 23rd of March. "On the fourth night of the debate," writes Mr. Disraeli, "not the least remarkable speech of the evening—though one, at the time, little comprehended—was that with which Lord Palmerston unexpectedly followed Mr. Stafford, and closed the debate.

Amid an abstract eulogium of free trade, apparently so uncompromising that it filled the free-traders with rapture, while they listened to the reproduction of their own arguments, in sentences so lucid, and in forms so neat—his lordship, with adroit audacity, suddenly unfurled the standard of a moderate fixed duty, and, with blended hardihood and discretion, acknowledged that he had not relinquished his faith in such a policy, though he feared, and almost felt, that the opportunity had been lost for its adoption.

"'I hold that there is no reason why freedom of trade in corn should not be as advantageous to the country as freedom of trade in every other commodity. But by free trade I do not mean necessarily, and in all cases, trade free from customs' duties. We are obliged, as I have said already, to raise a large yearly revenue; and we must, for that purpose, have heavy taxes. The least inconvenient and least objectionable method of raising a large portion of that revenue, is by indirect taxation, and that involves the necessity of customs' duties. Therefore, when I speak of free trade, I do not mean free trade from duties laid on for the purpose of revenue, and which, in order to accomplish their purpose, must be so moderate as not to cripple or impede commercial transactions. Now my opinion has been, and, I own, still continues to be, that there is no reason why the trade in corn should, in this respect, be an exception to the general rule. I am for a moderate fixed duty. My noble and honourable friends near me have also been of the same opinion; and allow me to say that this opinion was not taken by us—as stated last night by the noble lord the member for King's Lynn—when the late government was, as he said, in *articulo mortis*, but as far back as 1839, when there was no reason to expect an early termination of our political career. I say, then, that my wish would have been to have had a low fixed duty on the importation of corn. I think that a duty of four or five shillings would not sensibly raise the price of corn in this country; would be felt by nobody; would produce a revenue not undeserving of consideration; and, what is of more importance, would enable us to accomplish a great transition with less violence to the feelings and prejudices of a large class of men.'"

Mr. Disraeli adds—"The countenances of the free-traders changed very much while this portentous confession was taking place. The cheers suddenly stopped; and a member for a metropolitan district, who had been applauding vociferously, whispered to a neighbour, 'He has spoilt a capital speech: what could have induced him to bring in a fixed duty?' Penetrating member for a metropolitan district! As if the capital speech had been made for any other purpose than to introduce the very declaration which you looked upon as so damaging! Lord Palmerston threw a prescient and practised eye over the disturbed elements of the House of Commons; and, two months afterwards, when a protectionist ministry, on moderate principles (principles moderate, and not fixed), was not impossible, the speech of the noble lord was quoted by many as a rallying-point."

After the Easter recess, an ingenious move was made on the part of the protectionists. The Irish party, headed by Mr. Smith O'Brien ("an unfortunate gentleman, who had many generous qualities"), agreed to unite with the protectionists. An interesting debate took place. Mr. Cobden, "who had studiously kept in the background during the session, watching his game played by less notorious hands [in reality he had injured his health by his exertions, and was compelled to be quiet], alarmed at the appearance of affairs, thought it expedient to sound the note of danger, and rated," says Mr. Disraeli, "the protectionist party in that clear and saucy style which he knows how to manage."

He said that the House had rather lost sight of the origin of this discussion. Irregular and unexpected, it had originated in a question from Mr. Smith O'Brien to Lord George Bentinck, which, it seems, had arisen out of a private communication between them. That question was, whether Lord George Bentinck and his friends would be willing to vote for a suspension of the corn-laws for three months, limited to Ireland only? But the House had another proposition before them—

one not to suspend, but abolish the corn-law; and, therefore, the object of Mr. O'Brien was, instead of abolishing the corn-law for the United Kingdom, to substitute a three months' suspension, applicable to Ireland only. Now he begged, in the first place, to tell Mr. O'Brien, and Lord George Bentinck, and the 240 gentlemen who sat behind him, and cheered his speech, that there were other parties to be consulted with regard to such a proposition—the people of England; "not the country party, but the people who live in towns, and well govern the country." The question of the corn-laws, he said, would no longer be made matter for manœuvring and compacts within the walls of the House of Commons. It was disposed of, settled out-of-doors; and although their artifices here might delay the measure, and cause anxiety out-of-doors, still they could only delay it. And, in fact, the only thing that could be substituted for the deferred measure, was total and immediate repeal. He then argued, with great acuteness, that it was impossible to limit the suspension of the corn-laws to Ireland; and added—"I have intruded but seldom in this debate. I am anxious to be a party to nothing which, in reference to the Coercion Bill, stands in the way of the Corn Bill. I deeply regret that these two measures should have got into a dead-lock. The people of England are utterly perplexed and puzzled at the state of things here. I am almost perplexed myself. During the recess, I was repeatedly asked to attend meetings at Manchester and elsewhere, to censure the delay. Upon my honour I know not whom to blame. I cannot blame the government; for, though I were disposed to do so, I see them so much blamed by other gentlemen, that I may well abstain." Mr. Cobden was repeatedly cheered, especially by Sir Robert Peel, who thus had been guilty, in the language of Mr. Disraeli, of an "offensive indiscretion."

But it is a long lane that has no turning. The game of procrastination had been played; the Irish Coercion Bill had been made as much of as possible; and, on the morning of the 15th of May, after a discussion of, perhaps, unexampled excitement in the House of Commons, the third reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a majority of ninety-eight. It appears, altogether, that 560 members voted. In this final division, among the 327 members who voted in favour of the bill, there were 104 Conservatives, who had remained faithful to Sir Robert, and 223 Whigs or Radicals.

On the 18th of May, the bill was laid before the House of Lords; and there, also, it was vehemently contested. For eleven days, all the facts, all the arguments, all the interests, all the passions which had confronted one another in the House of Commons, reappeared, on this new stage, with less violence and personality—for the hostile leader was not there—but with all the greater perseverance, because there the opponents of the measure might hope for success. Fifty-three noble lords took part in the discussion. Lord Stanley and Lord Ashburton at the head of the opposition. Lord Brougham, Lord Grey, Lord Clarendon, foremost among the defenders of the Liberal plan. On the third day of the debate, on the second reading of the bill, the Duke of Wellington spoke. "I am aware, my lords," he said, "that I address you, on this occasion, under many disadvantages. I address your lordships under the disadvantage of appearing here, as minister of the crown, to press this measure upon your adoption, knowing, at the same time, how disagreeable it is to many of you, with whom I have constantly acted in political life; with whom I have lived long in intimacy and friendship; on whose good opinion I have ever relied; and whose good opinion, I am happy to say, it has been my good fortune, hitherto, to have enjoyed in no small degree. * * * * I am aware that I address your lordships, at present, with all your prejudices roused against me for having adopted the course I have taken—a course which, however little I may be able to justify it to your lordships, I considered myself bound to take, and which, if it were to be again adopted to-morrow, I should take again. I am in her majesty's service—bound to her majesty and the sovereigns of this country by considerations of gratitude, of which it is not necessary that I should

say more to your lordships. It may be true, my lords, and it is true, that, under such circumstances, I ought to have no relation with party, and that party ought not to rely on me. Be it so, my lords; but in the month of December last, I felt myself bound, by my duty to my sovereign, not to withhold my assistance from the government of my right honourable friend, Sir Robert Peel; not to refuse to resume my seat in her majesty's councils, knowing, as I did at the time, that my right honourable friend could not do otherwise than propose to parliament a measure of this description: nay, more—this very measure. I have stated to you the motives on which I have acted. I am satisfied with those motives myself; and I should be exceedingly concerned if any dissatisfaction respecting them remained in the minds of any of your lordships. * * * * And now, my lords, I will not omit, even on this night—probably the last on which I shall ever venture to address to you any advice again—I will not omit to give you my counsel with respect to the vote you ought to give on this occasion. Look a little at the measure on which you are going to vote to-night; look at the way in which it comes before you. It was recommended in the speech from the throne, and has been passed by a large majority of the House of Commons. It is a bill which has been agreed to by the other two branches of the legislature; and if we should reject this bill, the House of Lords will stand alone in rejecting it. Now that, my lords, is a situation in which, I beg to remind your lordships, I have frequently stated you ought not to stand. You have vast influence on public opinion; you may have great confidence in your own principles; but without the crown or the House of Commons you can do nothing. * * * * But I will take your lordships a step further, and let you see what will be the immediate consequences of rejecting this bill. Another government will, I conclude, be formed; but whether another government is formed, or not, let me ask you, do your lordships suppose that you will not have the very same measure brought before you by the next administration? And do you mean to reject it a second time? Do you mean the country to go on in the discussion of this measure two or three months longer? I know the object of the noble lords who are opposed to this bill is, that parliament should be dissolved; that the country should have the opportunity of considering this question; and that it may be seen whether, or not, the new House of Commons will agree to this measure. Now really, if your lordships have so much confidence in the result of other elections, I think that you might venture to rely upon those which must occur, according to the common course of law, within a twelvemonth from this time; and that you might leave it to the parliament thus elected to consider the course which it will take on the expiration of the term of the bill now before you; for that bill is to last only till the year 1849. Do not compel the queen to dissolve parliament. Your lordships have now the option of immediately passing this bill; reserving it to another parliament to pass or reject it again at the time when its operation will cease, in the year 1849; or of rejecting the bill at once, and obtaining a fresh election, of which you are so desirous. This is the choice before your lordships."

Their lordships were wise enough to take the duke's advice; and the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of forty-seven.

The next move by the defeated protectionists is thus clearly described by their great orator, Mr. Disraeli:—

"The time had now arrived when it became necessary for those who were responsible for the conduct of the protectionist party, very gravely to consider the state of affairs, which had become critical, and to decide upon the future course. The large majority in the House of Lords had extinguished the lingering hope that the ministerial scheme might be ultimately defeated. Vengeance, therefore, had succeeded, in most breasts, to the more sanguine sentiment. The field was lost; but, at any rate, there should be retribution for those who had betrayed it. Proud in their numbers, confident in their discipline, and elate with their memorable resistance, the protectionist party, as a body, had always assumed

that, when the occasion was ripe, the career of the Premier might be terminated. It was not until the period had arrived when the means to secure the catastrophe were to be decided on, that the difficulty of discovering them was generally acknowledged."

How was Sir Robert Peel to be turned out?

Here was a question which might well occupy the musing hours of a Whitsun recess.

The objection to a formal want of confidence in the government was, that it would not be carried.

The Liberal party would have voted against the government on the question of slave-grown sugar; but then, as Mr. Disraeli remarks, it was just the question which would have brought back the entire protectionist body to the standard of the Treasury; and instead of turning out the administration, there would have been a painful resuscitation of the old Conservative majority.

There was no time to be lost.

Louis Philippe, who watched English politics with the keenest interest at this time, assured all around that Sir Robert had achieved a crowning triumph. A member of the British parliament, who was then at Paris, presumed, with great humility, to question the justness of the royal conclusions.

"'Do you not think, then,' said the king, 'that Sir Robert will carry his measures?'

"'Yes, Sir.'

"'And what then?'

"'And then, Sir, he will be turned out.'

"'Who is to turn him out? Lord John Russell has had the offer, and refused. I can tell you the Duke of Wellington says the government is established. I remember,' the king added, with a smile of confidence, 'when they said that Mr. Pitt would not remain in for six weeks, and he was minister for twenty years.'"

The blow to be struck had to be struck at once. Yet it might be three weeks before the Corn Bill was returned from the Lords; and it was evident that the Commons would not place the government in a minority until that bill was safe.

In this state of things it was submitted to the consideration of Lord George Bentinck, that there appeared only one course to be taken; and which, though beset with difficulties, was, with boldness and sincerity, at least susceptible of success. The government had announced their intention of moving the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill on Monday, the 8th of June. If this second reading were opposed both by Lord Russell and Lord George Bentinck, the defeat of the administration seemed more than probable. It was true the measure had been supported by both these gentlemen; but that was a minor consideration when the one had the chance of obtaining power, and the other an opportunity of revenge.

The debate was animated and protracted. "At length," writes Disraeli, "about half-past one o'clock the galleries were cleared, the division called, and the question put. In almost all previous divisions, when the fate of a government had been depending, the vote of every member, with scarcely an exception, had been anticipated. That was not the case in the present instance; and the direction which members took, as they left their seats, was anxiously watched. More than one hundred protectionist members followed the minister; more than eighty avoided the division; a few of these, however, had paired: nearly the same number followed Lord George Bentinck. But it was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observation of the Treasury benches as the protectionists passed in defile before the minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion—the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men, to gain whose hearts, and the hearts of their fathers, had

been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence, and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honour, breeding, and refinement; high and generous character; great height and station in the country, which they had ever placed at his disposal. They had not only been his followers, but his friends—had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup; and in the pleasantness of private life, had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics. He must have felt something of this while the Manners, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him; and those country gentlemen—those gentlemen of England, of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being their leader. If his heart were hardened to Sir Charles Burrell, Sir William Joliffe, Sir Charles Knightley, Sir John Trollope, Sir Edward Kerrison, Sir John Tyrrel, he must surely have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentleman, whom he had himself selected and invited, but six years back, to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig government, in order, against the feeling of the Court, to instal Sir Robert Peel in their stead.

"They trooped on; all the men of metal, and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened, and whose counsel he had so often solicited in his fine Conservative speeches in Whitehall Gardens. Mr. Bankes, with a parliamentary name of two centuries; and Mr. Christopher, from that broad Lincolnshire which protection had created; and the Mileses and the Henleys were there; and the Duncombes, the Liddells, and the Yorkes; and Devon had sent there the stout heart of Mr. Buck, and Wiltshire the pleasant presence of Walter Long. Mr. Newdegate was there, whom Sir Robert had himself recommended to the confidence of the electors of Warwickshire, as one of whom he had the highest hopes; and Mr. Alderman Thompson was there, who also, through Sir Robert's selection, had seconded the assault upon the Whigs, led on by Sir John Buller, Bart. But the list is too long, or good names remain behind.

"When Prince Metternich was informed, at Dresden, with great ostentation, that the emperor had arrived—'Yes, but without his army,' was the reply. Sir Robert Peel was still first minister of England, as Napoleon remained emperor for awhile after Moscow. Each, perhaps, had for a moment indulged in hope. It is difficult for those who are on the pinnacle of life to realise disaster. They sometimes contemplate it in their deep and far-seeing calculations; but it is only to imagine a contingency which their resources must surely baffle. They sometimes talk of it to their friends, and oftener of it to their enemies; but it is only as an assurance of their prosperity, and as an offering to propitiate their Nemesis: they never believe it.

"The news that the government were not only beaten, but by a majority so large, began to circulate. An incredulous murmur passed it along the Treasury bench. 'They say we are beaten by seventy-three,' whispered the most important member of the cabinet, in a tone of surprise, to Sir Robert Peel.

"Sir Robert did not reply, or even turn his head. He looked very grave, and extended his chin, as was his habit when he was annoyed, and could not speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that the emperor was without his army."

And thus the protectionists revenged themselves on Sir Robert for his repeal of the corn-laws.

Four days after, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel announced—the former to the House of Lords, and the latter to the House of Commons—that the queen had accepted the resignations of the cabinet, and directed Lord John Russell to form a new administration.

Sir Robert Peel cast a retrospective glance over the important questions he had to deal with; recapitulated the great reasons that had influenced his conduct;

congratulated himself on the results he had obtained; thanked his adversaries for having loyally accepted the decision of parliament upon measures which they had been fully entitled to censure and to oppose; explained why he could not allow himself to dissolve the House with a view to the retention of power; related in detail the conclusion of the Oregon affair, expressing the kindliest feeling towards the United States; and claimed for his commercial policy, that it was the result solely of a desire to consult the best interests of the country. He continued—"I said before, and I said truly, that in proposing our measures of commercial policy, I had no wish to rob others of the credit justly due to them. I must say, with reference to honourable gentlemen opposite, that neither of us is the party which is justly entitled to the credit of them. There has been a combination generally opposed to each other; and that combination, and the influence of government, have led to their success. But the name which ought to be associated with the success of those measures, is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of the party of which he is the leader; nor is it mine. The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with the success of those measures, is the name of one who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned. It is the name of Richard Cobden."

Sir Robert then took leave of official life, expressing "a hope that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice." He was sincere in this declaration.

On the conclusion of this speech, cheers burst forth on all sides. After long and confused emotion on the part of the House, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Hume—the one with clever adroitness, the other with sincere cordiality—addressed to Sir Robert expressions of admiration and esteem. The House adjourned to the 3rd of July. Sir Robert Peel went out resting on the arm of his friend, Sir George Clerk, the member for Stamford. A great crowd thronged the approaches: on seeing him all took off their hats, opened their ranks to let him pass, and accompanied him in silence to the door of his house. When the House resumed its sittings, the Whigs, under the leadership of Lord John Russell, were once more in power.

"The moment," wrote Sir Robert to his friend Lord Hardinge, "their success was ensured, and I had the satisfaction of seeing two drowsy masters in chancery mumble out, at the table of the House of Commons, that the Lords had passed the Corn and Customs Bills, I was satisfied.

"Two hours after this intelligence was brought, we were ejected from office; and, by another coincidence as marvellous, on the day on which I had to announce to the House of Commons the dissolution of the government, the news arrived that we had settled the Oregon question, and that our proposals had been accepted by the United States without the alteration of a word."

And what of the Anti-Corn-Law League?

Having accomplished its work, it was formally dissolved at a great meeting at Manchester. Mr. Cobden addressed it, and congratulated his audience, not only on the success achieved, but on the instruction communicated to the people, which, he said, would render it impossible ever again to impose the corn-laws. He said of Peel—"If he has lost office, he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his (which led to his discomfiture) in my hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power." Referring to the labours of himself and colleagues, he said—"Many people will think that we have our reward in the applause and *éclat* of public meetings; but I declare that it is not so; for the inherent reluctance I have to address public meetings is so great, that I do not even get up to present a petition to the House

of Commons without reluctance. I therefore hope I may be believed when I say, that if this agitation terminates now, it will be very acceptable to my feelings; but if there should be the same necessity, the same feeling which impelled me to take the part I have, will impel me to a new agitation—aye, and with tenfold more vigour, after having had a little time to recruit my health." He moved, "That an act of parliament having been passed, providing for the abolition of the corn-laws in February, 1849, it is deemed expedient to suspend the active operations of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and the executive council in Manchester is hereby requested to take the necessary steps for making-up and closing the affairs of the League with as little delay as possible." The motion was, of course, carried, having been seconded by Mr. Bright.

Mr. Prentice, the historian, and one of the council of the League, says—"An air of grave solemnity had spread over the meeting as it drew to a close. There were 500 gentlemen who had often met together during the great contest, and, notwithstanding their exultation over a victory achieved, the feeling stole over their minds that they were never to meet again. Mr. Cobden reminded them that they were under obligations to the queen, who was said to have favoured their cause as one of humanity and justice; and three hearty cheers in her honour loyally closed the proceedings."

To Mr. Cobden, the council of the League and the free-traders generally, presented a sum of £80,000, as an acknowledgment of their sense of his services, and of the pecuniary sacrifices which they had involved. A portion of this fund was applied to the purchase of the house in which Cobden was born, and a small estate surrounding it. The remainder of the sum he invested in American securities, which were for a long time unproductive. After the free-trade triumph he sought a season of repose, to recruit the energy and health he so much required. With this view he took a continental tour. Ere he departed, Lord John Russell offered him a seat in the cabinet, which, however, he declined. He visited, in succession, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Russia. Wherever he went he was most warmly received. Complimentary banquets were got up, and the warmest eulogies passed upon the great breaker-down of the rivalries of nations, by the most distinguished men of their respective countries. In his absence there was a general election. He was returned for the West Riding, as well as for Stockport, and chose the former proud position. It was an honour of which, indeed, he had every reason to be proud.

Undoubtedly there had been a great struggle, and a glorious victory.

All classes and conditions of men were better for the repeal of the corn-laws.

A Duke of Norfolk had recommended the poor, when they complained of starvation, a little water with a pinch of curry-powder. Women had met in Wiltshire by torchlight, to tell the story of their wrongs. "I be protected, and I be starving!" was the exclamation of the agricultural labourer. People had come to regard lords and dukes as their natural enemies. Ladies became political, and wrote such lines as these:—

"SUGGESTED ON READING THE REPORT OF THE GOATACRE MEETING.

"All honour to ye, noble men!
Aye, noble men ye be!
Tho' ignorant of courtly ways,
And lords' gentility.
I would I'd been amongst ye when
Ye met 'neath Heaven's sky,
On a cold inclement winter's night,
With moonshine on your faces bright,
Telling their tale of misery.
Those faces, in which want and woe
Were traced in furrows deep:
Women were there, with shrunken brow,
And eyes that cannot weep;

And children, in whose starvened face
No smile of childhood's youth ye trace;
All linked together by one tie—
The labourer's tie—of misery.

"Yes, honour to ye, worthy men!
For your brave, manly bearing—
For calm endurance of such ills
As might make saints despairing.
Calmly ye told your suff'rings when
Ye met in open air;
No passionate outburst marked the scene,
Tho' thousands, grieved by hunger keen,
Were standing shivering there.
And tales of hardship and of wrong—
Of landlords' misused power—
Were fruitful themes of every tongue;
Yet in that moonlight hour
No threat of vengeance met the ear,
No word to cause their masters' fear.
Men linked together by one tie—
The iron tie of misery!

"'From protection set us free!'
Such is these labourers' prayer;
Who've starved beneath protection laws,
For justice met they there—
A ragged care-worn company.
But men with hearts more true
Than beat in breasts of th' titled great,
Who recommend the poor to eat
A pinch of curry grain, in lieu
Of bread. Oh, God! that such lords dare
Thus scoff at poor men's woe!
Lords, living on their sumptuous fare,
Forget how much they owe
To these same labourers of God's earth,
Their equals save in wealth and birth:
True-hearted men, bound by one tie—
The iron tie of misery."

And yet, when these poor wretches had cheap bread, Mr. Disraeli was indignant that Sir Robert Peel sought "to divert the public mind from political change by the seduction of physical enjoyment." He quotes angrily Sir Robert Peel's speech on the opening of parliament, January 22nd, 1846:—"I have thought it consistent with true Conservative policy, that thoughts of the dissolution of our institutions should be forgotten in the midst of physical enjoyment." How right was Sir Robert—how wrong the protectionists—need scarcely be observed.

The mechanic and the artisan have now work, and are content. In 1820, wrote an Edinburgh reviewer—"It is no exaggeration to affirm that, with the solitary exception of water, there is not a single necessary consumed in the empire, which is not, directly or indirectly, loaded with a most oppressive tax." One by one have all these taxes been repealed; and the worst of all—the bread-tax—has been swept away. The result was, people became loyal, contented; and the political demagogue found his occupation gone. Never were the aristocracy and the people more united together than they have been since we have had the inestimable blessing of free trade.

Since Sir Robert Peel's last and greatest act of statemanship, the farmers have been making money, and we have heard no more of agricultural distress.

The English gentry, who were to have sold their estates, and left the country, have also thought better of it; and, in the increased value of their estates, and in the higher rents paid them, have reason to revere the name and memory of Cobden. Yet their leading organ, in 1843, thus described Mr.

Cobden's speech in parliament:—"Melancholy was the exhibition in the House of Commons on Monday night. Mr. Cobden was the hero. Towards the close of the debate he rose in his place, and hurled at the heads of the parliamentary landowners of England those calumnies and taunts which constitute the staple of his addresses to farmers. The taunts were not retorted—the calumnies were not repelled. No; the parliamentary representatives of the industrial interests of the British empire quailed before the founder and leader of the Anti-Corn-Law League. They winced under his sarcasms; they listened in speechless terror to his demonstrations. No man among them dared to grapple with the arch-enemy of British industry. No man among them attempted to refute the miserable fallacies of which Mr. Cobden's speech was made up. Melancholy was it to witness, on Monday, the landowners of England—the representatives, by blood, of the northern chivalry—the representatives, by election, of the industrial interests of the empire—shrinking under the blows aimed at them by a Manchester money-grubber—by a man whose importance is derived from the action of a system, destructive, in its nature, of all the wholesome influences that connect together the various orders of society. Well, the cycle approaches its completion; the wheel has nearly effected its revolution; and the foul and pestilential principles which, by their action, began, forty years ago, to consign to beggary hundreds of thousands of harmless and ingenious hand-loom weavers, seem destined, if not speedily resisted, to sweep away all the barriers that still remain to shelter productive industry from the encroachments of those classes of men to whom the abasement of industry is the source of increased power and influence." Such was the language of the organ of high life—such was the ignorant fear of the upper classes of society—such their terror at the greatest boon they, as individuals, ever received. When the troubled year of revolution came, they must, indeed, have been thankful that the corn-laws were no more.

In 1849, the full benefit of the act of Sir Robert Peel was felt. The 31st of January of that year witnessed the expiration of the term of three years, appointed by the bill of 1846 for the abolition of all import duties. A striking popular demonstration took place. Messrs. Cobden, Bright, George Wilson, and all the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, met together at Manchester, to celebrate, by a solemn banquet, the precise moment of their complete triumph. After numerous speeches, five minutes before midnight the band struck up the air of a song which had obtained great popularity in connection with this question, entitled "The Good Time Coming." The assembled multitude joined in the chorus—

"There's a good time coming boys,
Wait a little longer."

And then, when the clock had struck twelve, the chairman, suddenly imposing silence, announced, as he might truthfully do, that the good time of which they had been singing had at length arrived. The whole meeting rose, and saluted, with the loudest acclamations, the first moment of the reign of full free trade in corn. On the following day, when the session of parliament opened, the report of the Manchester banquet filled the columns of the newspapers, and was everywhere discussed and read. When great men rise they have a mission to accomplish. The great men had arisen; their mission had been accomplished; and the people of this country had now to reap the fruit of their patriotic exertions, their laborious self-denial, and their humane and elevated views.

CHAPTER XLVI.

IRELAND AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.

SIR ROBERT PEEL succeeded in much that he undertook. As Prime Minister, he placed the finances of the country on a sound and healthy basis.

En passant, we must not omit all reference to his Bank Charter Act, the success of which he keenly enjoyed, and which he always spoke of as one of the most important achievements of his public life. In 1844, the time had come for the renewal of the Bank Charter Act. The following were the terms agreed to:—The issue of notes, to the value of £14,000,000, by the Bank of England, and £8,000,000 by the country banks, on public securities; the former having in store gold equal to the value of all paper in circulation beyond that amount; the gold brought in to be replaced by an equal amount in notes, and *vice versâ;* and the government to be enabled to authorise the Bank of England to issue notes to the amount withdrawn by the failure of any joint-stock bank. Guizot observes—"Sir Robert formed too high an estimate, on this occasion, of the difficulties of his undertaking. The inconvenience of an incomplete or defective constitution of banks, and the absence of well-defined guarantees for the issue and the payment of these notes, and for their relation with the states and the public, had, for some years, been strongly felt. The fundamental principles of a good monetary system were generally understood, and admitted true in theory, and useful in practice. The propositions of Sir Robert, for completing or reforming, in certain respects, the organisation of the Bank of England, met with opposition only from some personal interests with which they interfered, and from some obstinate or chimerical minds whose routine notions they offended, or whose fantastic dreams they did not satisfy. The Whig leaders gave them their entire support. In the House of Commons, the amendments which were proposed upon them scarcely obtained eighteen votes. In the House of Lords they were adopted almost without discussion: and thus he had the satisfaction of accomplishing, in 1844, in reference to the monetary system of the country, the work he had begun in 1819, against the opinion of his father, and in opposition to the first votes he himself had given shortly after his entrance on public life. When, in 1819, Peel changed his opinions, and voted for the resumption of cash payments, it was complained of him that he had sacrificed the landed interest to the money power—an early symptom of the accusation vehemently urged against him when he introduced and carried his measures of free trade.

It was the misfortune of this great man in every way to have become identified with the Tory party—to have had to fight their battles as long as he could possibly do so; and then to have incurred their bitterest ill-will when the force of truth and state necessities compelled him to leave them, and support measures he and they had always opposed. Truly his was no bed of roses. On every side he was surrounded with difficulties.

Especially was this the case with regard to Ireland. After a debate on Catholic emancipation, in 1817, Sir James Mackintosh wrote—"Peel made a speech of little merit, but elegantly and clearly expressed; and so well delivered as to be applauded to excess. He is a great proof of the mechanical parts of speaking, when combined with industry and education. He now fills the important place of spokesman to the intolerant faction."

Already, more than once, he had incurred the enmity of the intolerant faction. He was now again to rouse their most envenomed hostility.

It has been the fashion of parliament, ever since the union between England

and Ireland, to vote £9,000 for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. It appeared to Sir Robert that the time had arrived for a considerable addition to the amount of that annual grant. Found guilty by his jury, on the 12th of February, 1844, Mr. O'Connell had been acquitted, on a point of legal form, in the September following, without any resistance on the part of ministers. Surprised and delighted at this unexpected deliverance, O'Connell, though he still continued his noisy declamations against the cabinet, and in favour of the repeal of the union, was, in his heart, less violent, and by no means inclined to push the struggle to extremes.

The announcement of the reversal of the judgment was received, in Ireland, with intense delight. Great crowds had assembled on Kingstown pier; and as the mail-packet arrived, some repeal agents on board held up white flags, inscribed—"Judgment reversed by the House of Lords! O'Connell is free!" The crowd cheered; and the reversal of the judgment having been notified to the authorities of the prison, Mr. O'Connell, accompanied by his two sons, left the scene of his confinement on foot. On his way to his house in Merrion Square, he was recognised by the people, and greeted with loud acclamations. He made a short address to the persons assembled from the balcony of his house, and they quietly separated. The next morning he returned to his prison, from which he took a public departure. All Dublin seemed in motion on the occasion. The procession comprised the trades of Dublin, each trade preceded by its band; several repeal wardens, and private or political friends of O'Connell; many members of the corporation, and the Lord Mayor in full costume; and then, preceded by wand-bearers, and by the notorious Thomas Steele, with a branch in his hand, as head pacificator, came the car, bearing the "Liberator," as O'Connell was called. This car was constructed for the chairing of Mr. O'Connell some years before, and was a kind of platform, on which there were three stages rising one above the other, like steps—profusely decorated with purple velvet, gold fringe, gold nails, and painting. Six splendid dappled greys slowly drew the cumbrous vehicle along. On the topmost stage, elevated some dozen feet above the crowd, and drawn to his full height, stood O'Connell. His head, proudly thrown back, was adorned with the green, gold, and velvet repeal cap. On the second stage was seated the Rev. Mr. Miley: on the lowest were Mr. Daniel O'Connell, junior; two of Mr. O'Connell's grandsons, dressed in green velvet tunics and caps, with white feathers; and a harper in the ancient dress of his craft, playing on his instrument. The other defendants followed in carriages, as did also some of their ladies and friends, and the lawyers, with the monster indictment. Having entered his own house, the crowd were, of course, regaled by the great Dan with a triumphant speech, in spite of torrents of rain. All through Ireland, the unexpected triumph of their leader produced an electrical sensation in the minds of the people. In the south and west, more especially, the demonstrations were of the liveliest character. The news arrived in Cork about noon: it soon spread through the city, and drew vast crowds to the front of the Exchange-room, and the newspaper offices. Some of the streets were so densely crowded, that it was impossible to pass along. The whole place was alive with excitement; and before the news had been half-an-hour in the town, processions of people were formed, parading the streets with green boughs and music. Many houses were decorated with boughs; and, as if by magic, they appeared everywhere, even in the hands of the poorest; the towns, villages, and hills were illuminated. Fermoy was one blaze of light. At Thurles there was an enormous collection of people, and a monster bonfire. At Cashel the same; and so on throughout the principal routes to the metropolis. On the following Sunday, the liberation was celebrated by a religious ceremony in the metropolitan church of the Irish Catholics—that of the Conception, in Marlborough Street. The structure is of hewn stone, on the model of a Greek temple of the Doric order, divided within, by fifty columns, into three parallel aisles: the high altar, which rises at some distance from the east end of the church, after the manner of

cathedrals on the continent, contains the tabernacle, of white sculptured marble; the sanctuary, or space around the altar, being railed in. On the left side of this space was a lofty throne, with crimson canopy, on which, gorgeously robed and mitred, sat Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. At the altar stood the officiating priest, with assistant priests in attendance, and boys in scarlet robes, bearing tapers and censers. On the opposite side, beneath the pulpit, were chairs of state, on which sat Mr. O'Connell and his companions in captivity. Several members of the Dublin corporation were present, and the church was crowded. In that state was offered pontifical high mass, with a solemn *Te Deum* in thanksgiving to God for the deliverance of the liberator and his companions. A sermon was preached by Mr. Miley, full of allusions to repeal, politics, and to divine interposition in favour of Mr. O'Connell, at the instance of the Virgin Mary. After the service he was followed home by a crowd, hurrahing all the way.

Yet there was much hollowness in all this seeming popularity. The state prosecutions, it was said, broke the heart of the agitator. From the moment of imprisonment Mr. O'Connell was an altered man. He seemed to see and feel that "the splendid phantom" was an *ignis fatuus* that was very near leading him to ruin. The idle pageant in the Rotunda, the volunteer uniform, the crown cap, the solemn pledges, were all endured for the sake of consistency, and to prevent Mr. Smith O'Brien and the Young Irelanders from running away with his well-earned glory. He was too glad, when the Whigs came into power again, to get decently out of the movement. But to do so with any advantage, it was necessary to crush Young Ireland, who prepared for agitation with a view to ulterior ends, which Mr. O'Connell thought pernicious. Had he been in the spring of life, he would have combated them fairly, and put down such foes in the open field. But health and strength were waning; and he beheld, in prospect, all his efforts, and the very machinery which he had created, likely to be turned to ends that he disapproved, and extremes that he dreaded. He therefore undertook, somewhat summarily, to extinguish "Young Ireland." Successful in appearance, he was not altogether so in reality. In the attempt he laid himself open to much obloquy; and the remainder of his life was doomed, had he been spared, to a painful struggle.

How far these contentions aided and developed the disease which now undermined and threatened his existence, is difficult to say. But it was evident, on his revisiting London, that a fatal change had taken place; that the strength and spirit of the man were gone. He lingered, however, as we have seen, and undertook a pilgrimage, as much of devotion as of health, towards Rome, when his life and journey closed at Genoa on the 15th of May, 1847.

Sir R. Peel knew that a new party had sprung up—that of Young Ireland—who distrusted the secret moderation of their veteran leader; reproached him with his mania for legality; accused him of evading every decisive act; and laboured to supplant him in his popularity and power. In the midst of these hesitations and dissensions among the Irish popular leaders, it appeared to Peel that a great act of kindness towards Ireland had a chance of being well received in that country; and, on the 3rd of April, 1845, he stated in the House of Commons—"In the course of the last session of parliament, I took the opportunity of publicly declaring, on the part of her majesty's government, that it was our intention, during the recess, to apply ourselves to the state of academical education in Ireland. I accompanied that declaration with a distinct intimation that the circumstances and position of the Roman Catholic college should be included in that consideration." Sir Robert added, that he foresaw and expected opposition. He then proceeded to explain and discuss the motives of his conduct, with the same firm frankness which he had shown in announcing his plan; setting forth, at the same time, the various systems of objections which he foresaw would be raised, and confuting them. "It has appeared to us," he said, "that we are at liberty to pursue one or other of three courses with respect to the institution

of Maynooth. It is competent for us to continue, without alteration, the present system, and the present amount of the parliamentary grant. It is competent for us to discontinue the grant altogether; to repudiate all connection with Maynooth; and, after providing, perhaps, for the protection of existing interests, publicly to notify, that there shall be hereafter no connection between government and the college of Maynooth. That is the second course which it is possible to pursue. The third course is, to adopt, in a friendly and generous spirit, the institution provided for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood; to extend the parliamentary provision for that purpose; and to attempt, not by interference with the doctrine or discipline of the Roman Catholic church, but by a more liberal provision, to improve the system of education, and to elevate the tone and character of that institution.

"Any one of these three courses is open to us. With respect to the first—the continuance, without alteration or modification of any kind, of the present grant on the present system—it is our deliberate conviction that, of all courses that can be pursued, that would be most pregnant with mischief. We profess to endow a national institution; we profess to make provision for the education of those who are to give spiritual instruction and religious consolation to many millions of the people of Ireland. We just give enough, by voting £9,000 a year, to discourage and paralyse voluntary contributions for that purpose. Remove the grant altogether, and you will find, on the part of the people of Ireland, a disposition, I have no doubt, to make the pecuniary sacrifice, and to provide some (perhaps an imperfect) endowment, by voluntary contributions, for the education of their priesthood. * * * If it be a violation of principle to provide instruction for the Roman Catholic priesthood, we are guilty of that violation of principle now. A grant of £9,000 a year, professedly for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, is a violation of principle, at least, as great as any which I propose to the House. But it is not merely that you make an annual grant to Maynooth; that is not the limit of your connection with the institution. There are upon the statute-book three acts of parliament—two passed by the Irish legislature before the union; and one passed in the year 1808, adopting and sanctioning this institution, for the support of which the annual grant is made. Will it be wise, will it be just, to say to the Roman Catholics of Ireland—'We are bound, it is true, by an inconvenient obligation contracted by our predecessors, and that obligation we will respect. In a surly spirit, we will continue to give you the usual grant of £9,000 a year, but there shall be no improvement in your buildings; there shall be no advance in the salaries of your professors; the act of parliament shall continue unrepealed and unaltered; an implied sanction and encouragement, so far as statute law is concerned, shall remain; and although we do not withhold the annual grant, we continue it with the feeling that our conscience is violated; and we give it you only because we have to fulfil an odious contract, into which others have entered, and from which we cannot now escape?'

"Shall we avow that our conscientious scruples are so violated in the maintenance of this system, that we will discontinue altogether the connection with Maynooth, and throw the burden of educating the priesthood upon the people of Ireland? * * * * I think I can assign reasons which, if, as statesmen and legislators, you take into account public feelings, and considerations of public policy, will dissuade you from taking that course, and from repudiating all connection with this institution. When did your connection with it arise? Under whose authority? How long has it been continued? For fifty years you have consented to continue the parliamentary vote for Maynooth. You commenced your connection with it in the year 1795; the reigning sovereign was George III.; the minister was Mr. Pitt. In the year 1795, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Fitzwilliam, called the attention of the Irish parliament to the state of education in that country. That was a critical period, the year 1795. In a speech made to the Irish parliament, at the opening of the session of that year,

the Lord-Lieutenant addressed them thus:—'We are engaged in an arduous contest. The time calls, not only for fresh fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. We are engaged with a power which threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe; an enemy to them, it is actuated with a peculiar animosity against these kingdoms.' In the same speech," said Sir Robert, "the Lord-Lieutenant laid great stress on their considering the state of education in Ireland. He was succeeded by Lord Camden, who laid the first stone of the college of Maynooth. At the close of the session, his lordship thanked the parliament for having wisely founded a plan of domestic education for the Roman Catholic clergy." Sir Robert contended, that the connection thus formed in the hour of peril, could not be dissolved by us now. He continued—

"Sir, I should deeply regret, not merely on account of the Roman Catholics, but on account of the general interests of the community, if we did feel ourselves under the obligation of making the declaration, that we, who dissent from the doctrines of the Romish church—that we, who hold a faith which we consider more pure, and to which we are devoted—that we, on account of our devotion to that faith, are prevented from advancing any assistance for the propagation of doctrines from which we dissent. If we make that declaration, what a lesson shall we inculcate upon the landlords of Ireland! Take the case of a Protestant landlord—perhaps an absentee—who has an estate from which he derives a large income: that estate is cultivated by Roman Catholic labourers, and occupied by Roman Catholic tenants. Must I tell him, on the authority of parliament, that he will violate his duty towards his God, if, seeing dependents professing a faith from which he dissents, in need of religious instruction—in need of religious consolation—in want of the means of joining in the public worship of their Creator—he should assign some portion of the wealth derived from his estate to provide that instruction and that consolation in the only mode in which they can be available? * * * Can I, then, come to the conclusion that we are to refuse this grant upon the ground that it would be a violation of principle to agree to it? If that conclusion be not justifiable, I have disposed of two of the courses which it is competent for us to pursue—the entire repudiation of any grant to Maynooth, or the continuance of the present grant and the present law unaltered. There remains but one other course, and that is the course which we are prepared to take. We are prepared, in a liberal and confiding spirit, to improve the institution, and to elevate the character of the education which it supplies. We feel that we can propose this, and can ask your assent to this, without any violation of conscientious scruples. We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and, at the same time, to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who, do what you will—pass the measure or refuse it—will continue to be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen." Sir Robert ended by proposing a vote for Maynooth, for that year, of £30,000.

The church party and the bigots were filled with the most intense dismay. The ultra-Protestants were especially active in their hostility. Mr. Plumptre reproached Lord John Manners for having said that he did not consider the religion of the church of Rome to be that of Antichrist. "Nothing," he observed, "can be further from my wish than to give pain to any individual; and if I do so on this occasion I hope that it will be considered that I do so only in discharge of a paramount duty. I do not mean to say that the religion of Rome is exclusively that of Antichrist; but I believe that it is so completely and prominently; and I am further of opinion that it is a fearful and national sin to endow such a religion." "Really," said Colonel Sibthorp, "if I had not seen the First Lord of the Treasury take the oaths at the table of this House, I should have doubted whether he were a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mahommedan; nor should I be surprised if the time should yet come when we shall see him sitting cross-legged, as

a Mahommedan, or embracing the pope. I must say that I have lost all confidence in that man. An honourable and learned member has said that I would sooner sacrifice my principles than be shaved. I tell that honourable and learned gentleman, that I had rather not only be shaved, but have my head shaved off, than forget I am a Protestant—born a Protestant—bred a Protestant—educated a Protestant. And God grant that I may die with similar feelings, and in that faith!" Another illustrious M.P. (Mr. Ferrand) went so far as to say—"I solemnly believe, that if her majesty's present government can induce her majesty to attach her signature to this bill, she will sign away her title to the British crown."

The bill was also vehemently opposed by the dissenters, who, though not powerfully represented in the House, were a numerous party out-of-doors. The Radicals, as a rule, supported it. If a rigid adherence to the principle, that the church and state ought to be absolutely separated, prevented them from supporting the measure, the more enlightened among them approved it in their hearts, and were grateful to Peel for his courage in proposing it. Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Cobden did not hesitate to vote for it after explaining the reasons which induced them, on this occasion, to depart from their principles. Mr. Bright, in voting against it, felt himself obliged, in his turn, to explain why he had remained faithful to his principle, as he was unwilling either to injure Sir Robert Peel, or to allow himself to be confounded with his enemies.

It was in this debate that Disraeli first distinguished himself. As one of the Conservatives, attacking their chief, Guizot justly describes him, at this time, "with a brilliant and fertile intellect, and justly ambitious; but with all the acerbity and restlessness of a man who is seeking his proper rank, and finds it difficult to attain it."

The measure was supported by the Whigs.

One of them, Mr. Macaulay, who greatly offended his constituents by his vote, thus referred to it on the Edinburgh hustings, July, 1846:—

"My conduct, in the matter I refer to, has displeased many of you. I cannot ask pardon for it; I cannot ask pardon for being in the right. I come here to state it clearly, and to defend it. I speak of the Maynooth grant. It might be not altogether useless to a fair and ample discussion of that interesting subject, if all who express an opinion strongly respecting that grant would take the trouble to inform themselves a little upon the subject. The opinion held with regard to it by many respectable persons, I believe to be, that, in the year 1845, the parliament of the United Kingdom committed a great violation of the sound principles of Protestantism, and endowed an institution for the propagation of popery. The truth is this. Fifty years ago, when Ireland was an independent kingdom, governed by its own king, Lords, and Commons, and when those who preceded you here in Edinburgh had no more voice in the regulation of the affairs of Ireland than of the affairs of France, and when the Irish parliament was strictly and exclusively composed of Protestants, that parliament thought it right to establish this institution for the benefit of the Roman Catholic clergy. Thus this institution was bequeathed by the union to the United Kingdom. It came to us as an institution older than the union, set up by an Irish parliament; and being, moreover, the only act which the Irish parliament, during the 112 years which followed the revolution, had ever passed, giving a sign of sympathy with the body of the people. I do not say—nay, I repudiate the argument—that we are bound to maintain that institution by anything of the nature of a technical treaty; but I say that, when a great and powerful country enters into a treaty, on terms of mutual benefit, with a country much smaller and weaker—when 100 Irish members are sent to sit along with 558 British members, it does become a grave question—a question of high responsibility—a question of justice, how far the stronger of these powers should act against existing institutions in a manner strongly opposed to the sense of the great body of those constituting the weaker nation. I say that your own fathers felt this strongly. When they joined with England, they took every species of precaution

LORD MACAULAY

against the English introducing a church professing such doctrines as those held by Laud, and since held by a school I need not name, now existing in the church of England. They took every precaution that the united legislature should not lay its hand on those religious institutions which your ancestors prized more dearly than their lives. When they sent forty-five Scotch members to sit with 513 English members—when they sent forty-five presbyterians to sit with 513 prelatists, they took precautions that the 513 should in no way abuse their power. Though there existed nothing of the nature of an absolute treaty, the strongest considerations of justice ought to have induced the parliament of the United Kingdom to pause before abolishing the institutions which the Irish parliament had bequeathed to them. Is it possible that so intelligent a body as the electors of Edinburgh can believe that there was any question of principle in what was actually done regarding this matter last session? It is a mere popular delusion to say that there was any question of principle about it. (Cheers and great hissing.) Principle! When those hisses are interpreted into intelligible sounds, we shall, perhaps, hear some orator who will attempt to show that the difference between £10,000 and £20,000 is a question of principle; that the difference between a college whitewashed and repaired, and one in ruins, is a question of principle; that the difference between a half-filled larder and a full larder, is a question of principle; that the difference between a vote, passed regularly every fifty years, and one which parliament may rescind whenever it thinks fit, is a question of principle. Is it not monstrous? We hear a good deal of talk about the homage that has been paid to idolatry; but that is not the ground of attack. You object to us offering a hecatomb to idolatry, but not to us offering a lamb. You exclaim against a pound being laid on the altar, but you have no objection to a pennyweight. I ask, if such an institution is to be maintained at all, ought it not to be sustained in such a manner as befits an institution which the state does support? This is the principle about which you exclaim—the principle that the state may support a Catholic institution which has servants with arms out at elbow, but not in decent livery—that it may support an institution which has grounds for the recreation of the students; but you will not let it keep a roller—that the institution may keep professors to teach languages and science, provided you pay them lower than a village dominie; and that it might lodge students provided it put them three in a bed. This is what I call, and will call, a popular delusion. And then look at the other side of the account. When this bill was brought in, wisely or unwisely, what were to be the consequences of rejecting it? Have those who clamour so loudly against it ever considered the cost of throwing it out? Have they considered whether this difference of £13,000 a year was worth a civil war?"

If absurd and silly language was used in the House of Commons against the grant to Maynooth, out-of-doors the language was stronger and sillier, and more absurd. Petitions against the obnoxious measure poured in by thousands, signed by upwards of a million of people. "It is high treason against heaven," they said, "to apply the revenues of a Protestant people to the education of a Catholic clergy. It would be just as unjustifiable to establish a college for the propagation of theft and adultery. He who consents to the Maynooth grant worships the beast, blasphemes against God, is at war with the saints, and crucifies the Lord afresh." "The Prime Minister," said another writer, "has as much sympathy and respect for his fellow-countrymen as the huntsman for the hare, the fisherman for the trout, or the butcher for the oxen that he slaughters. Peel is a novelty. He has invented the art of government by deception. The debate has stripped him of his last rags; public decency requires that he should henceforth conceal himself." The dissenters, who object to all state support of religion, were consistent; but the spectacle presented by the church party was extremely pitiable. Having usurped the emoluments of the Catholics in Ireland, it seemed very mean to turn round and grudge them a small portion. In the Lords, the struggle was not so severe: one archbishop and five bishops voted for the grant. It was defended

ably by Dr. Whately, the Archbishop of Dublin; but even his moderation had little effect on the raging passions of the Protestants. "I must frankly avow my belief," said Mr. Gladstone, who spoke in support of the grant, "that the minority who voted against the introduction of this bill, represented the general and prevailing sentiment of the great majority of the people of England and Scotland."

Nevertheless, the bill was carried, on the second reading, by a majority of 147 votes.

To all taunts and censures Sir Robert turned a deaf ear. His language was—"With me every feeling as to the imputation of consistency—every feeling with regard to the suspicions thrown upon the sincerity of the government—every other feeling is subordinate to this one—my desire that you should not reject this measure. * * * I say, without hesitation, you must break up, in some way or other, that formidable confederacy which exists in Ireland against the British government and the British connection. I do not believe you can break it up by force. You can do much to break it up by acting in a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and generosity. * * * As I have said before, punish us—visit us with censure—let the two parties combine against us, on the ground that the policy we are adopting ought to be carried out by its original promoters—take what other course you please, but let not your indignation fall on the measure; let it be confined to those who proposed it." The Premier's appeal had its effect, and the bill was ultimately passed.

Another effort was made by Sir Robert to pacify the active discontent of Ireland; and that was the establishment of new colleges in Cork, Galway, and Belfast, of a purely secular character. "It was supposed," said Sir James Graham (who, as Peel's trusted friend, had the difficult and unpleasant task of introducing and supporting this novel measure in the House of Commons), "that £30,000 would be required for the benefit of each; and he would, therefore, ask for a grant of £100,000. The annual expense of the officers, and the prizes to be given for the encouragement of learning, it was expected would require £18,000, or £6,000 to each establishment. At Belfast and Cork, it was intended that a medical school should be attached to each college, where lectures should be given in pharmacy, surgery, and chemistry." In these colleges, the professors were to be nominated by the crown, which, for good cause, would have the power of removing them. The measure was, for the most part, welcomed by the Irish members; but some of them insisted on the necessity of connecting religious instruction with them. It was opposed by Sir Robert Inglis and others, who contended that such institutions ought not to be erected merely for the enlightenment of men; they ought to be established with a view to the glory of God. Sir Robert Peel showed how difficult it was to please all parties. On the one hand, it was required that the Catholic religion should be taught; on the other, that the students should be educated in the Protestant faith. There existed no means of reconciling these differences, and, therefore, it was judged prudent to recognise no religious distinction. Leave, after some discussion, was given to bring in the bill; and it was introduced a first time. When it reached its next stage, an amendment was moved, by Lord John Manners, that the bill should be read a second time on that day six months. A long debate ensued, followed by a division, when the amendment was rejected, the numbers being 117 to 42. The bill encountered but little opposition in the Lords, and soon was carried into operation. Instead of ceasing, the opposition to the measure grew greater. The resistance of the various hostile parties became still further complicated by the intervention of the pope in the resolutions of the Irish bishops with regard to the conduct they intended to pursue towards the new establishments. As Guizot well remarks—"Sir Robert Peel had not measured the greatness of the problem which he had approached."

Ireland was as far from being pacified as ever. O'Connell went on holding meetings, and, in all the towns of Tipperary, received a hearty welcome. A triumphal arch graced the principal street of Thurles, on which was inscribed

the following:—"England has given us ignorance, bigotry, starvation, rags, wretchedness; cabins, without beds or night-clothing. There is no employment—no trade, no commerce. Is this good government? The people should be grateful for all these blessings! Does not this call for repeal?" Young Ireland grew increasingly ferocious, and repudiated the advice of O'Connell and his staff of trained and paid agitators. "The god of battles was invoked—a war directory was to be appointed. There was no exaggeration," says Mr. Knight, "in the tone, nor even in the phrase, of a parody which I wrote in the *Voice of the People*, of the loving correspondence of Mr. Meagher and Mr. Mitchell. I give three stanzas, which embody the practical directions set forth by these fiends of all human kind, for the swift destruction of the Saxon mercenaries in the anticipated conflict in the streets of Dublin:—

"*Mea.* Bold Guido Vaux devised a ready way,
His long arrear of sacred debts to pay.
Mine every street; in air the Saxons fly!
A carcase cloud shall blacken all the sky.

"*Mit.* Open your windows wide, angelic fair;
Armed be your hosts with missiles new and rare,
The legions rush! hark to their dying cries,
As showers of vitriol sear their sightless eyes.

"*Mea.* Is there an alley where some scared dragoon
May rush for safety in that blazing noon?
Vainly the horse with broken bottles strives,
Falls the dragoon beneath a hundred knives."

To check the savage spirit thus displayed and fostered by the *Nation* newspaper, it was requisite something should be done. Under the influence of the popular disappointment which had followed the failure for the agitation of repeal of the union of the two kingdoms, and amidst the alarm and sufferings occasioned by the famine, offences against personal security and the public peace had multiplied to a frightful extent. In 1844, these offences had reached the number of 1,495; but, in 1845, they had risen to 3,642, and were still on the increase. In five counties, more especially—Tipperary, Clare, Roscommon, Limerick, and Leitrim—all personal security had disappeared. To all impartial observers the necessity of the bill was evident. A savage spirit had been kindled, which was not confined to a class; nor were its deeds of violence directed against the aristocracy alone. In the queen's speech this had been commented on. "Her majesty had observed, with deep regret, the very frequent instances in which the crime of deliberate assassination had of late been committed in Ireland:" and called upon her parliament to consider whether any measure could be devised calculated to give increased protection to life. Accordingly, the Earl of St. Germans introduced, and carried through the Lords, the celebrated Coercion Bill. Its provisions were—the proclaiming a district in which murders had been committed, or attempted to be committed; and to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to station in the localities an additional constabulary, the expense to be wholly borne by the district. As many of the murders were planned in public-houses, and executed in darkness, it gave power to forbid persons to be out of their dwellings between sunset and sunrise; and the Lord-Lieutenant was enabled to award to the representative of a person murdered, or to a person maimed, a reasonable compensation—if such it could be called.

In the House of Commons, to this bill a most energetic opposition, as we have shown, was given; not on account of its defects, but for the sake of the protectionists taking revenge on Sir Robert Peel, and to allow the Whigs to get back into office.

At first the protectionists agreed to support the bill. Mr. Disraeli writes—"The secretary of the Treasury, in pursuance of one of his principal duties (which

is to facilitate, by mutual understanding, the conduct of public business in the House of Commons), applied to Lord George Bentinck, confessedly at the request of Sir Robert Peel, to enter into some arrangement as to the conduct of public business before Easter. The arrangement suggested was, that if the protectionists supported the Coercion Bill, which it was the wish of Sir Robert should be read a first time before Easter, the third reading of the bill for the repeal of the corn-laws should be postponed until after Easter. The interview, by appointment, took place in the vote-office. Lord George agreed to this; and it was further agreed that certain questions, of which notice had been given by Lord John Russell, should be passed over in silence.

"The government were unprepared for the opposition they had to encounter. On the motion for suspending the orders of the day, an amendment was moved by Sir William Somerville, to prevent the introduction of the measure, that the orders of the day should not be postponed. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Smith O'Brien. The course thus pursued was very unusual. Mr. O'Connell had, however, announced that he and his friends would oppose the first reading. A bill to arrest the progress of murder and the most revolting outrages, was spoken of as tyrannical coercion; as depriving a nation of its liberties. Ministers had expected that the Whigs would support this measure, and enable them early to overpower the Irish resistance; and they were said to have been thrown into great consternation when they found they had to encounter a well-organised party opposition, headed by an honourable baronet. Mr. O'Connell complained that they were trying to trample on one of the sessional orders, and to abrogate the forms of the House, in order to coerce the Irish people. Lord Bentinck said the Premier had declared this was a bill to put down assassination; and, in that case, if it were delayed, the blood of every man murdered in Ireland, from that time till it passed, would be on the heads of her majesty's ministers. He called on those with whom he acted, to give the measure about to be introduced their hearty and honourable support. The state of Ireland, he said, appeared to be this—that a man could scarcely go to church; no old lady of eighty could go to church, without the danger of being shot by assassins. His lordship referred to a case which had been recently mentioned in that House by Lord Farnham. A friend of that noble lord had been murdered in broad day; and though there were hundreds of people by, nobody offered to prevent the murder, or arrest the murderers. On the 7th of the month, they had been told by Mr. Ryan, that he, his wife, and ten children, with five servants, were engaged in evening prayer, when a blunderbuss, loaded with nine bullets, was fired into the room, clearly showing what was designed by the assassin fixing on that period for the execution of his purpose. He would support the government in forwarding a measure by which a system of murder would be effectually put down. He would speak for those around him, and say that they would not consent to have the name of liberty prostituted, to cover broad-day murderers and midnight assassinations." The discussion was, nevertheless, most animated. The Whigs and Radicals opposed the bill, on the ground that it would be more irritating than effectual. The first reading was carried by a majority of 274 to 145. One memorable feature in this debate was, that it gave occasion for the last speech in parliament of that great orator who had often won such triumphs, and created such animosities there. His appearance is thus described by Mr. Disraeli:—

"O'Connell sat in an unusual place—in that generally occupied by the leader of the opposition; and spoke from the red box, convenient to him, from the number of documents to which he had to refer. His appearance was that of great debility; and the tones of his voice were very still. His words, indeed, only reached those who were immediately around him, and the ministers sitting on the other side of the green table, and listening with that interest and respectful attention which became the occasion. It was a strange and touching spectacle to those who remembered the form of colossal energy, and the clear and thrilling tones that had once startled,

disturbed, and controlled senates. Mr. O'Connell was on his legs for nearly two hours, assisted occasionally, in the management of his documents, by some devoted aide-de-camp. To the House generally it was a performance in dumb show—a feeble old man muttering before a table: but respect for the great parliamentary personage kept all as orderly as if the fortunes of a party hung upon his rhetoric; and though not an accent reached the gallery, means were taken that next morning the country should not lose the last, and not the least interesting, of the speeches of one who had so long occupied and agitated the mind of nations. This remarkable address was an abnegation of the whole policy of Mr. Cobden's career. It proved, by a mass of authentic evidence, ranging over a long term of years, that Irish outrage was the consequence of physical misery, and that the social evils of that policy could not be successfully encountered by political remedies. To complete the picture, it concluded with a panegyric of Ulster, and a patriotic quotation from Lord Clare."

Lord John Russell voted for the bill; Lord George Bentinck, and his brother, Lord Henry, did the same; as did also Mr. Baring, Mr. Bankes, the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Christopher, Sir John Trollope, Mr. Miles, and the great majority of the most influential members of the protectionist party.

In a little while a change came over the spirit of the dream.

As we have shown, the protectionists were panting for revenge; and they seized the opportunity to defeat the government, by uniting with the Whigs and the Irish M.P.'s, in throwing out the Coercion Bill.

The intrigue is ably described by Mr. Disraeli. He writes—

"On Saturday, therefore, nothing was decided. On the following day, Lord George Bentinck took the opportunity of breaking the situation to several of the leading country gentlemen who were in the habit of acting with him. The reception of his suggestion was not favourable. They were embarrassed by their previous vote; and were astonished to learn that, if they repeated it, the government was in for ever.

"On Monday, before the meeting of the House, Lord George held a rapid council with such of his friends as he could immediately collect. Only one voice supported him, on the ground that the step was not only wise but indispensable. The rest, while they declared they would not desert him in any course which he pursued, gave it as their opinion that the movement would fail, and might then become unpopular in the country.

"Nothing was decided when Lord George had taken his seat; and while Sir William Somerville was moving the amendment that the Coercion Bill should be read that day six months, his solitary supporter in the council was sitting by his side. They had agreed that their course should be decided by the report which they should receive from a gentleman who had the best acquaintance with the individual feelings of the members of the party; and who, through absence from town, had not, unfortunately, been present at the previous consultations. When Sir William Somerville was closing his speech with an appeal to Lord George Bentinck, this much-expected individual appeared at the bar.

"'I call on all who prize liberty,' said Sir William, 'and value the constitutional rights of the subject, to support this amendment; and, above all, I call upon the noble lord, the member for King's Lynn, to be true to his own words, and to carry out his engagement by withholding his advocacy from a measure which the government had, by their delays, proved to be unnecessary, and into which they had introduced such changes as showed that they did not know their own will, nor clearly understand what measure of power they required.' When Sir William Somerville sat down, Lord George exchanged signals with the member who had just arrived, to join him in the library; and then, requesting his companion to watch the debate, he repaired to that spot which has been the scene of so many important and interesting conferences.

"While he was absent the House was nearly counted out.

"He came back in a quarter of an hour, and remarked—'There are no means of calculating, at this moment, how our men will go; but he agrees with us. It may be perilous; but if we lose this chance the traitor will escape. I will make the plunge, and as soon as I can. There is a rumour that Lord John is hardly up to the mark. I suppose he has heard that our men will not vote against the bill. Now, if I speak early and strongly, it will encourage him to be decided.' When the seconder of the amendment sat down, no one rose, and the division was called for. How strange that a debate, which lasted nearly three weeks, led to such memorable consequences, and was distinguished by so many remarkable incidents, should twice, within an hour of its commencement, have been on the verge of an untimely end! However, on the present occasion, Mr. Osborne interposed with some of those sprightly taunts which often revive the fight; and drew forth the new Irish Secretary, the Earl of Lincoln, who, of course, had never seriously intended avoiding speaking. Lord George replied to him, as there was a public feud between the two; Lord Lincoln having been driven from his original post, as member for the native county of Lord George Bentinck, mainly by the exertion of the leader of the protectionists, and his indignant appeal to the farmers of Rutlandshire." After a warm debate, Mr. Disraeli adds—

"Thus closed this eventful night. The field on which the fate of the administration depended was fixed. The leaders of the three parties were pledged. The government would stand or fall by their measure. Lord John Russell and Lord George Bentinck had come to the same conclusion, on different grounds, but satisfactory to themselves. But what would the House do? At present it adjourned at two in the morning, in great agitation. Rage rather than despair was conveyed by the countenances of the 'janissaries' and 'renegades.' The moderate men, who wished, at the same time, to be on the best terms with their constituents and the Treasury bench, keep in the government, and at the same time keep their seats, murmured their disapprobation of strong language, and said that a vote of non-confidence would have been the proper course—knowing very well that they would not have supported it. Many trimmers were observed to walk home with 'janissaries;' or, lighting their cigars with 'renegades,' declare, with a glance of secret sympathy, that they, being thorough protectionists, should certainly vote for protection for life."

And then, in a few days more, came the great defeat, which we have already recorded. On the 25th of June, Sir Robert found himself in a hopeless minority; and the next day he announced his own resignation.

Little was said. Lord John was absent, having repaired, by command, to her majesty, for the purpose of rendering his assistance in the formation of a government. Lord Palmerston said, very properly, that "the silence of himself and friends should be construed into an acquiescence in the general commendation which Sir R. Peel had passed on the measures of his own government:" and the House adjourned.

Sir Robert Peel was charged with having adopted and carried measures, the merit of which belonged to his opponent. The same charge can be made against Lord Russell's ministry on his resumption of power. The renewal of the Irish Arms Bill, which was one of the first measures called for by the new minister, caused much surprise to all. The importance of passing it was at first strongly insisted on by ministers; but the small support it obtained compelled them to give way. On the 17th of August, Lord John Russell formally announced to the House that, under all the circumstances of the case, having consulted the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland on the subject, and finding that he was content to dispense with further coercive powers, they had determined to abandon the bill altogether. In coming to this decision they had been influenced by the present absence of all impediments to the administration of justice in Ireland; by the disposition evinced by juries to do their duty; and by the diminution which had taken place in crime. Such was the excuse made for the abandonment of a measure they found it impossible to carry.

Then there was the famine. Lord John Russell had to continue what Sir Robert Peel had begun. His lordship observed, that the last government, in purchasing Indian corn, in donations and subscriptions, in general presentments, and other ways, had expended, for the relief of Ireland, the sum of £854,481; of which £494,851 was, or had to be, repaid. He regretted to state, that though there was, at that time, in the greater number of Irish counties, harvest-work and wages sufficient for the support of the labouring population, the prospect of the potato crop was worse than ever. He proposed to facilitate the means of carrying on public works.

Sir Robert Peel was not in error when he predicted that scarcity was on its way; but its pressure was not immediately acknowledged. The protectionists, for a long time, refused to credit his statements, as there was a quantity of food in Ireland saved from the abundance of former years. The measures adopted by him and his colleagues in consequence, his successors approved and imitated. Sir Robert Peel's government passed an act authorising an advance of money from the Treasury to baronies—presented for public works, or that the destitute might be employed during the spring and summer. That act proceeded upon what is called the half-grant system, a repayment of only half the amount expended being required from the proprietors. When the government of Lord Russell succeeded to power, it was their opinion that the Irish proprietors had availed themselves of the provisions of this act far beyond what the necessity of the country required. The Irish proprietors had thus made presentments exceeding in amount £1,000,000 sterling; and although a sum of less than £300,000 only had been expended in wages, by the 1st of September, 1846, that sum had already deranged the labour market of Ireland; affected the supply of labour in England; and even the harvest in Ireland stood uncut for want of labourers. It was on the petition of the Irish farmers themselves that the works under this act were stopped, in order that they might get labourers to reap their corn. Then it was that ministers determined on giving up the half-grant system. They hoped to discourage those over-presentments which sordid minds had pressed so painfully on their attention, by resolving that no loans should be advanced for such purposes which were not to be repaid in full.

Sir Robert Peel, on one occasion, reminded his old antagonists, that they had not behaved towards him as he was behaving towards them. Harassed by the disorders and outrages which desolated Ireland, the Whigs, on the 29th of November, 1847, proposed, through their Home Secretary, Sir G. Grey, a bill for the repression of crime, and the protection of life in that country—very similar to that which they had rejected seventeen months previously, in order to overthrow the Peel ministry. Sir Robert frankly gave his approval and support to the measure. "I should be unwilling," he said, "to let the first night of the debate on the proposal of her majesty's government pass without publicly declaring that it is my intention to give to that proposal a cordial support. I will quarrel with none of the details of the measure. * * * I cannot resist the force of the appeal which the right honourable gentleman has made to the House, because it is precisely the same appeal which, some two years since, I made myself, and made in vain." And turning towards the Conservative malcontents, who, in June, 1846, had combined with the Whigs against him, he added—"I trust that those who opposed the measure brought forward in 1846, will not think it incumbent upon them, from any consideration for the late government, to withhold their support from the bill now before the House." The bill was carried by 224 votes against 18; and Sir Robert Peel's opponents thus undertook to justify the measure for which they had driven him from office.

One more effort was made by Sir Robert Peel on behalf of Ireland.

In 1843, he appointed that commission of inquiry into the tenure of land in Ireland which goes by the name of its president, the Earl of Devon. In 1849, he proceeded to ask for legislation in accordance with that report. Three years' con-

tinuance of the potato disease had starved the population; the poor-law had been imposed on landed property; and landed property, crushed with debt, and destitute of capital, was falling into a condition of impotence and ruin. What was to be done? Sir R. Peel said—

"It is vain for England to hope that by indifference or neglect she can free herself from the burden if there be no remedy for Irish distress and disorder, which will press upon her with intense force. At the moment of which I am speaking, you have a military force of not less than 47,000 in Ireland; and the whole of the charge is borne, not locally by Ireland, but by the imperial Treasury. Now, with that military force, and coercive laws, what is the social condition of Ireland? I have here an account of the last assizes at Clonmel. For one division only of the county of Tipperary, and that the most quiet one, there are no less than 279 persons for trial: and of these, eighteen are charged with arson; four with attacking a police-barrack in arms; three with burglary; four with conspiracy to murder; forty-two with treasonable practices; fourteen with highway robbery; twenty-one with murder; and fourteen with shooting with intent to murder. The prison, which has only 225 cells, has in it no less than 668 persons, including twenty already under sentence of transportation. No wonder that Judge Jackson designated the calendar as one of the most awful he had ever known. * * * Have I not stated enough to recommend to the consideration of this portion of the empire, the social condition of Ireland? To mitigate her sufferings—to lay the foundation for a better state of things, measures of no commonplace and ordinary character are requisite. Reject my proposal if you will, but propose some other. If you can propose a better, there is no man in this House who will give it a more cordial support than I shall. I make this proposition without any adventitious party aid. I know not who agrees with, or who differs from me. I make it solely under the influence of sympathy for an unfortunate country; and with the conviction that some decision is necessary, for the relief, not only of Ireland, but of this country also." The plans to which Sir Robert referred, were occupation, and the state of landed property in Ireland. It was, however, to the latter subject that Sir Robert chiefly directed his efforts. After having drawn a lively picture of its deplorable condition; its public burdens; its private debts; the new poor-law; the accumulation of mortgages; the apathy of landlords; the poverty of tenants; he proceeded—"It is not without hesitation I venture to offer any suggestion for diminishing the danger which I see in perspective; but I will communicate to the House what my impressions are. Almost the only measure from which I derive a hope of safety is the introduction of new proprietors, who shall take possession of land in Ireland, freed from its present incumbrances, and enter upon its cultivation with adequate capital, with new feelings, and inspired by new hopes." He then referred to what had taken place in Ulster, in the north of Ireland, during the reign of James I., when, after several rebellions of the Irish chieftains, the king, finding that confiscations had placed two millions of acres of land at his disposal, granted the greater part of it to English and Scotch Protestants, who had settled there with their families, and established the property of the province by active and intelligent cultivation. "Nothing can be easier," said Sir Robert, "than to suggest remedies, if we choose to disregard those rights of property which it is the first duty of a British legislature to uphold. But if it be possible to make any new settlement similar to that of Ulster, my earnest advice—my advice, in unison with the universal feeling of the House—would be, that no religious distinction should be allowed to enter into the arrangement. * * * If, without violating the rights of property, you can place the land in possession of new proprietors, without distinction of religious faith, you will lay the foundation of the future prosperity of Ireland. I much fear that if you rely merely on individual sales and purchases, you will make no great advance. Perhaps it might be prudent to appoint a commission for the purpose of considering the whole subject, and the possibility of encouraging, by their advice and intervention, that change in property which I

believe to be indispensable to any great improvement in that country. Much property in Ireland is, in fact, of very little value to the proprietors, on account of the incumbrances upon it; and it may be possible for government, with the sanction of the House, to devise means by which new capital may be introduced into the cultivation of the land in Ireland, and the existing proprietors rescued from the disappointment and despair in which they are involved."

When this idea was first suggested, various opinions were entertained with regard to it. The lawyers, and the Whig chancellors, made a strong resistance. Lord Russell hinted at doubts and difficulties. The old Irish party protested vehemently against it. "Peel," adds Guizot, "pointed out, with all the energy of sincerity and conviction, the unreasonableness of those apprehensions of a blind patriotism; and did his utmost to remove the doubts, and overcome the hesitation of the government. Both in England and Ireland, nearly all the men who were conversant with the principles of political economy, warmly supported his proposition; the public welcomed it with that favour, and those hopes, which attend a great idea when presented by a superior man, who is evidently influenced by no interest, and aims at no object but the public good. Sir Robert entered patiently into the examination; discussed the objections of the lawyers with modest but persevering firmness; and pointed out the connection of his proposition with an act which parliament had passed in 1848, for the purpose of facilitating the sale of encumbered estates. Lord Clarendon, who was then Viceroy of Ireland, sagaciously foreseeing the good result of the measure, zealously employed himself to control the prejudices, and to remove the obstacles that stood in his way. The plan was finally adopted in April, 1848, not merely in principle, and as an experiment, but under the conditions, and with the means of execution which Peel considered necessary to ensure its success. A year had scarcely elapsed before Sir Robert Peel had ceased to live, and yet the success of his scheme had already surpassed his expectations. He had entered public life in Ireland, and in the service of the party most opposed to Irish reforms. Ireland had been, to use his own expression, his 'chief difficulty.' Ireland had twice (in 1835 and 1846) cost him his position as head of the government. Yet to him Ireland owed the emancipation of the Catholics; and the most effectual measure ever adopted for the social regeneration of Ireland, was the last great act of Sir R. Peel's influence on the internal government of his country. There are times when God specially baffles the foresight of men, and makes them execute His designs, by leading them from one inconsistency to another in their thoughts and combinations."

Such is the language of a philosopher. How different that of a partisan. Lord George Bentinck writes to his friend and biographer—"Lord —— writes—'How Peel must chuckle at the Whig difficulties.' I dare say he does."

CHAPTER XLVII.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND PROGRESS.

Sir Robert Peel's last administration was characterised by the settlement of many, and some of them difficult, questions. The time in which he lived was the turning-point in our modern history. He was placed in a position to carry the reforms for which the Liberals had long and vainly contended.

Guizot writes, in his book on Peel—"He brought to a more successful termination several questions which had long been pressing on the English government as grievances to be redressed, or progresses to be accomplished. He abrogated the unjust law which vested in exclusively Protestant com-

missioners the right of authorising or prohibiting the gifts or legacies that might be made to the various Catholic institutions; they were superseded by a mixed commission, on which an equal number of Catholics were appointed. The Protestant dissenters (and, amongst others, the Unitarians) were disturbed in the possession of their chapels, and other property, by the raising of obscure questions as to the religious intentions of their founders, as compared with the doctrines of occupants; and these disputes were envenomed and prolonged immoderately, by legal subtleties and theological animosities. In spite of strenuous opposition, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, put an end to these questions by passing an act which confirmed in the full possession of establishments of this nature, any religious society which had been in possession of them for twenty years. The validity of the marriages of the Presbyterians, who had settled in great numbers in the north of Ireland, was a matter of considerable doubtfulness; but this was entirely removed by a bill frankly accepted by the episcopal church of Ireland. The poor-law received important and difficult ameliorations. The obligation to take a Christian oath excluded the Jews from certain municipal offices: it was abolished. The cabinet did not succeed so well with its measures for the reform of the ecclesiastical courts, and of the municipal system in Ireland. On these two questions it was obliged to drop the bills which it had presented. Placed between the systematic adversaries and the systematic partisans of all innovations, when it was unable to adduce in support of those which it propounded, either an ingenious necessity, or that superabundant evidence in presence of which great interests and passions are sometimes silent, it ran great risk of failing, either through having attempted too much, or not doing enough. But these reverses did not discourage Sir Robert Peel. It was one of the characteristics of his mind, that he had a taste for small affairs as well as for great, and took almost as much pleasure in the laborious accomplishment of a modest administrative measure, as in the glorious efforts of a great political act." Two of the members of his cabinet gave him great assistance in this respect: their names are Sir James Graham and Lord Lyndhurst.

The latter nobleman (who lived to an extreme old age) was a native of Boston, in America, where he was born in the year 1772. Brought to England by his father—the artist, now best known by his "Death of Lord Chatham"—young Copley was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and called to the bar in 1804. Although understood, originally, to have been imbued with Liberal politics, he entered parliament under Tory auspices; and was Solicitor-general to the Liverpool administration, from 1819 to 1823. Having filled the office of Attorney-general from the latter date to 1826, he was then appointed Master of the Rolls; and, in 1827, elevated to the Lord Chancellorship of England. Lord Lyndhurst resigned the great seal in 1830; but accepted, soon after, the judicial post of Lord Chief Baron. On the formation of the first Peel administration, in 1834, Lord Lyndhurst resumed his seat on the woolsack; and on Sir Robert Peel's defeat, became most formidable as an opposition leader. Indeed, his speeches, characterised by power, brilliancy, bitterness, and sarcasm (particularly his annual review of each session), are considered as having had an enormous influence, especially in the country, in that reanimation of the Conservative party, which, in 1841, restored the great seal to Lord Lyndhurst, and office to his party. On the fall of the Peel ministry, in 1846, Lyndhurst described himself as at the close of his public life; but his voice was often heard after that, and with increased respect. In his prime, he was one of the handsomest men in either House; and he is thus described in 1855, when he made his great speech on the policy of Prussia:—"He walks with great slowness and feebleness, and his sight is impaired by his great age; but as he stood last night, erect, and unbowed by the hand of time, he must have been regarded by the Conservative peers as the Nestor of his party, whose accents, in the nature of things, must soon cease to echo in the senate. It was singular, and somewhat touching, to mark the deference paid by their lordships to the aged

peer. Lord Lyndhurst spoke from his place upon the second bench—the opposition side, below the gangway—a part of the House usually occupied by neutral and independent peers. Being thus placed at one end of the House, it was necessary for the opposition peers to turn their backs upon the woolsack, in order to see the noble and learned lord; and a curious effect was produced from the gallery allotted to members of the lower House, by the long line of faces upon the crowded benches of the opposition, all turned towards Lord Lyndhurst, and manifesting mingled respect and anxiety not to lose one of his remarks. The noble and learned lord's voice occasionally faltered, and became feeble; but the enunciation was always distinct; and the treatment of the subject evinced that time had not dimmed the lustre of his clear and powerful intellect." In all matters of moment, Lord Lyndhurst, after the death of Sir Robert Peel, became recognised as the chief adviser of the Conservative party; and this position he held till 1863, when he passed away, full of years and honour, and with a world-wide fame.

Sir James Graham—Peel's tried and trusty friend—was not so fortunate; and, perhaps, never received justice from the public till he had gone where public censure or applause are alike unnoticed and unknown. Sir James was born in 1792; and, as a young man, distinguished himself by the violence of his political opinions, as a reformer, and denouncer of profligate expenditure. When Earl Grey was called to power, Sir James was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and a member of the cabinet; which office he held till 1834, when he retired on account of the extent to which his colleagues were prepared to touch ecclesiastical property in Ireland. As the head of the Admiralty, Sir James introduced many improvements, and saved the nation large sums of money. From 1841 to 1846, he was Secretary for the Home Department, and incurred much odium in opening the letters of Mazzini, and betraying their contents to the Austrian government. It was what had been done before, but what had never been found out before; hence Sir James incurred additional ill-will. In his address to the electors at the dissolution of 1841, he stated that he regarded "every personal sacrifice as light in comparison with the sacred duty of defending the Protestant church; of combining education with religion; and of defending the monarchy against the inroad of democratic principles inconsistent with its safety: he was the enemy of election by ballot; opposed to a further extension of the elective franchise; and was an advocate of protection to British agriculture, on the principle of the British corn-laws. Sir R. Peel once declared in the House, that he never knew any other public servant to get through so much work, in the same time, as his right honourable friend, and that was the most efficient administration he had ever known." In a letter to the late J. J. Gurney, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton wrote—"The debate on the Manchester riots has convinced me that I have the opportunity of being a competitor on the greatest arena that ever existed; but success in such a theatre is only for those who devote their lives to it." Sir Thomas declined to pay the price Sir James did, and, consequently, takes a foremost place in any gallery of modern statesmen. He devoted his whole life to the House of Commons; and he was a fine specimen of a House of Commons orator. Good fortune did much for Sir James. She made him one of the strongest men in the House of Commons, and one of the wealthiest. In 1820, it was a novelty to hear a wealthy baronet talking Radicalism; and thus a marked man in early life, his power of work, and his devotion to parliamentary business, enabled him to live down his unpopularity—his political inconsistency—his recklessness on the platform and the hustings—his bitter partisanship inside St. Stephen's, or out; and, latterly, his patriarchal appearance quite touched the heart of the stranger in the gallery. He had a portly frame, and a benign presence. In a parliamentary fight, he had always a meek smile, with which he listened patiently to the bitterest anathemas of his political foes; and when he rose to reply, it was really touching—the air of injured innocence which he always contrived to assume. You felt as if you never heard such a candid speaker in your life. He looked as if he would not do a

naughty thing for the world; and as he stood, slightly stooping, his arms behind his back, his voice seemingly broken with emotion, you fancied never was there a more injured person; and when he, as was his wont, in his blandest manner, asked if it was to be supposed that he would forfeit the reputation of a life; when he declared that his character was at stake; that at his age—so soon to pass away from among men—it was monstrous to suppose that he would do anything so mean, and paltry, and despicable, as the offence with which he was charged, your warmest sympathies were aroused for the injured baronet, and you became indignant as you felt how he was the helpless victim of party slander, of personal pique, or lying tongues. Sir James's deeds will remain to vindicate his character. On the whole, his career was on the side of progress. During the reform agitation, he did much to ensure the passing of that measure; and the aid he gave to Sir Robert Peel in fighting the battle of free trade, and in other ways, was of the most invaluable character.

Among the bills introduced by Sir James, was one for modifying the laws already in force with regard to the labour and education of children employed in factories. These laws had been originated by Sir Robert Peel's father. In the year 1815, that prosperous manufacturer demanded that law should exert its influence to save factory children from moral and physical degradation. He proposed that the labour of children should be limited to ten hours a day; and that they should be allowed two hours and a-half for taking their meals, and attending school. The proposition was well received, and gave rise to an inquiry; but in his zeal for humanity, the author also demanded that the laws should limit the hours of labour for adults. This was successfully opposed by the manufacturers and leading Liberals, on political and economical grounds, and the bill was lost. In 1819, Mr. Peel came to the assistance of his father, and a bill was passed, which regulated the conditions of age and labour in manufactories, as regarded children only. Ever since, there had been a tendency to enlarge and improve the working of that act; and in March, 1843, and February, 1844, Sir James Graham proposed numerous changes in the existing system: the principal of which were—the reduction of the number of the hours of labour to six and a-half for children of from nine to thirteen years of age; the limitation of the labour of young persons, of either sex, who were from thirteen to eighteen years of age, to twelve hours a day; the prohibition of women, under any circumstances, of labouring for more than twelve hours a day; and certain precautions for securing the effectual education of young workpeople.

The proposition was received with general favour; but others—and Lord Ashley was amongst the number—went much further than the government. His lordship demanded that the number of the hours of labour should be limited to ten a day, for all adults without distinction, whether men or women; and his proposition was not the most extreme, as Mr. Fielden, M.P. for Oldham, wished to reduce the number to eight hours. "The day," he said, "is divided by philosophers into three periods—eight hours for labour, eight hours for recreation, and eight hours for sleep; and I would have us carry out, by our laws, that division of the day." In the name of personal liberty, and in the interests of commerce, Sir Robert Peel opposed these propositions. With regard to factory education, the government sustained a severe defeat. The bill was resisted by the dissenters, on the plea that it was proposed to give to the clergy, and members of the church of England, an amount of influence over the schools to be established, which would render them, in fact, a supplementary establishment. The British and Foreign School Society, and the Sunday-school Union (not exclusively dissenting institutes), joined in opposition. The House was flooded with petitions: one, from the city of London, was signed by 55,000 persons. Nor was Sir Robert himself more fortunate with respect to the general subject. Notwithstanding that he had shown the House that the reduction of the hours of labour from twelve hours to ten hours a day, would deprive the manufacturer of seven weeks' labour in the

year, it adopted Lord Ashley's amendment. In the divisions on the subject, great confusion prevailed. As many as eighty Tories, either from ill-humour against the Premier, or with a view to court popularity, voted against the government. Not only was the bill lost, but Sir Robert Peel's authority was compromised. He resolved not to suffer this. A little while after a new bill was brought in, differing in some respects from the former, but substantially the same as regards the number of hours of labour: and this was carried. In vain Lord John Russell endeavoured to encourage the Tories to continue their temporary revolt; there was a much more numerous attendance than before, and Sir Robert Peel had a majority of 138 votes.

A month after this discussion, as Guizot says, "Sir Robert Peel put the fidelity—I will not say the docility—of his party a second time to the same test." On the proposition of a Conservative member, and in spite of the resistance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House, on the 14th of June, 1844, in a debate on the sugar duties, adopted an amendment, which reduced, four shillings less than the government proposal, the duty imposed on sugars from the English colonies; and, in certain cases, on foreign. Sir Robert was not present at the time; but, three days afterwards, referred to it; and, after winning the favour of the consistent opponents of slavery, by maintaining an inequality of duties between sugars which were the products of free labour, and those grown in slave states, treated the vote already carried as an act of hostility to himself; and insinuated, if it were persisted in, "important consequences" might ensue. The threat was unmistakable, and the House was greatly moved by it; some of the sincerest friends of the cabinet—Lord Sandon, the proposer of the obnoxious amendment, among others—protesting that their loyalty to their leader was still the same. The debate was long and vehement. Sir Robert refused to yield: the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Stanley), were equally firm. When the division took place, there were twenty-six more members in the House than on the previous occasion; and the amendment, which, on the 14th of June, had been carried by twenty votes, was rejected, on the 17th, by a majority of twenty-two. Such was the dictatorial sway of Sir Robert Peel.

The question of sugar had been a difficult and delicate one. It had caused much contention in the ranks of free-traders. While the controversy was at its height, Cobden sent to his friend, Quaker Joseph Sturge, the following jocular *brochure*. We insert it, merely premising that the Lord Ripon referred to was President of the Board of Trade under Sir Robert. Mr. Cobden headed it—"A scene at the Board of Trade. Lord Ripon and the Brazilian ambassador sitting together."

"*Ambassador.*—Your lordship is doubtless aware that the commercial treaty between England and Brazil is about to expire.

"*Ripon.*—True; and I am happy to find myself empowered to treat with your excellency for a renewal of the commercial relations between the two countries, so admirably calculated by nature to minister to the wealth and happiness of each other.

"*Ambassador.*—Brazil is favoured beyond almost any other country in its soil, climate, and the facilities of its internal communication. Its products are various; comprising hides, tallow, cotton, gems of a variety of kinds, sugar——

"*Ripon.*—I beg your excellency's pardon for interrupting you; but how is your sugar cultivated—by slave labour?

"*Ambassador.*—It is.

"*Ripon.*—Oh! strike it out of the list, I beg; we cannot take slave sugar: it is contrary to the religious principles of the British people to buy slave-grown sugar: *it is stolen goods.*

"*Ambassador.*—I bow to your nation's honourable scruples. We will, then, omit the sugar. Still there are other commodities remaining, in which we may effect an honourable exchange, and I hope to the benefit of both countries.

"*Ripon.*—Oh, yes; there are plenty of articles of exchange which we shall still be happy to supply you with; our irons, earthenwares, silks, woollens, and cottons——

"*Ambassador.*—I beg pardon; did your lordship say cottons?

"*Ripon.*—Yes; we are the largest dealers in cotton goods in the world; and we sell them so cheap that they find their way, more or less, into every country on the face of the earth; we supply Italy——

"*Ambassador.*—I pray your lordship's pardon for again interrupting you; but may I ask—how is the cotton cultivated; is it not by slave labour?

"*Ripon.*—Why, ahem! how is it cultivated you say? Why, ahem! hem! why——

"*Ambassador.*—I believe I can relieve your lordship from your apparent embarrassment by answering that question. At least four-fifths of the cotton imported into England is of slave cultivation.

"*Ripon.*—Ahem! I believe it is so.

"*Ambassador.*—Then am I to understand that your people have no religious scruple against selling slave-grown produce to the Brazilians?

"*Ripon.*—(Colours in his face, and moves about uneasily in his chair.)

"*Ambassador.*—No religious scruples against sending slave-grown cottons into every country in the world? No religious scruples against eating slave-grown rice? No religious scruples about smoking slave-grown tobacco? No religious scruples against taking slave-grown snuff?—(pointing to a gold snuff-box lying on the table). Am I to understand that the religious scruples of the English people are confined to the article of sugar?

"*Ripon.*—(Putting the snuff-box in his pocket). I am sorry to be obliged to repeat that I cannot consent to take your sugar.

"*Ambassador.*—(Rising from his seat). My lord, I should be the first to do homage to the sincere and consistent scruples of conscientious Christians. But whilst you are sending to Brazil sixty millions of yards of cotton goods in a year, I cannot, in justice to my own feelings, sit quietly and listen to the plea, that your nation has, in reality, any religious scruples upon the subject of slave labour. Excuse me if I suggest to your lordship that other reasons may be found, especially in the monopoly which your colonial proprietors enjoy——

"*Ripon.*—(Interrupting him). I do assure your excellency that a body of religious men—the anti-slavery party—have urged these scruples upon her majesty's government. I have to-day been waited upon by Joseph Sturge, one of the most influential of that body——

"*Ambassador.*—Joseph Sturge! I have heard of him and his labours in the cause of humanity. He is the consistent friend of the oppressed; too consistent, I should hope, to urge upon his government, whilst making a treaty with the Brazils for receiving slave-grown cotton from your country, to refuse slave-grown sugar in exchange. Joseph Sturge is a believer in the New Testament, which teaches us to 'remove the beam from our own eye before we cast out the mote from our neighbour's eye.' Does not Joseph Sturge oppose the introduction into this country of cotton, tobacco, and rice?"

[The door opens, and enter Joseph Sturge, with a cotton cravat; his hat lined with calico; his coat, &c., sewn with cotton thread, and his cotton pockets well lined with slave-wrought gold and silver. The Brazilian ambassador and Lord Ripon burst into laughter.]

But we are wandering from Sir Robert Peel. These internal dissensions; these defections; these ebullitions of ill-temper, as yet were powerless. His reputation for power and ability went on increasing; but the fermentation and disorganisation of the Conservative party also went on increasing. In 1845, Sir Robert Peel found himself in a dilemma. The income-tax, which had been used for three years, was about to expire. What was to be done? If it were to be continued, what taxes were to be removed, and the country pacified?

On the 14th of February, 1845, he laid before the House of Commons a statement of the condition of the public finances, and his budget for the year. He had to tell of prosperity. For the current year the receipts exceeded the expenditure by £5,000,000. For the year following, and after making a considerable increase in the navy estimates, he promised a net surplus of £3,409,000. He proposed to continue the income-tax, which was calculated to produce £5,200,000; and in tho customs' duties he effected abolitions and reductions which amounted altogether to £3,338,000. The alterations of the duties on four articles alone—sugar, raw cotton, coal for export, and glass—occasioned a loss of £2,740,000. The import duties on 430 articles besides were entirely abolished. The success of the scheme was great, although some complained of the continuance of the income-tax, and others demanded a more rapid extension of the principles of commercial liberty. The newspapers, in publishing the long list of 430 articles exempted from duty, amused themselves with pointing out its frivolous concessions or curious inconsistencies. "While our bread is taxed," said one, "arsenic is admitted duty free; so that if we cannot have food at the natural price, we may have poison on moderate terms. Bones of cattle are liberated from duty, but the flesh upon them remains subject to the landlord's tax; foreign animals are allowed to furnish us with everything but meat; free admission is granted to their bones, their hides, their hair, their hoofs, their horns, and their tails—to everything but their flesh, which is precisely the part of which we stand most in need. Feathers, flock, and flower-roots for beds, have won the favour of the Premier; but flocks of sheep continue under the appropriate protection of the Duke of Richmond." The distinction maintained by Sir Robert Peel between sugars produced by free labour and those grown in slave states, led to a long and animated discussion, in the course of which Macaulay delivered one of his most masterly speeches. The silence which Sir Robert had preserved on the corn question was commented on; but, in spite of these attacks, the Whig opposition and the Tory malcontents were embarrassed. Peel had, however, both public favour and personal ascendency on his side: even among his adversaries tho majority were secretly of his opinion; and, in spite of tho ill-humour and internal disorganisation of his party, the various portions of his plan were adopted, one after another, by large majorities—as it were, "under the sway of an external pressure, freely accepted by some, and sadly submitted to by others."

Such, in reality, was the case. A new idea was dominating in the land, over the Premier and his colleagues—over his opponents and supporters—over parliament and people. "When Sir Robert Peel," wrote Guizot, "had established the income-tax in 1842, he had done so, not from choice, nor with any systematic purpose, but under the coercion of a practical and pressing necessity, to supply an increasing deficiency, and to restore order in the finances of the country. No such motive existed any longer for this tax; the public revenue exceeded the expenditure; the extraordinary remedy which had been employed against an evil which was now cured, might be dispensed with. Why did Sir Robert still persist in employing it? Was it with a view to amass large savings in the public treasury, or to extinguish the national debt more rapidly? Certainly not; it was solely in order to place himself in a position to make a great experiment—to introduce gradually into the administration of the state that principle of free trade which science had proclaimed, but which hitherto had only been partially and timidly put in practice. And whence did this principle derive strength enough to induce both the government and the opposition, in spite of so many conflicting interests, to accept it thus unanimously? Was it not from its recognition merely as an abstract scientific truth? By no means. However great their respect for Adam Smith and Ricardo may have been, neither Sir Robert Peel nor Lord John Russell were endowed with so large a measure of philosophic faith. A faith far otherwise aimed, and far more imperious—the recognition of the greatest happiness of the greatest number of human beings, as the supreme object of society and

of government—was the superior power, of which Sir Robert Peel had made himself the minister, and which swayed all his opponents; some of them governed like himself, others intimidated or paralysed by this great idea, which was clearly or dimly present to their minds, either as an incontestable right, or as an irresistible fact. This idea is, in our days, the democratic idea, *par excellence;* and it will be the glory, as it was the strength of Sir Robert Peel, that he was its sensible, its most honest, and (for a well-regulated society) its boldest representative."

Sir Robert Peel was more successful as a commercial reformer than as a legislator on religious matters. He failed when he undertook to deal with Maynooth, or the education of factory children; but his greatest failure was with regard to the disputes in the church of Scotland.

Under the large-hearted and energetic Dr. Chalmers, the church of Scotland was endeavouring to bring herself abreast with the population and the intelligence of the country. In 1834, the general assembly enacted, that while the lay patrons of churches should retain their right to present ministers, the communicants in a parish should have a right to say whether or not they approved of the choice; and if they dissented, their dissent, without cause shown, should be conclusive as to that particular appointment. There were not wanting sagacious men—and among them must be mentioned Chalmers himself—who doubted whether the church had the power to make such a serious encroachment on the rights of patrons; and they recommended that an act of parliament should be obtained to set the matter at rest. But they were overborne, in the private deliberations of their party, by such legal authorities as Jeffrey, Cockburn, and Abercromby; and so the question was placed on the authority of the church alone—an authority which was challenged in the civil courts on a very early occasion. This gallant assertion of her clergymen, on behalf of the rights of the people, awakened the long-dormant love of the Scottish people for their national church; and when Chalmers proclaimed, as with the voice of a trumpet, the inadequacy of the ecclesiastical machinery, as set up at the Reformation, to provide for a population which had since more than doubled in amount, and called upon the friends of religion to supply the deficiency, the demand was cheerfully responded to. A proposition was then made by Dr. Chalmers, that voluntary and government aid should be divided in this way—that the people should build the churches, and that the government should endow them. But the Whigs, who were then in power, looked upon the matter in a different light; they could not afford to offend the dissenters, who were their chief supporters in the Scotch towns, and who were much opposed to any grant of money for ecclesiastical purposes. The government were in a dilemma; and they did what governments generally do under such circumstances—they appointed a commission, who inquired. The inquiry consumed some time: the report was unsatisfactory; and the church got nothing except a speech on her behalf in the House of Lords. Had Sir R. Peel been in office, he might, probably, have adopted a more satisfactory course.

In its distress, the leaders of the church turned to Lord Aberdeen, who, as a Conservative and a patron, had been opposed to the passing of the Veto Act by the general assembly; but who had always conducted his opposition in a courteous manner. Besides, he had already shown his interest in the religious condition of his native country by the speech he had made on the subject of endowments. It was natural, therefore, that his lordship should be appealed to, and that he should be willing to aid in settling the vexed question. The credit of composing the differences of the church of Scotland, was an honour, as Sir Robert Peel said, of which any statesman might well be proud. His lordship undertook the task; in which, however, he not only failed, but did much to alienate Dr. Chalmers and his followers. Lord Aberdeen proposed that the people, in every case where they made objections, should state their reasons for doing so; and that then the presbytery should judge whether their reasons were sufficient for the rejection of the presentee. This proposal was rejected by the church leaders, on the ground that it would be

conferring a power upon the clergy, which was always liable to abuse, and which would be always suspected of being abused. They remarked that such a settlement would be doubly odious in the eyes of the people, because it would be, in fact, taking the power which had been conferred upon them by the Veto Act, and conferring it on the clergy. They proposed, in turn, that the people state their reasons for refusing a presentee; but that those reasons, whether forcible or frivolous, should be equally valid if they were concurred in by the majority of the communicants. It was supposed (it appeared subsequently, wrongly) that Lord Aberdeen had consented to this view of the case. The negotiators on the part of the church returned to Scotland, and gratified their friends by the announcement that Lord Aberdeen had assented to these views, and that the reasons of the majority of the communicants were to be, in all cases, valid; even though, to use his lordship's own illustration, the only objection they could urge against a man was, that he had red hair. Great rejoicing took place at this announcement, and great was the interest felt in the forthcoming bill which Lord Aberdeen was to introduce into the House of Lords, embodying the principle which he and the church party had agreed on. And in proportion to the anticipations formed, were the disgust and indignation that were felt when the bill actually made its appearance, and it was found that it contained, after all, the obnoxious clause—that, of the reasons given by the parishioners, the presbytery were to be the judges, and might, if they saw fit, set aside those reasons as frivolous, and ordain the presentee in the face of a resisting parish.

In the meanwhile, the logic of events was solving the difficulty in a way not anticipated by the friends of the Scottish establishment. In 1839, Lord Kintoul presented a Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder. The congregation vetoed the appointment. The presbytery were required to take him on trial, and they refused to do so, taking their stand on the rule promulgated by the assembly. The Court of Session and the House of Lords overruled the objection. Thus the spiritual and temporal powers came at once into collision. The assembly did not contest the right of the court over the temporalities of the ministry, but surrendered the stipend, manse, &c.; with which Mr. Young and his patron were content. Then came the case of a Mr. Edwards, who was appointed minister of a parish in which only one communicant could be found to sign the call. The presbytery, as ordered by the assembly, presented another minister; but Mr. Edwards obtained an interdict from the Court of Session. Reduced to the dilemma of disobeying either the civil or spiritual powers, the presbytery preferred to obey the civil. The seven ministers composing the presbytery were summoned to the bar of the general assembly; and, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers, deposed, and their parishes declared vacant. The deposed ministers appealed to parliament, and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the preachers appointed by the assembly. For two years a violent agitation raged throughout Scotland—the partisans of the intrusionists and the non-intrusionists actually, on more than one occasion, coming to blows. In the session of 1843, Lord Aberdeen, representing the former, introduced a measure which might have been effective at an earlier stage of the proceedings, but which now was offered too late to help an amicable settlement, though it armed the presbytery with the power of rejecting ministers nominated by lay patrons. The bill passed slowly through very thin Houses; and before it became law, the schism had ended in secession. In reply to a memorial from the assembly to the government, Sir James Graham wrote—"Her majesty's ministers, now understanding that nothing less than the total abrogation of the rights of the crown, and of other patrons, will satisfy the church, are bound with firmness to declare that they cannot advise her majesty to consent to the grant of any such demand." The assembly appealed from the ministry to parliament; but the Commons decided, after a debate of two nights, by 211 to 76, against considering their petition. The matter was deemed of little importance. Neither Whigs nor Tories, for a moment, believed that ministers of religion would ever give up income

and home, and social position, for conscience' sake. Such a spectacle had been rare in England since Bartholomew's-day. It is true clergymen had occasionally appealed to parliament for relief from acts and subscriptions they had deemed inconsistent with scripture; but where that relief had been refused, they had invariably got the better of their scruples, and continued the receipt of the pay of the state. In England and Scotland alike, there was an active and enlightened dissent, whose ministers had long trusted to Christian liberality for support, and who preferred so to labour, than to belong to a church which, according to them, had so much at variance with the claims of conscience and of God. But then dissent was only supported by the people. All the aristocracy and fashion of the country were on the side of the church, and against the vulgar people who pleaded conscience, and took for their sole authority, in matters of religion, the Word of God. No wonder, then, that the statesmen of that day made a great blunder. They thought—and they had every reason to think so—that the Scottish established clergy would grumble and remonstrate, and then, after the manner of the clergy, swallow their remonstrance, and quietly accept what the state chose to give. In Scotland, for a wonder—and to the honour of human nature—the other, and nobler, alternative was adopted.

On May the 18th, 1844, the crisis came. On that day, the assembly met in St. Andrew's church, Edinburgh. Dr. Welch, the moderator of the former assembly, took the chair as customary; but, instead of proceeding to business, read a declaration of secession on the part of himself and brethren. The seceders then rose, took their hats, and walked in procession, headed by the moderator and Dr. Chalmers, and accompanied by applauding spectators, to a hall at Canon Mills, where 300 more seceding clergymen, and a large body of laymen, had assembled. They there constituted the Free Church of Scotland, declaring that they seceded from an alliance with the state, not because they objected to that alliance in itself, but because the state had sought to degrade and enslave the church. They appealed to the voluntary principle—not voluntarily, but from compulsion. It yielded them, however, a hearty response. In spite of the hardness of the times, £300,000 were subscribed in a few months. The people all through the land were in their favour. The Rump that remained in the establishment had to preach, for a long time, to bare walls. To the Free Church there were, at first, many difficulties. The great landowners refused sites for the erection of places of worship. The preachers were compelled to hold forth, like their Divine Master, by the highways, in the fields, on the brow of the hill, or from the boat moored by the water's edge. Among the crowd that looked, with throbbing heart and tearful eye, upon the procession from St. Andrew's church to Canon Mills, was Lord Francis Jeffrey. He is said to have exclaimed—"Thank God I am a Scotchman! In no other country could such a sight be seen."

We all know how much the age is fashioned by the man. At the bottom of every great movement there is a man. To one man alone—to the eloquence, and the influence, and the heroic determination of one man alone, is this proud page in Scottish story due. That one man was Dr. Chalmers, the light and glory of religious Scotland in these latter days. A short account of this extraordinary man (for such, undoubtedly, he was) will not be out of place.

Dr. Chalmers was born in the small and humble village of Anstruther, in the east of Fife, in 1778, of parents in the humbler ranks of life. At an early age, having given some indications of genius, he was, fortunately for himself and his country, devoted to the service of the church, and was educated at the University of St. Andrew's, where he distinguished himself in the mathematical and chemical classes. He first entered on his public career by accepting, in 1802, the office of assistant in the parish of Cavers, near Hawick. In 1803, he was ordained to the pastoral charge of Kilmany, a beautiful parish in Fife; and while there assisted in the mathematical class at St. Andrew's, and also lectured on chemistry. For several years during his ministrations in this secluded spot, he belonged to that

section of the *then* church of Scotland known by the name of "Moderate;" and is said to have paid more attention to his philosophical pursuits and studies, than to the graver and more important interests of his pulpit and his flock. Here it was that he wrote the first work that laid the foundation of his name; and here a most remarkable change took place in his character and deportment. Being employed to write the article "Christianity" for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, his mind was first deeply and permanently impressed with a sense of religious truth. It is said, that after finishing an article, or rather a rough draft, on the above subject, he showed it to an aged dissenting clergyman of the neighbourhood, with whom he was very intimate; who, after reading it very carefully, returned it, and strongly and affectionately advised him to go home and study his Bible more; which advice he took, and re-wrote the treatise under very different views and feelings. With his characteristic determination, he altered his style, and manner, and system, from the very foundation, and became at once, and for the first time, a preacher of Christ crucified. While engaged in writing this article he was induced to fear that the church of Scotland was losing its early evangelical character, and a conviction was fixed in his mind that he must abandon the "Moderate" party, and cling to what was known as the "Evangelical," or popular party, just rising into note in the church.

In 1808, he published a pamphlet on *An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*, advancing a theory of a more selfish than a cosmopolitan character, in which he endeavoured to prove that the resources of this country were such that, if well cultivated and husbanded, we might live independent of all foreign trade. This fundamental error in his theory of political economy, prepared the way for other publications of a political or social character, in which he attempted to defend the laws of primogeniture and entail, and, in a qualified sense, to oppose free trade.

In 1814, he went to Edinburgh on private business; and calling on Mr. Fleming, one of the city ministers, with a view of preaching for him, was disappointed on finding that he was to preach himself. However, he got a note of introduction to Mr. Jones, of Lady Glenorchy's chapel; and hurrying down, got there just as Mr. Jones was about to mount the pulpit, walked straight up to him, seized him by the tail of the gown, and presented the note. Mr. Jones, much surprised, read it, and on seeing its tenor, retired to the vestry, beckoning him to follow; and there, placing on him his own gown and bands, told him to "mount the pulpit, and preach like a man of God." Mr. Chalmers took for his text that passage in John, where Christ says, "If thou hadst known who it was that said, give me to drink," &c.; from which he preached a sermon so powerful and impressive, that from that day forward he was set down as the giant of the age.

His popularity and usefulness increased, not only in his own immediate neighbourhood, but spread into distant places. It soon became evident that he would not long be allowed to remain in a sphere much too circumscribed for his gigantic powers; and in 1815, he was appointed to the Tron Church of Glasgow, where he laboured with much zeal and success in the moral and religious education of the poor, till 1819, when he was translated to St. John's, Glasgow, then containing a population of nearly 12,000 souls, who had been hitherto miserably neglected. Being in the full vigour of bodily and mental energies, he commenced the work in good earnest; and in obedience to the command of his great Master, he went boldly into the lanes and the highways to compel them to come in. He knew the value of the bread of life, and he devoted a considerable portion of his time to carry it to those, who, either from carelessness or hostility, refused to come to it. In 1823, the chair of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrew's having become vacant, he was unexpectedly elected to fill it, and soon raised the department of Moral Philosophy to a high eminence in the curriculum of that institution. From the time that he preached a sermon before the royal commissioner, at the meeting of the general assembly in Edinburgh, in 1816 (the popular effect

of which was great), he was repeatedly offered the pastorship of one or other of the Edinburgh churches; but conceiving that his talents and acquirements were such as qualified him better for teaching than preaching, he refused them all. A course of astronomical sermons, also preached in Edinburgh, contributed much to establish his fame, and he became so much a favourite with the public whenever he appeared thereafter, that, to use his own words, he felt the burden of "a popularity of stare, and pressure, and animal heat." This remark had reference more particularly to some of his appearances in London, where Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Sussex, with several branches of the royal family, and many others, elbowed their way into crowded churches to hear him, and who were impressed, to use the words of Foster, with that eloquence which "strikes on your mind with irresistible force, and leaves you not the possibility of asking or thinking whether it be eloquence;" or, to adopt Lord Jeffrey's still more characteristic description, "He could not say what it was; but there was something altogether remarkable about the man. The effects produced by his eloquence reminded him more of what he had read of Cicero and Demosthenes than anything he had ever heard."

In 1828, the chair of divinity in Edinburgh became vacant; and the magistrates and town council being the patrons, unanimously elected Dr. Chalmers (for he had now his LL.D. and D.D.) to the office. Here he had reached the highest object of his ambition, and devoted himself so assiduously to the duties of his appointment that his students increased in number to a very inconvenient extent. For four years he pursued his course in this chair with comparative abstraction from public affairs; but in 1832, a variety of circumstances combined to bring him on the stage of public life, where, as the leader of the evangelical party in the church, he commenced a struggle for church extension, which ended in the disruption of 1843, and the establishment of the Free Church.

No sooner had the doctor set himself to work out his great problem of church establishments being the emanation from which Christianity might, by an aggressive movement, take possession of the strongholds of ignorance and vice, while dissent, as an attractive institution, would draw off some of those already religiously disposed, than he felt the dissenters more difficult to manage than he had expected, and the government less willing to build new churches, and give the ecclesiastical courts absolute power in the management of them, than he had been led to expect. But the great majority of the people of Scotland, although they could not agree to many of Dr. Chalmers' notions of ecclesiastical government, yet sympathised with him in his non-intrusion doctrines, and backed him up in his efforts to retain for the whole male communicants of the church, above twenty-one years of age, a right to a positive as well as a negative voice in the election of ministers. The doctor, in obedience to his convictions of duty, first proposed and carried in the assembly an act called "The Veto Act," which professedly gave to male communicants in the churches the power to say "No," when a patron presented a licentiate to a vacant charge, assigning no reasons for the negation. The well-known Auchterarder case arose out of this act; and the House of Lords having decided that the church of Scotland had thus overreached herself, an appeal on popular grounds was made to the Commons, but without effect. The doctor now counselled a secession from the establishment; and on the 18th of May, 1844, no fewer than 474 ministers left the church.

The new assembly was opened by Dr. Chalmers on the evening of that day, and henceforth he threw himself, heart and soul, into the schemes of the Free Church. His last effort was to obtain sufficient funds for the erection of a college and university buildings, in the final act of which he was engaged, previous to the buildings being commenced, when he was struck down, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Dr. Chalmers' appearance and mode of speaking marked him at once as no common man. In stature he was about the middle height, very stout, large-boned,

and muscular, but not at all approaching to corpulency. His eye, especially when excited, had a grey glare of insanity about it; his forehead was very broad and massy, but not particularly lofty—his step was quick and eager—his accents fast and hurrying—his gesture awkward, and his delivery monotonous: but yet, when roused from his lethargy, when fairly within his subject, these drawbacks were all forgotten in the fierce and rapid stream of his eloquence.

Let us now return to Sir Robert Peel. As we have shown, he has seated himself once more on the opposition benches; yet he gives to Lord Russell a cheerful support. The old questions which had occupied the attention of his government reappear under his successors: new ones arise; and he hastens to take part in their discussion. One of the most important of these was that of popular education. Sir Robert, during his administration, had not forgotten it; and the sum of £30,000, which, since 1833, had been annually voted by parliament for the assistance of schools, had been raised, on his recommendation, first to £40,000, then to £75,000, and finally to £100,000; but he had had no opportunity of developing his ideas upon the subject. Such an opportunity was furnished him during the session of 1847, by Lord John Russell, who himself brought forward the question of popular education, with a mass of details and a solemnity which indicated the importance that the Whig cabinet attached to it. Sir Robert Peel entered warmly into the matter.

And now we hasten on to that June morning, in 1850, when Sir Robert went forth to take his last ride. Thrown from his horse, and carried home, he lay, restless and delirious, on his bed of pain—all England, high and low, sympathising—till on the night of the 2nd of July he died. In the House of Commons—in the French assembly—all over Europe—the loss was referred to as a national calamity: and whilst these eulogies, these regrets, these universal testimonies of esteem and sympathy, both at home and abroad, were still resounding, on July 9th, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the mortal remains of the deceased statesman were borne from Drayton Manor, across the park and fields, to the parish church. It was his wish to be buried there, else the nation would gladly have placed him amongst the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey. His family, his principal political friends, his servants, his tenants and labourers, formed the procession. The weather was gloomy; the rain fell in torrents; a thick fog, blown hither and thither by violent gusts of wind, covered the face of the country. A numerous multitude, from Tamworth and the surrounding villages, had, nevertheless, assembled. On the arrival of the coffin, all stood uncovered, motionless, and mute: slowly it was carried through the graveyard to the church-door. At the head of the procession was the Bishop of Gibraltar; and when it had entered the church, the crowd pressed eagerly, but noiselessly, into the edifice: and thus the desire of Sir Robert was religiously fulfilled. His body was lowered, without pomp or ostentation, into the vault in which his father and mother were interred—followed by the regrets and prayers of the humble population among whom he lived when he was not engaged in governing the state.

"In the autumn of 1848, Sir Robert Peel," wrote Guizot, "invited me to spend some days at his residence, Drayton Manor; and I retain the most pleasurable recollections of this visit, which I enjoyed with two of my friends—M. Dunon and the Duke de Montebello. I there saw Sir Robert Peel in the bosom of his family, and in the midst of the population of his estates; Lady Peel, still beautiful, passionately and modestly devoted to her husband; a charming daughter (since married to a son of Lord Camoys); three sons—one a captain in the navy, already renowned for the most brilliant courage; the second, who had just made a successful *début* in the House of Commons; the third still engaged in his studies. On the estate, numerous and prosperous farmers, among whom was one of Sir Robert Peel's brothers, who had preferred an agricultural life to any other career; great works of rural improvement (and more particularly in drainage) in progress, which Sir R. Peel watched closely, and explained to us with an accurate knowledge of

details. Altogether a beautiful domestic existence, grand and simple, and broadly active: in the interior of the house, an affectionate gravity, less animated, less expansive, and less easy than our manners desire or permit; political recollections perpetuated in a gallery of portraits, most of them of contemporaries; some Sir R. Peel's colleagues in government; others, distinguished men with whom he had been brought in contact. Out-of-doors, between the landlord and the surrounding population, a great distance, strongly marked in manners, but filled up by frequent relations full of equity and benevolence on the part of the superior, without any appearance of envy or servility on the part of inferiors. I there beheld one of the happiest examples of the legitimate hierarchy of positions and persons, without any aristocratic recollections or pretensions, and amid a general and mutual feeling of right and respect." What a charming picture! How sad to think it was so soon to be destroyed. Thus revered at home and abroad, by the Liberals as well as the Conservatives—himself a power in the state—Sir Robert might have looked forward to many years of happy and useful existence; to peace after storm; to sunshine after shade. It was otherwise decreed.

"It becomes," writes Guizot, "great men to die with modesty; and it becomes great nations splendidly to honour their memory." England immediately proceeded to discharge her pious duty in this respect. In London, at Manchester, at Glasgow, at Edinburgh, at Birmingham, at Leeds, and in a great number of other towns, meetings were held, and municipal corporations adopted resolutions for the erection of monuments and statues to his memory. On the 12th of July, Lord John Russell proposed, in the House of Commons, that a monument should be erected to Sir Robert Peel in Westminster Abbey, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss. The House adopted the proposition at once; and, on the 18th of July, it received official intimation that the queen had given the necessary orders for the accomplishment of its desire. In the previous week, a committee had opened, in the name of the working classes, a penny subscription, for the purpose of erecting, to the memory of Sir Robert Peel, a "poor man's national monument." Mr. Cobden was requested to allow the use of his name as one of the patrons. He wrote, in reply—"It will be to me a melancholy satisfaction to be associated in so appropriate a mode of expressing the almost universal feeling of sorrow at the loss of a great public benefactor. The illustrious statesman who has been taken away from us with such awful suddenness, sacrificed every other object of ambition to secure to the firesides and workshops of the toiling multitudes of this country, the blessings of increased prosperity, health, and happiness. He knew the immediate penalty he would have to pay for the service he was rendering the nation; but he relied, with prophetic faith, upon the future verdict of the people. In the moment of his severest trial, when delivering the speech which closed his official career—after speaking of the ties of party, which he had severed for ever—of the political friendships he had converted into bitter enmities—of the floodgates of calumny he had let loose upon himself—after recounting mournfully, but without repining, the sacrifices he had made, he turned for sympathy and justice to the mass of the people. * * * Thus, in the work you have undertaken, you are, perhaps, unconsciously realising the aspirations of the departed statesman."

Testimonies from the friends, or the colleagues, or the contemporaries of Sir Robert Peel are scarcely needed; yet a due regard to history compels us to give a few.

"In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel," said the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, "I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence; or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communication with him, I never knew an instance in which he did not show the greatest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the smallest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not firmly believe to be the fact.

I could not, my lords, let this conversation come to a close without stating that which I believe to have been the strongest characteristic feature of his character." And Sir Robert was this: he was sincere and devoted, in spite of his cold and stiff exterior. In his busiest days, and when most tried by personal and official responsibilities—as poor Haydon testified—he had ever a willing ear and a helping hand for a tale of suffering and distress.

"On seeing him (Sir Robert) at Court," writes Guizot, "in the drawing-rooms of Windsor, I was struck by a little constraint and stiffness in his attitude; he was evidently the most important and most respected man there, and yet he did not look as if he were at home: his sway did not appear to be exempt from embarrassment: he governed without reigning. No one felt or expressed a deeper and more affectionate respect for the ancient institutions, the ancient manners, the whole old social order of his country. He revered and loved the past, though he was not of it; but, at the same time, he regarded aristocratic distinctions and honours with something more than indifference." In 1835, after his tenure of office, he refused an earldom offered him by William IV. At a later period, Queen Victoria, who had contracted a great esteem for him, and felt the full value of his services, desired to bestow on him the Order of the Garter; but Sir Robert peremptorily declined it. In the same spirit Lady Peel refused to be made a viscountess on the death of her husband—thus acting in accordance with the intentions of the deceased statesman, as expressed in his will, dated May 8th, 1844:—"I sincerely hope and desire that no member of my family will either seek or accept, if it should be offered to him, any title, distinction, or reward, on account of the services which I may have rendered in parliament, or as a member of the government. If my sons, by their own efforts, acquire any title to such distinctions, they will probably receive, if they desire them, the rewards due to their own personal merits; but it is my positive wish that no title or mark of honour should be sought or accepted by them, on account of the great offices I fill, or the acts which were effected by me."

Commenting on the above, Guizot remarks—"Never, assuredly, was the democratic principle to each man, according to his deserts and deeds, manifested in a higher sphere, or by an act of more severe and complete disinterestedness. Never, perhaps, I may also say, were the inmost heart and character of Sir Robert Peel more completely revealed. He was a great man, and an honest servant of the state; proud, with a sort of humility, and desiring to shine with no brilliancy extrinsic to his natural sphere; devoted to his country, without any craving for reward; heedless of fixed principles, or long-standing political combinations; anxious, at all times, to ascertain what was demanded by the public interest, and ready to carry it into effect, without caring either for their parties and their rules of conduct, or for his own acts and words; severing himself from the past without cynical indifference; braving the future without adventurous boldness; solely swayed by the desire to meet the necessities of the present, and to do himself honour by delivering his country from peril or embarrassment. He was thus, in turn, a Conservative and a Reformer; a Tory, a Whig, and almost a Radical; popular and unpopular; using his strength with equal ardour—sometimes in making an obstinate resistance, sometimes in yielding concessions which were, perhaps, excessive; more wise than provident, more courageous than firm; but always sincere, patriotic, and marvellously adapted, in a period of transition like ours, to conduct the government of modern society, as it has become, and as it is becoming more and more, in England as elsewhere, under the influence of the democratic principles and feelings which have been fermenting in Europe for fifteen centuries, and which, in our days, are gaining victories, in regard to which no one can yet tell what will be their true and final result."

Such is the portrait of a friend and admirer. Let us hear the testimony of a bitter opponent. Mr. Disraeli writes—

"Nature had combined, in Sir Robert Peel, many admirable parts. In him a

physical frame, incapable of fatigue, was united with an understanding equally vigorous and flexible. He was gifted with the faculty of method in the highest degree, and with great powers of application, which were sustained by a prodigious memory; while he could communicate his acquisitions with clear and fluent elocution.

"Such a man, under any circumstances, and in any sphere of life, would probably have become remarkable. Ordained from his youth to be busied with the affairs of a great empire, such a man, after long years of observation, practice, and perpetual discipline, would have become what Sir Robert Peel was in the latter years of his life—a transcendent administrator of public business, and a matchless master of debate in a popular assembly. In the course of time, the method which was natural in Sir Robert Peel had matured into a habit of such expertness, that no one in the despatch of affairs ever adapted the means more fitly to the end. His original flexibility had ripened into consummate tact: his memory had accumulated such stores of political information, that he could bring luminously together all that was necessary to establish or illustrate a subject; while, in the House of Commons, he was equally eminent in exposition and reply: in the first, distinguished by his arrangement, his clearness, and his completeness; in the second, ready, ingenious, and adroit; prompt in detecting the weak points of an adversary, and dexterous in extricating himself from an embarrassing position.

"Thus gifted, and thus accomplished, Sir Robert Peel had a great deficiency—he was without imagination. Wanting imagination, he wanted prescience. No one was more sagacious when dealing with the circumstances before him: no one penetrated the present with more acuteness and accuracy. His judgment was faultless, provided he had not to deal with the future. Thus it happened, through his long career, that while he was always looked upon as the most prudent, he, after a display of admirable tactics, concluded his campaigns by surrendering at discretion. He was so adroit that he could prolong resistance even beyond its term; but so little foreseeing, that often, in the very triumph of his manœuvres, he found himself in an untenable position. And so it came to pass, that Roman Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the abrogation of our commercial system, were all carried in haste or in passion, and without conditions or mitigatory arrangements." Mr. Disraeli remarks on his bad manner, his dangerous sympathy with the creations of others, and his deficiency in knowledge of human nature; but admits "his disposition was good; there was nothing petty about him; he was very free from rancour; he was not only vindictive, but partly by temperament, and still more, perhaps, by discipline, he was even magnanimous."

While philosophers and statesmen thus wrote concerning the departed, the people felt that they had lost a friend, who had made life easier for them, and had lent to their homes an additional charm. In the content which has ever since prevailed—in the prosperity which has ever since smiled upon the land, the nation sees confidence in Sir Robert Peel justified, and finds his noblest and most permanent memorial.

All this time Palmerston was far from sleeping. Of the foreign administration of his rival he was a severe critic; but he by no means confined himself to questions of foreign or international policy. He supported Lord Ashley's bill for the better regulation of mines and factories; he blamed Lord Ashburton, and contended that he had been degraded by Daniel Webster. Nor did he forget to find fault with Lord Ellenborough, and his absurd, bombastic Somnauth proclamation. He brought before parliament the affairs of Servia, about which there was a great risk of a European war. He supported the Maynooth grant. He spoke on the Greek; loan the Tahiti affair; the protestant bishopric of Jerusalem and Scinde; and the suppression of the slave-trade, on which, on one occasion, he made a speech of three hours' duration. We cannot omit mentioning here the exertions Lord Palmerston made for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The maintenance of the squadron off the coast of Africa belonged to his department while foreign minister; and both by the maintenance of that squadron in an efficient state, and by entering into treaties with the native chiefs, for the purpose of effecting a voluntary abandonment of the trade on their part, he never wavered nor even relaxed his exertions. There were many charges on that question; but there were none as regards Lord Palmerston. The maintenance of the squadron has been inveighed against as an unprofitable expense: even the old friends of the negro, some of them, came to the conclusion that a violent suppression of the traffic was neither possible nor desirable; but his lordship remained ever of the same opinion. The first blow which he struck was in 1840, and which was most effectively delivered by Captain Denman, son of the distinguished judge, who was then in command of the African squadron. It was at that time the practice of the Spanish and Portuguese slave-dealers to buy up large consignments of slaves from the African chiefs, and confine them in large wooden buildings, called barracoons, till a slave-ship was ready to start for Brazil or Cuba. It was obvious, therefore, that if the barracoons could be destroyed, one great facility for obtaining cargoes of slaves would be got rid of. Accordingly, Captain Denman was instructed to make a treaty with the chief of the district, to obtain permission to destroy the barracoons. The assent was gained—the thing was done; and the slave-trade in that form was nearly crushed. This blow was followed up by others equally effective: and the credit of this must be placed to Lord Palmerston's account. At the same time, while in opposition, he ridiculed the absurd idea of endeavouring to exclude slave-grown sugar on humanitarian grounds. As far, at least, as Palmerston was concerned, Peel did have the cordial support of the opposition in their march of improvement, when the latter was deserted by a powerful body of his own friends.

The history of our foreign policy during the five years of Sir Robert Peel's government, it has been remarked, is peculiarly barren in great events, or in great political controversies. Europe was at peace, and seemed resolved to remain so. Monarchs and their advisers endeavoured, by their compliments and assurances, to persuade themselves, and each other, that the revolutionary hurricane was over, and that courts and thrones were now secure. The history of France, at this time, is a history of fulsome compliments, exchanged between the King of the French and his two representative Chambers. Louis Philippe assured the deputies that they never before enjoyed such a good constitution; and the deputies assured Louis Philippe that they never before had such a good king.

In 1842, Raikes writes from Paris, in an encouraging tone, to the Duke of Wellington—"The nation, *en masse*, is *au fond* Conservative, because all classes here are, comparatively speaking, at their ease, and are fully sensible of what they might risk by a change. Would to God that England presented the same encouraging aspect. * * * * There is a force of 75,000 men in and about Paris, besides the national guard, who, to preserve their own property, will fight to the last man. The press here has been very much subdued by the recent proceedings against Dupotet; they continue merely to growl like a sulky mastiff after a sound beating, who is cowed, and dares not bite." France at peace, means Europe at peace; so, for a while, Lord Aberdeen had an easy time of it; and Lord Palmerston, as critic, has less to find fault with.

His last words, out of office, deserve recording. In the discussion which ensued upon the resignation of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, in 1846, Lord Palmerston said—"The right honourable baronet has paid a just and deserved compliment to the name of Richard Cobden. When the House and the country look to the highest point in the history of these events, they will see the name of Richard Cobden—a man distinguished by great zeal and enlightenment in advancing a great and important change in our commercial code; and a man, likewise, who presents, in his own person, a distinguished result of that parliamentary reform which has produced this among other great results."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LORD PALMERSTON A THIRD TIME FOREIGN SECRETARY.

ONCE more there has been a shuffle in the cards, and the destinies of England are placed in the hands of the Whigs.

Earl Grey has swallowed his scruples with respect to Lord Palmerston, and sits in the same cabinet with his lordship.

It is certain that the Foreign Secretary was indispensable to his party. It is equally certain that they were very anxious to do without him.

On a former occasion, when, under William IV., the Whigs returned to power after Sir Robert Peel's short administration, it is certain that his lordship's resumption of the Foreign Office, was not the matter-of-course which it has been generally assumed. The secret intrigues of that period have not yet been fully divulged; but it is clear that many of the Whig statesmen had long been patriotically engaged in thwarting each other; and even the proud and high-minded chief, Earl Grey, felt himself the object of much private jealousy. It is not surprising, then, to learn that the Foreign Secretaryship was offered, by Lord Melbourne, to Lord John Russell; and that it was only after the leader of the House of Commons had declined it, and selected another post in the government, that Lord Palmerston was again appointed to the Foreign Office.

In the earlier part of her majesty's reign, even Lord Palmerston suffered much in popularity. He had not the credit of being a very earnest reformer; nor was he considered a statesman. He was, at best, considered a good man of business, combining pleasantry and jocularity with a certain steady-paced industry. Even Sidney Smith, the great wit of the Whigs, in the letters to Archdeacon Singleton, which amused all England, joined the assailants of the ministry in disparaging the Foreign Secretary. He was called by opprobrious names: he was constantly derided by some of the most powerful organs of the press. Of all the members of the Whig cabinet, perhaps, Lord Palmerston was, at the period of which we write, the most abused. Yet few of them were more retiring, or less responsible for some of those serious mistakes which weakened and divided the popular party. Credit was not given to him for measures in which he had been successful; and his perseverance in overcoming prejudices, and in the formation of commercial treaties, was completely overlooked.

The admirable patience and activity of the Foreign Secretary were never more thoroughly exercised than in his attempts to induce foreign governments to consent to commercial treaties on the simple and honest principle of reciprocity. Lord Palmerston's commercial treaties, it has been remarked, are a peculiar feature of his ministerial career. They have been much misunderstood, and much misrepresented; and because he was not in every instance successful, they have been ridiculed, like most of his arduous endeavours to increase the power and the influence of this country. The mere mention of a commercial treaty has excited, in some minds, a sensation of horror. It is at once associated with a series of endless and wearisome negotiations, which are sure to have no useful result. Nor is this prejudice altogether destitute of some appearance of reason. Difficult, and almost hopeless, it was to get many foreign governments to admit that the world was wide enough for them all, and that free commercial intercourse would ultimately benefit all nations as much as England. From the year in which peace was established by the downfall of Bonaparte, our generous allies showed their gratitude to England, who had subsidised them so largely, by carrying on a new

and extraordinary war. Brigades of custom-house officers now sprung up in grim hostility to the produce and manufactures of this country. Wherever the British merchant went, he was met by a fiscal blockade. An English ship of war might much more easily destroy a hostile fortress than a hostile commercial treaty. Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France might have subjects of dissension among themselves; but they were unanimous on the propriety of excluding English merchandise, wherever it was possible so to do. Lord Palmerston was determined that such wall of partition should be broken down; and he laboured at this most earnestly and indefatigably. Again and again rebuffed, again and again he renewed his efforts.

When Sir Robert Peel resigned office in 1845, the son of the great Reform Prime Minister could not, of course, suppose that he would ever be excluded from a Liberal cabinet. He made also another mistake in fancying Lord John Russell could get on without the aid of Lord Palmerston. The conduct of Lord Grey was mischievous in this respect: not that it continued Sir R. Peel in power, for that, under the circumstances, was desirable; but that it revealed to the world, that it was on account of Lord Palmerston's sentiments with regard to France, that Earl Grey had thus questioned the propriety of his appointment. The King of the French and his ministers could not but agree with Lord Grey. Thus, when Lord Palmerston did again become foreign minister some months later, notwithstanding that he had, in the interval, visited Paris, and done all he could to remove this unfavourable impression from the minds of the rulers of France, he found, from no fault of his own, his relations with that government seriously compromised. Experience was necessary to teach some great Whig politicians the nature and the importance of the statesman who upheld them by adhering to their party, and also threw the weight of his ability, and, subsequently, of his popularity, into the political scale. They did not know that the people of England, when forming their judgment on foreign policy, are not partisans; that all they require is patriotism, courage, and sagacity; and that they will always stand by the minister who will stand by the country.

Lord Palmerston returned to office, firmer and stronger, at a most critical juncture of affairs.

On the night of the 28th of August, 1846, when the peaceful citizens of Madrid were wrapped in their slumbers, in the midst of a midnight orgie the consent of the young Queen of Spain to her marriage was wrung from her; and the official gazette announced, next day, to the astonishment of all her subjects, that her majesty had decided on marrying her cousin, Don Francisco. M. Bresson, in answer to Lord Palmerston's statement, denied that there was any orgie, or that he had taken any part in forcing the consent of the queen. Now it may be true that the French diplomatist never left his own house during that eventful night; but it is no less true that he left a very efficient agent at the palace, Maria Christina, who was both able and willing to do and say all that might be necessary. Lord Palmerston had good authority for what he said: nor, when it is remembered what scenes have been witnessed at midnight, within the same palace walls, is this orgie at all improbable. M. Bresson's assertion will not go for much. Night, and darkness, and revelry were the fitting accessories of that deed which blackened the fair fame of Guizot, and covered his master's crown with dishonour and disgrace. From the time when the announcement of the intended marriages arrived in London, the close friendship and alliance which had united England with the Orleans dynasty was broken for ever. From that time England took her own course, and left the false king and his false government to their deserved doom.

It was, as Guizot confesses, a manifest defeat of English policy. It was more—it was a dirty trick. Without going so far as those who declare that the Spanish marriages were the cause of the downfall of Louis Philippe—a "frivolous mistake," as Guizot terms it—yet we cannot but agree with Dr. Charles Mackay, in

his address to Louis Philippe, after his ignominious flight from his throne and country—

"Live on—thou hast not lived in vain—
A mighty truth uprears
Its radiant forehead o'er thy reign,
And lights the coming years;
Though specious tyranny be strong,
Humanity is true;
And Empire based upon a wrong
Is rotten through and through.

"Though falsehoods into system wrought,
Condensed into a plan,
May stand awhile, their power is nought—
There is a God in man.
His revolutions speak in ours,
And make his justice plain—
Old man forlorn, live out thine hours—
Thou hast not lived in vain."

Iniquity begets iniquity. Other nations were not slow in following French selfishness and bad faith.

In October the Spanish marriages were celebrated. About the end of that month Louis Philippe had the exquisite gratification of receiving, at Paris, the infanta, as Duchess of Montpensier. On the 6th of November was signed, at Vienna, a convention, revoking and suppressing the treaties by which the independence of Cracow had been guaranteed for ever. M. Guizot then began to learn what he had lost in sacrificing the alliance of England. He remonstrated; he protested; he went so far as to declare that the whole of the treaties of Vienna had, for the future, no existence. The ministers of the three great powers treated M. Guizot's words and acts with contempt. He was not in a position to blame or remonstrate. It was in vain that he uttered reproaches. The perpetrator of the Spanish marriages had to get the beam out of his own eye before he ventured to find fault with the mote in his brother's. Lord Palmerston, too, protested against the annexation of Cracow, as he had protested against the consummation of the wickedness on the other side of the Pyrenees. He demolished the manifesto by which Prince Metternich pretended to vindicate the proceedings of the three powers; and her majesty, on opening parliament for the session of 1847, declared the annexation of Cracow to be a manifest violation of the treaty of Vienna. And when that act was condemned in the House of Commons, there was but one exception to the general voice of indignation.

The exception was Mr. Disraeli, then struggling after a party of which he was to be the head. He defended the annexation of Cracow; he eulogised Prince Metternich; he approved of the violation of the treaty of Vienna; he calumniated the Polish nobility, and defended the partition of their unhappy country. He declared that "there must have been some good cause for that great and numerous race having met the doom which they had encountered." He asserted, that "he had no sympathy for the race so partitioned;" that "Poland was a ready conspirator, and a pamperer to the lusts of her aristocracy;" that "it was not the great powers who had caused the fall of Poland;" that "those who denounced the massacre in Galicia, and spoke well of the Polish nobility, raised a false cry, and appealed to morbid passions."

Lord Palmerston replied to this speech in a thoroughly statesman-like manner. He proved the orator to be mistaken, both in his facts and in his inferences. It was not necessary, said the Foreign Secretary, for those who blamed the annexation of Cracow, and considered it a violation of the treaty of Vienna, to rely upon the annexed treaties: the 6th and 7th articles of the general treaty were quite sufficient for that purpose. Nor was it true, as it had been stated, that

when the kingdom of the Netherlands was dismembered, the only governments which interfered in the matter were Russia and England: the convention of separation was signed by the ministers of all the five powers; and by one as soon as by another. Thus the argument of Mr. Disraeli, based on the fact that particular treaties might be set at nought by one party without the consent of the other contracting powers, and without injury to the general treaty, was fully met; and his instance of the establishment of the kingdom of Belgium proved to be quite erroneous. "It was impossible," said his lordship, "to deny that the treaty of Vienna had been violated by the late transactions at Cracow. The treaty of Vienna must be upheld. It could not be permitted to any government to pick out, with one hand, the articles of a treaty which it would observe, and, with the other, the articles which it was determined to violate; and he, therefore, hoped that the governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia would recollect, that if the treaty of Vienna was not good on the Vistula, it might be equally invalid on the Rhine and the Po."

Thus France and the cause of freedom suffered by the Spanish marriage—a marriage which forced upon a defenceless girl a man as husband, the object of her rooted aversion, and possessed of no qualities likely to conciliate her esteem. In Spain, under the new rule, matters went from bad to worse. Reactionary ministers were called to the royal councils. The pretender, Don Carlos, chose the occasion as a convenient one for the assertion of his claims, and a chronic state of misgovernment again occurred. In 1848, Lord Palmerston thought it necessary to indite the following severe rebuke to our ambassador at Madrid:—

"Sir,—I have to recommend you to advise the Spanish government to adopt a legal and constitutional system. The recent downfall of the King of the French and of his family, and the expulsion of his ministers, ought to indicate to the Spanish Court and government the danger to which they expose themselves in endeavouring to govern a country in a manner opposed to the sentiments and opinions of the nation; and the catastrophe which has just occurred in France is sufficient to show, that even a numerous and well-disciplined army offers only an insufficient defence to the crown, when the system followed by it is not in harmony with the general system of the country. The Queen of Spain would act wisely, in the present critical state of affairs, if she were to strengthen her executive government by widening the bases on which the administration reposes, and in calling to her councils some of the men in whom the Liberal party places confidence."

In 1847, Lord Palmerston makes his first prominent appearance in the columns of *Punch*. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whose correspondence has been anything but amicable with the great continental powers, is the showman of a booth, upon whose cloth are inscribed—"Spanish Marriage—Horrible Treachery." "To be seen alive, the British Lion roaring:" to which is added, the "Confiscation of Cracow." John Bull was not then quite awake to foreign affairs; he cared little whom the infanta of Spain married; nor was he much excited by the violation of the treaty of Vienna. He turns his back upon the showman, and marches away with a very contemptuous air.

In 1847, free constitutions and political reforms became the rage. Men were seeking for novelties; and at the head of this fashionable movement were the King of Prussia and the Pope of Rome. There were insurrections in Portugal and Switzerland. At this time all Europe was then heaving with the signs of the coming storm. The first intimation of it was in Switzerland.

The Catholic cantons of the Swiss confederation had invited the Jesuits among them; and that astute party, according to their wont, had hardly got settled in the Catholic cantons, than they began to disturb the tranquillity of their Protestant neighbours. This went on for somo time, the animosities and heart-burnings continually increasing, until the majority of the cantons ordered the Jesuits to leave Switzerland altogether. But the Catholic states, though a minority of the whole, formed a union among themselves, to resist the decree of

the majority by force of arms, and proceeded to raise troops for the purpose of resistance. Matters assumed a serious aspect. The other powers of Europe began to take an interest in the quarrel; and most of them with an evident leaning towards the Catholic cantons. The cry of the persecuted Jesuits resounded throughout Roman Catholic Europe. At this time, as an admirer of his lordship writes, Lord Palmerston, with the most consummate tact and ability, conducted both this country itself and Switzerland to an honourable solution of the difficulty. It was obviously for the advantage of Switzerland, that whichever way settled, it should be settled by her own power alone, and without external interference; and few rational Protestants could doubt that the presence of the busy, intermeddling Jesuits boded no good to the tranquillity of any state. Nevertheless, Austria, and even Prussia, were marching troops to the frontier, with a view to aid the Catholic minority; and even France had a strong party whose sympathies were with the same cause. Lord Palmerston alone stood by the Protestant cantons; and his conduct evinced that same happy union of skill, promptitude, and decision which had stood him in such stead on the Syrian question. He addressed a note to the different powers of Europe, protesting against any one of them interfering without the consent of the whole; and, accordingly, proposed a meeting of their representatives, for the purpose of settling the terms of a joint intervention, if such should be found necessary. At the same time he sent instructions to our minister in Switzerland, urging the government of the confederation to take active steps to suppress the rebellious union by force of arms, if necessary, before such an intervention could take effect. It turned out exactly as Lord Palmerston desired. The despotic powers of Europe were awed from interfering singly; and, long before the meeting was held to settle the terms of joint interference, the troops of the Catholic cantons had been scattered in a single engagement with the state army, the Jesuits had been expelled, and the country restored to tranquillity. The ministers of the different countries never met; for, when the time came, there was nothing in which they could interfere.

In Portugal his lordship's policy was equally wise and equally successful. He supported the throne of Donna Maria, but insisted that her government should conform to those constitutional principles which it professed to respect, and on which it was founded. Had the extreme Liberals triumphed, the result would have been the establishment of a military despotism. Thanks to Lord Palmerston's able guidance and advice, when the revolutionary storm swept across Europe, Portugal and Switzerland remained safe and unmoved in the terrors and commotions of the time.

In answer to the call of the Italian Liberals, in the autumn of 1847, Lord Palmerston despatched Lord Minto on a special mission to the Courts of Turin and Florence. At first this nobleman seemed to be successful throughout Italy; his counsels were requested and attended to; he advised moderate reforms and pacific measures. Under his superintendence the political movements in Italy were happily progressing. Menaced by Metternich, and avoided by Guizot, the new pope, Pius IX., asked assistance from the English Foreign Secretary. It was not the fault of the latter that, in Italy, on all sides, his hopes were disappointed; that, instead of reform, there was revolution; and that Pope Pius, having put his hand to the plough, trembled, and turned back. It has since been seen that the new pope had no settled love of freedom; that he considered it more as a thing to be talked of than as a motive for action; that, intoxicated by popular applause, he said more than he was ready by deeds to confirm.

It is time now, however, that we let Lord Palmerston speak for himself. In the general election in 1847, his lordship thus addresses his Tiverton constituents, in reply to a speech delivered to them on the hustings, by Mr. Harney, a Chartist orator:—

"Mr. Harney began with Belgium. He said that I was instrumental in submitting and subjecting the Belgians to the yoke of the representative of

France. What is the fact? The Belgian people had been united, in 1815, to Holland; they had great complaints to make against the way in which they had been governed: their religion had been interfered with; the education of their children had been taken out of their hands; taxes had been imposed on them, which they thought illegal; their native language was forbidden in law-suits and courts of justice. What was the course the government with which I was then associated took? We obtained for them all these objects. The end of the matter was, that after long negotiation—after difficulties which, at one time, threatened a European war—Belgium was acknowledged as an independent country; and I will venture to say, a more prosperous, happy, contented, and patriotic nation than the Belgians have become, does not exist on the face of the earth. They have a king of their own choosing. I am astonished that their case should be brought forward as a proof of our desire to crush and trample upon the liberties and freedom of a nation. * * * * We then come to Spain; and it is said we were there parties to the establishing a government more tyrannical than any that had ever existed before in that country. Now I deny the assertion. The governments that had previously existed had the Inquisition. Perhaps some of you do not know what that was. So much the better for you. It was a tribunal which inquired into the religious opinions of every man: if they were not of the proper cut which the Inquisition thought expedient, the man was thrown into prison; or, in former times, he was burnt alive. Before the period to which I refer, there was no parliament in Spain. The great bulk of the people said—'We will have a parliament, and we will have no Inquisition; and we choose to have for our sovereign Donna Isabella, and not this old gentleman, Don Carlos, whom we consider identified with oppression and the Inquisition.' We took part with the people of Spain—with those who wanted constitutional liberty, equal laws, a parliament, justice, no Inquisition—against those who were for having no parliament, no justice, but much Inquisition. We succeeded, and by means of a very trifling assistance, which could not possibly have determined events if the Spanish people had not been on that side. We enabled them to work out their liberties with smaller sacrifices than they must otherwise have submitted to, and with less suffering than they must otherwise have encountered. This is charge the second against me, for having overthrown the liberties of foreign nations, and of having established despotism and tyranny. Really, those who make that charge seem to be as little read in history as they are in the elementary rudiments of political economy. Then we come to Portugal. There was a struggle in Portugal very similar to that which I have mentioned as taking place in Spain. There was a contest between despotic and tyrannical government on the one hand, and parliament and popular freedom on the other. Don Pedro fought for the popular side. Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne, and ousted his niece, fought for tyranny and despotic government. What did we do? Did we set up Don Miguel? No; we put him down. We threw our influence into the scale of liberty, freedom, and constitutional rights; and, by our assistance, that cause conquered, and the Portuguese nation became possessed of a parliament, and of all those rights which are essential for securing the liberties of a nation. We next come, I think, to Syria. I do not expect all who support my opponent to know anything about this matter. He knows very little about it himself. How can you expect his supporters to know more than he does? Well, gentlemen, Mr. Harney says we made a great mistake in Syria; he tells us that there was a most excellent, worthy old gentleman, called Mehemet Ali, who ruled in Egypt, and who had conquered Syria, and that we ought to have left him quietly there. Mr. Harney says we fought the battle for the rights of kings by driving Mehemet Ali out of Syria, and restoring that country to the sultan. Why, this old gentleman, Mehemet Ali, was a subject of the sultan's; he was to the sultan what the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is to the Queen of England; but he had a mind to set up for himself; and if he had kept Syria he would have done so.

You may say, what would it have signified to us if he had set up for himself? I reply—it was the object of England to keep Turkey out of the hands of other powers, who, if they obtained possession of it, would use it for no advantage of ours; and if Mehemet Ali had set up for himself, he would have so weakened Turkey, that it could no longer have remained independent, but must have become the vassal of some foreign power. This was our reason for driving Mehemet Ali back to his house at Alexandria. But it is said this worthy old gentleman was so much beloved in Syria, that his rule formed a perfect Paradise, compared with the hell-upon-earth that has existed there since he was driven out. Now how was it we did drive him out of Syria? Merely by giving a few thousand muskets to the people of the country—by sending a few hundred marines to aid them, and saying—'Go it, boys! if you want to get rid here of Mehemet Ali, here we are to back you; if you intend to act, now's your time.' They took us at our word; they kicked him out, neck and crop—and his army too. They hailed us as their deliverers; and whatever may be said of some small and trifling quarrels that have arisen between two different sects in that country, it is now peaceable, contented, and happy; and there is a striking contrast between the present state of things, and that which formerly existed there."

On another occasion, in a speech to his constituents at Tiverton, his lordship enlarged on the blessings of free trade, and the evils of slavery. His talent in popularising difficult questions, and reducing them to the level of the commonest understanding, was very great. After referring to the peace and order prevailing in Great Britain, his lordship stated that "that resulted from the improved legislation of modern times. The first step in the career of improvement was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Then the parliament repealed the laws which imposed penalties and disabilities upon the Catholics; then came Municipal Reform and the Commutation Tithe Act, by which the farmer was no longer liable to have payments taken from him in kind, and by which he was enabled to make improvements, without being subjected to increased taxation. Then came the repeal of the navigation laws." Speaking of the corn-laws, his lordship continued—"Now I am aware, gentlemen, that upon one of the points to which I have just alluded, there is not that unanimity of opinion in the country which may by this time be said to be established with regard to the others, because there are still some persons, and I am bound to say, I believe a very considerable number, who, with respect to the law which repealed the import duty upon corn, think that that was an injury rather than a benefit; and who look to the reimposition of that duty under the general term of 'protection to agriculture.' Gentlemen, in all human affairs it is a great point of wisdom to be able to distinguish between that which is only difficult, and that which is absolutely impossible. To encounter that which is difficult is a very noble pursuit—it excites the faculties; it develops the energies of man; and it is by struggling against difficulties, and by overcoming them, that everything that is great and glorious has been achieved. But when men attempt that which is impossible, they only lay up in store for themselves disappointment, and waste their energies upon a fruitless pursuit. With regard to the reimposition of import duties on corn for the purpose of protection—that is to say, for the purpose, the specific and avowed purpose, of raising the price of food, for the purpose of increasing the profits of the owners and occupiers of land—I venture, with all humility, to say, that when you see the river Exe running up from the sea to Tiverton, instead of running down from Tiverton to the sea, you may then look upon it that protection is near at hand. Gentlemen, in saying that I feel that I am foreseeing and expressing an opinion of the continuance of that which is for the benefit of all classes of the community. No man can deny that the cheapness and abundance of food is eminently advantageous to the labouring classes. The labouring classes are the most numerous portion of the population. No man, I think, who looks with any judgment to the construction of the social edifice, but must see that the labouring classes are the foundation of the fabric; and

that unless that foundation is solid, and firm, and stable, the fabric itself cannot be expected to last. Nobody can hope to make the poor rich; that is not the dispensation of Providence in the formation of the world—in the creation of the human race. There may be some other planet, or there may be some land in this planet hitherto undiscovered, like that lubber land—that fabulous land of which we have heard, where it is said that pigs run about ready roasted, with knives and forks sticking in their backs, crying 'Come and eat me.' But unless in some favoured region of that kind, it is plain that men must labour for their existence; that those who begin only with their physical labour cannot expect to rise high in the scale of wealth; and that there must be a very unequal distribution of the goods of this world among the people of this world. You may, by very bad laws, or by internal convulsions, impoverish the rich, but I defy you by any laws to enrich the poor. But although you cannot enrich the poor, you may at least do a great deal to make their poverty comfortable, by giving them the command of as great a portion of the necessaries of life as the dispensations of Providence, and the state of society, will enable them to have within their reach. That is precisely what has been done by the repeal of the corn-laws. An instance of the manner in which it has benefited the poorer classes, was stated by my right honourable friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a late debate in the House of Commons. He stated that he had sent to him, from that part of Yorkshire to which he belongs, a comparative statement, showing the wages of an agricultural labourer some fourteen or fifteen years ago, with the number of loaves of bread which he could then purchase with those wages; and then the present wages of the same class of men, and the command which those reduced wages now give him. It appeared that, about fourteen or fifteen years ago, the wages in that part of the country, where wages are high from being near manufacturing places, were 15*s.* a week; and with that a man could then buy twelve loaves of bread: the wages this year were 12*s.* a week; but with that 12*s.* the man could buy twenty-four loaves a week. But he would not want twenty-four loaves of bread; and that left him, therefore, a surplus for other conveniences and comforts, which tended much to cheer the poverty of his existence. I say, then, that those who feel that the comfort, and well-being, and contentment of the labouring classes must be a foundation for the welfare of those above them, must feel that the repeal of the corn-laws, and the cheapness of food, are really a benefit to all. But let us take the farmer. I myself am, in a very small and unscientific way, a farmer. I do not profess to put my knowledge in competition with that of many of you—of many whom I represent. But the farmer and the landlord, the producers of the corn, run away with the fact that corn—wheat we will say—has greatly fallen in price; and then they say they have lost all the difference between the former price and the present low price. But they ought to take into account the other side of the balance, and to see how much the cost of production and their outgoings have diminished at the same time that the price of wheat has fallen. Now, will any man look, on the one side, how much he has lost upon an acre of wheat at market, and, on the other, how much he has gained in producing that acre of wheat. First of all, the cost of his seed is less; the wages of labour are less; he gets manure cheaper, and of better quality, and has a greater command of it; all his machinery is cheaper than it was, and better in its quality: his poor-rates are less; his composition for tithes is gradually diminishing in proportion as the averages of the cheap years are beginning to tell upon the amount which he has to pay. His rent, in most cases, where it was not very low indeed, has been diminished. And then, besides that, there is that increased skill, which, I am happy to say, is extending rapidly over the whole country; and by attending to the progressive development of science, as bearing upon agriculture, he is enabled to produce a greater quantity out of the same extent of land than he produced before. And therefore, when we look at all these things, I think the farmer will even find, that if he strikes a fair and accurate balance, his loss is far less than he imagines it to have been. But, after all, in the

long run, it is perfectly certain that it is a question between landlord and tenant. The farmer hires the land of the owner; he employs a certain amount of capital in working it; he must make interest upon his capital, or he cannot live; and therefore the bargain must ultimately so adjust that he can make his fair interest out of his capital, under the new and altered circumstances in which he is placed."

Having thus discussed domestic matters, his lordship next referred to foreign affairs. He continued—"I think our functions are, first of all, to set an example to the world, of humanity, of enlightenment, of order, and of good conduct, both in public and private. I think, in the next place, that it is our duty—the duty, I mean, of this nation—to employ that influence which a great and powerful country like this always possesses, for the purpose of promoting and securing peace among the other nations of the world, and endeavouring, as far as we can with propriety do so, to persuade other governments to extend to other countries as much as possible of those civil and political blessings of which we ourselves are so proud. I think, gentlemen, that the people of this country have nobly performed their part of that duty; and I can assure you that it is the anxious desire of her majesty's government not to be backward in performing what belongs to them. The people of this country did nobly perform that duty in the course of the last year, when they supported, unanimously and enthusiastically, the government of England in exerting its influence to prevent a foreign sovereign from being compelled to violate the laws of hospitality by sacrificing the men who had thrown themselves upon him for protection. Those efforts were successful; and I am happy to say that the last of those exiles are now on their way either to the shores of England or to the shores of the United States, according to their own choice and wishes. That, however, was but a momentary difficulty. It was one, however, which called forth the most honourable expression of generous feeling on the part of the people of this country. But there has been another subject, far longer in duration, requiring far greater and more determined exertions, far more considerable sacrifices, in regard to which the people of this country have performed their duty in a manner which will make their name honoured to the latest ages. I am adverting now to the question of slavery and the slave-trade. The crimes committed in regard to African slavery and the African slave-trade, if they could be put together, are, I am sure, greater in amount than all the crimes that ever were committed by the human race from the beginning of the world to the present time. I am satisfied that, if you put together all the individual crimes which the most guilty men ever committed, they would not occasion such an amount of human misery as has been created by that detestable and infernal traffic. We ourselves—rather, our forefathers, those who went before us—were stained with the same guilt; and it required a great sense of right, and great exertions on the part of good men who lived in those days—Wilberforce and Clarkson, and others—to wean this country from the course to which it had been wedded, and to induce the people of this country to abandon the slave-trade themselves. They succeeded. We began by washing our hands of this guilt. Then we did that which was a great and noble deed; we emancipated our slaves at a great pecuniary sacrifice to this country. Never was a sacrifice made with more cheerfulness and more willingness, however small it might be, than that great sacrifice which the people of this country then made. Gentlemen, our example has been of great value. I do not mean to say that the people of France, who very early took a strong interest in that cause, would not, possibly, of their own accord have done what they have done; but it was not till after we had begun that they pursued the same track. They have now pursued it. They have abolished their own slave-trade, and they have emancipated their own slaves. This, then, is an additional bond of union between two great nations. Some nations are united in the bonds of mutual injustice; here the union consists in a community of humanity and noble benevolence. Gentlemen, we have laboured long in this course—the present government most anxiously and sincerely; but we

would not, upon any account, take to ourselves more merit than justly belongs to us. It is to the people of England that the merit belongs; and former governments have followed the same impulse that we have done. It has been the steady pursuit of all governments for some time past, supported and urged on by the public opinion of the people of England; and I am glad to say that we do now see something like an approaching termination of this great guilt; that we have made, especially during the last twelve months, great strides in that course; and that there is every prospect, I think I may say, that our long-continued labours and great sacrifices may at length be crowned with glorious success. We have succeeded in inducing the government of Brazil, which was the great culprit of late, to alter its course, and to go in the way of justice as far as it has been able to do. I do not mean to say that we ought to be so confident of its repentance as to entirely trust to its spontaneous exertions: the thing requires that we should be watchful and active; but the import to Brazil has dwindled down to next to nothing: and that which is equally important is, that on the coast of Africa, legitimate trade is taking the place of slave-trade, and that the natives, to do them justice—with the single exception of some of their chiefs, who derive great profits from the slave-trade—greater, perhaps, they think (though there they are mistaken), than they would derive from legitimate trade—the people of Africa, when you come to look at it, are as repugnant to the slave-trade as we are—they are the victims of it."

Spain continued to be in a state of disorder—ministers constantly resigning; the press fettered; and the queen apparently setting her subjects a very bad example herself. It soon appeared that the royal pair were at variance; that they occupied separate apartments in the palace; that they seldom appeard in public together. The queen attended races, theatres, and bull-fights—not alone, but without the king-consort; and was riotously cheered by the populace, who seemed to approve of the contempt she evidently felt for her husband. It was believed that the queen regarded one of her generals with peculiar favour, and had urged her new ministers to take steps for obtaining a divorce. General Narvaez endeavoured to induce the king-consort to return to Madrid: and, after a lengthy correspondence, the queen agreed to receive him. The king-consort presented himself at the plaza of the arsenal, at the principal entrance of the palace. This was announced to the queen by Narvaez and the holy father's legate; whereupon, we are told, her majesty advanced with an appearance of warm emotion, and received her royal consort in her arms. Shortly afterwards the queen-mother returned to Madrid, and she and Narvaez ruled the queen.

In China matters were beginning to go unpleasantly. The British residents at Canton had to complain of serious arrogances from the Chinese; and Sir John Davis, the governor of Hong-Kong, thought it right to interfere in their behalf. They required, first, a distinct recognition of their right to go such a distance in the surrounding country, as could be traversed, either by land or water, in one day, out and home, and full protection, in their perambulations, from insult and attacks by the populace. Secondly, a space of ground, of about fifty acres, at Honan, or in some other convenient part of the suburbs, for the erection of warehouses and dwelling-houses. Thirdly, a site for a church and churchyard for British residents. Fourthly, a site for a burial-ground for the Parsee community, either in Davis or French Island, of an area of 40,000 square feet. Fifthly, a bridge to be thrown across the passage of Hong House, to connect the two factory gardens. Some other claims, of less importance, were put forward. An expedition sailed to enforce them. The forts at Bocca Tigris were taken, and many pieces of heavy cannon were spiked, or otherwise rendered unserviceable. The Chinese high commissioner, Keying, waited on Sir John Davis the next day, and the demands of the British were complied with. At the same time, also, at the instigation of Sir John Davis, a severe punishment was inflicted on some parties who had been guilty of the cruel murder of six Englishmen, connected with mercantile houses at Canton.

After a reward had been offered, their bodies were discovered frightfully mutilated. They had been pursued by a crowd, and attacked with pikes, poles, and knives. A few days afterwards, four of the murderers were beheaded, in the presence of British officers appointed to witness the execution; and Keying gave Sir John Davis an assurance that eleven others, charged with participating in the crime, were reserved for decapitation, strangulation, military slavery, and banishment for life.

We have said Lord Palmerston returned to office at a troublous time: the same may be said of his colleagues.

The year 1847 opened under circumstances of gloom. There had been two bad harvests, and wild commercial speculation. In Ireland, famine, with all its horrors, raged. It was said by the royal commission, over which Lord Devon presided, that these people were the worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clothed of any in Europe. They lived in mud cabins, littered upon straw; their food consisted of dry potatoes, of which they are often obliged to stint themselves to one spare meal; sometimes a herring, or a little milk, may afford them a pleasing variety; but sometimes, also, they are driven to seaweed and wild herbs. Their dwellings are described as hovels; their clothing consisted of rags. "Those," writes Mr. Disraeli, "were the ordinary circumstances of Ireland; and to such a state of affairs famine was now added, with all its attendant horrors, pestilence, and death. In the southern and western parts of the country the population was decimated. Ten thousand persons, at the meeting of parliament, had died in the union of Skibbereen, which numbered 100,000 souls. Scenes were enacted worthy of the pages of Josephus or Thucydides. It was truly and tersely said by Lord John Russell, that it was a famine of the 13th century, with a population of the 19th." In many places there were more disorders. Lord Stuart de Dacres, and other gentlemen, who had assembled at Clashmore, to vote a sum of money for the purpose of being employed in public works, to mitigate the prevailing distress, were attacked by the mob, and only saved from their violence by the arrival of a regiment of hussars. At Youghal, the malcontents committed such excesses, that a large detachment of marines, artillery, and seamen was despatched for the protection of the town; but several mills, corn-stores, farmers' houses, and other structures, were completely sacked. At Dungarvan, a mob, of between 10,000 and 12,000, assailed the bakers' shops, mills, and stores; and a troop of dragoons, which had been sent for the security of the town, wore so severely attacked that they were compelled to fire, and many of the insurgents were wounded. At Kilworth Castle, Fermoy, and many other neighbouring places, like outrages were witnessed; and the accounts of the distressed condition of the people throughout the country were most melancholy Stores of Indian meal, and other food, were liberally poured into the country; large sums of money were voted for employment on works, at wages varying from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per day. All classes of the community, in England, gave, and gave bountifully, for the relief of Ireland. From Turkey on one side, to America on the other, contributions arrived; and ministers were, at one time, spending a million a month, without the sanction of parliament. In the midst of this universal starvation, a mania had arisen for the possession of fire-arms, to so great an extent as to revive the gun-trade in Birmingham, and to clear out all the old store-shops of their stocks. No wonder, when parliament met in 1847, the speech from the throne recommended that something should be done for Ireland.

The first measures of the government were, to suspend the duties on corn, established for three years by the settlement of 1846; and the suspension of the navigation laws till November. The other government measures were—loans for the improvement of private estates; an extension of the system of drainage by the Board of Works; some encouragement for fisheries; and an improved poor-law. With respect to the famine, the plan of the committee was—to form relief committees in every district; to empower those committees to levy rates, to receive

subscriptions, and to assist them with public grants. With these means they were to purchase and to distribute rations to the people, not requiring, as the condition of relief, the test of labour. In stating this measure to the House, the minister announced that the government now looked upon the Irish famine as an imperial calamity; and, therefore, no longer thought it right that the whole burden occasioned by it should remain on Irish property. They therefore proposed an arrangement, by which, in each succeeding year, when an instalment became due—upon half that instalment being paid, the other half should be remitted. It was contended that half the whole debt should be kept up until one-half of it was discharged; but, eventually, one moiety of the whole charge was to fall upon the Treasury of the United Kingdom. The drift of the ministerial propositions was not satisfactory to Lord George Bentinck, who moved for leave, in February, to bring in a bill to stimulate the prompt and profitable employment of the people by the encouragement of railways into Ireland. Ministers were alarmed. After due deliberation, they called a meeting of their friends at the Foreign Office; and announced to them their resolution, that in the event of the measure of Lord George Bentinck being sanctioned by the House of Commons, they should feel it their duty to place their offices at the disposal of her majesty. After such a threat, we are not surprised at finding that the second reading of it was supported, in a House of 450 members, only by 118.

Other measures passed were of an educational character; and on Manchester was conferred the blessing, as churchmen think it, of a bishop. It was objected to the government plan of education, that it would unduly favour the church of England. It was carried nevertheless.

And then came the end of the session, and the dissolution of parliament. "While Lord George Bentinck was speaking about cheap sugar, the cannon were heard," writes Mr. Disraeli, "that announced the departure of her majesty from the palace."

Then followed a motion of Mr. Bankes, about the sale of bread, which led to some discussion. Mr. Bankes threatened a division. Lord Palmerston, who, on this occasion, was leading the House, said—"It would be acting like a set of school-boys, if, when the Black Rod appeared, they should be in the lobby, instead of attending the Speaker to the other House." But as the members seemed very much inclined to act like school-boys, the Secretary of State had to speak against time, on the subject of baking, till the Black Rod knocked at the door.

In the autumn of the year there was a great commercial panic. In September, fifteen of the most considerable houses in the city of London stopped payment for between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000 sterling. The governor of the Bank of England was himself a partner in one of these firms; a gentleman who had lately filled that office was another victim; two other bank directors were included in the list. In the provinces matters were quite as bad. At Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, large firms were obliged to suspend payment. The panic put a stop to all the usual accommodation, and the pressure on the money-market revived. On October 1st, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer hurried up to London, money was worth 60 per cent. For three additional weeks ministers refused to interfere, and then the Bank Charter Act was suspended. Great houses went on failing; the Royal Bank of Liverpool stopped; the Newcastle Bank, and the North and South Wales Bank, did the same. At length, the deputy-governor of the Bank of England went to Downing Street, and said that it could go on no longer. The Scotch banks had applied to them for assistance. Two bill-brokers had stopped; two others were paralysed; the Bank of England could discount no further; and then the government gave way, and the Bank of England obtained a letter of licence, which stopped the panic at once. Parliament met in November, and appointed a committee to inquire into the prevailing commercial distress—a distress which the protectionists referred to free trade, but which the free-traders asserted to be the result of railway speculation.

A little progress was made in the relief of Jewish disabilities. A gentleman of the Jewish persuasion—Baron Rothschild—had, it appears, at the last general election, been returned to represent the city of London in parliament. There was no law to prevent this; but the oath, on his taking his seat, required him to swear on the true faith of a Christian. Lord John Russell made an earnest appeal to the House, on the expediency of relieving persons of the Jewish persuasion from the disqualifications under which they laboured. "No man," said his lordship, "had more sneered at Christianity than Gibbon; yet he had been a member of that House: and Hume, the historian, who had written essays to undermine the Christian religion, had he, when returned, been required to make such a declaration, would have done so with pleasure. It was not by a security of that kind that the Christian faith could be defended. The words in question had been first introduced in the time of James I., in an act which related to the gunpowder plot." Lord John moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the removal of the civil and political disabilities affecting her majesty's subjects. He called upon the House to agree to the motion before them, in the name of the constitution—in the name of freedom and justice, and of common brotherhood, and from reverence for that high principle of Christianity—"Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." The motion was earnestly opposed by Sir Robert Inglis; but eventually carried in the Commons, and rejected in the Lords. Progress was made. It was not till 1847 that Jews were admitted into corporations. In 1841, Mr. Alderman Salomons in vain petitioned the House of Commons, stating the hardship of having been elected an alderman by his fellow-citizens, and yet of his being unable to take his seat.

About this time an uneasy feeling began to exist respecting our national defences. The Prince de Joinville had pointed out to the French, that England, in consequence of the progress of steam navigation, was more exposed to invasion than formerly. According to his royal highness, a French commander could now appoint the very hour for landing his troops, independent of wind and tide. He proceeded to describe the means by which "England might be struck to the heart." The letter of the prince produced a great sensation in Paris: it was followed by other publications, all tending to show how easily England might be conquered.

The people were alarmed; and still more so when it appeared that a letter had been written by the Duke of Wellington to Sir John Burgoyne, inspector-general of fortifications; in which all the Prince de Joinville had said of the exposed state of England was fully justified. The publication of the letter created grave apprehensions. "We are," wrote his grace, "in fact, assailable, and at least liable to have contributions levied upon us at all parts of the coast. We have no defence, or hope of defence, except in our fleet. * * * It is perfectly true, that as we stand at present, with our naval arsenals and dockyards not half garrisoned, 5,000 men of all arms could not be put under arms, if required for any service whatever, without leaving standing without relief all employed on any duty, not excepting even the guards over the palaces, and the person of the sovereign. I calculate that a declaration of war should properly find our garrisons of the strength as follows—particularly considering that one of the most common accusations against this country is, that the practice has been to commence reprisals at sea simultaneously with a declaration of war, the order for the first of which must have been issued before the last can have been published. We ought to be with garrisons as follows the moment war is declared. The Channel Islands (besides the militia of each, well organised, trained, and disciplined), 10,000 men; Plymouth, 10,000; Milford Haven, 5,000; Cork, 10,000; Portsmouth, 10,000; Dover, 10,000; Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames, 10,000. I suppose that one-half of the whole regular force would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison for Cork; the remainder must be supplied from

the half of the whole force at home, stationed in Great Britain. The whole force employed at home, in Great Britain and Ireland, would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defence and occupation, on the breaking-out of war, of the works constructed for the defence of the dockyards and naval arsenals, without leaving a single man disposable. The measure for which I have earnestly entreated different administrations to decide—which is constitutional, and has invariably been adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years—is to raise, embody, organise, and discipline the militia, of the same numbers for each of the three kingdoms united as during the late war. This would give a mass of organised force amounting to about 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This alone would enable us to establish the strength of our army. This, with our augmentation of the force of the regular army, which would not cost £400,000, would put the country on its legs with respect to personal force; and I would engage for its defence, old as I am. But as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence, we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.

"I am accustomed to the consideration of these questions; and have examined and reconnoitred, over and over again, the whole coast from the North Foreland, by Dover, Folkestone, Beechy Head, Brighton, Arundel, to Selsey-bill, near Portsmouth; and I say that, excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which infantry might not be thrown on shore, at any time of tide, with any wind, and with any weather; and that troops so thrown on shore, would find, within the distance of five miles, a road into the interior of the country, through the cliffs, practicable for the march of a body of troops. That in that space of coast (that is, between the North Foreland and Selsey-bill), there are not less than seven small harbours and mouths of rivers, each without defence; of which an enemy, having landed his infantry on the coast, might take possession; therein land his cavalry, and artillery of all calibre, and establish himself and his communication with France. The nearest part of the coast to the metropolis is, undoubtedly, the coast of Sussex, from the east and west side of Beechy Head, to Selsey-bill. There are not less than twelve great roads leading from Brighton into London; and the French army must be much altered indeed since the time at which I was better acquainted with it, if there are not now belonging to it forty *chefs d'état* (major-generals), capable of sending down, and ordering the march to the coast, of 40,000 men; their embarkation, with their horses and artillery, at the several ports of the coast; their disembarkation at named points on the English coast—that of the artillery and cavalry in named ports or mouths of rivers; and the assembling, at named points, of the several columns; and the march of each then, from stage to stage, to London. Let any man examine our map, and consider of the matter, and judge for himself. I know of no other mode of resistance, much less of protection from this danger, except by an army in the field, capable of competing and contending with its formidable enemy, aided by all the means of fortification which experience in war and science can suggest. I shall be deemed foolhardy in engaging for the defence of the empire with an army composed of such a force of militia. I may be so. I confess it, I should infinitely prefer, and should feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops. But I know I shall not have them. I may have the others; and if an addition is made to the existing regular army allotted for home defence, of a force which will cost £400,000 a year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command to defend the country. This is my view of our danger and our resources."

His grace proceeded to state that the magazines and arsenals were but inadequately supplied with ordnance and carriage, arms, stores of all description, and ammunition. He continued—

"Putting out of view all the unfortunate consequences—such as the loss of

the political and social position of this country among the nations of the earth—of all its allies, in concert with, and in aid of whom it has, in our time, contended successively in arms for its own honour and safety, and the independence and freedom of the world—when did any man ever hear of allies of a country unable to defend itself?—views of economy of some, and I admit that the high views of national finance in others, induce them to postpone those measures absolutely necessary for mere defence and safety under existing circumstances, forgetting altogether the common practice of successful armies in modern times—imposing upon the conquered enormous pecuniary contributions, as well as other valuable and ornamental property. Look at the course pursued by France in Italy and Russia—at Vienna repeatedly—at Berlin and Moscow; the contributions levied, besides the subsistence, maintenance, clothing, and equipment of the army which made the conquest. Look at the conduct of the allied army which invaded France, and had possession of Paris, in 1815. Look at the amount of pecuniary sacrifices made upon that occasion, under their different heads—of contributions; payments for subsistence and maintenance of the invading armies, including clothing and other equipments; payment of old repudiated state debts; payments for debts due to individuals, in war, in the different countries of Europe; repayment for the contributions levied, and movable and immovable property sold in the course of the revolutionary war. But such an account cannot be made out against this country. No: but I believe that the means of some demands would not be wanting. Are there no claims for a fleet at Toulon in 1793? None for debts left unpaid by British subjects in France, who escaped from confinement under the cover of the invasion, in 1814, by the allied armies? Can any man pretend to limit the amount of the demand on account of the *contributions de guerre?* Then look at the conditions of the treaties of Paris—1814 and 1815. France, having been in possession of nearly every capital in Europe; and having levied contributions in each; and having had in its possession, or under its influenee, the whole of Italy, Germany, and Poland—is reduced to its territorial limits, as they stood in 1792. Do we suppose that we should be allowed to keep—could we advance a pretension to keep—more than the islands composing the United Kingdom—ceding disgracefully the Channel Islands, on which an invader had never established himself since the period of the Norman conquest? I am," concluded the renowned warrior, "bordering upon seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert."

That the duke was old—that he had not his senses—that his fears were childish, was the opinion of some; while others felt that his suggestions and warnings were dictated by a spirit of patriotism; and that, in his case, emphatically it might be said—

> "'Tis the sunset of life gives us mystical lore,
> And coming events cast their shadows before."

Chief among the opponents of the duke stands the name of Richard Cobden. He chose the occasion of a free-trade meeting in Manchester, on the navigation laws, to show his opinion of the alarm. "Are they French," he asked; "or the majority of them thieves, pickpockets, or murderers? If they were, could they exist as an organised community—a community as orderly as ours? For we have had as little tumult in France, during the last five or six years, as in England. I see another paper in London—a weekly paper—the editor of which used to write with some degree of gravity; but I suppose that he is so panic-stricken that he has lost all his wits. That paper tells us that the next war with France will be made without a declaration of war; and that truly we have to protect our queen at Osborne House against those ruffianly Frenchmen, who may come without notice, and carry off her majesty. What a lesson has our courageous queen read to such people as these. She went over to France unattended, unprotected, and threw

herself upon the shore there at the Château d'Eu—literally in a bathing machine. Now there is either great courage on the one side, or great cowardice on the other. But this is a sort of periodical visitation that we have. I sometimes compare it to the cholera; for I believe the last infliction we had of this kind came about the time of the cholera; and then we were to have had an invasion from the Russians, as our friend has told you. I am rather identified with, and interested in, that intended invasion; for it is that which first made me an author and a public man: and I believe it is quite possible, if it had not been for the insanity on the part of some of our newspapers, and some of them that are now just as insane, who told us that the Russians were coming, some foggy day, to land near Yarmouth—if it had not been for that insanity on the part of some of our newspapers, I should not have turned author, written pamphlets, or become a public man; and I might have been a thrifty, painstaking calico-printer to this day."

In 1849, Cobden proposed his resolution relative to arbitration in national quarrels, and the ten million reduction of national expenditure. Mr. Cobden had many followers in the large towns; and he was sanguine upon the subject. He maintained that the navy was our line of defence, and that we might safely reduce our large military establishment. He also contended that the colonists should defray the expenses of their own government and external defences. In this latter view he was well supported by Sir William Molesworth, then winning that position in public life for which his great talents eminently fitted him. Peace congresses were the order of the day. Our language was, to the French—

> "We want no rivalry of arms,
> We make no boast of Waterloo."

At Paris, to meet certain objections to his arbitration plan, Mr. Cobden said—"We do not propose to constitute the executive department of government arbitrators in difficulties between nations. We should wish to appoint arbitrators to suit each particular case. For instance, in a question of naval or military etiquette, a general or an admiral might be selected; in a commercial matter, a merchant or so."

In the House of Commons Mr. Cobden invariably had an opponent, and his name was Palmerston. On one occasion, in opposing the motion, his lordship begged the honourable gentleman not to suppose that he wished to express, or that he was actuated by, any feelings or principles at variance with the fundamental principles upon which his proposition had been founded. The noble lord contended that the world had not yet arrived at that pitch of civilisation at which any country can rest for its safety upon the forbearance of its neighbours. Viscount Palmerston contended that the military force of France should be considered as well as the naval. It is obvious that if, unfortunately, any event was to arise which brought the two countries into a hostile conflict—those two countries so near to each other, and brought so much nearer by the improvements of navigation—it is impossible not to see that the country which possesses an armament of 350,000 men, and a national guard of about 1,000,000, as compared with a country whose standing military force within the realm is something about 40,000 men, without any militia or national guard—it is impossible not to see that, in considering the means of offence and defence, we must also take into consideration the military power of the countries. The honourable member's zeal had carried him a little too far when he talked of Cherbourg as a simple port of refuge; and spoke of the works proposed at Alderney as an insult and a menace to France. The whole island of Alderney would only accommodate a garrison of about 100, and the harbour would contain but a few steamers. The honourable member might as well speak of the aggression of a sentry-box against a fortified town. The noble viscount denied all feeling of jealousy with France. It was one of the most gratifying circumstances of the times in which we live to see the two great nations close to each other—each gifted by nature with various

qualities, entitling them to the esteem or friendship of each other; capable of rendering each other most important services; capable, also, if actuated by fatal passions, of inflicting upon each other the greatest calamities—it is most gratifying to see, that every day or month that elapses, brings those two countries into friendly contact; and that feelings of mutual friendship and esteem are rapidly succeeding the antiquated notions of envy. He was ready to adopt the motion and the speech of Mr. Cobden, responded to by the House, as the expression of an opinion that friendly relations between England and France should be maintained, and that mutual confidence should banish reciprocal distrust. He accepted it with pleasure, as a holding out of the right hand of fellowship to other countries; and he agreed that there could not be a more appropriate season for such a demonstration. If he objected to be bound and fettered by a resolution in which he did not clearly see his way, it was not because he dissented from the end, but because he thought that end would be more accelerated by the language of Mr. Cobden, and the sentiments manifested in that House, than by any formal and specific resolution. Upon these grounds he trusted Mr. Cobden would be satisfied with the reception his motion had experienced in the House, and with the concurrence of her majesty's government, which was influenced by an ardent desire to avert the calamities of war, and not press his motion to a division, which would be liable to misconstruction.

About this time Mr. Cobden used his celebrated phrase as to crumpling up Russia; which, on a later occasion, he thus explained:—"Now, the phrase I used was at a meeting on the subject of the Hungarian invasion in 1849. I attended a meeting in the 'City of London Tavern,' to protest against the invasion of Hungary by Russia. Russia was then allowed to march her armies across the territory of Turkey, through Wallachia and Moldavia, to strike a death-blow at the heart of Hungary; and no protest was ever recorded by our government against that act. Now it is my deliberate conviction, from a patient study of the Blue Books, and it is the conviction of the most illustrious men who were engaged in that Hungarian struggle, that if Lord Palmerston had made but a simple verbal protest in energetic terms, Russia would never have invaded Hungary by passing through the Moldavian and Wallachian territories. It is well known that the ministers of the czar almost went down on their knees, to beg and entreat him not to embark in a struggle between Austria and Hungary. Our protest would immediately have been backed by the ministry of the czar, if it had been made; and I believe it would have prevented that most atrocious outrage, as I consider it, upon the rights and liberties of a constitutional country. I said, on that occasion, in the midst of all the excitement and frenzy that then prevailed in favour of Hungarian nationality, that I would resist any attempt to send an English force to fight the battles of Hungary on the banks of the Danube or the Theiss. I proclaimed the same thing then that I proclaim now. I did not disguise my views on the subject, any more than I disguise my views now with regard to the conduct of Russia towards Turkey. But, I said, I will remain content with uttering my reprobation of the act. I would not sanction the sending of English soldiers and sailors to fight these distant battles. In fact, in a word, my opinion and my principles resolve themselves into this—that I will never argue for any battle whatever as to which I am not prepared to go and take part in it. I would never send men to some distant part of the world without partaking of their peril. Whenever a battle is to be fought with my consent, it shall be one in which I am willing to take a part myself."

In parliament, free-trade principles were extending, not without considerable opposition.

In the spring of 1848, Mr. Labouchere proposed the repeal of the navigation laws. In a speech of considerable ability, he entered into a history of British legislation on the subject, and explained in what respect a change was desirable. The system commenced with the Commonwealth, and obtained its full development

in the Navigation Act of Charles II. That system was founded rather upon motives of state policy than maxims of trade; and was framed, first, in the hope of impeding the intercourse of the royalists with their foreign allies; and, secondly, in simple jealousy of the great carrying trade then occupied by the Dutch. Its principle was monopoly and exclusion; its end was to make the British empire self-supporting and self-relying. The alterations contemplated by government were thus announced by Mr. Labouchere:—"Reserving the coasting trade and the fisheries, both of Great Britain and the colonies, he proposed altogether to strike out of the statute-book the present system, and to throw open the whole navigation of the country, of every sort and description. He wished, however, to retain to the queen in council the power of putting such restriction on the navigation of foreign countries as she might think fit, if these countries desired to meet us on equal terms—not making it obligatory on the queen in council, but enabling her to use the power in such a way as might be best for the interest of the country. As regarded the coasting trade of the colonies, he proposed to reserve that in the same manner as the coasting trade of the mother country; but he meant to allow each colony, if it should think fit, to pass an act, throwing open its coasting trade to foreign countries; such act to have the assent of the crown in the usual manner. In short, each colony should be allowed to deal with its coasting trade as it thought proper. If such a power were not given, the case of Canada, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence, would not be provided for at all. As to the inter-colonial trade, a clause would be introduced in the bill, giving the queen in council general powers relating to that subject. As to the manning, ownership, and building of British ships, he proposed to do away with the necessity that ships should be British built, but still to require them to be British owned. The present regulations as to manning were to be retained both in the foreign and coasting trade, excepting those regarding apprentices, which were to be done away entirely. Lascars were, in future, to be considered as British sailors; and the anomalous disability of owners naturalised in our colonies to be removed."

Lord George Bentinck headed a vehement, but not successful opposition. Mr. Cobden showed, by an appeal to the public evidence, that we can build ships better than foreign countries, and at as cheap a rate; sail them as well; take greater care of the cargoes; and secure greater punctuality and despatch. The only drawbacks were of a moral kind—insubordination and drunkenness; but these would yield to better culture. He repudiated the boastful language which he so often heard respecting England's naval supremacy. He must say that these toasts were generally uttered after dinner; and, therefore, they might be the result of a little extra excitement. The abolition of the navigation laws would not affect the naval condition of Great Britain. But was this the time to be always singing "Rule Britannia?" If honourable members opposite had served with him on the committee on the army, navy, and ordnance estimates, they would have a just sense of the cost of that song. The constant assertion of maritime supremacy was calculated to provoke kindred passions in other nations; whereas, if Great Britain enunciated the doctrines of peace, she would evoke similar sentiments from the rest of the world.—Mr. Disraeli made a sarcastic reply, in which he stated that he would not sing "Rule Britannia," for fear of distressing Mr. Cobden; but he did not think that the House would *encore* "Yankee Doodle." Sir R. Peel warmly defended ministers.

The West Indians, also, led by Lord George Bentinck, the chivalrous champion of class interest as opposed to national welfare, had a committee, on the motion of Lord John Russell, to inquire into their claims. His lordship proposed to lend the colonists money for the purpose of introducing emigrants. He also proposed lowering and altering the rates of duties. The differential duty on rum was to be reduced to fourpence. Mr. Herries, Lord George Bentinck, and his friend, Mr. Disraeli, contended, that whilst this plan would seriously injure the colonists, it would afford great encouragement to the slave-trade. An amendment

was moved by Sir John Pakington, which went to declare, that the House of Commons, considering the evidence taken before a select committee in the course of the present session, are of opinion that the remedies proposed by her majesty's government for the great distress of the sugar-growing possessions of the crown, and which the committee had said would require the immediate application of relief, would neither effect that object, nor check the stimulus to the slave-trade, which the diminution of the cultivation of sugar in those colonies must inevitably occasion. The amendment, after several debates, was rejected by 260 to 245.

The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended this year; and, at the same time, an attempt was made to legalise diplomatic intercourse with Rome. When the bill came down to the House of Commons, Mr. Sheil made one of his best speeches in its favour. He reminded the House that, by the treaty of Vienna, the rights of the holy see were defined and secured. England was a party to that treaty; it was signed by her representatives; it was laid before her parliament. "Was it not," he asked, "preposterous that England should have secured the pope in the enjoyment of a portion of his dominions, and yet be denied the right of holding diplomatic intercourse with him who was, in effect, under her protection?"

Towards the end of this year the protectionists lost their leader. In the prime of life he was suddenly struck down by heart disease. He had set off from Welbeck, to dine at Thoresby, the seat of Lord Manners. Not arriving at his destination, search was made for him; and, by the aid of lanthorns, his lordship was discovered lying on the ground, dead. He had long been so, as his body was cold and stiff.

Of this last of the protectionists, who had given up the turf for the House of Commons, his friend and biographer thus writes:—

"All his ideas were clear, large, and coherent * * * About to part, probably for many months, and listening to him as he spoke, according to his custom, with so much fervour and sincerity, one could not refrain from musing over his singular and sudden career. It was not three years since he had, in an instant, occupied the minds of men. No series of parliamentary labours had ever produced so much influence in the country in so short a time. Never was a reputation so substantial built up in so short a space. All the questions with which he had to deal were colossal questions—the laws that should regulate competition between native and foreign labour; the interference of the state in the development of the resources of Ireland; the social and commercial condition of our tropical colonies; the principles upon which our revenue should be raised; the laws which should regulate and protect our navigation. But it was not that he merely expressed opinions on these subjects: he came forward with details in support of his principles and policy, which it had before been believed none but a minister could command. Instead of experiencing the usual and almost inevitable doom of private members of parliament, and having his statements shattered by official information, Lord George Bentinck, on the contrary, was the assailant, and the successful assailant, of an administration on those very heads. He often did their work more effectually than all their artificial training enabled them to do. His acute research, and his peculiar sources of information, roused the vigilance of all the public officers of the country. Since his time there has been more care in preparing official returns, and in arranging the public correspondence placed on the table of the House of Commons.

"When one remembered that in this room, not three years ago, he was trying to find a lawyer who would make a speech for him in parliament, it was curious to remember that no one in the space had probably addressed the House of Commons oftener. Though his manner, which was daily improving, was not felicitous in the House, the authority of his intellect, his knowledge, and his character, made him one of the great personages of debate; but with the country, who only read his speeches, he ranked high as an orator. It is only those who have had occasion critically to read and examine the long series of his

speeches, who can be conscious of their considerable merits. The information is always full, and often fresh; the scope large, the argument close, and the style, though simple, never bold, but vigorous, idiomatic, and often picturesque. He had not credit for this in his day; but the passages which have been quoted in this volume will prove the justness of this criticism. As a speaker and writer, his principal want was condensation. He could not bear that anything should remain untold. He was deficient in taste; but he had fervour of feeling, and was by no means void of imagination.

"The writer, in his frequent communication with him, of faithful and unbounded confidence, was often reminded of the character, by Mr. Burke, of my Lord Keppell.

"The labours of Lord George Bentinck had been supernatural; and one ought, perhaps, to have felt then that it was impossible they could be continued on such a scale of exhaustion: but no friend could control his eager life in this respect; he obeyed the law of his vehement and fiery nature, being one of those men who, in whatever they undertake, know no medium, but will succeed or die.

"But why talk here, and now, of death. He goes to his native county, and his father's proud domain, to breathe the air of his boyhood, and move amid the parks and meads of his youth. Every breeze will bear health, and the sight of every hallowed haunt will stimulate his pulse. He is scarcely older than Julius Cæsar when he commenced his public career: he looks as high and brave, and he springs from a long-lived race.

"He stood upon the *perron* of Harcourt House, the last of the great hotels of an age of stately manners, with its wings and courtyard, and carriage portal, and huge outward walls. He put forth his hand to bid farewell; and his last words were characteristic of the man—of his warm feelings, and of his ruling passion. 'God bless you: we must work, and the country will come round us.'"—And in this dream—for such it was—his lordship died. Happily, the country did not come round, and his class became richer and stronger every year, in consequence of the free-trade policy, of which he was such an opponent. In the life just published of Viscount Combermere, it is stated his lordship was an ardent protectionist, but he lived to see the folly of his opinions. Lord George Bentinck, unfortunately for himself, but perhaps fortunately for his fame, was taken away ere the experiment had been fairly tried—ere triumphant success had made even schoolboys scorn what, in Lord George Bentinck's time, and amongst his class, passed for wisdom.

Early in May, 1849, the English public were startled by the arrival of intelligence from Canada of a very serious nature. It appeared that riots, attended with considerable loss of property, and menacing demonstrations towards her majesty's representative, had broken out at Montreal. The immediate occasion was the assent given by the Governor-general, Lord Elgin, to the Rebellion Losses Indemnity Bill—a measure intended to provide compensation for parties whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion in 1837. The Tory party in Canada opposed the measure; and they trusted till the last that Lord Elgin would have refused his assent to it. On the 19th of June, Lord Brougham moved a resolution on the subject in the House of Lords. After giving an historical sketch of the British connection with Canada from the peace of Paris in 1762, he exposed what he termed the folly of the doctrine of responsible government in Canada, the inevitable result of which would be, as Lord John Russell had predicted in 1835, the confiscation of British property, the insulting of British subjects, and the punishment of British soldiers for discharging their duty; and also the taxation of British loyalists, to pay French rebels, such as M. Papineau and his associates, for the losses the latter had sustained in having their rebellion crushed. He advised the government to throw away the fatal theory of colonial government, as especially ill-fitted for Canada, where there was no House of Lords, and where the colonial assembly was so narrow that it might be packed. He

prayed attention to the probability of a future struggle with the United States, if we persisted in disgusting the Canadian loyalists by suffering the Rebel Compensation Bill to pass; and concluded by moving two resolutions, condemnatory of the principles of the measure.—Earl Grey defended the doctrine of responsible government, as the only principle upon which the internal affairs of Canada could be properly administered.—Lord Elgin, he considered, would have acted unconstitutionally if he had refused to sanction the bill after it had been carried by large majorities in both houses of the legislature.—Lord Lyndhurst considered the real question at issue was, whether rebels were to be rewarded at the cost of those loyal colonists who had shed their blood in defence of the crown; and this was what the obnoxious bill sanctioned. He therefore indignantly opposed it; and should vote for Lord Brougham's resolutions.—Lord Campbell said that the object of the bill was to give compensation for rebellion losses, without at all meaning that rebels should be compensated. Those who had been convicted, or surrendered, would, of course, be excluded from any compensation.—The Marquis of Lansdowne denied that this was an act to reward rebels. No man was a rebel who could not by law be proved so. To keep hanging over the French population the imputation of habitual disloyalty, was the way to produce it, and to foment that jealousy of the interference and control of this country which it should be our first object to put an end to. On a division, Lord Brougham's resolutions were lost by a majority of 99 to 96. In the House of Commons, the question was raised by Mr. Gladstone, who called on the government to suspend the final ratification of the act, to afford the colonial legislature the opportunity so to frame it, that no individual who could be proved to have taken part with the rebels, should receive any benefit from its provisions.—Lord John Russell contended that this case was governed by the experience resulting from the Indemnity Acts of Upper Canada, by which fewer restrictions had been imposed, with respect to claims for rebellion losses, than were found in the present measure. Any more stringent tests than those now required—namely, conviction, or submission, or transportation—would rip up transactions twelve years old; and it would be better to resist an Indemnity Bill altogether than to impose tests which would establish in Canada a Star-Chamber, dividing classes and families—branding one set of men as rebels, and recognising another as the sole loyalists.—Mr. Herries laid the blame of all that happened to the home government, and moved an address to her majesty, to withhold the royal assent to the act, until satisfactory assurances could be given that no rebel should receive an indemnity under it.—Sir Robert Peel disapproved of any interference, on the part of the imperial parliament, with the decision of a large majority in the Canadian assembly, which had approved of the act as it was. It would have been too invidious to the loyal inhabitants of Lower Canada, not to grant them an indemnity for their losses, similar to that afforded to those of Upper Canada, the distribution of which had not been questioned. On a division, the amendment of Mr. Herries was rejected by 291 to 150. This measure did much to tranquillise Canada, in spite of a discontent regularly fostered there by emissaries from the United States, and disaffected Irish.

At this time attention was called in parliament to the suppression of the Borneo pirates. The efforts of Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, to establish a peaceable and commercial community on the coast of Borneo, had been greatly impeded by the sanguinary onslaught of bands of sea-robbers, who massacred, or led into captivity, all who came in their way; burned ships and villages, and committed the most horrible barbarities. The season when these freebooters committed their operations having arrived, and their fleets being known to be at sea, an expedition was prepared to intercept and chastise them. The force consisted of her majesty's brigs *Albatross* and *Royalist;* the East India Company's steamer, *Nemesis*, and the steam-tender *Ranee*, under the orders of Commander Farquhar: to these was joined a native flotilla, under Rajah Brooke. The force took up a

position across the mouth of the Sarebas river, the inhabitants of which district were known to have been marked out for slaughter. In this position all remained until the evening of the 30th of November, when tidings were brought that the pirates had attacked Palo, and, after threatening destruction to the inhabitants unless they furnished them with salt, had gone to a river named Six Maring, where they were then lying. The next day, news came that the pirates were in motion; and, in a quarter of an hour, they were all on their way to meet them; the *Nemesis* proceeding seaward, to prevent their escape to sea. As soon as she was descried by the pirates, they at once made for the Kaluka river, where their progress was intercepted by the native boats, and those commanded by Lieutenants Wilmshurst and Everest. The pirates then made a dash to reach their own river, when they came in immediate contact with the men-of-war boats, and the action became general. The result was what might have been anticipated when the savage comes into collision with the civilised man. The destruction was complete. At daylight, the bay was one mass of wreck—shields, spears, and portions of destroyed prahus, extended as far as the eye could reach; whilst, on the sandy spit, which extends a considerable distance seaward, on the left bank of the Sarebas, were upwards of seventy prahus, which the natives were busy clearing of all valuables, and destroying. Of 120 prahus, which, it is said, started on the expedition, and all of which were in the bay the preceding evening, more than eighty were destroyed; and it was estimated, that the loss of life, on their side, was as high as 1,200 men on the part of the English, saving a few slight casualties, all were unscathed. The observer was compelled to ask himself—could destruction so great, success so complete—at least a third of this ruthless horde sent to their account—be effected in a space so brief, and with a European force so small? Had success attended the pirates, says one of the actors in this sanguinary scene, our fate was certain. No more convincing instances of their inhuman disposition could be found, than the fact, that the bodies of women were discovered on the beach, on whom they had reeked their vengeance. They were all decapitated, and the bodies were gashed from the shoulder to the foot: they were supposed to have been captives taken by the pirates in the expedition, from which they were now returning. The English force having rejoined the expedition, sailed up the river, and inflicted further damage. Twelve prisoners were secured; among whom was a child, apparently of European parentage. In the districts, hostages were taken for the future peaceable demeanour of the inhabitants.

In England, amongst the Quakers and the peace party, a very strong feeling was excited on this subject. A transparent trick, it was said, was practised by the government, in connivance with Rajah Brooke and his friends. He came to this country in obedience to the peremptory summons of the Foreign Office, to answer the charges of murder and piracy brought against him, chiefly by the press, and subsequently by Mr. Hume in parliament. His friends represented him to be here of his own voluntary choice, and eager to meet the charges against him. Mr. Hume was privately prevented by the government from bringing the case forward; and very wise men, like Mr. Baillie Cochrane and Mr. Headlam, were put forward to accuse Mr. Hume of reluctance to repeat the charges before the face of Brooke, which he made behind his back. One paper in particular, the *Standard of Freedom*, proved—

"1. From Act 6, George IV., c. 49, that the head-money it assigns was to be given for the killing or capture of persons 'engaged in acts of piracy.'

"2. That the Lords of the Admiralty and Sir Henry Pottinger, in the instructions which they based upon the law, warned British officers in the Indian seas from confounding coast depredation with piracy, and forbade them attacking any vessel as piratical, unless it had undoubtedly attacked a British vessel or subject 'within view.'

"3. From Rajah Brooke's own despatches, that he had not even accused the Sarebas and Sakerran Dyaks of attacking any British vessel or subject, within view

or out of it;. but of devastating the coast of their old enemies, the Malays and Dyaks of the Sadong river.

"4. That Brooke, according to his own statements, had assumed a legislative power of declaring communication with pirates to be piracy, and had acted upon it.

"5. It was proved that the evils on these coasts were, upon Brooke's own showing, evils of international or intertribal war, and not of piracy.

"Lord Ellenborough, formerly Governor-general of India, bore testimony, in his place in parliament, that the tribes destroyed were engaged in international or intertribal war, and not in piracy. The brokers at Lloyd's confirm this testimony, to a fact, which Lord Ellenborough personally ascertained on the spot. Commander Farquhar, describing the massacre of the 25th of August, 1849, says that the sea Dyaks had only bows and arrows, and prahus or canoes; that the British cutters and war-steamers lay in ambush for them, and opened upon them a fire of artillery guns and rockets; that not a single British sailor was killed in the massacre; while 500 Dyaks perished at sea, and more than 500 perished in the jungle, trying to escape: in all, above 1,00Q lives.

"By law, proved piracy is only a transportable crime; but Rajah Brooke was charged with inflicting wholesale massacre on persons engaged in what is proved to have been *not* piracy. The Dyaks of Sarebas and Sakerran were not engaged in a foray for heads, but for salt. Moreover, it was proved that the person who compelled them to obtain salt by force (without which they cannot live), by preventing them obtaining it by trade, was Sir James Brooke!

"This Sir Knight of Chivalry hemmed these poor savages round with destruction. If they tried to subsist without salt they perished; if they tried to buy it, he prevented them; and when they took it from their enemies he massacred them with artillery. After this massacre, he devastated Pakos, Kenowit, and the banks of the Rejang and Poè rivers. Moreover, women and children are not pirates and warriors; and yet Sir James Brooke—a hero of civilisation—a champion of Christianity, offered rewards for their capture!

"Eventually, Mr. Hume was permitted to move for an inquiry into the case of Rajah Brooke. At a public dinner, not very long since, the rajah heroically demanded inquiry into his case. With a truer regard, however, for the rajah's reputation, inquiry has been refused by the House of Commons. A majority of 211 rejected Mr. Hume's motion; but a majority in the House is not a majority out of the House. Public opinion may condemn what the House may sanction." So said the rajah's accusers.

Our hero, a roving adventurer in the Eastern Archipelago, a few years ago hired himself to the governor of Sarawak, to assist him in putting down a revolt occasioned by his own injustice. He was paid for his services by being appointed its rajah. After a few years thus spent, he revisited his native land, where he was received with open arms. The corporation of London presented him with the freedom of the city; the University of Oxford made him a Doctor of Laws; royalty itself stooped to do him honour: and in order that this pirate-hunter might better do his duty, and spread British civilisation and Christ's religion by grape-shot, Labuan, a rock of no earthly use, was converted into a British settlement, at a cost of £10,000 a year, £2,000 of which goes to Governor Rajah Brooke. At the same time he is appointed consul to the Sultan of Borneo, at a salary of £500 a year—the duties of which office require him to live 300 miles from Labuan. Thus laden with honours did Sir James Brooke return to Borneo, to deal around him Bibles and bullets—death in this world, and the glorious hopes of Christianity for the next. A splendid opportunity soon occurred. In July, 1849, after hunting them some time, Sir James came up with a flotilla of Dyaks, who were crushed—as the weak and defenceless must ever be when they come into collision with superior strength and skill. The carnage that ensued was dreadful. With men and machinery all practised in the hellish art of war—to sail on a summer night

right into a fleet of boats, the occupiers of which are not proved to have committed any crime, and who only could defend themselves with shields—to sink, blow up, disperse, and annihilate that feeble fleet—to hurry into eternity hundreds of men, each one of whom had as sacred a life as that of Rajah Brooke himself—seems to us a work so brutal, so cowardly, so indefensible, so fiendish, that words fail us to express our horror and shame.

These deeds of blood were done by British gentlemen, headed by an adventurer whom the church has approved, and on whom royalty has smiled; and the slaughter has been paid for in yellow cash by the British nation. Such was the charge made, and not yet removed.

Ireland lost some of her distinguished men. Poor Steele—the Pacificator, as he was termed—perished a miserable suicide. We have referred to the great agitator's death. We must add here what we have hitherto omitted—a slight outline of his early career.

Daniel O'Connell was the eldest son of Morgan O'Connell, Esq., of Carhen, and of Catherine, sister of the O'Mullane, of Whitechurch, in the county of Cork, a most respectable and ancient Irish family. He was born at Carhen, about a mile from the present post-town of Cahirciveen, in the county of Kerry. His birth occurred on the 6th of August, 1775—a year rendered memorable by the commencement of the contest between England and her American colonies. In this place his childhood and boyhood were passed, with the exception of protracted visits to Derrynane, the seat of his father's eldest brother, Maurice O'Connell, who, being childless himself, adopted his nephews, Daniel and Maurice, and took in a great measure the charge of their education upon himself. A poor old hedge-schoolmaster, named David Mahoney, was the first person who taught Daniel O'Connell his letters. At the age of thirteen, he was sent to the school of the Rev. Mr. Harrington, the first held by a Catholic priest since the penal laws. At the end of a year, his uncle Maurice took him and his brother from this school, and sent them to the continent. They were ordered to St. Omer's, where they remained a year, when they removed to the English college of Douay for some months. At St. Omer's Daniel rose to the first place in all the classes. Dr. Stapylton, president of the college there, writing to his uncle, made the following almost prophetical remark :—"With respect to the elder, Daniel, I have but one sentence to write about *him;* and that is, that I never was so much mistaken in my life as I shall be, unless he be destined to make a remarkable figure in society."

On the 21st of December, 1793, the day the unfortunate Louis was beheaded at Paris, the brothers set out in a *voiture* for Calais. As soon as they got into the English packet-boat, they eagerly tore out of their caps the tricolour cockade, which the commonest regard for personal safety had made indispensable at that time in France. Mr. O'Connell had often said that the horrors of the French revolution made him very nearly a Tory in heart. In this state of mind he became a law-student in Lincoln's Inn, in the year 1794. He attended Hardy's trial with strong prejudice against the accused, and sympathy with Eldon as the vindicator of law and social order. In the progress of the trial, however, he was fully converted, and confirmed in his natural detestation of tyranny, and in his desire to resist it.

Mr. O'Connell's first public effort as an orator was a speech against the union. This was a bold step in a young man. Terrorism reigned over the land: even Protestants who manifested any national feeling, fell under the ban of a bloody intolerance. Undeterred by considerations of this kind, he delivered his maiden speech at a meeting of the Catholics of Dublin, assembled in the Royal Exchange, on the 13th of January, 1800, to petition parliament; and the effect was such, that political agitation became the business of his future.

Long before he reached middle life, Mr. O'Connell had become the most industrious man in Ireland. As early as five o'clock in the morning his matins were concluded, his toilet finished, his morning meal discussed, and his amanuensis at full work; by eleven he was in court; at three or half-past, attending a board or a

committee; later in the evening presiding at a dinner, but generally retiring to rest at an early hour, and not only abstaining from the free use of wine, but, to some extent, denying himself the national beverage of his country.

In 1815, occurred one of the most painful events of Mr. O'Connell's life—the fatal duel with Mr. D'Esterre, a member of the Dublin corporation, whom Mr. O'Connell called "beggarly." This was the offence for which he was challenged. It is sad to see how eager he was to accept that challenge, and with what passion the Irish public then craved after this sort of barbarous excitement. Mr. O'Connell's second was Major M'Namara, formerly member for Clare. Mr. D'Esterre was accompanied by Sir Edward Stanley. They met in Lord Ponsonby's demesne, about twelve miles from the city. D'Esterre fired first, and missed. Mr. O'Connell's shot took effect in his adversary's thigh, which bled profusely. He died in a few days; when Sir Edward Stanley politely informed Mr. O'Connell that there would be no prosecution. Mr. O'Connell did not then feel the remorse and horror at the crime of duelling which he has since so often expressed. He was, soon after, about to fight Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel, and was proceeding to Ostend for the purpose, when he was arrested at his hotel in London.

The formation of the Catholic Association, of which Mr. O'Connell was the soul, took place in 1823. The agitation tasked all his energies. The memorable Clare election took place in July, 1828, when Mr. O'Connell was returned to parliament by a large majority of the electors of that county. He lost no time in presenting himself at the table of the House of Commons, and expressed his willingness to take the oath of allegiance; but, refusing the other oaths, he was ordered to withdraw. Discussions in the House, and arguments at the bar, ensued: the speedy close of the session, however, precluded any practical result. Agitation throughout every part of Ireland now assumed so formidable a character, that ministers said they apprehended a civil war; and, early in the next session, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was introduced and carried: Mr. O'Connell was, therefore, in the month of April, 1829, enabled to sit for Clare without taking the objectionable oaths; but it was necessary that a new writ should issue, under which he was immediately re-elected.

The anti-tithe agitation soon after threw the nation into a frenzy, which seemed to alarm Mr. O'Connell, so that he agreed suddenly to a compromise, by which the clergy lost, but the people did not gain.

The agitation for the repeal of the union was then taken up, but it was greatly mitigated by the liberal policy of the Whigs. "Justice for Ireland" would have satisfied Mr. O'Connell's secret wish at any time, whatever he might have been driven to declare in the excitement of public meetings. Sir R. Peel came into power, and the agitation for repeal waxed fiercer and fiercer.

The following letter from Dr. Duff, one of the physicians who attended him, is from *Galignani*, and gives an account of his last moments:—"On Monday, May 10th, I saw Mr. O'Connell for the first time, and he was then suffering from profuse and involuntary diarrhœa, with great pain of the abdomen under pressure, strong rapid pulse, flushed face, &c. Mr. O'Connell had also chronic bronchitis of some years' standing. From the remedies employed these symptoms were ameliorated, and on the morrow he seemed convalescent. But, from Mr. O'Connell's great repugnance to swallow even the most simple medicine, this state of improvement could not be followed up. On the evening of Tuesday, the 11th, the new symptom of congestion of the brain presented itself. Active measures were immediately had recourse to, and from them there was a decided improvement. Again the aid of internal remedies was denied, Mr. O'Connell refusing to take any medicine. Towards the evening of Wednesday, the 12th, the symptoms increased: Mr. O'Connell was restless, and sometimes slightly incoherent. Our former measures were again employed, but with slight success. During Thursday all the symptoms increased, with great tendency to sleep, from which, however, he could easily be roused; the breathing was much embarrassed;

circulation became difficult, and in some degree indistinct, and the mind wavered. Thursday night was passed in a state of profound, heavy sleep, with increased difficulty of breathing; and, in addressing those about him, he imagined himself in London, and spoke to them as if there. On Friday he was much worse—the breathing very laborious, the voice scarcely audible, and the words half formed; all the symptoms had increased. In this state he lingered on till Saturday night, seemingly conscious of the presence of those about him, but neither attempting to move nor speak. My treatment of Mr. O'Connell was always in conjunction with Dr. Beretta, of this place, and a young French physician, who had accompanied him from Lyons; and on the day preceding his demise, we had the advantage of consulting with Dr. Viviani, the oldest practitioner of Genoa, and of high repute. By his advice, and as a last resource, a further application of leeches to the temples was adopted, but all was in vain; he expired last night at half-past nine o'clock, apparently suffering little pain. During the whole period of our attendance upon Mr. O'Connell, it was with the greatest difficulty he could be induced to take medicine, or even necessary food, and he perseveringly abstained from drink for fully forty hours. Had this been otherwise, the period of death might have been procrastinated; but his failing health and spirits, with constant tendency to cerebral congestion, rendered certain his death at no very distant period." Another letter states that the immediate cause of his death was possibly attributable to his neglect of the advice of the physicians he consulted at Paris, to avoid travelling by sea.

We have one death to record—the death of an accomplished and humane physician—a man who, by his writings, was a benefit to his race: we mean Dr. Andrew Combe, who died near Edinburgh, on Monday, August 16th, 1847. He was one of the physicians in ordinary to the queen, and corresponding member of the Imperial and Royal Society of Physicians in Vienna. The rising generation owe much to the popular style of Dr. Combe, for health and long life.

Captain Stirling, late one of the leader-writers of the *Times* newspaper, died at an advanced age in 1847, at his residence at Knightsbridge. This gentleman's leaders obtained for the *Times* the name of the "Thunderer." They were full of vigour, and always to the point. The late Daniel O'Connell was his principal target; and the arrow of Mr. Stirling never missed the bull's-eye. The mortality of the *Times* office, in a short space of time, was very great—all at once, or nearly so. It lost by death Mr. Thomas Barnes, the principal editor, whose talents as a writer were well known; Mr. Bacon, the sub-editor, a very clever writer; Mr. Alsager, whose city article was so much admired and sought for: the next was the great pillar of the establishment, Mr. John Walter, whose energy and labours made the *Times* what it was. As M.P. for Nottingham we have referred to his philanthropy in exposing the hardships and sufferings of the new poor-law; but we cannot refuse insertion to a couple of anecdotes, which will, in some degree, help to explain the fame, and wealth, and enviable position he attained to in after-life. "Towards the latter end of May, in 1810, the pressmen—not those who arrange the types, but those who impress their forms on the paper—insisted upon increased wages. The men then employed in working the *Day* newspaper, came to the *Times* office in Printing-house Square, and called upon their brethren to join them in a combination, which was illegal under the circumstances, and must at any time have been regarded as unjustifiable. They insisted upon uniform rates of wages throughout all the printing-offices, overlooking the fact that the men of the *Times* enjoyed indulgences as well as opportunities of extra labour and reward, which, in other quarters, were denied. At first Mr. Walter was disposed to make concessions; but a boy employed at the *Times* office informed him that a conspiracy had been organised, not only amongst the pressmen, but amongst the compositors also, to abandon his employment under circumstances that would stop the publication of the paper, and therefore destroy the most valuable property that he then possessed. The complaints of the

compositors not only had reference to wages, but to a particular description of type then coming into use—the effect of which type, it was alleged, would materially diminish the remuneration for piece-work. These unfortunate men bound themselves by a solemn oath, that unless the proprietors of the *Times* acceded to the previously unheard-of terms which the general body of the London compositors and pressmen then thought proper to dictate, the combination into which they had entered should be carried out to its fullest extent.

"The 'strike' took place on a Saturday morning. Mr. Walter had only a few hours' notice of this formidable design; and, beset as he was, most men would have submitted to any conditions; but, as he despised mediocrity, so he hated compromise. Having collected a few apprentices from half-a-dozen different quarters, and a few inferior workmen, anxious to obtain employment on any terms, he determined to set a memorable example of what one man's energy can accomplish. For six-and-thirty hours he himself worked incessantly at case and at press; and, on Monday morning, the conspirators who had assembled to triumph over his defeat, saw, to their inexpressible astonishment and dismay, the *Times* issue from the hands of the publisher with the same regularity as ever. A few months passed on, and Mr. Walter brought out his journal every day without the aid of his *quondam* workmen; but the printers whom he did employ lived in a state of the utmost peril. Two of them were accused by the conspirators of being deserters from the royal navy, and this charge was supported by the testimony of perjured witnesses; but ultimately fell to the ground." Mr. Walter, not satisfied with this, turned the table on his enemies; had them tried for conspiracy, convicted and imprisoned. After that time Mr. Walter was let alone—left free to do as he pleased with his own.

We must make room for one more characteristic anecdote. "In the spring of the year 1833, an express arrived from Paris, bringing the speech of the King of the French on opening the French Chambers. The express reached the *Times* office at 10 A.M. There was no editor on the spot—no printers; but Mr. Walter was in Printing-house Square. He sent for ****,****,****. Not one of them was to be found. I, too, was sent for, but was out. It was a 'Mail' day. I came to the office about twelve o'clock, and *found Mr. Walter, then M.P. for Berks, working in his shirt-sleeves at case.* He had himself translated the principal parts of the speech, and was setting up his own translation with his own hand, assisted, I think, by one compositor. He gave me a proof of what he had set up, and desired me to read over the speech, and see whether he had omitted anything material. I found only two very short sentences of any importance omitted. I translated them, and Mr. Walter set them up. The second edition, with the speech, was in the city by one o'clock.

"Had not Mr. Walter turned to in the way he did, the whole expense of the express must have been lost; for I am sure that there was not one man in the whole establishment who could have performed the double part which he executed that day with his own hands."

No wonder the *Times* was a success; that it became a power in the good old days, when George III. was king; and is now, in these days of penny papers, and unrestricted competition, a power in the land. Every one abuses the *Times*—every one reads it nevertheless.

But we have forgotten our Irishmen. In 1851, died the most eloquent of Irish tribunes, Mr. Sheil, at Florence, where he had not long enjoyed the diplomatic post which was looked upon as the reward bestowed by the Whig government for the steady party service to which he had, for the last few years, devoted his parliamentary life.

Richard Lalor Sheil was the son of Mr. Edward Sheil, a gentleman who, after realising a competence as a Cadiz merchant, had retired to a property called Bellevue, near Waterford. He was born in Dublin, in 1794, and was accordingly, at the time of his death, on the 23rd of May, in his 57th year. Young Sheil was

first placed under the care of a French refugee abbé, and was afterwards transferred to a London school, conducted by one of the *emigre* noblesse. His education was next entrusted to the authorities of the Jesuit College of Stonyhurst; and he finally entered his name on the books of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Sheil's oratorical powers began to show themselves at a very early period of life. He was a member of sundry college and general debating clubs in Dublin, and distinguished himself by the energy and passion of a very crude and extravagant—but by no means ineffective—and eminently Irish oratory.

Leaving Dublin and Trinity, Mr. Sheil entered himself as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and was, in due time, called to the bar. His father's affairs had not, in the meantime, prospered: some unlucky speculations had crippled his resources; and it was to clear the expenses of his legal education that Richard Lalor first turned his attention to the drama. His opening tragedy was *Adelaide*, a piece which owed some slight and temporary success to the impassioned acting of Miss O'Neil, who befriended her young countryman. Mr. Sheil was now practising at the bar; but, as briefs came in but slowly, he persevered in his dramatic creations; and either before, or not very long after, his marriage with Miss O'Holloran, produced, at Covent Garden, we believe, not less than three tragedies—the *Apostate*, *Bellamira*, and *Evadne*. Of these, the first was, perhaps, the most successful. It has been acted several times, within the last few years, at Sadler's Wells; and, if we mistake not, also at the Surrey Theatre, but with little or no effect. In fact, Mr. Sheil had too little in him of the playwright to be a successful dramatist. He could write good poetry, and could develop and elaborate character; but he knew little or nothing about those minor, but not less essential, arts of skilful construction and startling stage effects. Still his dramatic labours were not unprofitable, it having been stated that his four tragedies had brought him not less than £2,000. Mr. Sheil followed Sir Walter Scott's advice, however, and looked upon literature, dramatic and otherwise, as a staff rather than a crutch—giving up the stage, and all that appertained to it, as soon as he saw a chance of pushing his way in his profession as a barrister; and, finally, using the bar as a stepping-stone to political life. The grand agitation which ended in the admission of Catholics to the legislature, was, towards the close of the first quarter of a century, rapidly gaining strength and consistence; and, under the adroit and vigorous leadership of O'Connell, the Catholic Association was fighting its stormy way to the height of political power.

In 1822—a year of Irish distress and famine—Mr. Sheil joined Mr. O'Connell, heart and soul, as an agitator for emancipation, and also for the repeal of the union. He now became considered as one of the leaders of the popular party. His speeches were vigorous, and, considering the temper of the government and the nation at the time, bold even to rashness. When the measure to suppress the Catholic Association of Ireland was brought in by Mr. Goulbourn, in 1825—a measure ultimately carried, on its third reading, by a majority of 130—both Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil were heard at the bar against the bill. The language used by Mr. O'Connell on this occasion was so very violent, that the Attorney-general held him to bail; but the indictment preferred against him was thrown out by the grand jury. Mr. Sheil's general success in London was not the less brilliant that he had not achieved the main object of his mission. His oratorical reputation had preceded him. Great curiosity prevailed to hear him speak, and his admirers were amply gratified. The agitator was petted and caressed by the leading members of the Whig party, and went back to Ireland not a whit dismayed by the success of Mr. Goulbourn's bill. The tone of the speeches in which Mr. Sheil now indulged attracted the notice of government; and, at length, after a philippic of especial violence—the subject being in the main the life of Wolf Tone—the Attorney-general (afterwards Lord Plunkett) was ordered to do his duty. The trial which ensued bore a striking resemblance to other and more famous state trials. Procrastination was the game played by Sheil's legal defenders—Mr.

O'Connell, Mr. Holmes, and the learned gentleman who was subsequently Judge Perrin. Legal objections were taken; all manner of ingenious flaws were discovered; long technical discussions, and dreary delays and postponements took place; and, in the interval, the Liverpool administration having gone out, and Mr. Canning having come in, the prosecution was allowed to fall through, and the matter dropped. Meantime, however, the impending fangs of the law had by no means sufficed to keep the versatile and energetic counsellor in check. During the Wellington administration he was indefatigable in the work of organising, and inspiring with energy and courage, Catholic Ireland. This was the most active and energetic period of his life. He harangued, wrote, laboured at the formation of country and branch associations; and was, in fact, with Mr. O'Connell, the mainspring and the active intelligence and soul of the whole movement. The agitation, in its then phase, culminated in the famous Clare election, which may be regarded as the final stand-up fight, the issue of which decided the concession of Catholic emancipation. Mr. O'Connell then stood for the county against Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, a cabinet minister. The whole of the landed gentry of Clare threw their utmost influence into the scale of the government candidate; but the storm, raised in a great measure by Mr. Sheil's eloquence, was irresistible, and the forty-shilling freeholders triumphantly seated Mr. O'Connell. The event excited great interest, and some little partial disturbance, in England. It was felt that the time had come for something to be done; and the Irish agitators crossed the Channel, and flung themselves again into the raging contest between the rival creeds. Then came the celebrated meeting on Penenden Heath, when the yeomanry and freeholders of Kent carried a petition praying parliament to preserve inviolate tho Protestant constitution. Mr. Sheil was present, and attempted to speak, but not one word could he succeed in enunciating, in consequence of the turbulence and excitement of the meeting, which led to scenes of the wildest riot. A good deal of amusement was, however, occasioned by a full report of the unspoken speech (furnished, of course, by the orator) appearing in the columns of the morning papers, duly garnished with the "hears" and "cheers," which Mr. Sheil thought he was warranted in anticipating. The composition itself was a piece of mingled brilliant declamation, and close and clear logic, and may be regarded as a fellow-oration to the great speech at the Clare election. The repeal of the Catholic disabilities had now, however, in spite of the Penenden Heath affair, been virtually accomplished. The Peel and Wellington cabinet yielded; and, on the 5th of March, 1829, Mr. Peel, in a four hours' speech, brought in the Catholic Relief Bill; Mr. Sheil, soon afterwards, proposing and carrying a motion for the dissolution of the Catholic Association, as having done its duty, and accomplished the end of its being.

Shortly after the settlement of the Catholie claims, Mr. Sheil received a silk gown through the medium of Lord Francis Egerton; and, in 1831, he was brought into parliament by the Marquis of Anglesea, for the family borough of Milbourne Port. Mr. Sheil was not long in giving the House of Commons a specimen of his talents. It was the epoch of the introduction of the Reform Bill, which was proposed by Lord John Russell on the 1st of March; and the honourable member for Milbourne Port took immediate part in the discussion. His success was complete, and he was publicly complimented by the leaders of the reform phalanx, and also by his more generous opponents. Then came the general election, following upon the two defeats sustained by the ministry, on General Gascoigne's motion, and the question of adjournment. Mr. Sheil then stood for Louth, and was triumphantly returned; but, on the dissolution of 1832, having two years previously been married to the widow of Mr. Edward Power, of Gurteen, by which alliance he succeeded to property in Tipperary, he became anxious to be parliamentarily connected with that county, and accordingly was, in the year in question, elected along with a son of Lord Lismore. On the 15th of February in the following year, Lord Grey brought in his Irish Disturbances Bill, a measure

which passed through its stages with great rapidity, although pertinaciously opposed by the Irish members, led on this occasion by Mr. Sheil—a piece of tactics which produced a charge that the honourable member's opposition was a sham opposition, and that, in secret, he encouraged the ministry to proceed with the bill. This calumny was investigated by a committee of the House, and proved to be utterly groundless, and its original promulgator apologised most amply for his mistake. The celebrated Lichfield House compact, to which Mr. Sheil was of course a conspicuous party, was the next prominent event in his life. Previously, however, to that "amnesty" and "compact alliance," Mr. Sheil had distinguished himself by his bitterness in the denunciation of tithes, which he objected to in any shape, and by his very outspoken abuse of the union. "If," said Mr. Sheil in 1832—"if the union be not repealed within three years, I am determined that I will pay neither rent, tithes, nor taxes. They may distrain my goods, but who'll buy?" After the epoch of Lichfield House, however, this tone was given up for good and all; and after some coquetting with the Melbourne ministry, during which the Irish Solicitor-generalship was offered to him, Mr. Sheil was ultimately preferred to the Commissionership of Greenwich Hospital, and shortly afterwards made Vice-President of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Privy Council. Mr. Sheil was the first Catholic commoner upon whom this dignity was bestowed. During the state trials in 1843, he defended his old co-partner in agitation, Mr. O'Connell; and great hopes were entertained by Smith O'Brien and his friends, that they would again have the advantage of Mr. Sheil's eloquence and moral weight in the repeal cause. "Sheil," said Smith O'Brien, "must and will forget that he is a Privy Councillor, and only remember that he is an Irishman." Mr. Sheil, however, forgot nothing of the kind.

On the return of the Whigs to office, after the repeal of the corn-laws, Mr. Sheil succeeded to the Mastership of the Mint, which office being abolished, he proceeded to Florence, charged with the duties he was accorded so little time to perform.

Mr. Sheil was personally a little, square-built, active man. His style of speaking was very peculiar; his gesticulation rapid, fierce, and incessant; his enunciation remarkably quick and impetuous—sometimes, indeed, particularly after he began to lose his teeth, degenerating into an absolute gabble, working up at the close of his sentences to a sort of loud voluble scream, rendered the more remarkable by the general high and squeaky pitch of his voice. Mr. Sheil's matter was uniformly well arranged, and lucidly logical.

People, about this time, began to be alarmed at the appearance of the Asiatic cholera. More than once it had appeared upon our shores, and been repelled, as the pious believed, by prayer and fasting; or, as the ungodly argued, by cleanliness, and a free use of soap and water. In 1849 it raged here several months, and thousands were weekly swept away by its malignant influence. A form of prayer was, by command of her majesty, ordered, in September, to be used in all the churches and chapels in the United Kingdom, supplicating the Almighty to "stay the plague and grievous sickness which was then abroad, making the land desolate." In the course of October the fatal disease seemed on the decline, and on the 6th of November a proclamation was issued for a general thanksgiving: on the 15th of that month a new form of prayer was issued appropriate to the occasion, and the day was observed as a religious celebration, with great solemnity and decorum. The experiment, however, was not repeated. Experience had taught people that dirt and cholera went together; and many became increasingly sensible of the profane mockery involved in invoking Deity to remove a disease which was the result of man's neglect alone.

In the English church, at this time, a great deal of discussion and bitterness was springing up. Already the *Tracts for the Times* had appeared: already Dr. Pusey had been suspended from preaching in the University of Oxford for two years: already an anti-state church party had been formed for the express purpose

of "liberating religion from state church, and patronage, and control." But the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the see of Oxford, was the occasion of proceedings which a wise statesman or a devout churchman would have hesitated to provoke. The bishop elect was obnoxious to the Tractarian party, and distasteful to the evangelicals, because, now that Arnold was no more, he was the ablest opponent of the former, had been censured by the University of Oxford for heterodoxy, and was latitudinarian in his ecclesiastical opinions. Thirteen bishops headed the clergy and the laity in urging the Premier to revoke the appointment; and the Dean of Hereford declared he would rather incur the penalties of premunire than obey the *congé d'élire*, commanding the election of Dr. Hampden. Lord John Russell, however, was firm, and carried the day. A short notice of the new bishop will not be out of place. In 1813, Mr. Renn Dickson Hampden, then an under-graduate member, and subsequently a fellow, of Oriel College, obtained the honours of what is known as "a double first." In the following year he gained the prize for the Latin essay; served subsequently the usual offices in his college and the university; and was appointed examiner, in the years 1829, 1830, and 1831.

At that time the society at Oriel was of a peculiarly interesting character. Dr. Whateley had just become Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Pusey was gradually laying aside neology, and becoming the founder of his reactionary school. Dr. Newman was following in the same direction; and the notorious Blanco White was hurrying on, with rapid strides, to that state of scepticism in which he died. Over this society, boasting the piety and poetry of a Keble, and presided over by so distinguished a prelate as Dr. Coplestone, a great interest and responsibility weighed; and none more clearly perceived how widely its distractions were likely to compromise the peace of the church than Dr. Hampden himself, when he was called upon, in 1832, to preach the Bampton Lectures. He saw the germ of Tractarianism day by day developing itself—he saw the dangers which it threatened to bring upon the church; its reliance on forms; its exaltation of the priest; its new and strange doctrines concerning the sacraments; its longing looks towards Rome; and, above all, its illiberality of spirit, and the prostration of intellect which it required. He at once grappled with this new church danger, and his lectures were immediately attacked by those members who subsequently formed the Tractarian party.

Dr. Hampden followed up, in 1834, those lectures with some observations on dissent, equally distasteful to the Tractarians, who now began that series of works which have since given them a name. But this spirit found but little favour with the governing body of the university; and Lord Grenville, the chancellor, in the following year, placed Dr. Hampden at the head of St. Mary's Hall; and this done with the approbation of the heads of houses. In 1834, White's lectureship in Moral Philosophy became vacant, and the vice-chancellor, the proctors, and the heads of Christchurch, Magdalen, and St. John's—Drs. Gaisford, Routh, and Wynter, in whose hands the power of election was lodged—unanimously chose Dr. Hampden: the very condition of election being, that the party chosen should be distinguished by the soundness of his religion; and not a word of remonstrance or dissent was intimated—not even in the faintest manner.

In 1836, Dr. Hampden was made Regius Professor of Divinity.

The Tractarians were now alarmed. Mr. Palmer writes—"It was in 1836 that the discussions consequent on the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the chair of divinity at Oxford took place. This movement has been generally, but rather erroneously, attributed to the leaders of the Tract Association: they only took some share in it. Dr. Hampden had preached the Bampton Lectures in 1832; and an admirable theologian, who heard the concluding discourses, agreed with me, that their tendency was decidedly Rationalistic; that they went to the extent of representing our articles of faith, and our creeds, as based on merely human and uncertain theories. The publication of these lectures was unusually protracted.

In 1834, on the occasion of the attempt made to force dissenters on the universities, Dr. Hampden published his pamphlet on Dissent, in which the boldest latitudinarianism was openly avowed, and Socinians were placed on a level with all other Christians. If any doubt could have existed on the tendency of the Bampton Lectures, it would have been removed by the clue to Dr. Hampden's views furnished by this pamphlet. * * * * In 1834, soon after the appearance of the pamphlet, the friend mentioned above, urged on me the necessity of some protest against Dr. Hampden's doctrines being made, lest impunity might lead to the repetition of a similar attempt against the Articles. It seemed to me, however, that any such measure might be productive of harm, in drawing public attention to statements which, appearing as they did in by no means a popular form, would probably attract but little notice. Thus stood matters in 1836, when Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, died. The university was not long in suspense as to his successor. In a few days we were electrified by the intelligence that Dr. Hampden was to be appointed to the vacant chair. * * * A meeting was held in Corpus Christi common room, where we elected, as our chairman, the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, B.D., on whom the independent party had previously fixed, as eminently qualified for the office by his experience, habits of business, ability, eloquence, soundness and firmness of principle, and freedom from party connections. Our petition to the throne against this appointment was rejected, and Dr. Hampden became professor. We met again, and petitioned the heads of houses to bring before convocation a censure of the errors advanced in Dr. Hampden's writings. It had been previously ascertained that the professor refused to retract a single iota of his doctrines. Again and again was our petition rejected by the majority of the heads of houses; again did we return to the contest with increased numbers and determination. All discussions and jealousies were forgotten in this noble effort. It was at length successful to a certain extent; and the heads of houses concurred in bringing forward a censure on Dr. Hampden (a different measure, however, from what we desired), which was passed in convocation by an overwhelming majority." The only mistake in this account, is that in which Mr. Palmer repeats that this movement was not a Tractarian movement; and that if it had been, the measure would have been a total failure. Mr. Palmer says—"The permanent committee appointed to prepare our addresses, comprised four members, who were opposed to, or in no degree connected with, the tracts—viz., the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, B.D.; the Rev. John Hill, M.A., of St. Edmund's Hall; the Rev. Edward Greswell, B.D., of Corpus Christi; and the Rev. W. Sewell, M.A., of Exeter College; Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey were the other members of the committee." It appears that, of this number, all were connected with the Tractarian party save the Rev. Vaughan Thomas.

Convocation illegally passed a statute, asserting that the university had no confidence in Dr. Hampden's teaching; that it deprived him of his place at the Board for the election of select preachers; released under-graduates studying theology from attendance at his lectures; and appointed other professors, whose lectures might be attended instead. Thus continued the state of affairs till 1842, when an addition was made to the professional staff of Oxford by the appointment of two professors—one of Ecclesiastical History, and one of Pastoral Theology. A Board of Examiners was then established by another statute, which placed Dr. Hampden at the head of the Board of Theological Examiners. This was, indeed, a virtual rescinding of the statute of 1836; and the practical wisdom of the heads of houses saw this at once, and proposed that the statute of censure should be formally abrogated. The attempt was made; but though proposed on such authority, the Tractarians were strong enough to prevent the repeal, and fixed the university in the unenviable position of having, one month, placed Dr. Hampden at the head of the Board of Theological Examiners, and, in the next, confirmed a decree that they had no confidence in him at all.

Five years went on, and brought many changes with them. Several of the leading individuals of the Tractarian movement logically and consistently went over to Rome, and a general feeling pervaded the country of the unsoundness of the whole school; their power and credit diminished daily; the feelings of the laity were more and more outraged; and they occasionally looked to those among the clergy who were the uncompromising opponents of Tractarianism, as also the friends of Protestantism, and the advocates of truth. The Premier partook of this feeling, and felt that the time had now come to make some compensation to a most meritorious man, and to relieve the fears of those who looked with apprehension on the growth of popery.

The removal of the venerable Archbishop of York, and the translation of Dr. Musgrove from the see of Hereford to the archiepiscopal dignity, appeared to afford the required opportunity, and the Regius Professor of Oxford was nominated to the vacant see. No sooner, however, was this nomination announced than the old contest was again renewed, and every step was taken that could be to prevent the intention of the crown from taking effect.

Thirteen bishops met, and protested against the appointment; one of them, the Bishop of Oxford, having never read the work considered so objectionable. Ultimately the bishop did so, and had the honesty to admit that the Bampton Lectures did not warrant "those suspicions of unsoundness to which they have given rise, and which, so long as I trusted to selected extracts, I myself shared."

Lord John Russell was considered by the *Times* to have floored the bishops. His lordship, after acknowledging the receipt of the memorial, observes—

"Your lordships do not state any want of confidence, on your part, in the soundness of Dr. Hampden's doctrine. Your lordships refer me to a decree of the University of Oxford, passed eleven years ago, and founded upon lectures delivered fifteen years ago.

"Since the date of that decree, Dr. Hampden has acted as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; and many bishops, as I am told, have required certificates of attendance on his lectures before they proceeded to ordain candidates who had received their education at Oxford. He has likewise preached sermons for which he has been honoured with the approbation of several prelates of our church.

"Several months before I named Dr. Hampden to the queen for the see of Hereford, I signified my intention to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and did not receive from him any discouragement.

"In these circumstances, it appears to me, that should I withdraw my recommendation of Dr. Hampden, which has been sanctioned by the queen, I should virtually assent to the doctrine, that a decree of the University of Oxford is a perpetual bar of exclusion against a clergyman of eminent learning and irreproachable life; and that, in fact, the supremacy which is now, by law, vested in the crown, is to be transferred to a majority of the members of one of our universities.

"Nor should it be forgotten that many of the most prominent among that majority have since joined the communion of the church of Rome.

"I deeply regret the feeling that is said to be common among the clergy on this subject; but I cannot sacrifice the reputation of Dr. Hampden, the rights of the crown, and what I believe to be the true interests of the church, to a feeling which I believe to be founded on misapprehension, and fomented by prejudice.

"At the same time I thank your lordships for an interposition which I believe to be intended for the public benefit."

The laity—or rather some of them—following in the wake of the bishops, also protested; but equally, as regards Lord Russell, in vain. Lord John Manners, about the same time, warmly took up the cause of the remonstrants, and addressed a letter on the subject to the Premier.

The *congé d'élire* appeared in the *Gazette*, December 14th; and as soon as

this had taken place, a new remonstrant appeared in the person of the Dean of Hereford. The public prints spoke plainly as to the claims of this gentleman hitherto to the vacant see. It was said to have been promised him, and that the late king had made it a particular and, indeed, dying request, that Dr. Merewether might be elevated to the episcopate. But whatever may be the fact as to this, Dr. Merewether considered it to be his duty to remonstate against the nomination of Dr. Hampden, which he did in a memorial to the queen; of which her majesty, beyond its acknowledgment, took no notice.

The dean next wrote to Lord John Russell a long letter, the gist of which lies in the conclusion:—"I say, my lord, having fully counted the cost—having weighed the *sense of bounden duty* in the one scale, against the consequences in the other—I have come to the deliberate resolve, that on Tuesday next, no earthly consideration shall induce me to give my vote, in the chapter of Hereford Cathedral, for Dr. Hampden's elevation to the see of Hereford."

Lord John Russell's reply created great amusement at the time. We give it entire.

"Woburn Abbey, December 25th.

"Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 22nd instant, in which you intimate to me your intention of violating the law.

"I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

"J. RUSSELL."

The next step to be taken was the election; and rarely has this ceremony been regarded with deeper interest. It took place in the chapter-house of Hereford Cathedral, on December 28th. The usual summons having been sent to the members of the chapter, and the usual preliminaries having been gone through, the votes were taken, beginning at the junior members; and all were tendered in order for Dr. Hampden, except those of Dr. Huntingford and the dean. It thus appeared, that of sixteen votes recorded, fourteen were for Dr. Hampden, and two against him.

Thus, then, the election terminated; and the dean actually stated, in those papers which alone are valid in law, that he *did* give his vote for the Rev. Renn Dickson Hampden, D.D., &c., &c. What was done inside the chapter-house is not cognizable by law; the government recognises only the authorised statement to which the capitular seal is affixed, and thus Dr. Merewether's protest became a mere literary curiosity. Indeed, it appeared hardly possible how it could be otherwise; for, as the statutes require an unanimous election, by reason of that feeling of brotherhood which they suppose to exist among all in holy orders—a fiction at once legal and pleasant—so they admit of no dissentients; and what is done by the majority is held to be done by the whole body.

Thus the dean gained nothing by his protest, except to show how tame and obedient an animal a priest is when his worldly interests are concerned. And the world knew all that before. The subservience of the priest has been the fruitful theme of the satirist, the scoffer, and the infidel.

And now the storm is over, and Dr. Hampden is Bishop of Worcester still.

Having once nominated his man, Lord John Russell had no alternative but to fight it out. This was admitted by no less an opponent than Archdeacon Hale. He writes—"When the appointment had once been determined upon, and that determination had become so notorious, it would have been derogatory to the crown to have retracted its nomination on any less ground than that its nominee had been pronounced guilty of heresy by the sentence of a regular ecclesiastical tribunal. Nor could the crown accept the decree of the convocation of Oxford in lieu of such a sentence, more especially when the bishops themselves, as Lord John Russell reminds them, refrain from expressing any judgment on the point. The popular ferment might have been a reason for hesitating beforehand; but could not be so now, unless it were shown to be reasonable. An unreasoning excitement is to be allayed, not by giving up its victim to it, but by calm

consistency and cogent argument. Besides, I feel bound here to retract the condemnation expressed in my letter, on the conduct of the minister in making the appointment. Still, indeed, I deplore that appointment, on account of the offence which it was sure to give to so many; and of the consequences which we, knowing the feelings of the clergy, could foresee must inevitably ensue. But the minister, who cannot possibly be in like manner acquainted with those feelings, and who had the presumption supplied by Dr. Hampden's having discharged his professional office for so many years, without any complaint against his doctrine, took all the precautions which became a person in his position, by communicating his intentions so long before to our primate. Having done so, it seems to me he is bound to maintain his appointment, unless some judicial reasons for withdrawing are placed before him. After this proof that the present agitation must be utterly ineffectual—that it can produce nothing but distraction, contention, and other evils—I trust it will soon abate."

CHAPTER XLIX.

ACTION AND REACTION.

THE world is ruled by Right and Might. Generally the latter gets the day; sometimes the former: but there is no peace between them; the battle is ever being fought; the struggle is ever being carried on.

In England we have a free press and parliament. The weapons of our warfare are spiritual, not carnal. On the continent, the nations have not got so far; and when the time comes that Might is intolerable, they appeal to Right, and the God of battles is invoked, and the contest is decided, not in the hall of debate, but in the tented field.

Right carries all before it. Strong iniquities tremble, and turn pale: there is terror in the high places of the earth; terror in the castle of the noble; terror in the palace of the king. Terror gives up everything; and then Right, deeming itself secure, lets its old enemy creep back into the strongholds whence it had been driven, stronger and crueler, and wickeder than before.

We call this action and reaction. The system was displayed, on a large scale, in Europe in the troubled years of 1848 and 1849.

The impulse came from France, the nursery-ground of conspiracy and revolution—of restlessness and change. Louis Philippe had quite lost his hold upon the people. They wanted a reform, to which he and his favourite minister were firmly opposed.

The speech of the king at the opening of the Chambers, on the 28th of December, 1847, contained a phrase which gave great offence. He spoke of an agitation fomented by "blind and hostile passions." The imputation excited the wrath of the opposition. M. Thiers, M. de Lamartine, and M. Odillon Barrot, stigmatised the policy of the government, at home and abroad, as opposed to the principles on which it originated in 1830. However, the address containing the obnoxious passage was passed through the Chamber of Deputies; the members of the opposition, being in a minority, abstained from voting: they determined, instead, to hold reform banquets, which the ministers declared to be illegal. About a hundred of them met, and agreed to put the matter to the test. A reform banquet had been got up in the twelfth arrondissement of Paris. They arranged to attend it. A commissary of police was to be at the door, to take down the names, and warn the company that their meeting was illegal: the matter was to go before the tribunals competent to deal with it. The banquet was several

times postponed; some of the deputies hesitated about going to it. It was to have taken place on Sunday, the 20th of February; but the committee put it off till the Tuesday, and invited the national guards to attend, in their uniform, to line the streets; but to come unarmed, in order to prevent any breach of the peace. The government, alarmed, prohibited the banquet altogether. Troops were concentrated in Paris, and artillery was ready to be brought from Vincennes at the shortest notice.

On the morning of the day before that on which the banquet was to have taken place, the walls of the city were found placarded with the orders of the day of General Jacqueminot to the national guard, requiring them to take no part in the demonstration; with the *ordonnance* of 1831, against riotous processions; and with a proclamation of the prefect of police, formally prohibiting both the meeting and the banquet. Round each placard a knot of persons gathered, and had done so during the night; but, on the whole, the city was tolerably quiet; and the deputies resolved to abandon the banquet, and impeach ministers instead.

On Tuesday, the order of the committee postponing the meeting was published. Government was previously aware that such would be the case, and had counteracted the order for the troops marching on Paris. The people, however, were aroused, and, from early dawn, filled the streets. About twelve o'clock, a mob attacked the *Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères*, and threatened to wreak summary vengeance on Guizot; but they were easily repulsed by the military on duty. About one o'clock that minister appeared in the Chamber, where a considerable number of deputies were present, who had met to discuss the Bordeaux Bank Bill. M. Barrot delivered to the president a proposition for the impeachment of ministers. He handed it to M. Guizot, who, having read it, laughed immoderately. The discussion on the Bank Bill went on. At the close of the sitting, the proposition for the impeachment was referred to a committee, to meet on Thursday. Thus matters passed on peaceably. The gathering in front of the Chamber of Deputies was dispersed by a mere demonstration of the troops in that building; and the crowd retired singing the "Marseillaise." No arms were seen among them, and the mob appeared to be in perfect good-humour. During the day, committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies, and in the offices of the republican journals. As evening approached, the drums beat for the assembling the national guards, upon whose fidelity the general placed the greatest reliance: the few troops were bivouacked in the streets and open places; and large crowds collected in the Champs Elysées, and in the cloisters of St. Meri, having, on their way, broken all the lamps, and forced the posts of the Octroi and the municipal guard. In the Champs Elysées, the *gamins* collected the chairs, stools, and benches placed there for the accommodation of the public, and made a bonfire of them; the flames of which spread around, illuminating the scene. There were also crowds in the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue St. Honore, and the Boulevards, where the soldiers were pelted with stones; and one or two shots were fired, but no injury was done. As night came on, many of the populace went home: by ten, the greater part of Paris appeared to be quiet; but round the cloisters of St. Meri, at the Batignolles (where a body of insurgents had disarmed the national guard), and in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the insurgents were quietly erecting barricades, no attempt being made to prevent them. When the members of the cabinet met the king in council, it was resolved that, the next morning, Paris should be occupied by joint detachments of the regular troops and the national guards; and orders were given to that effect. In the opinion of many, this arrangement was a great mistake, and cost Louis Philippe his crown. The national guards were notoriously dissatisfied, and their disloyalty paralysed their companions-in-arms.

On the Wednesday, things bore a much more threatening appearance. Early in the morning the troops marched into Paris, and firing commenced. The national guard, when ordered to join the line, and attack the barricades, refused to do so; demanding, instead, the dismissal of the ministers, and electoral reform.

The officers were obliged to yield to the will of their men, who almost invariably refused to act against the people; but, instead of keeping themselves neutral, as was the plan resolved on over-night by the officers, in most instances they sided with the insurgents. At first the troops attacked the barricades successfully, though not without a sharp struggle, and considerable loss of life. But, as the day advanced, as they found the national guard inactive or passive, or disposed to take part with the insurgents, similar feelings seemed to influence the troops, and the fighting was left almost entirely to the people and the municipal guard, between whom there existed a great antipathy. Guizot resigned office; a new ministry was formed. Satisfied with the result, the national guards retired home; the troops of the line were withdrawn; and all seemed on the point of ending well.

It was, however, fated to be otherwise. It is evident that a body, called "the democratic electoral committee," organised the subsequent revolutionary movements. Its agents collected the dispersed populace, who were addressed by Marrast; and who, joined by other bodies, made their way to the Boulevards. "A crowd," says Lamartine, "of inoffensive people followed, mechanically, in the train of the silent column. A small detachment, consisting of workmen, armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the top of the Rue de Choiseul, and silently took possession of that street. The object of this detachment appeared to be, to flank the Hôtel of Foreign Affaires, which was occupied by troops; while the column presented itself in front of the building. An unknown system of co-operation evidently combined and controlled these movements. The unanimous whisper of a revolution animated the mass. None but conspirators could, with such precision, govern its chances, and guide its evolutions." The movements were evidently directed by a man bearing a red flag; and a number of torch-bearers mixed with the crowd, just as the national guard and many other citizens were illuminating their houses, under the impression that, with the change of ministry, order would be restored, and reform peaceably obtained.

And now came the unfortunate mischance which converted a reform demonstration into a revolution, and which cost Louis Philippe his country and his crown. In front of the hôtel a battalion of troops was drawn up. They had their bayonets fixed, and their guns loaded. After the people had arrived in front of the hôtel, suddenly a shot was fired from their ranks—no one knows by whom; but it is generally believed to have been discharged by a man named Lagrange, who was one of the Lyons conspirators of 1832. Fined and imprisoned at that period, he subsequently became a member of the National Assembly, when he joined the republican party. This man, it is said, apprehensive that affairs were taking a turn favourable to the monarchy, in order to produce a crisis, fired a random shot amongst the troops. Others say that a musket went off by accident. The officer commanding the troops, thinking they were about to be attacked, ordered his men to fire. Fifty or sixty persons were immediately stretched, bleeding, on the earth. There was no attempt at resistance on the part of the crowd, who set up loud shrieks and lamentations. The military officers, regretting what had taken place, endeavoured to address the people; but, in the meanwhile, large waggons were brought up, on which the dead bodies (fifteen in number) were laid—the body of a female being placed where it could be seen at once by the people from the houses and in the streets. It was remarked as singular that these waggons, at that hour of the night, should be found perfectly ready, "as if they had been previously prepared to exhibit through Paris those lifeless bodies." They were first taken to the office of the *Nationale;* then to that of the *Réforme;* and from thence through various streets; vengeance on the murderers being continually invoked. The red republican flag was displayed. The tocsin was sounded from the steeple of St. Sulpice and other churches. Detachments rushed through the city, demanding arms; and when they were refused, they were, in many instances, forcibly taken; and several armourers' shops were robbed. All the streets through which the waggons passed were immediately closed by barricades. Before morning, the entire adult popu-

lation of the faubourgs appeared to be roused into action; and when the 24th of February dawned upon Paris, it is said that there were upwards of 150,000 men arrayed under the red flag, armed with muskets, sabres, pistols, and pikes; and that more than 2,000 very strong and formidable barricades were thrown up, over which waved the tricolour.

Events moved rapidly on that fatal day. Thiers and Odillon Barrot were installed in office; Lamoricière was appointed commander of the national guards; and Marshal Bugeaud was bidden to retire with his troops into barracks. A circular to that effect was published; but it was no use. A republican manifesto appeared immediately after, calling upon the people to demand—1. That they be incorporated in the national guard. 2. That the municipal guard be suspended. 3. That a law should be passed, enacting that, in future, the army should not be employed to repress civil disorder. The agents of the secret societies were hard at work, and the people were roused to madness. "We raised up Louis Philippe: why should we not pull him down?" was their cry.

The people, armed and intent on victory, were everywhere. They occupied the Boulevards, and also the Rue de Madeleine, up to the entrance of the Place de la Concorde. They burnt the guard-houses which were near the Champs Elysées, firing on the sentries, and massacring the municipal guards; broke into the Palais Royal, and completely destroyed it; pushed barricades nearly to the Tuileries; and fiercely attacked the military post of the Château d'Eu, opposite the Palais Royal. The garrison consisted of 138 soldiers of the 14th regiment of the line, and a few municipal guards, who refused to surrender, and made a most heroic defence—keeping up a constant fire, and killing many of the assailants. At last the insurgents dragged the king's carriages from the royal stables; placed them round the walls of the château, and covered them with straw and faggots, to which they set fire. The little garrison was again summoned to surrender; but they refused, and all perished in the flames. By twelve o'clock, with the exception of the palace and the Place du Carrousel, where about 3,000 soldiers and national guards were stationed, all Paris was in the hands of the insurrectionists, whose watchword was no longer "Reform!" but "Down with Louis Philippe, and hurrah for the Republic!"

The last official act of Guizot had been the cancelling the appointment of Marshal Bugeaud as commander-in-chief. This officer was not popular; but he was courageous, and would have acted. Thiers and Odillon Barrot hoped to succeed by conciliation alone: the king from the belief that, under any circumstances, he might rely on the national guard; and he afterwards fell into the equally erroneous opinion that they had all turned against him in a body, and were conspiring for a republic. There is no reason to suppose that this was the case: indeed, subsequent events have shown that the middle classes in Paris were not inclined to a mild republicanism or a rabid democracy. Even at the last moment, had the generals been authorised to repulse the multitude who were murdering the soldiers at the Château d'Eu, it is more than probable that France might have been saved from the convulsions which ensued. But the indecision of the king, and the want of courage of the princes of the House of Orleans, compelled the soldiers to witness the overthrow of the monarchy with their swords sheathed. Bugeaud, Lamoricière, and other generals did what they could in remonstrating with the people; but were treated with small courtesy—were menaced, and even fired on.

That courage which was wanting in the male portion of the royal family appeared to have been transferred to the women. The queen urged the king to show himself to his troops and the national guard, while she would show herself on the balcony with her children to the people, that they might at least die worthily. The king reassured her, and came down to breakfast in his dressing-gown and slippers, about eleven. Scarcely had the meal began when MM. de Remusat and D'Hauranne entered, and called aside the Duke de Montpensier. The king asked

what was the matter; and learned that the populace and the dragoons were engaged in a conflict within a few paces of the palace. The family rose from table; the king put on his uniform-coat, and got on horseback; and, accompanied by the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, passed in review the troops and national guard stationed in the Place du Carrousel and in the court of the Tuileries. This reception was not very encouraging. There were some cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" but these were mixed with others of "*Vive la Réforme!*" and "*A Bas les Ministres!*" He returned much depressed. At the time he was suffering from a severe attack of influenza. M. Thiers, finding that his name was not sufficient to restore tranquillity, confessed his inability to perform the task he had undertaken; and recommended the king to intrust to M. Odillon Barrot alone the construction of a cabinet. He, too, in vain endeavoured to grasp the helm.

At this time the formalities of a Court were extinguished or overpowered. The king was listening to the advice of his councillors, when the rattle of musketry from the Palais Royal announced the attack on the Château d'Eu. At this moment M. de Girardin, the editor of the *Presse*, opened the door, and rushed towards the king, telling him that the hour was past for change of ministers, and that an abdication was the only chance of saving the monarchy. He also placed before the king a proclamation, to be published over the city, as follows:—"Abdication of the King! Regency of the Duchess of Orleans! Dissolution of the Chamber, and a General Amnesty!" While the king hesitated, the Duke de Montpensier violently urged him to adopt this course.

Generals Bugeaud and Lamoricière rushed to the Palais Royal to stop the slaughter, but in vain; the latter was wounded in the attempt, and returned to announce to the king that the troops were dispirited and fatigued; and that the people were too much excited to listen to reason. The king then wrote—"I abdicate in favour of my grandson, the Count de Paris. I hope he may be more fortunate than I." But he did not declare who was to be regent. The question of the regency presented some difficulties. The natural guardian of the young king was his mother, the Duchess of Orleans; but the duchess was a foreigner, and a Protestant; and the king had previously contrived to have a law passed, declaring, in case of his death during his grandson's minority, that the Duke de Nemours should be regent. Now the duke, though young, brave, and accomplished, was not popular. He was, or supposed to be, devoted to the priests, and entirely under their influence. Hence his name would have been of no avail in calming the excitement of the people. In the meanwhile fresh tumults were heard without, and the king was urged to leave the palace, as his life was in danger. His majesty then took off his uniform, and the queen assisted him to put a black plain coat on, and a round hat. Thus attired, his majesty left the room, followed by the queen, the Duke de Montpensier, and all the royal princesses—the Duchess of Orleans alone remaining, with whom a few parting words were exchanged. The royal fugitives left by the door opening on the gardens. The procession was a melancholy one; the princesses were in front, each carrying a child in her arms. Then came the king, drooping and dejected, supported by the queen, and followed by two ladies of honour, and some other persons—one of whom was M. de Neuilly, the only officer faithful to the last—their route by the spot where Louis XVI. perished. There their progress was arrested by a numerous crowd, and they were compelled to halt. The king withdrew his arm from that of the queen, took off his hat, and addressed a few words to the people, which were not heard. An officer of the 2nd Cuirassiers, seeing the danger, exclaimed—"Gentlemen, it is the king; spare him!" To this one of the crowd replied—"Do you imagine we are assassins? Let him go!" Several others exclaimed—"Let him go!" and two coaches having arrived, in consequence of the exertions of the Duke de Nemours, the royal fugitives entered them, and were driven off in the direction of St. Cloud.

The king got away in the nick of time. Flushed with their victory at the

Château d'Eu, the leaders of the insurgents shouted—"To the Tuileries!" In order that no more blood might be shed, the troops defending the palace were withdrawn, and the insurgents rushed in, mad with excitement. There a messenger was met, with the written abdication of the king, which he was taking to one of the printing-offices, for the purpose of getting it circulated. It was snatched from him by some one, who crushed it after perusing it, and kept the people for some time in ignorance of its contents. Though the Act of Abdication was thus withheld, the following proclamation was soon posted on the walls, only to be torn down, however:—"Citizens of Paris! The king abdicates in favour of the Count de Paris, with the Duchess d'Orleans as Regent! A General Amnesty! A Dissolution of the Chamber! An Appeal to the Country!" This important document bore no signature; and those who would gladly have hailed such a settlement, were at a loss to know whether it were genuine.

The deputies, meanwhile, assembled in the Palace de Bourbon. All sorts of intrigues were going on. Lamartine had been won over to a republic. Odillon Barrot remained firm to a monarchy. The president, M. Sauret, however, took the chair; and thither was borne, by a great crowd of people, the widowed, distracted, and trembling Duchess of Orleans, holding the Count de Paris by the hand, and followed by M. Scheffer, the artist, in the uniform of a national guard, carrying the Count de Chartres, who was ill. Inside the Chamber the scene was perplexing. In vain Dupin suggested the recognition of the Count de Paris as king, and the duchess as regent. The mob invaded the Chamber, and it was with difficulty she and her children were got away; and a provisional government was formed. The list of names was drawn up by Lamartine. It consisted of Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. Each name was received with great applause, and it was difficult to tell who was the most popular. Lamartine tells us that "it approved itself to the instinct of the people, as in it every shade of popular opinion found its representative:" and then the assembly, in a most disorderly manner, repaired to the Hôtel de Ville, where M. Flocon, the editor of the *Réforme;* Armand Marrast, and Bastide, the editors of the *Nationale;* Louis Blanc, and a few other leading republicans, had already met, and where M. Garnier Pagès had already installed himself, having usurped the office of *Maire* of Paris. The first thing the two committees did was to amalgamate and divide office between them. The Presidency of the Council was given to M. Dupont de l'Eure, then eighty years of age; M. Lamartine was made Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Crémieux, of Justice; M. Ledru Rollin, of the Interior; M. Michael Goudchaux (a banker), of Finance; M. François Arago, of Marine; M. Carnot (son of the member of Convention of the same name), of Public Instruction; M. Bethmont, of Commerce; M. Marie, of Public Works; M. le General Bedeau, of War. MM. Armand Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert were appointed secretaries to the government, at first with only consulting voices in the cabinet; but they were soon admitted to deliberato and vote. Such were the principal appointments which Lamartine, in proclamations printed and placarded all over Paris, announced to the people. The republic was soon proclaimed; the officers were the first to come in, and swear fealty to the new government, and rank and file followed the example: order, after a fashion, reigned. About midnight, fatigued, hoarse with much speaking, and with his clothes in rags, Lamartine left the Hôtel de Ville without being observed, and returned home for a few hours' sleep. Overcome with bodily fatigue, he passed the barricades where the popular guards were watching, and eventually reached home, after a day more eventful than it is the lot of most men to see in their lives. Having had three or four hours' sleep, he returned to his post about four o'clock the following morning, to relieve M. Marie, who waited for his return. He appears to have met with certain persons on his way, decorated with red ribbons—writers and theorists, evidently anxious to excite to further violence the working classes.

That night the exiled king and his family slept at Dreux; and there, the next day, they dispersed, to meet again in England—that asylum of the proud foreigner in his dark hour of distress. The king and queen took the names of Mr. and Mrs. William Smith. They were attended by a valet, the king's aide-de-camp, General de Rumigny, and a lady in waiting on the queen. Havre was selected as the port of embarkation. After some delay his majesty and the queen embarked on board an English steamer, which had been sent to cruise off the coast by Lord Palmerston, and were safely landed at Newhaven. From thence they proceeded to Claremont, which the King of the Belgians had assigned for their reception. They were soon after joined by the Duke de Montpensier and his companions, who had found little difficulty in leaving France by the route arranged; and subsequently by the Duchess de Montpensier, and the Duke de Nemours. There was not, in fact, any necessity for the precautions taken, as it afterwards transpired, for the provisional government had authorised Lamartine to provide means for the royal family to quit France.

And thus fell Louis Philippe. Misfortune had not made him wise; success had not made him popular. A little firmness at a critical period would have secured him his throne; and now his children's children are strangers and sojourners on the face of the earth.

For his conduct all through this revolution, France, nay Europe, owes much to Lamartine. The republic was saved from disorder by his acts and eloquence alone. "There was a period," writes Captain Gronow, "when much was expected from Lamartine. Certainly, no one did more for the safety of Paris than he did during the first days of the revolution of 1848. But there was too much poetry in his head for a statesman. He was too much absorbed himself to think of his friends; the consequence was, that he never made up a party to support him—indeed, he always stood aloof from any associations. His *soirées* on Saturday evenings, in the Rue de Universitie, were most agreeable; but were only social: every one sought access to them. They were presided over by Madame Lamartine—a highly accomplished Englishwoman, daughter of Colonel Birch, of Norfolk. She was an amateur artist, and took great delight in sculpture: a bust of her husband, from her chisel, is one of the best likenesses we have of Lamartine. At his *réunions* were to be seen the principal literary and political persons of the day, and all the distinguished artists; but amongst them were no attached friends. Many persons expected that he would be elected the first president of the republic; and this most probably would have been the case, had not Louis Napoleon presented himself; for Lamartine was preferred to Cavaignac. The poet foresaw that the name of Bonaparte would carry everything before it; and was one of those who opposed the admission into France of all who belonged to that family."

The government, installed in office in February, had enormous difficulties to grapple with. At its birth the rabble of Paris consisted of republicans and socialists; and, at that time, Paris was France. Unfortunately, the members of the provisional government were divided amongst themselves. Ledru Rollin and Flocon were ultra-republicans; Louis Blanc and Albert, socialists. There was a cry raised for the adoption of the red flag. Lamartine boldly declared that he would never adopt it. "The tricolour," he said, "had made the tour of the world with the republic and the empire; whilst the red flag had only gone the round of the Champ de Mars, and trailed through the blood of the people." Then was stirred the difficult question of the rights of labour; and that still more perilous one of its organisation.

In March, Lamartine was enabled to take his position as Foreign Secretary. He was very desirous of peace, "deeming offensive war as adverse to the republic itself, and fatal to the nation." But he was without information as to the views of the European powers. He considered, however, that the question of peace or war turned wholly on the disposition of England, as no coalition of the continental

powers was possible unless they were subsidised by England. Lamartine published a manifesto, intended to assure the powers that France was pacific; and it had the desired result. As soon as the National Assembly met, and a permanent government was formed, Lord Palmerston undertook that diplomatic relations should be resumed; and in the meantime Lord Normanby remained at Paris.

Lord Normanby was, at this time, in the zenith of his fame and fortune as a lucky Whig. When his party came into power (1830), he was appointed Governor-general of Jamaica. On his return thence to England, he filled the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, under very difficult circumstances, and at a period of great importance, with general applause. His pleasing and conciliating manners made him a general favourite; and the viceregal court, during his stay, was a very brilliant one. He afterwards became Secretary of State; and, in 1847, ambassador at Paris. He conducted himself with considerable tact, and showed a certain amount of ability during the latter part of the reign of Louis Philippe. On the establishment of the republic, he had the good sense to keep quiet, and to remain on friendly terms with the various successors of office. "But," writes Captain Gronow, "I do not think he conducted his relations with the present emperor in a very adroit manner. He misjudged the prince's capacity and character, and assumed rather a protecting tone with him; and when the *coup-d'état* took place, he did not believe that Lord Palmerston would, with his usual decision and foresight, recognise Louis Napoleon as emperor immediately the choice of the French nation became known. Lord Normanby afterwards engaged in intrigues against his chief at the Foreign Office; and the latter period of his embassy was not a very satisfactory one, either to himself or to his admirers." On his resignation, and after an attack of paralysis, he was appointed minister to Florence; and when dismissed by Lord Malmesbury, he immediately returned to England, and, to the astonishment of all his old friends, became a bitter Tory.

"Let us hope," adds the captain we have already quoted, "that this extraordinary change, both in the opinions and feelings of so generally popular and amiable a man, was the effect of disease, and attributable to the severe attack of illness from which he had suffered for several years before his death. He was the man of all others who should not have left the Liberal party. He was the spoiled child of the Whigs, and had received from them every great appointment and every distinction which it was in their power to give. He was made a marquis, a Grand Cross of the Bath, and a Knight of the Garter. I remember, *apropos* of this, that when Lord Melbourne was minister, Edward Ellice and the Premier were looking one morning from the windows of the First Lord's residence in Downing Street, and saw Lord Normanby approaching. On Mr. Ellice inquiring what he could be coming for, Lord Melbourne said, in his off-hand manner, 'I don't know what the devil the fellow can want, unless he comes to ask for a second garter for his other leg.' As a minister and diplomatist he was certainly most courteous and agreeable. He was a fluent and ready speaker, and wrote with ease and elegance." When in Dublin he was much beloved by all around him, for he was a thorough good-natured man. Had he not taken to politics, he would have achieved great success as a literary man. His two novels, *Matilda*, and *Yes and No*, were worthy of the popularity they once enjoyed. Besides his literary acquirements, he had a remarkable talent for acting; and his theatre at Florence, some forty years ago, might have vied with many of the best establishments in London or in Paris.

We must return to France, where, by this time, the provisional government trusted it had surmounted most of its difficulties. Writing in March, in far too sanguine a spirit, Lamartine says—"The scaffold was abolished; prisons were opened only to receive malefactors; laws were respected—even laws of taxation were implicitly obeyed by a suffering people. Honour and conscience superseded law and the spirit of conquest. War, that natural allurement to French genius, was repressed by the hand of philosophy. The inspiration of God, throughout a nation, was seen and felt. This state of things would have continued indefinitely,

had not the inspiration of reason, truth, and practical fraternity been disturbed, in the very heart of the government itself, by less favourable influences." These less favourable influences were the red republicans and the socialists, represented in the government by Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, and by means of various clubs, always a disturbing power. *Emeutes*, more or less violent, were of constant occurrence. The embarrassments of the government were increased at this period by the movements of the foreign refugees, who were, in fact, conspirators and revolutionists. Belgians, Poles, Italians, and Irish all sought to interest the provisional government and the people of France in their favour. They received no encouragement from the former as a body; but the latter, through the clubs, were led to countenance schemes and acts which threatened to involve the republic in war.

At length it was hoped the republic was saved. The elections took place on Easter Sunday; and, in spite of all the exertions of Ledru Rollin and his emissaries, the ultra-republicans were defeated. The moderate members of the provisional government were glad when the day came for them to lay down the powers they had wielded since the 24th of February. In that period, besides the various acts, they had abolished the oaths of political allegiance. There had, in the last few years, been so many changes of government, and officials, civil and military, had so frequently to swear to obey different parties, that oaths had, in France, become a scandal and a disgrace, and people were ashamed of them. When Talleyrand vowed fidelity to Louis Philippe, he said—"This is the thirteenth oath I have taken; and I hope it will be the last." Under such circumstances the provisional government thought it advisable to abolish the custom. They decreed the abolition of slavery in the colonies, provided the National Assembly would vote the planters a proper indemnity. They abolished titles of nobility, and imprisonment for debt; and ordered all persons then in prison to be liberated: proclaimed total freedom of religious worship; and made the magistrates' appointments revokable for misbehaviour. They had also incorporated the *garde mobile;* reorganised the national guard; and raised the effective strength of the army to 348,000 men, the number fit for service on the 1st of May. They had deserved well of their country; and their subsequent unpopularity was, in reality, a disgrace to France.

On the 4th of May, the National Assembly met; the republic was proclaimed; and a new ministry formed. Walewski pressed the claims of Poland; and the red republicans invaded the sittings of the assembly, and nearly succeeded in forming another provisional government.

On the 4th of June an election took place, which, in its results, was very momentous. On that day Louis Napoleon was elected for the department of the Seine. Already this prince had placed himself before his countrymen. As soon as he had heard of the events of February the 24th, he left England for Paris, where he arrived on the 28th. The sentence of banishment against his family had not been abrogated; but, in 1847, Louis Philippe had permitted Prince Jerome to return to France, and his nephew thought that there would be no objection to his again visiting his native country. As soon as he reached Paris, he announced his arrival to the provisional government.

"Gentlemen, the people of Paris having destroyed, by their heroism, the last vestige of foreign invasion, I hastened from the land of exile to enlist myself under the banners of the republic which has just been proclaimed. With no other ambition than that of serving my country, I beg to make the members of the provisional government aware of my arrival; and I request them to be assured both of my devotion to the cause they represent, and of my personal sympathy for them.—LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

In the then disordered state of France, the provisional government requested the prince to return to London; which he immediately did.

In June, the time had come for him to appear upon the scene.

The election of Louis Napoleon gave rise to a long debate in the assembly. A

bitter debate ensued on the question introduced by Lamartine on the 10th of June, as to whether the proscription against him should be maintained. Three relatives of the proscribed, MM. Jerome, Pièrre, and Napoleon Bonaparte, had already seats in that assembly; and they argued very earnestly for the restoration of the rights of their cousin. In the course of their speeches they ridiculed the idea of the revival of the empire; describing it as a mere chimera—asking, who wished for it? and declaring that it could never be revived. Louis Blanc spoke on the same side of the question, and was answered by Ledru Rollin. Ultimately the proscription was removed, and Louis Napoleon resigned his seat, "since involuntarily he favoured disorder." Tranquillity, he trusted, would now be restored, "and enable him to return to France as the humblest of her citizens."

A more imminent danger than Bonapartism stared the young republic in the face. The National Assembly bore, with impatience, the expense of the *Ateliers Nationaux*. It was enough to submit to the factious spirit of those bodies; but it was too much to pay them for keeping on foot an organised insurrection, ever ready to break out, and deluge the capital in blood. The government resolved to close the lists, and get rid of these disturbers of the peace: the latter resolved to fight; but this time they had to deal with a man who was determined to maintain order, even if it came to fighting. That man was General Cavaignac, who had been sent for from Paris; and was Minister of War, and commander of the troops. The insurgents had made every preparation; they were well armed, and well organised. When Cavaignac became aware, early on the morning of the 23rd of June, of what was going on, he issued a proclamation, summoning the insurgents to disperse; stating, that "if at noon the barricades were not removed, mortars and howitzers would be brought, by which shells would be thrown that would explode behind the barricades, and in the houses occupied by the insurgents." The fighting began on that day, and continued till the following Monday. On Saturday, the National Assembly, by an almost unanimous vote, declared Paris in a state of siege, and conferred the office of dictator on General Cavaignac. The victory was dearly bought; 8,000 were ascertained to have been killed or wounded; and as many bodies were thrown into the Seine unrecognised, this is under the number: nearly 14,000 prisoners were taken; and 3,000 of these died of gaol fever. Of eleven generals who commanded, one (General Brea) was murdered in cold blood by the insurgents, with whom he had gone to treat under a flag of truce. General Negrier was killed; Generals Duvivier, Dameine, Korte, Lafontaine, and Fouché, were wounded mortally; Lamoricière, Lebreton, and Perrot alone escaped unhurt. Bedeau, who was wounded, recovered.

Nor was it military men alone who fell. M. Bixio, a member of the assembly, who had endeavoured to bring the insurgents to reason by expostulation, was severely wounded; and two others died of the wounds they received in the same service. The excellent Archbishop of Paris, Denis Auguste Affre, fell a sacrifice to his Christian benevolence. Horrified at the slaughter, he, attended by two of his vicars, carrying the olive-branch of peace, passed between the combatants. The firing ceased at his appearance; but from the discharge of a single musket it began: he, nevertheless, mounted the barricades; then descended into the midst of the insurgents; and was in the act of addressing them, when some patriot, fearing the effect of his exhortations, shot at him from a window. The shot must have been aimed at him, and not at the troops, for he was on the inside of the barricade. The ball struck him in the groin: the two vicars escaped unhurt; but his servant was killed on the same barricade. The archbishop lingered till the 27th, when he expired.

The most ferocious cruelties were practised by the insurgents. The boys of the *garde mobile* were the especial objects of their rage; and the mutilated corpses of those they had taken prisoners were found after the victory. As usual in savage acts, the women were worse than the men. One boasted she had cut off, with a knife, the heads of five officers of the *garde mobile:* others threw

vitriol from the windows upon the troops. After carrying a barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the 48th regiment made a number of prisoners. One of them was resisting, and they were about to put him to death. Colonel Reynault came forward, and saved him; when the wretch, saying "Thank you, colonel," shot him dead on the spot. Such conduct, on the part of the rebels, enraged the *garde mobile* and the national guard to such an extent that they were with difficulty persuaded to give quarter: in many instances they shot the prisoners a dozen at a time. Sentinels were posted, within hail, along the streets, over the whole of Paris, many of whom were assassinated at their post; others were killed by poisoned wine.

The rebellion suppressed, the assembly invested Cavaignac with the Presidency of the Council, and the power to form his own ministry.

In September, Louis Napoleon took his seat as a member of the National Assembly. More than once he had refused the honour; but now, elected for five departments, being returned at the head of the poll for each, he chose to take his seat for that of Seine, which had elected him twice. To the surprise of all, Louis Napoleon arrived in Paris, and took his seat very quietly. A fortnight after, the assembly formally voted the abolition of the 6th clause of the law of April 10th, 1832, by which the Bonaparte family was banished from France. And now came the finishing of the constitution, which was declared to be that of a republic; and of the election of a president.

The contest lay chiefly between General Cavaignac and the Prince Louis Napoleon. The latter was elected by an immense majority. The total number of votes was 7,449,471: of that number, 5,534,520 were recorded for him. The country was dissatisfied with the republic, and voted for the prince. What mainly exasperated the people was, the addition of 45 per cent. to the taxes, by the provisional government, during the first week of the revolution.

The new president was very suddenly installed in office. The government had heard rumours of Bonapartist plots to seize the president elect on his way to the assembly, and to carry him to the Tuileries, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" To avoid so sudden a termination of the republic, a report was spread that the installation would not take place for some days; and Paris was only informed by the cannon of the Invalides, on the 20th of December, that the ceremony was completed. On that day the new president took the following oath:—"In the presence of God, and before the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the constitution." As he came down he passed the bench where General Cavaignac was sitting, whom he shook warmly by the hand, amid great cheers; he was then conducted from the assembly to the Elysée Bourbon, which was to be his residence during his four years' continuance in office. In the evening the new ministry was gazetted; of whom Odillon Barrot was the chief.

On the 24th, a grand military spectacle was prepared, to delight the citizens; and the national guard was mustered, in order to give brilliancy to the scene. The president appeared in the uniform of a general of the national guard, and wore the star of the Legion of Honour—an order which the republic had resolved not to abolish. He was greeted with cries of "*Vive Napoleon!*" In passing before the statue in the Place Vendôme, he reined up his horse, and inclined his head before the column. The crowd rent the air with its shouts of applause, for not a human creature there was silent. The president's reception was enthusiastic. Jerome Bonaparte, ex-king of Westphalia, witnessed the review from a window of the Minister of Marine, while his son Napoleon took a part in it as a common soldier of the fourth legion of the national guard.

A few weeks later, M. Drouyn de l'Huys refused to recognise the constituent assembly sitting at Rome, and by no means countenanced its acts. M. Ledru Rollin said that the Roman assembly was elected by universal suffrage, and was just as respectable as the one he was addressing—a statement at which the assem-

bly laughed. Great was the astonishment of Europe when, on the motion of M. Odillon Barrot, the Chamber, after a stormy discussion, decided on sending to Rome an expeditionary corps, for the purpose of upsetting the Roman republic, and restoring the pope. Reaction had, indeed, set in with an irresistible tide. This was an event which, a year before, no one would have expected.

Let us now glance briefly at Italian affairs. Italy has ever been the scene of disorder. An iron tyranny has wasted that fair land as effectually as the sword of the conqueror. Against it, its youth and intelligence have valiantly struggled, till lately, in vain. Italy has gained notoriety for plots and secret societies; and, every now and then, a few of its youth have nobly risen, and nobly died; but the reign of might and brute force has remained undisturbed. The blood of the martyrs, in time, regenerated the land.

In the year 1831, Giuseppe Mazzini, a young Genoese, had dedicated a book to Charles Albert, the new King of Piedmont, calling on him to regenerate Italy, and to expel the Austrians. However, he fell under the suspicion of plotting, and was compelled to go into exile. He was educated for the law at the University of Genoa, where his father was a medical professor; but he resolved to do what he could to awaken his fellow-men to political life. The Italian governments, lately troubled by Carbonarism, were then united in a league against Liberal opinions. Mazzini was no Carbonaro: he hated secret societies; but the authorities had determined to allow him no voice. He then took up his residence at Marseilles, where he became the founder of *La Giovine Italia*, and conducted the journal of that name, devoted to the cause of unity and independence of Italy, and a republican form of government.

Louis Philippe did not allow Mazzini to remain long in France; and, on the application of the Sardinian ambassador, he was ordered to quit the French territory. For nearly twelve months he succeeded in evading the vigilance of the police; during the whole of which time he never went out, except upon two occasions in disguise; and brought out his journal, which was easily distributed from Marseilles into Italy. He was at length obliged to fly to Switzerland. There he organised the expedition into Savoy, which failed through Ramorino, to whom the military command was given. Mazzini was now arrested by court-martial, and sentenced to imprisonment in the fortress of Savone, where he was incarcerated for six months, and then released upon his promise not to reappear in the Sardinian states. In 1844, after a silence broken only occasionally by an article in the English newspapers or magazines, he established, in London, a journal called *Apostalato Populare*. In 1846, his name was brought prominently before the British public, in consequence of the disclosure of a practice of opening the letters of refugees in the London post-office by the British government, at the request of foreign ambassadors. During these years of exile, Mazzini was a resident in the British metropolis, and supported himself by his contributions to the leading journals and reviews. Upon the outbreak of the French revolution of 1848, Mazzini conceived that Paris was the proper centre of action, and accordingly he went thither. He returned to England for a short time; and then, Lombardy having risen against the Austrians, he repaired to Milan, where he set up a paper called *L'Italia del Populo*.

Charles Albert, the King of Piedmont, though, of late years, he had not given signs of the Liberal opinions he had once professed, was at this time, in the opinion of many, doing his best, under the circumstances, to improve the country committed to his care. He had established schools; given it a reasonable code of laws; had encouraged the formation of an agricultural society; had got his finances into respectable order; had increased his army and navy; and had obtained the cordial ill-will of Austria. It was expected that, as he got firmer in his seat, he would proceed to greater advances. He had lately allowed the publication of the books of Gioberti and Balbo, and their circulation in his dominions; and was considered to favour their doctrines.

The year 1847 opened auspiciously in Italy. Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont had been remodelled, and required only time to consolidate their new institutions, and acquire the capacity for more ample concessions.

In 1848, the Sicilians appealed to arms. Ferdinand II., of Naples, was deaf to their entreaties and prayers. From Piedmont came the last endeavour to bend the will of the besotted monarch, who relied more on Austria than on the affection of his people. A petition was presented to him, signed by Count Balbo, the Marquis Azeglio, Count Cavour, Silvio Pellico, and other leading men of the same party, beseeching him to follow the example of Pius IX., Leopold II., and Charles Albert; and not to be the cause that the revival of Italy, so wonderfully and peaceably commenced, should even transgress the limits of moderation. By way of answer to this appeal, the official *Gazette* published a lengthy enumeration of all the existing liberties and privileges secured to the Neapolitan subjects by their admirable legislature; demonstrating that, in many respects, these were more extensive than the reforms conceded by the Liberal states. The mockery of these assertions inflamed dissatisfaction and discontent. Weary of supplication, mistrusting the sovereign from whom they sued as a boon what his father had sworn should be theirs, the Sicilians determined on a final venture, at the point of the sword, to regain their violated rights and constitution. While the Neapolitans still clamoured for redress at the foot of the throne, on the 12th of January the standard of revolt was unfurled at Palermo. Never before was a revolution began with so much dignity and calmness. Destitute of arms, of soldiers, of all external aid, and menaced by a strong garrison, the citizens of Palermo, nevertheless, seemed to invite their oppressors to a conflict, in which they scorned the advantage of taking them by surprise. It was announced three days previously by hand-bills. At first it had a success unlooked-for and dazzling: the Neapolitan Court was alarmed; and, in haste and terror, some concessions were promulgated, which would have been received with transport a few days earlier, but were now ineffectual to allay the ferment in the capital, far less to satisfy the Sicilians. The angry cry, "It is too late," met this tardy acknowledgment of an injured people's claims; and the king, sensible that the hour of postponement had gone by, suddenly exchanged his position of moody defiance in the rear of Italian progress, for a place in its van by the proclamation of a constitution.

Ten days only had elapsed since the cannons of St. Elmo announced to the Neapolitans the gift of a constitution, ere Turin rang with the grateful applause of a people loyal from traditional sympathies and principle, to whom, in the simple language of his manifesto, "their king did not hesitate to offer the strongest proof of his confidence in their devotedness and moderation, by publishing the statutes of a representative government." This was the Rubicon of Charles Albert's destiny; nor was it passed without profound emotion. He was conscious that he was despoiling not only himself, but his descendants, of well nigh all that, as an absolute sovereign, he had been taught to hold sacred and inalienable: but the decisive step once taken, his conduct, thenceforward, assumed a boldness and decision unknown in his previous career. The natural struggles of expiring authority in the monarch, were, in his case, evidences of sincerity in the man.

A few days later, the Tuscans, in their turn, obtained a constitution. It now only remained to satisfy the Romans. But the pope was no longer so yielding as of yore. He was awakened to the perception that the part of a liberal prince was incompatible with the duties of supreme pontiff: his conscience grew alarmed; and the scruples and misgivings which the reactionaries had long been labouring to insinuate, seemed, at length, to have taken root and acquired development. In the demand for a representative government, he foresaw the subversion of Roman Catholicism. To conform the ecclesiastical policy of Rome to the same laws as regulated the government of secular states, was tantamount to levelling the sacred fabric, which each successive pope was bound to maintain unchanged and unimpaired. No sooner was the hesitation of Pius divulged, than popular ex-

citement became manifest. The Romans, unused to denial, were with difficulty restrained from openly menacing those cardinals to whose influence his present reluctance to meet their demands was ascribed. The struggle was severe in the holy father's mind. The foes of progress did all they could to terrify; its friends were equally active. The opinions of living theologians were quoted, and the pages of the fathers ransacked. The pope listened, assented, but yet procrastinated, until the intelligence of the revolution at Paris finally turned the scale. The imperious necessity of concession could be no longer ignored; and, under the presidency of Cardinal Antonelli, as conspicuous then in his advocacy of reform as he shortly after became in his devotion to absolutism, the statutes of the Roman constitution were compiled. It was the last bloodless triumph of progress—the last step upon the path the pope had been the first to trace, and which he was to be the first to abandon. The rejoicings, and music, and acclamations of the 8th of March might well be remembered by the pontiff and his people; for the days of such ovations were now numbered; and the star of Pius IX. had reached—as Mr. Gretton, in his *Vicissitudes of Italy*, observes—its zenith.

The war of Italian independence was the result of the proclamation of the French republic. The Italian people seemed of one heart and mind. The jealousies of ages were forgotten in the unanimous resolve to shake off the hated yoke of Austria. Professors, nobles, physicians, artists, poets, the wealthy and the poor, the peasant and the prince, all hastened to enrol themselves in the volunteer battalions, designed to act under the orders of Charles Albert, universally recognised as the national champion and leader. Nor were the Italian sovereigns apparently backward in seconding the popular enthusiasm. Twenty thousand of his choicest troops were despatched to the seat of war by the King of Naples, as his military contingent; and a fleet received orders to repair to Venice, which had petitioned him for naval succours. The Grand Duke of Tuscany also bore his part in the campaign; while the pope, in giving his benediction from the balcony of the Quirinal to the departing Roman volunteers, conferred more support to the cause than 100,000 volunteers could have furnished. Not only Italy, but Austria believed that he had thus formally sanctioned the war of liberation.

Marshal Radetzky, with 10,000 men, retreated from Milan. Venice, and the duchies of Modena and Parma, were successfully insurgent. The Ticino was passed by Charles Albert; and, on the 30th of May, the battle of Goito was fought, and the fortress of Peschiera was surrendered. Everything seemed to bid fair for Italian independence. Vienna was actually prepared to surrender Lombardy. Flushed with success, unaccustomed to liberty, the Italians became divided; and the enemy won back all he had lost. The Mazzinians intrigued for a republic: the pope drew back. In his famous encyclical letter of the 29th of April, he declared that he had for some time observed his name used as a pretext for an enterprise he never contemplated; having had no design beyond that of securing to the state a better internal administration. Nevertheless, to obstinate disturbances or bloodshed he had hitherto abstained from interference; but now that it was sought to thrust him into an unjust and hurtful war, contrary to his position as chief of a religion which inculcates universal peace, and obliged him to recognise all nations as equally his children, his duty and his inclination alike forbade him to keep silence. Declaring himself, moreover, solemnly opposed to the departure of the pontifical subjects from Rome, he had "only consented thereto, as likewise to their proceeding to the confines of the Po, from inability to restrain the popular commotion—similar, in this, to other Italian princes, who had also been unable to prevent their subjects from hastening to the war."

This declaration was as unexpected as it was disastrous. All Italy felt the shock. It divested the war of its sacred character; it shook the confidence of the devout; it authorised the backsliding of the timid. At this time, also, the Neapolitan troops were recalled; and another blow was aimed at the cause of which Charles Albert was the leader, at any rate, on the battle-field.

Our rapid glance at Italian history becomes now mournful in the extreme.

The Sicilian revolution was still struggling on. At length, Ferdinand, alarmed by the French revolution, agreed to terms. Lord Minto received his authority to concede all he might judge expedient, and hastened to Palermo. There he sanctioned the *ultimatum* drawn up by the general committee; and, having pledged himself that within three days it should receive the king's signature, departed amid the plaudits of a grateful people. But the English statesman either exceeded his discretionary powers, or was the dupe of Ferdinand. The promised ratification never came. Lord Minto saw that his mission was at an end, and quitted Naples. The Sicilians, on the receipt of this intelligence, without a dissentient voice, declared the forfeiture, by the Bourbons, of all claims to the throne of Sicily; and relying upon Lord Palmerston's support, proceeded to the election of a king. After the breaking off of the mediation was known in London, Lord Palmerston observed to the Neapolitan ambassador—"If there be any moral obligation resting upon England in this matter, it would be in favour of the constitution of 1812, which was established in Sicily under British influence." To confirm the Sicilians in their false security, the presence of an English squadron, during the early summer months, restrained the king from commencing hostilities against them. It was well known, that when he had renounced his engagements in Lombardy, Ferdinand prepared an expedition for the reduction of Sicily; and it was equally notorious that the British admiral (Sir William Parker) had positive orders not to permit its departure.

In Naples the terrible 15th of May arrived. Fearful of their king, the people had been forced into insurrection. Its dawn found them and the soldiers drawn up in battle array, facing each other with arms in their hands. The ministers, uncertain and terrified, presented a deplorable spectacle. They supplicated the king to give the order for the withdrawal of the troops. He is reported to have promised to do so on the removal of a single barricade; but the citizens dared not trust his word: and then commenced the murderous fray. Not above 500 are computed to have been engaged on the side of the insurgents; the less violent having dispersed at the prayers of the deputies; and the hired instigators to revolt having also withdrawn when their task was done. The soldiers and the Lazzaroni carried all before them; shops were burnt; open houses ransacked; the rich murdered in their beds; the wounded hurled from the windows; babes torn from their mothers, and thrown into wells. In vain did the ministers beseech the king to send orders to the military to desist. His reply was, in Latin, "It is too late." It is also said, that when the cannonading commenced, he remarked—"At least, I have a demonstration in my turn." Upwards of 1,000 persons, at a moderate computation, perished in this day's slaughter.

At this very moment, Charles Albert, unfortunately, committed the greatest military oversight of the campaign. Instead of pursuing, closely, Radetzky from Goito, he allowed him to retire in good order upon Mantua; whence, rallying his troops with admirable celerity, he marched upon Vicenza, garrisoned by Durando and the 9,000 Romans who had not obeyed the injunctions of the encyclical. The possession of this city was the key to the whole of the Venetian provinces, and opened all the communication with Austria. Nugent had been gallantly repulsed in his first attack; and the king, not counting on Radetzky's advance, imagined Durando could still hold his own, and took no steps to assist him. Invested by 40,000 men, and 110 pieces of cannon, after a resistance highly honourable to its defenders, Vicenza capitulated on the 10th of June. The high road to Venice was now free to the imperialists; and, soon shut up in her vast lagoons, the Queen of the Adriatic saw her land approaches closely invested.

This was a mistake which injured fatally Charles Albert's reputation. It was hinted that national honour was sacrificed to the aggrandisement of the House of Savoy. "The revelations of succeeding years have furnished," writes Mr. Gretton, "a positive contradiction to this charge. Austria was in a distracted state. Lord

Palmerston appeared to view her circumstances in the most unfavourable light. Instead of using his influence to obtain acceptance of her proposals, he stipulated for a renunciation of Venetian territory—thus fostering the presumption of the Italians, and giving their adversaries opportunity to reap the full benefit of their follies and internal divisions. Austria thus succeeded in gaining time; and the energies of the Italians, meanwhile, flittered away in the novelty, to them, of free and unfettered parliamentary debates."

Sicily was still wrapped in her fatal security. On the 10th of July, the parliament elected the Duke of Genoa to the throne. The announcement was responded to by the cannons of the French and English ships of war, stationed in the harbour of Palermo; and this was construed, by the Sicilians, into an unmistakable assurance of the support of both governments. In the midst of universal rejoicing, a deputation sailed for Genoa, to convey to the young prince the offer of the crown. But they had scarcely reached the head-quarters of Charles Albert, ere his army was overtaken by reverses, which involved Italy and the Sicilians in one common ruin.

Radetzky judged that the decisive moment had arrived. He had with him, at Verona, 100,000 troops in a perfect state of discipline and equipment. At Custozza, after three days' fighting, he came up with Charles Albert, who had then but 20,000 with which to oppose 55,000. After a fierce fight of eleven hours the royal troops were beaten. Closely pursued, contesting the ground inch by inch, Charles Albert had made his way to the capital of Lombardy, determined here to make a last stand; but one day's despairing conflict outside the ramparts, where no more than fourteen or fifteen volunteers from the city joined him, and food and ammunition were alike failing, convinced the king of the impracticability of prolonged resistance. When it was known that, to spare the inhabitants the horrors of an assault, an armistice had been agreed to, by which the remains of the Piedmontese army were suffered to retire across the Ticino into their own country, an infuriated rabble surrounded the Palazzo Grepi, where he had fixed his quarters, and denounced him as their betrayer with frightful execrations. On foot, at midnight, surrounded by his soldiers to protect him from the violence of the populace, the king quitted Milan. The next day (August 6th) the Austrians entered once more, to restore order under their own rule.

The bombardment of Messina soon followed. The unexpected rout of Charles Albert produced a sudden change in the policy of the English government towards Sicily. Lord Palmerston had not calculated on such a contingency when he advocated the election of the Duke of Genoa, and prevented the departure of King Ferdinand's expedition. Heavily fell the avenging sword. It was not till after three days of flame, pillage, and massacre had inaugurated the royal victory—not till after three miles' extent of buildings had been burned down, that the commanders of the French and English ships of war in the harbour remonstrated. Diplomacy then stepped in. An armistice was proposed to the king by England and France, which secured for the rest of the island a few months' respite, and once more renewed in the Sicilians hopes that they were not to be wholly abandoned.

The next notable event is the assassination of Count Rossi at Rome, and the flight of the pope. Rossi, an Italian by birth, but trained in diplomacy under Guizot, accepted the leadership of the Roman cabinet with the firm resolution of stemming the popular encroachments, and giving constitutional government a dispassionate trial. Possessed of the pope's entire favour and confidence, he was the only man by whom such an experiment could be fairly tested. The moderate Liberals were sanguine as to the results of his energy and firmness; while the Mazzinians saw in him an uncompromising foe. A cry was raised that he was plotting to bring back the old order of things, and had leagued himself with Austria and the King of Naples. Confident of the purity of his intentions, Rossi held on his course, and sneered at the warnings of impending danger. He

had been barely two months in office, when, on the 15th of November, as he was proceeding to the Chamber of Deputies, he received his death-blow on the steps of the Capitol, from an undiscovered hand. The mob rejoiced; the pope was in despair. At the dictation of the former a new cabinet was formed; but not until a cannon had been planted at the pontiff's gate, and a prelate of his household killed by a musket-shot. Terrified, he fled to Gaëta, to be the vassal of Ferdinand of Naples, and the tool of Austrian diplomacy.

Captain Gronow thus describes the flight:—"The golden tints of an Italian sunset had faded into that brief twilight which heralds darkness, when a female, dressed in humble attire, was admitted to the garden of the Vatican by a gentleman in the confidence of the pope. Neither of the persons spoke as they made their way to a portion of the palace not generally inhabited. On arriving at the foot of a dark and narrow staircase, the gentleman took from his pocket one of those little knots of twisted wax-taper which the Italians carry about with them, and lighted it there. Without uttering a word he beckoned the lady to follow him, and proceeded up the narrow stone staircase, which, after many windings, led to a door, at which three raps were given by the mysterious guide. Almost immediately the door was opened by Pio Nono himself; and the guide, making way for the lady, retired. This was Madame Dodwell, one of the most beautiful women of her time. She was the widow of an Englishman, though a Roman by birth, and married, *en seconde noces*, to the Bavarian minister; and she had come to the Vatican in order to arrange the clandestine flight of the pontiff from Rome.

"His holiness appeared to have lost all presence of mind, and trembled as he took the lady by the hand, and, gazing earnestly in her still beautiful face, said—'I look to you, madam, for arranging all details. I have the utmost confidence in your discretion, and I know the firmness of your character.' The lady replied—'Has any plan of escape suggested itself to your holiness?' 'Yes,' said the pontiff, in a low voice, 'I think the best thing I can do is to put on the gown of an ordinary priest, and, at daybreak to-morrow morning, walk out of the gates which conduct to the Fondi road. You, madam, in your carriage, will have preceded me; and, waiting at a convenient distance, you will take me up. I have made arrangements with my good and faithful friend Ferdinand, King of Naples, for a safe retreat at Gaëta; and I have no doubt that you, with your passport as ambassadress of Bavaria, can pass the customs' authorities with little or no difficulty.' 'Holy father,' replied the lady, pressing the pontiff's hand, 'the scheme seems to me in every way satisfactory. I shall bring with me a confidential servant—a clever coachman, willing to brave any danger.' The pope rose, and, bestowing his blessing on the lady, ushered her to the door, adding—'I retire to pass the night in prayer.' 'I shall be one mile from the gate on the Fondi road,' said the lady in a whisper, 'by four o'clock to-morrow morning.'

"At that hour a carriage might have been seen in the bend of the road which leads to Naples. On the box-seat, beside the coachman, sat a female, dressed as a domestic servant, who anxiously gazed around while awaiting the arrival of the pope. She did not wait long before she beheld approaching a thick-set and somewhat corpulent priest, who advanced towards the carriage with a rapid step, and covered with dust. In a few minutes Pio Nono was seated in the carriage with the ambassadress, and the horses were whipped into a gallop, and did not halt until they reached the small custom-house of Fondi.

"It was now ten o'clock, and they were immediately surrounded by the custom-house officers, who demanded their passports. The chief official, looking into the carriage, observed—'I do not find on your passport the name of the priest who accompanies your excellency.' 'Oh,' replied the lady, 'he is only my confessor.' Unfortunately, the priest showed signs of uneasiness and alarm, which excited the suspicion of the officer, who said—'In these times our orders are very strict, and I cannot permit the *padre confessore* to pass. I must beg him to descend, and shall be obliged to detain him until I get permission from Rome

for his release.' The pope, hearing this, was in a great state of excitement; he caught hold of the man's hand, and whispered in his ear—'*Caro amico*, you don't know who I am. I am your sovereign and father, Pius IX.' Whereupon the officer turned round to a little group of persons who had collected, and exclaimed—'Per Baccho! here's a fellow who calls himself our pope!' The crowd peered into the carriage, and indulged in a volley of ribaldry, evidently not believing in the identity of the sovereign pontiff. Matters were becoming serious, when the pope placed a bag of gold coin in the hands of the officials, whilst the ambassadress threw handsful of scudi to the mob. A loud cheer was raised by all present, and in a few minutes the carriage was going at full speed, without fear of pursuit, on the road to Gaëta."

And now a dark cloud settles down on Italy. Her noblest sons write, and live, and die in vain. The interest centres in Florence, which has become a very hotbed of sedition and extravagance. A democratic ministry had been forced, by the usual expedients of tumultuous gatherings and manifestations, upon the reluctant grand duke. The popular outcry was now for the Italian constituent assembly, and the ministers stood pledged to secure its establishment. The plan of this national convention originated with the ardent Montanelli, fostered by the still more fiery Guerazzi, his colleague in popularity and power. The first was an eminent professor of the University of Pisa, who, wounded and taken prisoner in the campaign of 1848, had recently been restored by the Austrians to his country. The latter, a lawyer and writer of no mean repute, had long been an object of uneasiness, from the avowed republicanism of his opinions. Impatient to bring the Romans into the league, Montanelli had no sooner learned the flight of the pope, than he despatched public as well as private agents thither. Mamiani at Rome, Gioberti at Turin, gave in a modified adhesion. It was in vain. At Gaëta the only aim was to drive the Romans into rebellion—the very thing which the ardent Mazzinians desired. In the meanwhile the Grand Duke of Tuscany fled also to Gaëta. At Florence, the complications of the cause were still further increased by the arrival of Mazzini. Gioberti's retirement from the Piedmontese cabinet closely followed these events in Tuscany; and Piedmont, thrown into the hands of a democratic ministry, hung on the brink of ruin. As a test of his sincerity, and to clear himself from the hateful charge of treason towards Italy, which had darkened his early life, and was now revived to embitter its close, the king was adjured to cast aside all reliance on the hollow mediation of the two western powers, and abide the issue of a second appeal to arms. He had no alternative but to obey. The clericals trusted to see him beaten, and Radetzky come. The Mazzinians calculated on a second overthrow of the royal armies to usher in a popular war; "when the people, rising as one man, would infallibly drive the imperialists beyond the Alps, and proclaim the Italian republic one and undivided."

And thus Charles Albert got together a force of 135,000 men, for one more throw.

With rare modesty he declined to lead this army himself, and accepted Chzzanowsky, a Polish general. The choice was unfortunate; still more was that of Ramorino, an Italian by birth: he had taken part in the Polish war, and subsequently joining the *Grovine Italia*, led one of Mazzini's abortive expeditions to revolutionise Savoy. Well might the old Austrian field-marshal feel secure of success. The most important pass of the Ticino—the boundary river—had been confided to Ramorino. In direct violation of Chzzanowsky's orders, he left it undefended, and the Austrians entered Piedmont with a facility even incredible to themselves. Bewildered at this intelligence, the royal troops were hastily concentrated at Novara. After partial engagements the two previous days, on the 23rd of March was fought the decisive battle. In spite of the bravery of Charles Albert and his sons, the defeat was crushing and entire.

In vain the king sought a soldier's grave. Conspicuous by his tall figure and

undaunted bearing wherever danger most abounded, he was forced by his attendant from the field. "Let me die," he is said to have exclaimed; "this is my last day." A council was hastily held; and as the demoralised condition of the troops precluded all possibility of bringing them again to face the enemy, an armistice was demanded. Radetzky's arrogant conditions were at once pronounced inadmissible. Then it was that, believing personal animosity towards himself had a share in the conqueror's severity, the king resolved to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, the Duke of Savoy—now Victor Emmanuel. This done, he retired to Oporto, where, in three months, he died of a broken heart.

The victory of Radetzky, under the name of restoration, opened the floodgates of indiscriminate revenge. In Florence alone was the re-establishment of legitimate authority effected without bloodshed, and by its own citizens. Guerazzi proposed the grand duke's return, and his reward was seven years' imprisonment. Thirty thousand men, under Marshal Haynau, marched against Venice. Under the patriotic Manin, the defence, in spite of starvation, and cholera, and bombardments, was prolonged four months. Bologna was reduced to obedience after a spirited defence of ten days. Ancona, which had disgraced itself by its system of assassinations, held out four weeks. Rome remained still free and republican. In concert with the movements of the Austrians along the Adriatic, the French had timed their appearance on the Mediterranean side of the papal territories; while a Neapolitan army of 20,000, headed by King Ferdinand, prepared to cross the frontier. Less honest than their allies, who now proclaimed the unconditional reinstallation of the pope as the object of their invasion, the French, alleging they were come to restore order, maintained an ambiguous reserve. On the 8th of February, the constituent assembly had met at Rome, and declared the republic; deprived Pius IX. of temporal, but preserved to him the independent use of his spiritual, authority. After the battle of Novara, supreme power had been placed in the hands of Mazzini, Annellini, and Saffi, the two latter being Roman citizens. On the 22nd of April, the French, under Oudinot, embarked at Marseilles. Oudinot veiled his intentions as to the scope of his expedition until he had sent officers to ascertain the condition of Rome, and the preparations for defence. Even Mazzini was lulled by his assurances. Commissioners were perpetually going and returning between Civita Vecchia and the capital; and it was generally anticipated that Oudinot, convinced that the city was not in the state of anarchy he assigned as the cause of his interference, would desist from any hostilities.

This delusion, however, was soon dispelled; and immediately that the real purpose of the French became apparent, the indignant Roman people, on the 30th of April, vigorously repelled their first assault. Mortified and astounded, Oudinot's soldiers fell back. The general proposed anew to treat; and deluded by the expectation of a change in the foreign policy of France, Mazzini willingly acceded. M. de Lesseps was despatched from Paris to Rome on a special mission, while large reinforcements were embarked for Civita Vecchia. During this interval the Romans were not idle. Under Garibaldi, a republican of the noblest type, they marched against the Neapolitans, who, being routed in two engagements, retired precipitately to their own country, and left the conclusion of the enterprise to their French allies.

On the 2nd of June, Oudinot commenced operations against the city by sending an advanced corps to occupy the Ponte Molle, which was taken without resistance. The troops then took up a position on the Monte Mario, which overlooked the city on the north-west. On the 3rd, the Villa Pamphili Doria was taken by the French; the loss to the besieged being 200 killed and wounded, and about the same number taken prisoners. The city was then regularly invested and bombarded. On the 14th, breaches were made in the walls, and the triumvirate were summoned to surrender. They refused. "We never betray our engagements," was their reply. "In the execution of the orders of the assembly and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of

the republic, the honour of the country, and the capital of the Christian world. We will keep our word." But, nevertheless, in spite of a brave defence, the besiegers constantly gained ground. On the 30th, the government sent a deputation to Marshal Oudinot to treat for a surrender. The terms could not be agreed on; and, on July 1st, an advanced bastion was carried by assault—the defenders losing 400 men. It was soon found that further defence was impossible. A flag of truce was hoisted as a signal of surrender; and, six hours afterwards, Mazzini, Annellini, Saffi, and Garibaldi, at the head of 5,000 men, chiefly composed of the followers of the latter, left the city; and, the next morning, the French entered it, hoisting their colours on the ramparts, and displaying them from the turrets of the castle of St. Angelo. From the first the defence had been hopeless. It was rather a protest against clerical government, and the arbitrary and unnatural coalition which supported, than an attempt to struggle with an overwhelming destiny.

If Oudinot had had doubts remaining as to the unanimity of the Romans in their detestation of the papacy, his first entry into the city must have undeceived him. Disdaining to subscribe to humiliating terms, Rome preferred yielding herself unconditionally. Amidst cries of "Death to Pius IX. and to *Cardinal* Oudinot!" (a pleasantry which stung the general to the quick), the conquerors defiled through the gloomy streets—the closed shops and windows testifying how little the inhabitants were disposed to greet them as deliverers. An unhappy priest had, unable to conceal his exultation, scarcely uttered the words, "Welcome the French," when he was literally torn in pieces before their eyes. Stragglers from the French ranks, who incautiously ventured into the remoter parts of the town, found none but enemies.

When the pope's commissioners arrived from Gaëta, and the French commander surrendered to them all civil authority, many persons bitterly repented that they had not availed themselves in time of the opportunity of escaping. The three cardinals selected by the pope to assume the government were the narrowest-minded in the whole sacred college. Their first acts were to cancel, indiscriminately, every public ordinance which had emanated since the memorable day of Rossi's assassination; to displace all those who had been subsequently appointed; and, lastly, to create a council, or censorship, to investigate the opinions of government officials of every class; and, in conformity with the result of this scrutiny, to retain or discharge them. Perjurers and spies reaped a golden harvest. Confiscations, imprisonments, exile, and the galleys became slowly, but surely, the lot of the patriots. Much stress was laid upon a promised amnesty. When it appeared, it was more like a register of condemnation than an instrument of pardon.

In the odium with which her co-operation in restoring the papacy had covered France, little heed was given to a remonstrance—or, more properly speaking, an expression of opinion—addressed, in the autumn of 1849, by Louis Napoleon to his aide-de-camp, Edgar Ney, at Rome, and published in the official journals. In this document the prince-president insisted on the fact that the French republic had not sent its armies to stifle Italian liberty, but to regulate it, and preserve it from the excesses of factions; and for its consolidation, by replacing a prince upon the throne who had been the first in Italy to lead the way to salutary reforms: and concluded with the recommendation that the basis of the pope's temporal authority should be a general amnesty, the administration in the hands of laymen, and the adoption of the Code Napoleon. But these suggestions remained unheeded while Austrian influence was paramount at the Vatican; and his calmly submitting to this affront, was considered, by the Italians, a proof of the hollowness with which the president's counsels had been proffered.

Thus order was re-established in Rome; and the last state of that city was worse than the first. Priestly bigotry, cruelty, and ignorance, once more resumed their sway. The minister, enriching his own family by iniquitous monopoly, publicly set the example of peculation; and the church, by reviling the holy office, deliberately sanctioned that system of persecution which has everywhere been

deemed as infamous. The most intense poverty speedily ensued. In consequence of the censorship on political opinions, hundreds of families were reduced to beggary. Though the prisons were full, never was lawlessness more unrestrained. In the face of two armies of occupation—the Austrians in the Legations, and the French at Rome, pledged to guard property, and maintain order—numerous troops of robbers scoured the country, attacked villages, and levied contributions; the inhabitants being interdicted by martial law from taking any means to defend themselves. Such was Rome when, once more, she rejoiced beneath the mild sway of the holy father! We have only one more fact to tell. The removal of the state of siege, or martial law, did not take place till 1857. We need say no more.

Our mournful history of Italian reaction is now soon told. Parma and Modena were restored by Austria to their respective princes the previous autumn.

It only remains to chronicle Ferdinand's revenge in Sicily.

In April, the island was invaded by a large Neapolitan fleet and army. The command of the expedition was given to General Filangieri, whose name alone inspired horror. After a gallant resistance, attacked both by sea and land, Catania fell. Palermo, on the eve of bombardment, capitulated. Palermo obedient, all Sicily was subdued.

The Neapolitan government, as usual, broke all the stipulations it had previously made. Although a full amnesty, with the exception of forty-three individuals, had been guaranteed, hundreds, nay thousands, were subsequently exiled; martial law was proclaimed; and, chiefly through the vile agency of the police, in surreptitiously depositing arms or powder in the houses of those whom it was thought desirable to get rid of, 1,500 persons, in different parts of the island, were found guilty of infringing it, and either shot or immured in dungeons—often more terrible than death.

These severities called forth, in September, a remonstrance from Lord Palmerston; in which, after taxing the Neapolitan government with the abuse of power, and non-fulfilment of the promised conditions, "the entire and recognised claim of the Sicilians to the constitution of 1812, was once more asserted, and its restitution advised." Ferdinand's arrogant reply, and unchanged proceedings, showed the respect he felt for these diplomatic representations and rebukes. In addition to the public taxes, already iniquitously oppressive, a national debt was instituted for Sicily, of 20,000,000 of ducats; such being the cost of insurrection—was the wording of the decree. Still further to exhaust the resources of the island, a horde of Neapolitans filled all the public offices, and glutted their avarice by every species of extortion. Science, literature, national industry or enterprise, were all, as before, laid under an embargo; the false witness and the police officer being the only channel left open for wealth or advancement.

In Naples alone was there found a parallel to these sufferings and humiliation. "No language can portray," exclaims Ranalli, "the misery of this state. Would to God the king had contented himself with simply returning to absolutism!" But the so-called reaction was greedy of blood and of revenge.

In order to find pretexts for arraigning Poerio and Settembrini (ministers under the constitution up to the 15th of May), and a host of eminent men who had advocated the late reforms, recourse was had to an expedient, in that kingdom neither novel nor uncommon. A false charge of conspiracy was made, substantiated by no authentic proof. As informers, men of known infamy came forward. Evidence in favour of the prisoners was set aside; that which was false was unblushingly accepted. The prisoners' counsel were browbeaten and menaced; the prisoners themselves ordered to silence when pleading in their own defence: besides, they were subjected to deprivation of food, solitary confinement in loathsome cells; and every imaginable rigour of prison discipline was resorted to, in order to extort from the wretched captives, either an avowal of their guilt, or the inculpation of their companions in misfortune.

Mr. Gladstone's celebrated letters, in 1851, have rendered the fate of Poerio

and his companions familiar to the British public. We have all shuddered at the description of those Neapolitan dungeons, dark and damp; where, linked in revolting companionship with a felon or a murderer, some of the wisest of Italian patriots were compelled to drag out a frightful existence of prolonged bodily torture and mental decay. But what can the reader think—how sufficiently can he realise and execrate Neapolitan tyranny, when he learns that the sympathy claimed for the captives of San Stefano, Nisita, and Procida, may be equally claimed by 20,000 of their countrymen, immured, for political offences, in various parts of the Two Sicilies!

The reaction remained, crushing Italian life and thought, many, many years. It is true there were a few attempts at insurrection—in Lombardy, at the commencement of 1853; in Palermo, in 1850; in Messina, in 1856. But it was not till Piedmont stirred that, once more, Italian hope revived. In due time we shall see what Italy owes to a Marquis Azeglio, a Victor Emmanuel, a Garibaldi, and a Cavour.

The revolutionary year extended to Germany.

On the expulsion of the French in 1815, the old Germanic empire, which they had destroyed, was not revived. Its place was taken by the confederation of the Rhine. This consisted of thirty-six states, independent of each other. Austria was permanently president; Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Holstein, numerous petty dukedoms, counties, and free towns, were the members. The Diet sat at Frankfort: some of the states were to have one vote each; the minor states—some half a vote, some a fourth of a vote. Altogether there were seventeen votes. On constitutional questions, another mode of taking the votes was to prevail, giving a greater weight to the larger states. The princes only were represented in this Diet: they bound themselves to form no foreign alliance individually against the body, or any one of its members. Each state was to furnish a contingent of troops, and occupy the fortresses of Luxembourg, Mayence, and Landau. The Diet was to sit permanently. On important questions unanimity was required.

The people were very little thought of. The inhabitants of the countries thus parcelled were not consulted; their interests were in no way regarded: hence they were not bound together by mutual interest; they were mere accidental assemblages of people, ruled over by separate sovereigns. These states were held together by military force. Every one was trained to be a soldier; every one was educated; and every one longed for political freedom, and a united fatherland. The King of Prussia had promised a constitution, which he never gave; and by his forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, did much to create political discontent: and as to the smaller German Courts, they seemed to exist but as parodies on monarchy, and for the purpose of bringing it into contempt.

For instance, let the reader only endeavour to realise the grotesqueness of such a monarchy—to borrow a little from Thackeray—as that of his *Transparency of Pumpernickel.* We have all along been making money at the expense of that redoubtable potentate. We have seen his ninety men and ten drummers, his whole embattled host, on the parade-ground before his palace; we have rummaged the nick-nacks and gim-cracks in that old curiosity shop; we have pic-nicked on the bald turf of his rural retreat at Monplaisir. The grass-grown streets of his dreary residence; the tawdry liveries of his equerries and chamberlains; his gold sticks and silver keys; his whole mob of court and state officials, have been as good as a play; and the British traveller could barely keep his countenance when reminded that the main source of revenue out of which the wants and whims of his serene highness were supplied, was the per-centage on the tax levied on unwary strangers at the Pumpernickel Kursaal. We laughed, but we never thought of the people. Not troubled with any excess of imagination, we never tried to put ourselves in other people's position. Satisfied with our own import-

ance as subjects of a great empire, we cannot realise the feelings of a community, the head of which has only to shake his wig to powder the whole territory. The cramping feeling of pent-up energies, the galling inquisitiveness of an omnipresent despotism—nay, the mere prying curiosity and tittle-tattle of an idle household-state, which would drive us all mad at home, may, we fancy, suit the Germans admirably, for "they are used to their little world, and never cast a thought or a wish beyond its boundaries." The Germans, however, are going to change all that. Austria has been beaten. Prussia wages war against the small states. The big fish swallows up all the small fry. She holds out the alternative between utter extinction and mediatisation. Sixteen of the smaller states have accepted the Bismarck programme, and are fain to be devoured. Three of the larger sovereigns—Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse—have forfeited their throne by that absence which "always puts men in the wrong," and will only be reinstalled upon good show of penitence and amendment. There is, henceforth, to be only one will in the fatherland—the will of the Prussian statesman, who, after overcoming all resistance, offers to abdicate his power into the hands of a national parliament. On one point only that assembly will have no occasion to deliberate. The military and diplomatic functions belonging to the executive of the future state have already been absolutely, exclusively, and irrevocably vested in the hands of Prussia. On all other subjects the people's representatives will have *carte blanche*, and they will cut the cloth of the royal and ducal mantles of the minor princes according to the pattern that seems best to them; and will, doubtless, give proof of more than German subtlety and ingenuity in fixing the limits of a sovereign power, from which the prerogatives of peace and war have for ever departed.

In 1848, this desire for a united Germany was as strong as now; but the time had not come for the realisation of the dream. The year 1848 saw the French revolution of February, and the flight of Louis Philippe, and all Germany on fire for representative institutions. The reform fever which had attacked the Rhenish provinces quickly spread to the rest of the body politic. The town population and the students took the lead. Breslau, Königsberg, and Berlin were in violent commotion. In the month of March, a great open-air meeting was held at Berlin. It ended in a riot. The troops were called out to act against the mob. For nearly a week Berlin was in a state of revolt. On the 15th, ten persons were said to have been killed, and a hundred wounded, by the troops. At the same time similar scenes were being enacted at Breslau and Königsberg, where several persons lost their lives. A deputation from the Rhine provinces arrived at Berlin on the 18th, bearing a petition to the king for reform. He promised to grant it; but they reminded him that similar promises had so often been made, and nothing came of them, that they could not, and would not, wait any longer; and that if the king did not at once proclaim a representative government, the Rhenish provinces would join some other state that would. The king gave the required promise at once.

Nothing could be fairer or finer than the royal programme. It consisted of the unity of Germany by forming it into a federal state, with a federal representation; representative institutions for the separate states; a tribunal for settling disputes between the states; and a right for all Germans to settle and trade in any part of Germany they thought fit; a general military system for all Germany, under one federal banner; a German fleet; the whole of Germany formed into one customs' union, and included in the Zollverein; one system of money, weights, and measures; and the freedom of the press. The people were delighted. They went to the palace to show their gratitude to the king, who was loudly cheered. Unfortunately two regiments of dragoons mistook the cheering for an attack, and began pushing the people back. Unfortunately, also, while this was being done, two musket-shots were fired by some infantry. The people took fright, rushed to arms, and raised barricades. From two till five next morning the firing lasted. It is calculated that, of the populace, 200 were killed: 187 received a public burial.

As the procession passed the palace, the king came down into the square, uncovered his head, and spoke some words expressive of his deep regret. The result of the conflict was to leave the king in the position of having been beaten without really having been so. He had withdrawn his troops from the city, in order to prevent the effusion of blood; he had intrusted himself to the new burgher guard.

The king aimed to divert popular enthusiasm into another channel. He therefore assumed the lead in the regeneration of Germany. On the 21st, he issued a proclamation, enlarging on these views, and rode through the streets with the German tricolour (black, red, and yellow), and amidst much cheering.

Nor was this reform feeling confined to Prussia. All Germany underwent a similar revolution. The principal demands made by the peoples on the sovereigns were—

A new civil and criminal code for the whole of Germany; trial by jury; and the publicity of all proceedings.

Freedom of the press.

Representative Chambers in all the states; who were also to have the power of voting taxes and supplies.

Civic equality, without distinction of creed.

And that the people should be represented, as well as the princes, in the council of the confederation of the Rhine.

On the 3rd of March, the new order of things began at Würtemberg. The Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt abdicated. In Bavaria, as the king would not part with Lola Montes, and the people would not have her, he abdicated in favour of his heir. In Saxony, the king gave way after his troops had refused to act; and the freedom of the press was established, and other demands granted. In Vienna, the old system of Metternich was abolished after a revolution which was little more than a street row. The King of Hanover refused to move; but was eventually induced to receive Stube as one of his ministers, who had previously been in prison for his political opinions. At Oldenburg, the Baron Von Thane, one of the greatest landowners in the duchy, waited on the grand duke, at the head of a deputation, praying for reform. He told the duke what was wanted—namely, representative government. The duke appeared to think his language rather strong; for he asked him if he meant to threaten him. He replied that he did not; but that he had come there to express the unanimous wishes of the people. The duke observed that it was a very difficult matter, and required considerable meditation; and that, at a time of excitement like the present, it could only be done in a hurry. The baron replied—"Allow me to remind your highness that, seventeen years ago, you made me precisely the same reply, when I had the honour to make you precisely the same result."

Immediately after the outbreak at Berlin, Germany became enthusiastic about Poland, and popular clamour was loud for the reconstruction of that kingdom. The prison doors were thrown open, and a deputation from Posen arrived at Berlin. Its demands were at once complied with: the duchy was to be divided into two parts—one German, the other Polish; each was to have its local administration, independent of the other. The rest of Germany approved of the arrangement. Polish exiles were invited to return, and were welcomed with general sympathy; and then there was an insurrection in Posen, which lasted till May 16th.

On the 1st of March, the canton of Neufchâtel threw off the yoke of Prussia, and joined the Swiss confederation. A congress of sovereigns was to meet at Dresden, on March 25th; but by that time Germany was in the throes of revolution, and the German sovereigns (such as were not unseated) were afraid to leave home. Instead of a congress of princes, there met an assembly of delegates, self-appointed, in the name of the people of Germany, to consult as to the reconstruction of the federation of states. A preliminary meeting was assembled at Frankfort, to make arrangements for the convocation of a national parliament, and to decide what districts should send representatives.

In March, a revolution was effected by the students at Kiel; the only German university in the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein—duchies which it had long been the dearest wish of the German national heart to obtain from Denmark, by fair means or foul. The Duke of Augustenberg got a regiment to join him, and formed a camp there. Crowds of volunteers, in the course of a few days, arrived thither; but the inhabitants of the duchies were still kept in the dark by the proclamations which were issued by the provisional government. The value of the duchies to Germany was very great. Young Germany desired a navy, and Kiel was the best harbour in the Baltic, south of Cronstadt. The King of Prussia, therefore, regardless of the laws of nations, without any declaration of war, sent an army of 20,000 men; and the Frankfort parliament cordially approved of the step. Numerous contingents were sent, as the other German sovereigns were unable to resist the cry: 80,000 men were thus collected together, and were beaten by the little army of Denmark. In Baden, the republican flag was hoisted by a small party; but it was pulled down within a week; and one of its leaders, Struvè, was taken prisoner: the other, Hecker, managed to escape. The only thing they performed worth recording was the murder of General Van Gagern, the commander of the troops opposed to them.

On the 18th of May, the German parliament held its first sitting at Frankfort. They elected Heinrich Van Gagern, brother of the general, their president. In June, they resolved to establish a provisional central power for all Germany, to administer all affairs, civil and military, foreign and domestic. They chose the Archduke John, of Austria, regent; the recent conversion of the King of Prussia to Liberalism being looked upon with suspicion. This assembly consisted of ninety-five professors; eighty-one doctors of philosophy, law, or physic; fourteen newspaper editors and pamphleteers, and seventeen clergymen: of civil functionaries, 212; of landowners, ninety-three; military officers, thirteen; of merchants, twenty-three; of manufacturers, ten. It talked more than it did. In the matter of Schleswig-Holstein, the assembly had to eat its own words, and to agree to an armistice to which they had objected.

To this armistice the people were strongly opposed: they threatened the members of the assembly. On the next day large open-air meetings were held. The republican members of the assembly addressed them. They passed resolutions denouncing the majority who had agreed to the armistice as traitors against the majesty, honour, and liberty of the German people. The assembly sent word to the regent, that they were powerless to preserve order. He induced some of his late ministers to resume office, and called up troops—Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian—to occupy Frankfort. The city was declared in a state of siege. The mob threw up barricades: they were attacked by the military, and routed. But before this was effected, Prince Lichowski, and Major Auerswald, members of the unpopular party, were murdered, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity and brutality.

We must now return to Prussia, where a constituent assembly, elected by universal suffrage, is invoked; and where they are fiercely discussing whether the authors of the outbreak of March deserved well of their country. The ministry gain a small majority, to the immense disgust of the mob, who immediately commenced a revolution. They tore down some iron gates in the Schloss Platz; they attacked and took the arsenal, and carried away all it contained. For eight months Berlin was in a state of riot. Added to other difficulties, severe monetary distress prevailed: thousands of workmen were thrown out of their ordinary employment and daily bread. One ministry succeeded another in rapid succession; but none had a hand firm enough to curb the license of the streets. The assembly was without character and without power.

On the 11th of October, the discussion of the Prussian constitution began in the assembly. There was a warm contest as to whether the king should be termed such by the grace of God; and it was carried in the negative. On the 30th of

October, the assembly resolved, "That all Prussians were equal before the law; that there existed neither titles, privileges, nor rank in the state; and nobility was abolished." On the next day, Herr Waldech moved a resolution, calling on government to employ all means in its power to defend the insurgents at Vienna from the imperial government. The mob prepared to hang some of the unpopular members; and the king formed a new ministry, with the Count Brandenburg at its head—a nobleman ardently devoted to the old *régime*. The assembly remonstrated and protested against the appointment; the king was firm, and would not give way: he did more—he adjourned the sittings to Brandenburg. The majority resolved that they would stop in Berlin. The Chamber was, consequently, surrounded by military, and the deputies ejected by General Wrangel.

The expelled deputies adjourned to the rifle-hall: deputations and addresses from the provinces poured in. One came from the representatives of the two Mecklenburgs, promising assistance, and approving of the conduct of the assembly. Another came from Magdeburg, together with a remittance of 5,000 dollars for the deputies, whose pay had, of course, been stopped. General Wrangel placed the city under martial law: the assembly was removed from the rifle-hall to the hall of the town-council. General Wrangel followed them there. Their next place of meeting was a coffee-house, Unterden Linden—again to be dispersed.

At length the king dissolved the assembly, and proclaimed a constitution, based avowedly upon that of Belgium. It proclaimed equality of all Prussians before the law: it granted freedom of the press, right to emigrate, and freedom of the person; letters were to be inviolable; the civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage; feudal entails, tenures, and privileges of rank, were to be abolished. The person of the king was inviolable; but his ministers were responsible. The legislature was to consist of two Chambers—the first comprising 182 members. All persons paying 24*s.* a year, direct taxes, or having £75 a year worth of land, had a vote in electing the direct electors of this Chamber. Those of the lower Chamber were elected by universal suffrage. The members of the first Chamber must be forty years of age, and five years resident in Prussia. The lower Chamber consisted of 350 members, twenty-four years of age being the limit, and resident six months. The judges were only to be removable by court of law; and the authorities might be proceeded against, without leave being first obtained, for overstepping their duty. All exemptions from taxes were abolished; laws and ordinances were only to be valid when passed in legal form; but, on urgent occasions, when the Chamber was not sitting, the whole ministry together, on their own responsibility, might publish an ordinance, and give it the force of law, but were to submit it to the approval of the assembly at their next session. The constitution was to be liable to alteration immediately after the first meeting of the Chamber, by itself.

The next thing done was to expel all the republicans and conspirators from Berlin. Several of the ringleaders were taken, tried, and imprisoned for their misdeeds.

On the 1st of January, 1849, the following order of the day was published, by command of his majesty:—

"I congratulate my brave army, the line and the landwehr, on the opening of the new year. At the close of that fateful year 1848, it is a pleasure to me to express my acknowledgment to it for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown, and acquired fresh glory. Both king and people regard with pride the sons of our fatherland. They remained faithful when revolt prevented the peaceful development of those free institutions which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required its arms in Schleswig, it covered our banners with new laurels. When the insurrection at Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent, victoriously, both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in southern Germany required anew a tribute of

acknowledgment of the Prussian name. Finally, when, in Prussia itself, the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power, and the calling out the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned house and hearth, wife and children, to discharge their duty; and both landwehr and the troops of the line justified the confidence I have always reposed in them, and proved how admirable is that organisation of the whole army, which was established by the late king, my father. Everywhere the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field, do I value that conduct they have observed for months together, under the most detestable attacks—under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance; against which they have opposed, unshaken, their spirit of loyalty and a noble self-command. I know my army. When I called them, there they stood, prepared, in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the troops could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the standing army and the landwehr, I return thanks, both in my own name, and in that of our common country.—FREDERICK WILLIAM."—Henceforth Prussia is quiet, and the democratic fever is over.

Shortly after the outbreak at Frankfort, Struvè again invaded Baden, at the head of a column of 2,000, Italians, Poles, and French. General Hofman, who was despatched against the rebels, came up with them near Staufen, where he completely routed them, and then advanced on Staufen, which he surrounded. After a somewhat obstinate defence it was taken by storm. Some houses were burnt; many persons were killed; and some hundreds taken prisoners—among them Struvè himself. He and some eighty of his immediate followers were at once tried by a court-martial, condemned, and shot.

Of the much-talking Frankfort parliament the less said the better. It offered the empire to the King of Prussia; but he was not prepared to accept the boon, although, to make Prussia the leader of Germany, has been the aim of its king and people for ages. The establishment of the Zollverein was a development of this spirit. The king's was an embarrassing position. He dared not accept the longed-for boon when it was offered: he feared a breach with Austria, Bavaria, and Hanover. Austria would be backed by Russia, with whom she was, at that time, in the strictest alliance, and on whom she depended even for existence. Neither France nor England could be expected to help Prussia in such a quarrel. Europe would be against her. A man of firm character and determined courage, fiery ambition, and perfect indifference to any one but himself and his own aggrandisement, might have grasped the opportunity; but William IV., of Prussia, was not that man.

Towards the end of May, 1849, the assembly, not considering themselves safe at Frankfort, called on the regent to remove the seat of government to Stuttgart; and about a hundred members of the democratic party withdrew to that town, where they met on the 6th of June, and voted the deposition of the regent. But no one was inclined to obey their orders; and they had no means of compelling obedience. They called his retaining office after they had deposed him, usurpation, and talked of a general arming of the people; but the Würtemberg government thought them dangerous, and prohibited their meeting: there were, nevertheless, some disturbances in Bavaria and Baden. Commanded by Mierolawski, they were, after a severe conflict before Mannheim, eventually defeated, and driven into the defiles of the Black Forest. On the 2nd of July, the archduke regent left Frankfort for the baths, nominally for his health. Shortly after, 150 members of the late German parliament met, unofficially, at Gotha, and there sat for three days, to consider what could best be done, practically, to advance the cause of a real German unity. They agreed to give all the help they could to the scheme which was contemplated in Berlin. This was, to make a more strict confederation of such states as were willing to join Prussia; but not to dissolve her or their union with the confederation of the Rhine: in fact, to make a sort of

extended Zollverein, or custom-house league, so as to encourage the internal trade of the country, and, by frequent intercourse, produce common interests, and real unity. Prince Leiningen, the president of the regent's fourth cabinet, towards the end of the year published a memorial, confessing the total failure of the scheme for a German unity. That, in the place of transcendent liberty, they had got a military dictatorship of two—namely, Prussia and Austria ; and these two, in many points, opposed to each other. Prussia inclined to grant concessions to the democracy—to receive their help in forming the federation of states she had in view. He acknowledged that this democratic party had shown itself utterly unfit to have concessions made to it, or in any way to be trusted; and that to this scheme Austria was opposed. Ho was obliged, mournfully, to confess that the German people had shown themselves unworthy of the freedom they sought for; nor had they the real desire of unity: that the champions of unity had been, both kings and republicans, left in the lurch by the nation; all their struggles and strivings, writings and debates, and elaboration of doctrines, had led to nothing; and could not without an executive power, which, it was melancholy to relate, was only to be found in the large armies of Germany. His practical conclusion was, that Prussia and Austria must be left to go to work their own way in preparing a constitution for Germany, which might be subsequently modified by a general congress. And thus, after two years, the revolution in Germany had, practically, left matters much as it found them. It had overturned much, but had settled nothing; old institutions had been overthrown in the separate states, but no new ones of any practical utility had been established. Things were clearly sinking back to their old position. The elective Chambers, such as have remained, had no real power, and the king and princes coerced them by force when they found it convenient. A temporary Frankfort Diet reassembled, and the old confederation, or some modification of it, was eventually reconstructed. Austria and Prussia still remained the two antagonistic heads of Germany.

On one occasion these two powers were on the point of going to war. The quarrel, of which we give a short sketch, will convey an idea of the meddle and muddle into which German affairs had got at this time.

In 1848, the insignificant electorate of Hesse-Cassel, situated between the two ends of the Prussian dominions, remained tranquil in the midst of the neighbouring confusion. Hassenpflug, the elector's minister, had been appointed by the advice of Austria. He delayed the calling together of the parliament, which had the right of laying on taxes. When it eventually met, it required an instant vote of supplies. The members replied, that they had no intention of proceeding to the extremity of refusing supplies; and if he would place before them a regular budget, they would go through it, and vote it in a regular way. Thereupon the parliament was dissolved: this produced a collision. The elector found he had not popularity enough to carry him through. His officers said that they had taken the oaths to the constitution as much as to the elector, and refused obedience. Prussia threatened, if Austria endeavoured to force the elector on the people, to oppose her; and if she attempted to enter the state with troops on the one side, that Prussia would do the same on the other. The elector and his minister, finding that they had been silly enough to raise a storm they could not control, ran away so quietly, that for some time no one knew where they were gone. They at length turned up in Hanover, where they petitioned King Ernest for armed help, which was refused. Austria and the Diet, assembled at Frankfort, took the part of the elector, who moved his government close on to the Bavarian frontier, where he was protected by Bavarian arms. Prussia took the opposite side. The troops of Prussia were so arranged, that they could be concentrated on any part of the electorate in two days. Those of Austria and Bavaria were equally prepared on the other side. Eventually the czar interposed—suggesting to the King of Prussia the propriety of allowing the Austrians and Bavarians to enter Hesse to restore order. The king gave way, and Austria and Bavaria occupied the elec-

torate—a position in the centre of the Prussian dominions. As the Bavarians entered on the south, the Prussians, who had by treaty a right of road through the duchy, entered on the north. The people welcomed the latter as friends, and matters threatened immediate hostilities every moment; but it came to nothing. Russia was not in earnest. An armistice was agreed on. In the meantime, the Austrians, at the King of Würtemberg's request, entered his dominions, to enable him to restore the order of things existing previous to 1848. The Austrian *ultimatum*, meanwhile, was delivered to Prussia, which demanded the evacuation of Hesse in eight days; the dissolution of the Erfurt assembly; and the reconstruction of the Frankfort Diet of the Germanic confederation. The Prussian parliament met; the king was warmly received; and they appeared to be in a warlike temper. However, Baron Manteuffel and Prince Schwartzenberg met at Olmutz, and managed to agree. In reality, Prussia gave way.

"Saxony was one of the states," says Mr. Cayley, in his work on the *European Revolutions of* 1848, "that suffered most inconvenience, and reaped least advantages, from the revolutionary movement, which interrupted its industry, interfered with its commerce, overturned its constitution; and was finally extinguished, leaving it in very much the same condition, if not worse than it found it." This kingdom had had a representative constitution, established since 1831; the aristocratic influence was less than in Bavaria, Hanover, or Würtemberg; and democratic tendencies were more prevalent: nevertheless, it was not one of the uniform paper constitutions, but one in which various classes were each represented. In the first instance, the king had hoped to avoid further yielding to the storm by changing his ministers; but this was not sufficient. He was again compelled to change his ministry for one of a still more democratic character. He had convoked the Chambers on the difficulty; but they, though not decidedly democratic, were acted on by the mob of the capital, before whom the king was powerless. Liberty of the press, the right of meeting, and universal suffrage were all granted. But most of the difficulties came from abroad. Robert Blum, the deputy of Leipsig in the Frankfort parliament, had been compromised in the Vienna revolution, and shot by order of Windischgrätz. The populace complained that the Saxon minister had not done what was necessary to save him, though, it appears, he applied for the purpose, in person, as soon as he heard of his arrest. The next subject of difficulty was the fundamental law of the Frankfort parliament, which went to establish very democratic pretensions. To this the government acceded. The next claim of the party of progress was the recognition of the whole Frankfort constitution as well. This they were not prepared to grant; and, on this point, an explosion took place. Prussia, having sent a circular to say that she would give help to governments in difficulty from refusing this constitution, sent assistance; and the insurrection, which broke out in May, 1849, was, by that help, quelled. In return for which aid, Saxony joined the customs' league, together with Hanover; which Prussia was labouring to establish, but on condition that Bavaria should join it too. But, as things took an opposite turn, Saxony fell off as well as Hanover, remaining antagonistic to Prussia till her projects foundered; and she relinquished her claims at Olmutz. In the meantime the King of Saxony re-established the constitution of 1831, and retracted all the liberties granted in 1848, of which it seemed that the kingdom was sufficiently tired; for the Chamber, which was elected in 1850, and met in July, was of a calm disposition, as was the country; and the fundamental law, which the government had so reluctantly admitted, was abolished: so that, in that year, nearly all traces of 1848 were obliterated, and matters reverted to their ordinary course.

The kingdom of Würtemberg had possessed parliamentary institutions since 1819. The upper Chambers consisted of the princes and counts of the empire, who had been mediatised in and before 1815; and who still preserved, both here and elsewhere, many of their ancient privileges: such as right of equal birth with the sovereign houses; certain provincial jurisdiction; and an exemption from

ordinary tribunals, some of which were very impolitic, and should never have been granted. Besides these there were hereditary members, named from the *noblesse* by the king; and life members, named by the king from any class. Of the lower Chamber, some were elected by the *noblesse* and the equestrian order; some representatives of the Lutheran and Latin communions; some representatives of towns, and some of the country districts. During the recess there was a permanent committee of twelve, named by each of the two Chambers, to do what was necessary in their absence. The convulsion of 1848 changed all this. The king, in the terror of the moment, granted national guards; liberty of the press; right of meeting; universal suffrage; and a constituent assembly. However, the elections were postponed till July the following year. In the meantime the king had to flee his capital, because of opposing the Frankfort constitution, which, however, eventually he was obliged to admit. As Europe was calming down, the king hoped that there would be a reasonable temper in the assembly; but the Radical party and the aristocratic party could not agree with each other or the king. The constituent assembly met on December 1st, 1849; and, having adopted the Frankfort constitution and fundamental right which the king could not agree to, they were dissolved before the end of the month, and a new one convoked. Before it had assembled, the king had, together with Saxony and Bavaria, signed the treaty of Munich; and, with them, took a line so opposed to Prussia, that, on his stating his views to the second constituent assembly at its opening, Prussia at once recalled its minister from Stuttgart. He, on that occasion, took the opportunity of hinting to the assembly, that a little more moderation would lead to more practical results; but they were not to be persuaded. The disputes again began between the Radicals and the aristocracy. The king, who found their privileges a check on his government, naturally would have sided with the popular voice, had it not, at the same time, threatened his own power; so that, after various protests, votes, and speeches, the disagreement went so far, that the Chambers impeached the minister, Baron Spittler; whereupon the king dissolved them, and restored, of his own authority, the constitution of 1819, such as it had previously existed.

But it is impossible to go all through the smaller German states, and to describe the revolutions and counter-revolutions which were perpetrated in Germany; or to describe which set of petty principalities took part with Prussia, or which with Austria; or which took the side of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Pushed into revolution or reform, they became, more or less, unmanageable; and were restored very much to their previous condition, either by, or previous to the Frankfort Diet in 1851. In the smaller German states, the reaction towards aristocracy has been more complete than in the larger ones. A real aristocracy would have stood between the king and the revolution. The misfortune of Germany was, and is, that it did not, and does not, possess a real aristocracy. It is neither of the people nor for the crown. It consists merely of titled drones, who are alone anxious for their own preservation: it is a close corporation, perpetually deteriorating from the want of new blood, or even intermarriage with any other class. It is not privilege that makes an aristocracy, but influence; and influence can only be won, more or less, by worth.

Thus ended the German revolution; deficient alike in men and action, prodigal only of windy talk. Out of this chaos Germany, however, evolved one man—at one time the most detested, now the most popular man in Prussia. We mean Count Bismarck.

Count Charles Otto Von Bismarck is now fifty-three years old. He was born at Brandenburg, in 1813; studied law at Göttingen, Greifswalde, and Berlin; and was a lively student, learning to drink deeper than his father, who was a famous huntsman. Not rich enough for army service, which he would have preferred (for he was strong, lively, and pugnacious), he entered the civil service as superintendent of dykes in the Altmark. His political career began in 1847, the year before the Paris revolution. He had then made himself known to his immediate

neighbours as a supporter of the Junker party, in the Diet of the Prussian province of Saxony; and when, in 1847, King Frederick William IV. convoked the United Diet, Bismarck, aged thirty-four, made himself conspicuous as an aggressive supporter of reactionary feudal ideas of sovereignty, against Von Vincke and the Liberals, who were then very moderate in their desires. Bismarck's audacity made him delight in extreme expressions of antagonism to the Liberal ideas of the day, and he seemed to be the Quixote of the Junker party, contesting, in the teeth of history, that "the struggle of 1813 had not given the nation any right to a constitution;" and that "Prussian monarchs have received, not from the people, but by Divine grace, a practically unlimited power, a portion of which they have voluntarily granted to the people."

After the close of the second United Diet (Vereinigter Landtag), called in 1848, to sanction the electoral law for the National Assembly, the times produced no parliament to which Herr Von Bismarck could be sent as a member. He retired to his small family estate, still taking an active interest in politics, and keeping up unbroken communication with the members of the Junker party. With the reaction of the year following 1848, when sovereigns, who had sworn to constitutions, began to prepare for the breaking of their oaths, Bismarck's opportunity returned. In 1849, he was elected to the second Chamber for the district of the Zauche, and resumed his position as a dashing combatant for mediæval politics. He spoke almost uniformly in attack, and had now energetic Radicals of the extreme Left, and Federalists of the extreme Right, as well as moderate Liberals of the Centre, to do battle with. "I know what you want," he said to a deputy of the extreme Left. "You want to knock off the heads of all the sovereigns; establish a German federal republic; if possible, become its president yourself, or, at least, get the post for one of your relations; abolish the army; convert the churches into libraries; and make all men inexpressibly happy. With the exception of the latter of these objects, which I would also gladly bring about, my wishes in regard to all your other aspirations are exactly the reverse of yours; and as we both know what we want, we can at least understand each other, and even unite on certain points. But as for our perfumed moderates, how can any one know what they want, if they do not know it themselves, and would not even give themselves any trouble to act for what they really do want?"

He called "heroes of the revolution" simply "rebels," and opposed "amnesty of the politically compromised" as "pardoning of rebels." He looked to the sword, even then, as the decisive argument in politics. This is a passage from a speech of his in 1849:—

"The conflict of principles, which has shaken Europe to her foundations, admits of no compromise. These principles rest on opposite bases, which entirely exclude each other. One of them is based ostensibly on the right of the national will, but really on the right of violence and the barricades; the other has its source in a supremacy established by God, in a supremacy existing by divine grace; and seeks its development in an organic connection with a state of things in harmony with right and the constitution. The representatives of one of these principles are heroic champions of truth, freedom, and right; of the other, are rebels. Such principles are not to be decided upon by parliamentary debates; sooner or later the God of battles must cast upon them the iron die which decides the game."

There was a real risk run by his audacity of speech. "I have made up my mind to a lamp-post," he used to say; "but I will defend my skin against the mob to the last."

As the reaction against popular claims strengthened, Bismarck's arrogance grew with it. He spoke of the movement of 1848 as rather socialist than national. His speeches of 1849 expressed contempt for German unity, as German, and put Prussia for Germany. "Prussianism," he used then to say, "has saved the state." The army was inspired, "not by German, but by Prussian enthusiasm."

He had "never heard a Prussian sing the German national hymn." "We are Prussians," he said, "and Prussians we wish to remain." Of Austria he then spoke as the "best federal ally of Prussia," and representative of the "ancient power of Germany."

In 1851, when he was continually being called to order for unparliamentary audacities of speech, Bismarck declared a wish that every trade should limit the number of its apprentices, and be empowered by law to fix a price for each quality of the goods it sells.

The establishment of the right of the Chamber to vote supplies was, in the year 1851, one of the chief subjects of discussion. Bismarck denied that the House could claim this right, and met, with contemptuous jests, arguments based on the king's oath to preserve the constitution. When Count Schwerin, then president of the Chamber, warned the honourable member that he should be obliged to call him to order if he made the constitution of the country matter of derision, Bismarck replied that he would not accept any warnings, and that he had given the president no occasion to call him to order. Whereupon the president did call him to order; and Bismarck, shaking himself like a dog just out of water, made some more disorderly remarks. There was no material power, as in our House of Commons, ready to sustain the president's authority; and Bismarck was, and is, irrepressible, except by force.

The boldest maintainer of a divine right in kings, and glorifier of the order of nobility, won favour with king and nobles, though the ready wit used in their service bordered on what the king detested as frivolity. Bismarck also missed no opportunity of displaying himself in the uniform of the landwehr, and his military air commended the bold deputy to the taste of the Prussian Court. In 1851, therefore, he was admitted to official life, and, without being required to pass the prescribed examination, was sent to the Prussian embassy at Frankfort, as first secretary, with the title of Privy Councillor of Legation. Three months later he was appointed ambassador to the Bund—a suddenness of rise unprecedented in official Prussia.

Count Rechberg, stiff and formal, was ambassador of Austria to the Bund, and therefore president of the Federal Diet. The new Prussian ambassador provoked comparisons, and some resentment in his colleagues, by making himself easily at home with journalists and untitled people. He had got rid, by that time, of what he once called the "adoration of Austria, which he sucked in with his mother's milk," and come to the conviction that Prussia could not take its place in Germany until Austria was driven out of the Bund. He had discussed this subject with several leaders of the opposition, including Herr Von Unruh, and his policy at Frankfort was to offer all possible opposition to the policy of Austria. He was not to be tamed by Count Rechberg's presidency at Frankfort, any more than by that of Count Schwerin at home. Once Count Rechberg took his seat in a morning coat; the other ambassadors were shocked. Bismarck pulled out his cigar-case, lighted a cigar, and offered another to his neighbour.

The complaints of Austria, and a leaning of his towards France that the king did not like, caused Bismarck to be recalled from Frankfort, and sent as ambassador to St. Petersburg.

At St. Petersburg Bismarck entered into the most intimate relations with Prince Gortschakoff, plotting in aid of the ambitions of Russia and France; the chief basis of his plans being, according to a secret report dated in June, 1862, "to enable Prussia, with the help of Russia and France, and in return for territorial compensations to both, to annex the middle and smaller German states, and restore absolutism as far as her arm could reach." After the peace of Villafranca, says the same report, Herr Von Bismarck came from St. Petersburg to Berlin, and thence went, ostensibly for his amusement, to Paris. Here, however, he immediately entered into negotiations with Walewski. But Herr Von Schleinitz, then the Prussian Foreign Minister, repudiated every proposal that

Bismarck was reported to have made, stating decisively that Bismarck's personal views were in no way shared by his government. Bismarck had then to return to St. Petersburg. When the French emperor and the Prince Regent (now King) of Prussia were to meet in June, 1860, Bismarck came to Berlin again, and unsuccessfully urged his plan on the prince. It was this:—

"Prussia was to come to an understanding with Russia and France in regard to the establishment of a German federal state, of which the King of Prussia was to be the head. After obtaining the consent of the two powers, a German parliament was to be convoked at Frankfort. This would be hailed with joy by the German democrats, who would carry along with them the opposing governments, Prussia at the same time supporting her demands by military demonstrations; and if the German federal state, with its parliament, were then established, the Prussian constitution, together with that of the other states, would be at once abolished, the Frankfort parliament would be dispersed, and an absolutist *régime* energetically entered upon."

This was the information given in a report sent four years ago, by a statesman at Berlin, to put the Court of Munich on its guard against a danger of the future. It was communicated, two months after its receipt, by the Court of Munich to the other middle states; and the future, as we now see it, justifies the tenor of the caution.

After the death of Frederick William, the present king came to the throne, and used his memorable form of divine right—self-coronation. The new king was soon transformed into a puppet of the feudalists, and Count Von Bismarck was pressingly urged on him as the man of action best able to quench the inconvenient Liberalism of his subjects. Count Golitz was sent presently to St. Petersburg as Prussian ambassador; Bismarck returned to Berlin; and soon afterwards, by the French emperor's own wish, expressed through his ambassador at Berlin, was appointed to the embassy at the Tuileries.

On the 24th of September, 1862, Count Bismarck, fresh from conversations at the Tuileries, was appointed his Minister-President by King William I. The reactionary era in the history of Prussia then set in with great severity. At once he went to the work he had set before himself. His first stand was for the reorganisation of the Prussian army. The Chamber opposed its increase; opposed also augmentation of the military budget and triennial military service. The government was often and decisively beaten, by such majorities as 272 to 68, or 251 to 36. Bismarck contemned the authority of the House, and, when Liberals spoke of the constitution, said, "the crown had quite different rights from those which are given by the constitution." Prussia, he said mockingly, is "too highly educated for a constitution." "The people are too critical." "Germany looks up to Prussia, not on account of its Liberalism, but of its power;" and "the great questions of the day are not to be decided by speeches and divisions, but by iron and blood."

Bismarck's government, as it would not accept the decisions of the Prussian Chamber on the military budget, dissolved the Chamber, and declared that it would proceed on its own way without a budget. Liberal papers were summarily confiscated; press trials occurred every day; even members of the Chamber were threatened, and actually prosecuted, for opinions expressed in their place as deputies.

Bismarck's views in the direction of Austria were veiled till January, 1863, when, being angered by Count Karolyi, he told him that Prussia would take good care not to help Austria if she got into difficulty again with the Italians; that he himself would not recommend the king to be even neutral; that Austria must cease to intrigue against Prussia, if she did not want to provoke the dissolution of the German Bund; and if she did not go along with Prussia she would have to seek her centre of gravity at Ofen. The substance of this conversation was made public by Count Karolyi; and the phrase even became current, of Austria having

"to seek her centre of gravity at Ofen." The King of Prussia, however, was resolved still against rupture with Austria, and Bismarck had to bide his time, which has at length come.

It is now time that we speak of Austria. The countries under Austrian rule are inhabited by several distinct races of men—German, Hungarian, Sclave, Rouman, and Italian. Various passions actuated each. The Germans sympathised with Germany; the Hungarians had their own hopes. Of the movement in the Italian provinces we have already written. Equally distinct and separate were the efforts of the Sclave.

In March, 1848, the Diet for Lower Austria was opened at Vienna. The French revolution of February, which had set the rest of Germany in a blaze, had, indirectly or directly, communicated its influence to the mob at Vienna. They made a rush to the Chamber where the Diet was assembled, and interrupted the business. For some days there had been considerable commotion among the people. The rector of the university had applied to government to arm the students, by way of preserving order. Unfortunately, these were just the persons most disposed to be riotous. The petition for reform was carried at once from the Diet to the palace, by Count Montecuculi: the crowd followed him. It is not the habit of the Austrian government to answer in a hurry. The crowd waited for the reply. The Archduke Ludwig condescended to inform the marshal that it was not his opinion that the emperor would say yes. However, a cabinet council was summoned; and it sat from twelve to six. The people thought they had waited long enough: the students harangued the mob; one of them read a speech of Kossuth to the Hungarian parliament, which was received with shouts of applause; and whilst they were thus engaged, on a sudden the soldiers appeared, and fired a volley: a number were killed and wounded. Four pieces of cannon were planted on the Place of St. Stephen; the gunners stood by with lighted matches; the alarm-drum was beat; the burgher guard was called out; and both sides were prepared for war: but the battle was prevented. Prince Metternich resigned. A new ministry was formed, with Count Kolowrath at its head. Several concessions were made to the people. An amnesty was granted for political prisoners; 150 Polish and Italian ministers were set free; the secret police was abolished; the police were instructed that it would be no longer legal for them to act as, or to employ, spies on domestic establishments, for secret conspiracies would be revealed, if any existed, by the newly-granted freedom of the press. A constitution was granted; to which, however, we need refer no further, as it never really lived.

Next came to Vienna a deputation from Hungary, headed by the palatine, the Archduke Stephen. It demanded the recognition of the ancient constitution of that kingdom, as a state separate from the Austrian empire; but of which the emperor was elected king. This was granted. Emperors and kings, in 1848, were wonderfully complaisant; and a Hungarian ministry was formed, and instructed to do all that the people required.

From Bohemia, also, came a cry for reform. At a Sclavonian meeting, held at Prague, the demands of the Bohemians were thus summarised:—A free press, and constitutional government; a perfect equality in the two races—German and Tcech (as the Sclaves are called in Bohemia); the union of Bohemia and Silesia, with a common Diet, which was to meet, by turns, at Prague and Brunn; that all *employés* should speak both tongues; that judicial proceedings should be public; a separate and responsible chancery to sit at Prague; the formation of national guards; the extinction of feudal rights and privileges; security for personal liberty, and religious equality. The demands were agreed to, and the distinct nationality of Bohemia was recognised.

The Sclaves wanted more. They convoked a general congress, not only from the Austrian dominions, but from foreign states, to concert measures for the integrity of the Sclave subjects of Austria. At the same time they established a provisional government at Prague, professing to consider the Vienna ministry under

the dictation of a mob, and created a council of regency, to correspond directly with the emperor. The latter took alarm; the Bohemian provisional government was declared illegal; and Prague rebelled. It was put down by Prince Windischgrätz, who bombarded the town, and battered much of it into ruins. By these means, after the most atrocious cruelties had been committed, peace was restored.

In Vienna the disorder increased. The people made further demands than those granted. The emperor, frightened, fled privately, in the night, to Innsprück, the capital of the Tyrol. He returned in August.

In October there was another revolution in Vienna. A regiment of German grenadiers, who were favourable to the Liberal cause, were ordered to march against Hungary. Count Latour, the war minister, had been waited on by a deputation, who informed him, that if these orders were carried out, a disturbance would ensue. His reply was, that was what he wished, as he would then be able to proclaim martial law. In the night barricades were erected; a general combat ensued; the insurgents were everywhere successful. They found Latour, and hung him naked from a lamp-post: they stormed the arsenal, and 100,000 muskets fell into their hands. As the Emperor Ferdinand was not personally unpopular, they did not seek to depose him; but they demanded the appointment of a new ministry; the revocation of the proclamation against the Hungarians; the deposition of the Ban Jellachich, the leader of the Croats, who had been pardoned by the emperor for revolting against him, since he had led his troops against the Hungarians; and an amnesty for the riots. The emperor again absconded, whereupon the assembly assumed to itself the powers of the executive, and began to fight the emperor in his name. The emperor, meanwhile, remained at Olmutz in Moravia, and appointed Windischgrätz commander of all his troops, except those under Radetzky in Italy. It was not long ere he arrived before Vienna with a force of 100,000 men. The Hungarians came to the rescue of the Viennese, but were driven away by Jellachich. The gates of the city were carried by storm; for a few days the fight was continued in the streets; the lawless Croats were let loose on the unfortunate city, to rob and murder; and all quarter was refused. Once in possession of the city, Windischgrätz began the usual Austrian system of pacification by executing rebels. His wife and son were killed in the disturbance at Prague; and thus he had an additional motive for revenge. Messenhausen, the commander of the academical legion, was shot; and Robert Blum, of Leipsig, a member of the Frankfort parliament, as we have already indicated, shared the same fate. They that use the sword shall perish by the sword: but, for the lives thus lost, the tyrant is responsible. It is he who has created the wretchedness which is compelled at last, in self-defence, to appeal to arms.

We now take up the story of the Hungarian war—a war which excited such fervent sympathy throughout the length and breadth of the British empire. Thoroughly to understand it, we must begin at the beginning.

Hungary, with Transylvania and Croatia, is about the size of Great Britain and Ireland, and contains nearly 15,000,000 inhabitants. It is peopled by three distinct races of men. The Magyars, in number 5,000,000, the descendants of the ancient Huns, are the gentry and nobles of the country. The Sclavonian population, who are, in Hungary, called Sclovacks, number 6,000,000, and are a part of the great Sclave family who occupy the greater portion of the east and north of Europe. The eastern portion of the country is inhabited by the Roumans or Wallachs, numbering about 3,000,000: they are the descendants of the Dacian colonies of Trajan, and speak a dialect the greater part of which is of Latin origin. Besides, there are 1,600,000 Jews, Gipsies, and Germans, who may be considered as colonists rather than natives. The Magyar migration took place about the end of the ninth century, under their leader Arpád. His descendants ruled Hungary as dukes till the reign of St. Stephen, to whom the pope gave the title of King and Apostle, in consequence of his zeal in converting his countrymen to the Christian religion. The crown remained with the descendants of Arpád as

long as his race lasted. Upon their dying out, in the fourteenth century, it became elective. Much intestine trouble was the result of this arrangement. One prince being elected, the disappointed candidates made common cause against him. The Turks, taking advantage of these differences, invaded Hungary, and completed its misfortunes. Eventually, Ferdinand I., of Austria, was elected King of Hungary, and the crown of St. Stephen, ever since, has remained with his descendants; but they gained no other rights thereby than those of constitutional and elected monarchs. Each was elected by the Diet, and, before coronation, was obliged to take an oath to preserve the Hungarian constitution. The emperor, Charles VII., settled the succession to his paternal dominions, including Hungary, by the Pragmatic Sanction, upon his daughter, Maria Theresa, and her descendants, who were to be elected to the crown of Hungary, and to swear to observe the constitution. By this Hungarian rights were guaranteed; and should the elected monarch break his coronation oath, it was declared lawful for the Hungarian people to resist him by the force of arms. The Austrian monarch had no power to alter anything belonging to the Hungarian government without the consent of the Magyars, or nobles.

The outbreak of Hungary, in 1848, arose from forgetfulness of this fact on the part of Austria. The cabinet at Vienna was so impolitic as to seek to govern Hungary directly by means of legal institutions and recognised authorities. Instead of the emperor, as a constitutional king, remaining content to exercise his lawful prerogatives through the medium of the established national laws, the representative system, and a national administration, he pursued a system of central aggression, which was met by a steady, unflinching opposition on the part of Hungary.

The constitution of Hungary was, in some respects, like our own. Their Magna Charta, or Bulla Aurea, secured to every nobleman personal freedom until citation and conviction before legal tribunals. It secured him immunity from taxation; the descent of his fee to his sons; and in case of failure of male issue, the descent of a part to his daughters. The priesthood received the same privileges as the nobles; their right to tithes, &c., was secured to them. The right to resist, by force of arms, any sovereign violating the provisions of this charter, was fully recognised. The nobles are divided into three classes. They form the upper House, of which the palatine is the president; the lower Chamber, or House of Commons, consists of the members for the fifty-two counties, each of which sends two members, who have, however, only one vote between them and the borough members. They are, in fact, either government nominees, or obtain their places by corrupt influence of some sort or other. The county member is, in fact, a delegate, not a member, of parliament, in our sense of the word. He is paid, and is expected to attend to his work. He communicates to his constituents the motions about to be brought forward. They are debated in a county meeting, which is summoned four times a year by the sheriff; and when the constituency has decided, instructions are sent to the representative. In some instances, when the deputy by boldness of speech has got into trouble, the county has met, and declared, that in speaking as he has, he only represented its feelings. In almost all respects the nation governed itself. It was the aim of Austria to prevent this, and to introduce a bad feeling between the peasant and the noble.

One of the chief leaders of the national party at this time was Baron Wesselenyi, who had been the leader of the opposition in Transylvania. On one occasion, he came to a meeting at Szatmar, where the electors had met to draw up instructions to their deputies. In order to remove the jealousy of the lesser nobles against any extension of their privileges to the peasantry, he used his best persuasion to convince them of the real unity of their interests, and called on them to do justice. He taxed the Austrian government with fomenting the jealousy between the two parties, for the furtherance of their private interests; mentioning, in the strongest terms, the meanness of such a policy. No one

doubted or denied the truth of the charge; but the sheriff considered the language too bold. Nothing more, however, was heard of the matter till two months afterwards, when the baron, after he had taken his seat as a magnate in the House of Peers, was charged by government with having used treasonable words, contrary to all law; for no one is liable for words used at a public meeting, unless the sheriff, or some other member, commences the legal process at the time. The country was thrown into a storm of indignation; remonstrances poured in from all sides. Balogh, the member for Bars, declared that he should not consider himself guilty of any great crime if he adopted the very words of Wesselenyi. He was another of the popular leaders, and the government included him in the prosecution. Parliament protested against such an infringement of the freedom of discussion. The county he represented met, and voted that what he said was their opinion, and took upon themselves the responsibility of his speech. Deak was another leader of the same party, who spoke strongly against government on this occasion. The latter began to find itself in a difficulty; and offered, privately, to grant an immediate pardon—an offer rejected with disdain.

Kossuth, the future leader of Hungary, was, at the time, a young member. He had, during the session, occupied himself in reporting the debates, which he printed in a newspaper. Government interfered. He had them lithographed, and so circulated all over the country. Again government interfered. He then had them copied out by innumerable secretaries, and distributed them to the constituencies. The government took offence; accused him of misreporting; and confuted his accuracy by the summary and convincing process of putting him in prison, and keeping him there some years. During this imprisonment he learned English. When the Paris revolution in 1848 had taken place, Kossuth, in the lower house of parliament, which then happened to be sitting, made a speech upon the subject, calling upon it to assert its independence of an empire that had violated all the conditions of the union. The idea was greedily seized on by a discontented people, and great was the dismay of the Austrian cabinet. The reading of Kossuth's speech to the mob was the immediate cause of the explosion in Vienna. He, with other Hungarians, arrived there, and frequently harangued the people; but he kept within the bounds of law. The sole advantage he took of the panic was to back his demand on the emperor for those rights to which Hungary was justly entitled, and which were unjustly withheld.

Kossuth was born in 1806. His father, a small owner of the noble class, was an advocate, descended from an ancient family, out of which, during the civil wars from 1527 to 1715, the Austrian government selected seventeen members for prosecution, on charges of high treason. Louis was educated at the Protestant College of Sharaschpatack, where he qualified himself for the profession of an advocate. On obtaining his diploma, he became agent to a Countess Szapary, and, as such, sat in the Comitat Assembly. In his twenty-seventh year he took his seat in the National Diet of Presburg, as representative of a magnate.

His fame, as we have already said, had preceded him to Vienna. The Vienna national guards drew his carriage into the city. Guards of honour were posted at his lodgings: the notabilities of the Austrian Liberal party waited on him; the students, carried away by enthusiastic admiration, declared their readiness to storm the palace should the government refuse to make him minister. Kossuth returned in triumph to Presburg. Of the new Hungarian ministry, Count Louis Batthyanyi was President; Prince Esterhazy, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Kossuth, Minister of Finance. Under his influence, the Diet carried out those important internal reforms which he had formerly advocated. The last remains of an oppressive feudal system were swept away; the peasants were declared free from all seignorial claims, the country undertaking to indemnify the landlords. The peasant and the burgher were at once admitted to the rights of nobles; and a new electoral law was passed, conferring the suffrage on all who possessed property to the amount of 300 florins, or £30 sterling.

Troubles soon came with which Kossuth alone could grapple. Croatia and Sclavonia are inhabited by Sclaves. Their country is on the north-west part of Hungary, lying along the river Drave. It is a province subject to Hungary. It is governed by a Diet elected by Sclavonia and Croatia, and meeting at Agram. Their Diet was represented in Hungary by three delegates; and the viceroy of the kingdom, or the Ban, as he is called, is elected by the Diet. The title of Ban of Croatia is third in rank under the crown of Hungary, and is next to those of Palatine and Supreme Judge. The Croatians were alarmed. The Magyars endeavoured to force their language on the rest of the people. Rights of veto, in certain cases, were taken from Croatia in the Diet. The government of the military frontiers, chiefly inhabited by Croats, was assumed by Hungary. Kossuth denounced the Croats as rebels, and the Ban as a traitor to the King of Hungary. It is true that Jellachich was a rebel; but the Ban had gone to Innsprück, and, in person, had explained his purpose to the emperor, and had been received into favour. The conduct of the emperor was crafty. Jellachich still continued in rebellion against Hungary with the emperor's connivance. The quarrel was tried to be patched up by negotiations on the part of Batthyanyi and Jellachich; but they parted in anger, and appealed to the sword to decide. As soon as peace was re-established at Vienna, an attempt was made to withdraw the concessions made to Hungary: for this purpose, the Austrian government fomented the feeling of jealousy between Hungary and the Croats. But Hungary perceived its danger. The parliament, on the motion of Kossuth, voted 42,000,000 of florins, for the purpose of raising an army of 200,000 men for defence.

When the emperor returned to Vienna, a deputation was sent to him, not as before, to offer him a residence at Pesth, as King of Hungary, but to remonstrate with him on his behaviour. They were, as might have been expected, coldly received. The emperor's answer was in direct violation of his coronation oath; and, that very day, Jellachich, with an army of 18,000 regulars, and 30,000 Croats, crossed the river Drave, and advanced on Hungary. This hostile demonstration took place before any declaration of such a purpose had been made by the Austrian government: it was made against a provincial government in legal possession: that provincial government had acceded to power with the consent of the emperor. Never did emperor act more dishonestly or unconstitutionally.

Kossuth, upon this, published an address to the nation, calling upon them to take up arms in defence of their country and their inherited rights. Legions of volunteers enrolled themselves, and the most active preparations were made. He went through different parts of the country, encouraging and exhorting the people to unite in defence of the state. The greatest enthusiasm was shown everywhere on his arrival. Illuminations, cheers, honours almost royal, everywhere awaited him; and crowds of volunteers crowned his efforts with success. An imperial manifesto was sent from Vienna. It was addressed to the military authorities, both of the regulars and militia. It ordered them to receive Count Lamberg, a German, as commander-in-chief; and to obey him in suppressing the dissensions existing in Hungary, and in bringing the Hungarians back to their former peaceful obedience to the emperor. An extraordinary meeting of parliament was convened. The manifesto was declared illegal, because it had not passed through the recognised channels of the Hungarian ministry. Kossuth proposed a counter-proclamation: it was unanimously adopted. It appealed to the army to refuse to obey Count Lamberg, as illegally appointed; and called upon the people to join in defending their country, unjustly invaded. Unfortunately, Count Lamberg was slain by an infuriated mob at Pesth. The Archduke Stephen, who was invested with the dignity of the palatine, immediately fled; and the emperor's representative having withdrawn, the ministry formed an executive committee for the defence of the country. Of this body Kossuth was the president. It was high time that he was placed at the helm, for the Ban Jellachich was advancing upon Hungary with his wild Croats, burning and ravaging, committing

unheard-of cruelties, and sparing neither age nor sex. The Hungarians met them at Veleneze, and remained masters, after a hard day's fighting. For once, right and might were on the same side.

The Ban then requested an armistice of three days, which was granted him by General Moga; but he took advantage of it by retreating, and abandoning his wounded. He tried to gain admittance at Comorn, and afterwards at Presburg. It was refused him at both places: thence he quickly continued his march, and laid siege to Vienna, then in the hands of the Liberals. In another quarter, 10,000 Croats had been skilfully out-manœuvred by Perezel, with only 4,000 Magyars. He took them all prisoners, treated them with great humanity, and sent them home. Such was the conclusion of the Ban's invasion, who had made so sure of success, that he ordered his letters to be addressed to the capital of Hungary.

At this time all seemed fair for the cause of Hungary. Kossuth had, by considerable activity, raised numerically a considerable army. It was composed of volunteers, equipped often at their own cost, in the best manner they could. Many of the Hungarian regiments in the Austrian service had supplied them copiously with deserters. The regiment of hussars, of Prince William, left their quarters in Bohemia, and marched in a body to the help of their country. One town, that of Szegedin, sent no less than 14,000 recruits to the capital.

Again an imperial manifesto appeared—this time abolishing the constitution, and appointing another ministry. The Hungarian parliament declared it, as it undoubtedly was, illegal. This fresh aggression produced retaliation. General Moga was ordered to march on Vienna, and help the Liberals, who had just effected a revolution, and fight Jellachich wherever he could meet with him. Kossuth joined the army; he had been received at Comorn with rejoicings and illuminations, and was supplied with 8,000 recruits there. At Raab he was similarly received. On his way to Vienna he met Jellachich; and, alas!—so much for the valour of raw recruits, and the science of oratorical generals—disgracefully beaten, Kossuth retired to Pesth.

The separation between Hungary and Austria was now entire. The emperor had abdicated, and Francis Joseph reigned in his stead. This was on December 2nd, 1848. The Hungarians refused to sanction his election, without which he could lawfully exercise no authority in their country. They protested against his usurping the title of the King of Hungary. He prepared to win that title by the sword. For this purpose a simultaneous advance was made at different points. Windischgrätz, the commander-in-chief, began by attacking the villages of Carlsdorf and Neudorf. Four field-marshals—Simunich, Schlick, Puchner, and Nugent—marched on Tyrnau, Eperies, Arad, and Lower Hungary. Suplikacs, the Voivode of Austrian Servia, occupied the country near the confluence of the Danube and the Theiss. The army of Hungary, though nominally 100,000 strong, could not bring into the field, to meet the Austrians, more than 55,000. The rest had been occupied in keeping order in Servia, and the other Sclave provinces. They were obliged, therefore, to retire, which they gradually did, in good order. Görgey conducted his celebrated retreat through the mountains, on the north of Hungary, with the greatest strategetic skill, upon Debreczin, behind the river Theiss.

The Hungarians soon felt the evils of divided councils and personal jealousies. Schlick was beaten by Klapka, near Tokay; and Guyon beat a division of Schlick's corps at Branisko; and then they and Görgey effected a junction of forces, amounting to 50,000, and 150 pieces of cannon, and marched on Pesth. Windischgrätz, to prevent this, fought a pitched battle at Kapolna, which, after lasting four days, ended in the Hungarians, under the command-in-chief of Dembinski—an old Polish revolutionary general—falling back, in good order, behind the Theiss. Differences, however, arose between the two leaders, Görgey and Dembinski, who had been appointed commander-in-chief by the provisional government; which resulted in General Vetter being appointed to the chief com-

mand. He was, however, unable to take it, and Görgey was appointed both war minister and deputy commander-in-chief. This was a great blunder; but Görgey was hot-headed; and there was jealousy of him in certain quarters, which brought about disastrous results.

There were also faults on the Austrian side. Had Windischgrätz fallen on the Hungarians as they were crossing the Theiss, he had an opportunity of ending the war; but he did nothing of the kind. The Hungarians laid siege to Arad; Klapka, with 20,000 men and fifty more guns, joined Görgey. Together they began to advance. Schlick had been driven back to Slatwen, where Windischgrätz had sent another division to support him, and Jellachich had been ordered to concentrate his forces. A council of war was held at Aszod. Five months had passed, and Hungary was more active than ever. The cabinet became alarmed. Windischgrätz was superseded by General de Welden, with reinforcements commanded by General Wohlgemuth, who had just returned from Italy. At this juncture Görgey commenced a series of brilliant actions, which drove the enemy out of Hungary. With astonishing celerity he moved his troops, and raised the blockade of Comorn. He reinforced its garrison; opened communications between the several divisions of the Hungarian army; and published a proclamation to the troops, recounting their exploits, and encouraging their zeal against Austrian tyranny. General Guyon, an Irishman settled in Hungary, beat the enemy in another direction. General de Welden was obliged to evacuate Pesth, leaving but three battalions in the fortress of Ofen. Jellachich attempted to cover his retreat; but Görgey, with his whole division, rapidly crossed the river Danube, and, on the right bank, fell on the corps of General Simunich. This manœuvre would have produced the utter defeat of the Austrian army, had it not been skilfully met by General Schlick, who succeeded in bringing it off, though it retreated in disorder, and ended the campaign. Things looked gloomy enough for Austria, who, as usual, had been out-generaled. The Hungarians, animated by success, had now an army of 190,000 men, and 800 pieces of cannon. Austria had lost Hungary entirely. It was proclaimed an independent republic, under the presidency of Kossuth. Republics were much in fashion in Europe at that time. As regards Hungary, this was a mistake. It caused a serious misunderstanding among the Hungarian leaders. Austria, at this time, was at her worst. Usually she had been able to trust to her German provinces to help her against Hungary. She could not do so now.

In the meanwhile Görgey, instead of marching on Vienna, lost his time, in compliance with the orders of Kossuth, in besieging Ofen. In January, 1849, Bem, with 6,000 men, had entered Transylvania from Hungary; and quickly reduced the north of Transylvania into his power, where he found considerable resources for carrying on the war. Having recruited and refitted, he marched on with the *prestige* of victory, till he met and defeated the Austrian army of the north. His next move was on Hermanstadt, the head-quarters of General Puchner, who, however, defeated him, and forced him to retreat, at Salzburg, losing a considerable part of his artillery and baggage. He took the road towards Hungary, intending to wait for reinforcements, of which he was in great need. The Austrians looked on his surrender as certain, but were too slow to make it so. Having retreated, he was joined by reinforcements, and fought a two days' action—on the latter of which he defeated the Austrians, who lost nearly 2,000 killed and wounded. Bem then took up a strong position at Schäsburg, and attacked the Russians (who had been sent by the czar to fight against freedom) in Hermanstadt; cleared the country of the Austrians, and reduced it under Hungarian power. This campaign was brilliant and decisive; and placed Bem's generalship in the first rank. He subsequently endeavoured to repeat the same operations in the final Russian campaign; but was outnumbered and beaten by the Russian general, Lüders. Görgey, who had succeeded in capturing Ofen, where the garrison had been massacred (with the exception of an Italian regiment, who had assisted the

Magyars to storm the walls), marched on to Presburg: but it was now too late. The Russians had arrived with sixteen battalions, accompanied by forty-eight guns. The czar himself was on the frontier. Haynau had succeeded the Austrian general, De Wilden. Prince Paskiewich was commander-in-chief of the Russian armies. Several actions were fought with varying success; but, eventually, Görgey was forced to retire. He wished to occupy the almost impregnable fortress of Comorn, and, from it, to inflict a blow upon the Austrians whenever they gave him an opportunity; but his advice was overruled by Kossuth.

Bad times are now coming for the gallant Hungarians. Russia, who had no concern in the quarrel, and had no right to interfere, sent to the aid of Austria an overwhelming force. Dembinski, with 20,000 men, was driven back by it without fighting. The fortress of Arad was, however, taken by him; and Jellachich was worsted by the Hungarians. Klapka was driven from Raab by Francis Joseph in person, and threw himself into Comorn. Görgey was forced back to Waitzen; and, after a bloody skirmish, was forced still backwards. The Russian commander-in-chief manœuvred in such a manner as to oblige the army to retreat in different directions, and prevent their joining, so as to be able to deal with them separately with an overpowering force. Görgey retired on Tokay; Perezel on Snoznolek; and Dembinski on Szegedin. The Hungarians began to lose confidence in themselves. The Russian general was in a central position, and could deal his blows on either side. He forced the passage of the Theiss in the face of the enemy, and drove them back. Haynau, in the meantime, kept advancing in the south, and also crossed the Theiss in the face of the enemy—retreating, yet fighting very hard nevertheless. The Hungarians were overpowered by a united body of Austrians and Russians in overwhelming numbers, and retreated in such haste as to leave both prisoners and guns behind them at Temeswar. Before that town they made a stand, having been joined by a few troops, and by Bem, who had been driven, by General Lüders, out of Transylvania. He at once proceeded to where the fighting was going on, and took the command; but the utmost gallantry was in vain opposed to superior forces. Temeswar was abandoned; the national army was divided, and marching in different directions—Görgey to the fortress of Arad, in hopes of shelter; Bem and Dembinski to the Turkish frontier.

Suddenly, just as the war seemed at an end, Klapka—who still held Comorn with 30,000 men, and was therefore besieged on both sides the Danube—took advantage of a bridge across the river Waag; made a tremendous sally; defeated his opponents; chased them with 8,000 men, eight squadrons of horse, and twenty-four guns, and did them great damage by assailing their flanks; capturing, besides thirty guns, much ammunition and provision. Alas! victory was won too late: the cause of Hungary was irretrievably lost. Singly she could grapple with Austria, but not with Austria and Russia combined. The civil government had been driven from Pesth to Szegedin, and thence to Arad; and thus had lost its means of prompt intelligence, and its central position. Some misunderstanding arose between Görgey and Kossuth, and the general refused to obey orders. It was the wish of the latter to make use of the fortress of Arad, as the central point for government and future military operations. It is possible, that if his advice had been followed, the war might have been protracted, especially as the courage of the Hungarians had been reanimated by the successes of Klapka. The differences between Görgey and Kossuth ended in the former being nominated dictator by the latter, who then left the country. Görgey accepted the office; and, without any conditions, laid down his arms to the Russians, surrendering 30,000 men, 144 guns, and 8,000 horses. He then summoned the other generals to surrender. They did so, except Bem, Guyon, and Klapka; but the soldiers of the two former refused to fight, and the generals escaped into Turkey, where Bem died of a fever. Klapka, who held Comorn, was offered advantageous terms, on which he capitulated; and so they made an end of the war. Haynau shortly afterwards appeared, executing, imprisoning, and committing all manner of cruelties. Austria lacked the spirit to

conquer, but not the meanness to take a contemptible revenge. Thirteen generals, who fell into the hands of Austria, were hung. Count Louis Batthyanyi died in a similar way. Austria was by no means inclined to spare the conquered, and to win them over by deeds of mercy and Christian compassion. Her conduct, in her hour of triumph, will long remain on her memory—a shame and stain.

The open towns were given up to plunder; savage Croats were turned loose on the defenceless inhabitants. The scenes enacted beggar description. Nothing was too high or low—too illustrious or obscure—too sacred or profane—too great or small, to escape the malignant pursuit of Austria. The gallows reaped a full harvest: an ecclesiastic was executed in his robes, before the gate of his own church; even an unfortunate tailor, who was convicted of having committed the crime of stitching an Hungarian banner, fell a victim to the imperial revenge. Ever since then Austria has been the contempt of Europe; she became weaker and more despised than ever.

It is said that Görgey was bribed to betray his country. The conduct of Austria makes one almost inclined to credit the charge; otherwise, when he capitulated, he would have made conditions with her which she would have been compelled to keep.

The refugees in Turkey were demanded of the sultan by the emperor and the czar. The sultan had too much manliness to give up the unfortunate to the certain death which awaited them.

Lord Palmerston's conduct was much censured by Kossuth. But what could England have done? We could send no assistance to the patriots fighting on the plains of Hungary. If Lord Palmerston had received an Hungarian ambassador, Hungary would still have succumbed to the overwhelming force of Russia; and however much Lord Palmerston might have regretted Russian interference, he could not have prevented it. Kossuth has, indeed, declared, that he asked neither for the money of England, nor for the blood of England; that all he required was one little word, and that word Palmerston would not speak. This is easily said. But that little word must have meant war, or it meant nothing. To suppose that Austria, when backed by the armies of Russia, would have yielded to the peaceable request of Lord Palmerston, was simply absurd. In privately representing to Austria the dangers she incurred by calling in Russian assistance, and advising her, in the most friendly manner, to agree to any compromise with her disaffected subjects, rather than place the imperial crown in the power of her insidious northern ally, he did all that he could do. And when success, by means of Russian troops, had crowned Austria, Lord Palmerston did as much as he had a right to do, in reminding the latter power that he hoped she would not be blind to her own interests; and that she would, by accepting his offer of mediation, give him the opportunity of strengthening her independence, and of releasing her from the shackles of Russia. Lord Palmerston made a final effort, in a despatch of the 28th of August, 1849, to induce the House of Hapsburg to make "a generous use of the victory which another power had gained for it;" to respect "the ancient constitutional rights of Hungary;" and to provide for "the future strength of the Austrian empire." Prince Schwartzenberg would not listen to such representations. In reply, he sent a foolish and insulting despatch, begging Lord Palmerston to remember "unhappy Ireland," and other parts of her majesty's dominions.

Again Lord Palmerston interfered on behalf of the Hungarian refugees. When Austria and Russia demanded them from the sultan, the English ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, immediately counselled resistance, and assured the sultan of the support of his government. He justly observed, that the neutrality of Turkey had been much more violated, during the Hungarian contest, by the invasion of the principalities, and the passage of the Russian troops from the principalities into Transylvania, than by the sympathies of the Porte for the Hungarians. The Emperor Nicholas had acted as though these two provinces really belonged to his own empire, and had not the slightest connection with

Turkey. And now he resolved, with Austria at his feet, to show the world that the sultan, Abdul Medjid, was indeed his slave. Though the first demand was made by Austria, it was evident that Russia was the real actor in the drama. Austria was never thought of at all; she was only obeying the commands of her master. An autograph letter from Nicholas, and some strong declarations from his ambassador, succeeded to the Austriau applieation. The Turkish ministers were alarmed; but, under English influence, they persisted in their refusal. The Porte ventured to look Russia steadily in the face, and defy her. The refugees, so far from being given up, were sent into the interior of Turkey, and placed under close surveillance. Sir Stratford Canning was raised to the peerage for his great serviees in this diplomatic war. Publie opinion in England was strongly in favour of the stand which the Porte had made against the united power of Russia and Austria. All parties had concurred in approving the policy of the government: and the promptitude with which Lord Palmerston had, without any eommunication with Russia, sent the fleet to Besika Bay, showed what might be expected from him in future. Undoubtedly, the czar was mortified beyond description by the conduct of Lord Palmerston on this occasion. It was a rebuff whieh he was not used to, and which he never eoutemplated. All the manœuvres of the emperor—all the dexterity of his diplomacy—all his military occupations—all his moderation of 1839, and his careful watching of events, had ended in securing the triumph of the English minister. He saw that, in twenty years, he had not advanced a step towards Constantinople: he saw that, in comparing 1829 with 1849, he had clearly lost ground. This he might have expected before, but now it was evident to the whole world. For the first time since the days of Peter the Great, the star of the House of Roumanoff was receding in the East. Judging by the experience of recent years, it was not so very certain, after all, that the throne of the Constantines would become the inheritanee of the successors of Nicholas. It was clearly England and Palmerston who were gaining. Such were the diplomatic squabbles iu the East. Lord Palmerston had acted, in his own significant language, "like a man who meant to do what he professed."

Out of this Hungarian revolt grew another international difficulty. Haynau, the Austrian general, came over to this country. It was known that he had been needlessly cruel; that the Hungarians, who had fought for their freedom, had received the most unmerited treatment at his hands; and that he had so far demeaned himself as to flog tender and delicate women, whose only crime was love of eountry. In the upper classes of society in this country, it is not considered decorous to express one's feelings; and, had Haynau mixed only with them, he would have had little cause of complaint. Unfortunately, he was so indiscreet as to wander into districts where the feelings are stronger, or, at any rate, less under control; and the rough reeeption he reeeived at the hands of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins's draymen, was of a character not easily forgotten. Au Englishman hates any one guilty of eruelty to a woman. You cau always get a cheer, either in a theatre or at a public meeting, by denouncing the dastardly character of the man who lifts up his hand against a female; and fully imbued with these sentiments, the workmen in the establishment referred to, gave the general a much rougher reception than he expeeted. The result was, that the general's stay in this country was much shorter than was anticipated; and he left more struck than delighted with the customs and manners of the English. Nor did the matter end here. The marshal was a valued servant of Austria, and a useful instrument of oppression and wrong in the hauds of his master; and the affray which took place in August, 1850, was made the subjeet of very serious diplomatie intercourse between Lord Palmerston and the Austrian government. The latter were so pleased with their part in the matter, that they published the eorrespondence in au English newspaper. As usual, the Austrians failed to understand that England is a free eountry, and that people may here do things with impunity which would terrify an Austrian offieial out of his senses.

The first note is from Baron Koller to Lord Palmerston, dated September 5th, and asks—"Notwithstanding that the general, before his departure for Dover, declared that he should not bring a complaint before the judicial courts," "that even in default of an accusation in the usual form, an investigation should take place in the establishment of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Co., whose clerks appear to have been the instigators of acts of savage brutality." To this, Lord Palmerston replies, by regretting that General Haynau should have been exposed "to such infamous mistreatment." The third letter is from the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Schwartzenberg, to Baron Koller, requiring that "the investigation which the baron demanded in his note of the 5th to Lord Palmerston, be carried on strictly, in such guise that not only the actors in the attack shall meet with the punishment they deserve, *but that the unrelenting arm of justice may reach also the chief instigators of the crime, who, in all probability, keep themselves in the background, and from a distance only moved the wires that set their puppets in motion;*" the Austrian government, from this note, appearing as well-informed upon the subject as the Austrian correspondent of the *Times*. On September 30th, Lord Palmerston, with the usual assurances of his high esteem, writes to Baron Koller, enclosing a note from the Secretary of State in the Home Office to the Foreign Secretary of State, which expresses "the deep regret and sympathy felt by her majesty's government relative to the scandalous attack upon General Haynau." From this note, it appears that Sir G. Grey regrets the general will not identify the parties committing the assault, as the police were unable to do so; and even if they were, Sir G. Grey thinks "a judicial investigation grounded upon such an accusation could scarcely be attended with any result, if the injured parties, whose evidence would be required by the jury and the court, remained voluntarily absent." Under these circumstances, Sir G. Grey is of opinion that "a judicial investigation of this lamentable occurrence would not be attended with any satisfactory result." Sir G. Grey states that he had offered the assistance of the police to Messrs. Barclay and Perkins, but they actually declined the favour! To this communication Baron Koller replies—"That he observed with regret, first, an endeavour to attach a secondary importance to that occurrence; and secondly, a deficiency of ready and earnest zeal which the occasion seemed to demand." He also thought that General Haynau's refusal to identify the guilty parties did not prevent steps being taken by the British government; for, added Baron Koller—"When General Haynau declined bringing an accusation, he acted upon the presumption that the British government would know how to make itself respected. Disgusted with the infamous proceeding, he thought he might be spared the annoyances of a personal application; and, as a breach of the peace had been committed, he still presses his former proposal." A week after, Lord Palmerston encloses a further communication from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which second communication the baron rightly styles a copy of the first, and again presses the government to take the matter up. On the 28th of October, Lord Palmerston encloses to Baron Koller a letter from Mr. Addington, dated October 22nd, in which Sir G. Grey states that the case cannot be considered as Baron Koller would have it considered—as one of riot, and as a breach of the peace—without any special reference to General Haynau. Viewed in this light, says Sir G. Grey—"It was not such as would warrant the government of this country in instituting a prosecution, as the case could not be brought before a legal tribunal with assurance of success necessary in the rare case of a government prosecution. Irrespective of the difficulties of satisfactorily identifying any individual, it is much to be doubted whether it would be possible to procure witnesses to prove that tho tumult bore the character of a 'riot' in the legal sense of the word, as it would be necessary to establish the fact that the tumult and disorder were of so dangerous a character as to cause public fear and terror. Much as Sir George Grey regrets that, from the causes assigned, the authors of the insults offered to General Haynau escape with impunity, he is

still of opinion that it would be very injurious for the crown to institute a criminal prosecution in a case of this nature without a strong assurance of success." On November 27th, appears the last letter of the series. It is a despatch to Baron Koller from Prince Schwartzenberg. He fully shares in the regret felt by the British government; and can only declare that, as the British government "could not decide upon adopting judicial measures on an attack which placed the life of an Austrian subject in danger, we cannot do otherwise than reserve to ourselves the right to consider, in a similar case, whether we should or should not act reciprocally towards British subjects in Austria." Chivalrous Austria! Whenever a British subject shall be insulted and oppressed, the Austrian government will give no redress. Austria is perfectly at liberty to do so. When we rear a Haynau—when we place him in power—when we lavish on him royal regards—when his name shall stink in honest men's nostrils—and when the Austrian people shall loathe him as the English did the destroyer of Hungarian liberties, the Austrian government will be quite at liberty to put into execution the threat it so gracefully hints.

The Austrian diplomatists, failing in obtaining an investigation contrary to law, and a prosecution without a prosecutor, respecting a plot which had no existence out of Austrian imaginations, indulged themselves in spiteful sarcasm and foolish menaces. The ambassador quite concurred in the opinion that, after the spirit displayed, the investigation would end in nothing. Prince Schwartzenberg soars into menaces, and says the Austrian government may, in future, treat British subjects reciprocally.

Prince Schwartzenberg falsely accused the British government of depriving an Austrian subject of the protection of British laws. He knew it was not true. He knew that Haynau himself rejected their redress. The brother of the Kings George and William IV., the late King of Hanover, was assaulted by a mob, and obtained redress by means of the witness-box. Her majesty, Victoria, would have had to appear in the witness-box if her evidence against any of her assailants had been indispensable.

The hint of impunity to Austrians who assault Englishmen, is one of the most atrocious things ever uttered by a government. Such a government outlaws itself.

This correspondence, however, did one good thing. It showed that, whilst the English government considered the attack on General Haynau as "infamous," yet that it dared not punish parties for that attack. England is not Austria. Here public opinion exists. A sentence against parties concerned in the Haynau affair would carry no weight, for public opinion was on their side; and the public support would have shielded them in the case of a government prosecution. No jury would have convicted; or if a jury had done so, the culprits would have been considered as martyrs by the people. Public opinion must vent itself in a manner more or less expressive. Men notorious for cruelty—men unusually bad, must pay the penalty for such notorious badness. Public opinion will pursue them. Public opinion is tolerant; but there are things it will not tolerate. One of these things was a woman-flogger. It is well that this should be so. We English did little for the Hungarian cause; but we were not bound to tolerate in our midst the man by whom the Hungarian cause had been cruelly trodden down.

We have thus glanced at continental revolutions in the troubled years of 1848 and 1849. At the beginning the people were successful; and yet, in the end, they failed, partly because of the brute force opposed to them—partly because of divisions and jealousies among themselves—partly on account of the wildness of their views; but chiefly on account of the fact, that they had had no previous training for political citizenship: because for ages they had been police-ridden, and had not learned to think and act for themselves.

In England it was otherwise. Yet 1848 brought its troubles to us, nevertheless.

As usual, the Irish took the field. An address was voted to the French republic by the repealers, who, approving of the revolution, regretted that they were not in a position to enact a similar one. Even the old pacific and the new thorough-going repealers were, for a moment, united. A confederate body was to be enrolled, and called the national guard; and a monster meeting was to be held on St. Patrick's day. The newspapers teemed with revolutionary articles, seditious letters, and inflammatory addresses. Rebellion was openly preached; armed resistance recommended; the mode of making an insurrection in Dublin was described. Barricades were to be built; the attacking forces were to be overwhelmed with chimney-pots and furniture; soda-water bottles were to be made into hand-grenades, and loaded with gunpowder; melted lead was to be saved with the utmost care, for the manufacture of bullets. It was intimated, that broken glass and crockery were most admirable as a means of preventing the charge of cavalry; and women were told how to get hoops bound with rags or tow, soaked in turpentine, and set on fire, and then to throw them at the oppressors' heads. The changes were rung on Saxon tyranny and Irish freedom; and gradually the people got lashed into a state of frenzy. Mr. John Mitchell, in his *United Irishman*, openly preached sedition. The *Nation* recommended national guards and drilling. Mr. Meagher raved about the sword; while the old repealers, in Conciliation Hall (as their place of assembly was facetiously termed), recommended the repeal members to prevent any legislation in parliament till repeal was granted. At length, government thought it was time to interfere; and Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, and Meagher were held to bail, for seditious writings and speeches. Lord Clarendon was threatened with assassination, and the accused did their best to foment armed rebellion; defying the government to convict them, and trusting to the impossibility of verdicts being obtained against them. The Irish deputation, in the meantime, returned from Paris, where Lamartine had thrown cold water on their hopes.

The House of Commons passed a Government Security Bill. On the occasion of the second reading, Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had returned from Paris, complained that he had been called traitor in his absence. In reply, Sir George Grey said—"I did not call him a traitor; but I read to the House a portion of the report of a meeting of the Irish confederation—namely, the announcement made by Mr. Duffy, that he had received a message from the honourable gentleman at Paris, in which he cast to the winds the discouraging reply he had received from M. Lamartine, who, with public virtue, refused to encourage his designs—be they seditious, or traitorous, or loyal, as the honourable gentleman pretends—knowing that, if he encouraged such designs, he should be violating the law of nations, and giving a good cause of war to England against France. I ask the honourable gentleman whether he is prepared to disavow the truth of that message which Mr. Duffy announced as having been sent from Paris by him, and which was to be the exponent of the sentiment of the French nation, casting aside the language of M. Lamartine? I ask the honourable gentleman whether he did say to the Irish Club, at Paris, 'Every new proof of sympathy renders us more able to serve the cause of our country. The satisfaction which we feel, arises, above all, from the fact that we have found that there are, at Paris, Irishmen who are determined to unite their efforts to those of the Irish people in reconquering their national independence. Though we have been in France but a few days, we have seen and heard enough to feel assured that, were Ireland to demand assistance, France would be ready to send 50,000 of her bravest citizens to fight with her for liberty. We offer to the French our sincere thanks for their generous sympathy. That sympathy may be to us, later, a great assistance; but we feel that the liberty of Ireland should be conquered by the energy, the devotion, and the courage of her own children.' The honourable gentleman writes to Mr. Duffy—'We will, if we can, institute a successful rebellion; still, if we should be worsted in the struggle, I promise the assistance of 50,000 Frenchmen.'"

At Limerick, the Irish rose, not against the base, bloody, and brutal Saxon (as O'Connell loved to term him), but against each other. It appeared that the populace in that part of the country were O'Connellites, and received the physical-force men in anything but a conciliatory manner. The meeting had hardly opened when the mob, who had given a foretaste of their disposition by hooting the patriots the day before, showed tokens of a lively difference of opinion by breaking the windows, and endeavouring to smoke out the audience by blazing tar-barrels. The townspeople sent a shower of missiles at the physical-force men inside. Some of these had, however, come armed; the rest tore up benches, and armed themselves with the fragments. The women being removed, a sally was agreed on. The chief enmity of the mob was directed against Mitchell: practically, however, there was no distinction; and when the mayor and the police arrived, the heroes were carried off the field with broken heads, intensely disgusted with the warm reception they had met. Such was the excitement of the town that they had to be carried off by stratagem. Being put in the mail, which was horsed inside the yard of the hotel, they were brought off under the noses of the mob. The whole story was given in a very humorous ballad in *Punch*, by Mr. Thackeray. In verse not easily forgotten, the poet sang how Smith O'Brien—

> "This valiant son of Mars,
> Had been to visit Par's,
> That land of revolution that grows the tricolour;
> And to welcome his return,
> From pilgrimages furren,
> We invited him to tea on the Shannon shore.
>
> "Then we summoned to our board
> Young Meagher of the sword;
> 'Tis he will sheathe that battle-axe in Saxon gore;
> And Mitchell, of Belfast,
> We bade to our repast,
> To dthrink a dish of coffee on the Shannon shore.
>
> "Convaniently to hould
> These patriots so bould,
> We tuck the opportunity of Tim Doolan's store,
> And with ornamints and banners
> (As becomes gintale good manners),
> We made the loveliest tay-room upon Shannon shore."

The patriots were tried; but, of course, not convicted: the jury could not agree. They came down to the court in triumph; and were greeted, on their arrival, with cheers, in which some of the barristers joined. In Meagher's case, eleven of the jury were for a conviction; the twelfth, a papist, stood out; and he escaped that time. These trials took place about the middle of May. Towards the end of the month, Mitchell, after considerable delay and legal argument, was tried and convicted; and he was very quickly transported to the colonies, where he distinguished himself by repudiating his parole, and escaping to the United States. Father Kenyon, one of the confederates, undertook to continue the *United Irishman*, under the name of the *Felon;* while a subscription was got up on behalf of his wife.

In Ireland, the expatriation of Mitchell was a signal for invective from repealers and physical-force men; and a serious endeavour was made to unite the two parties by leaving rebellion an open question. Mr. John O'Connell had given his assent to the union; the rival associations were to be dissolved, and, out of the materials, a new organisation was to be formed. However, the contracting parties fell out, and Mr. O'Connell threatened to retire into private life. The party of action became fiercer than ever. Drilling and organisation went on; clubs were formed, and divided into sections; instructions were issued; and, towards the middle of July, things were sufficiently advanced for the troops to be inspected. On the 22nd of July, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, on the application of Lord John Russell.

The Irish agitators left Dublin for the south the same day. A large district round Carrick Suir was on the verge of open rebellion; and Mr. Smith O'Brien was said to be at the head of 10,000 men. Warrants were issued for the apprehension of the leaders; and, at length, came the explosion—ridiculously small after the inflammatory language of the last few months.

On the Tuesday, Mr. Smith O'Brien arrived at the house of Mr. Wright, at Mullinahone, and addressed the crowd in his usual warlike style. The populace assembled in great numbers that night to guard the house. Next morning he dismissed them for a time, and endeavoured, but in vain, to tamper with the police. On the Thursday he returned to Mullinahone, and got his followers again about him; but the priest interfered, and succeeded in dispersing them all but a hundred men, who remained with their leader. He was dressed in a magnificent green uniform, with sash and epaulets, in which he bivouacked for the night in the fields. On the next day, however, he reassembled his followers, and, late at night, made his appearance in the village of Commons, with some other gentlemen, and three jaunting cars, and upwards of 1,000 armed followers, whom he drilled and marshalled.

Meanwhile intelligence had been received, in the middle of Friday night, that O'Brien, Meagher, and others had been proclaimed traitors, and that a reward of £500 had been offered for the apprehension of the former, and £300 for that of the latter. Immediately this was known, Mr. Blake, the county inspector of constabulary, set out to effect their capture. Having learnt that Mr. O'Brien had passed the night among the colliers in the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, he sent a message to the constables of the surrounding district, who had been previously concentrated at Callan, to the number of some sixty men, under chief constable Trant. He also sent to the magistrates of Kilkenny for soldiers, who did not come, but left all the glory of the capture to the police.

In the middle of the day the action began. Mr. O'Brien had posted his army on the top of a considerable mound of refuse from the pits; and, about twelve o'clock, they received notice from their scouts of the approach of the police. At half-past twelve they came in sight; and, seeing the enemy more numerous than they anticipated, made for the friendly shelter of the widow M'Cormack's cottage, by the wayside, who had left home to fetch her children from the national schools ere the war began. This cottage the police barricaded, and made as secure as they could, to the alarm of the widow. In this fortress the police were besieged by the rebels. A volley was fired from the house. The firing lasted ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. Mr. O'Brien was seen crawling past the gate, among the cabbages, on his stomach. The police fired at him; on which he rolled over, but only, as it seemed, to avoid being hit. After one of the assailants had been killed, and two more badly wounded, the mob retired out of reach of shot, while their leader paced up and down in great agitation, musing over his ruined hopes; for the battle had been fought and lost.

However, one prisoner fell into rebel hands. It seems the authorities of Kilkenny had sent a police-sergeant, Carrol, to prevent Inspector Trant from marching; but he arrived too late, and followed to the battle-field. Thence he was sent by Trant for reinforcements; but, on his way, was captured, and had his horse taken from him by Mr. O'Brien: however, Carrol managed to effect his escape, and, in his flight, met Mr. Smith O'Brien, mounted on his own horse—having, in the meanwhile, doffed his uniform. On seeing the officer, O'Brien drew a pistol, and talked of shooting him; but, on being remonstrated with by the sergeant for drawing a weapon on an unarmed man, he put it up, eventually gave up the horse, and made the sergeant a present of a walking-stick. He then left Sergeant Carrol, and remained some days in hiding. After a time, the sergeant reached Kilkenny, and help was sent to Trant, who would not give up his post till he had reinforcements, supposing that the rebels had only retired as a trick, in order to get him out of the house.

So ended the Irish rebellion of 1848. The leaders hid themselves. Mr. O'Brien, who had previously made over his property to his relatives, was nowhere to be found. Mr. Meagher, of the sword, was similarly missing. Notices were published, that persons harbouring traitors were liable to the penalties of treason, and that they would be enforced against them. After a few days, Mr. O'Brien was captured at a railway station, by an English railway official, and sent off to Dublin. It is to the honour of the Irish peasant that he never acted the part of an informer; though, had he done so, he would have secured £500 for himself. It is a pity that a people thus endowed with true nobility should ever be the dupes and the prey of the agitator or the priest.

In due time the Irish rebels were tried and condemned, and sentenced to transportation. In due time, also, to Mr. O'Brien, no longer disposed to be a leader of rebels, a full pardon was granted.

Yet Ireland is as far from having achieved peace and prosperity as ever. While we write (1866), the Habeas Corpus Act is still suspended. Whig and Tory alike find Ireland a difficulty they cannot overcome. The church question, it is to be feared, is the main source of the difficulty; and that no English minister is strong enough, or has courage enough, to touch.

In Scotland there was but little unquiet feeling at this time, as there was but little cause for it in the condition of the people. There was a meeting in Glasgow, at which allusions were made to the doings in Paris, and the manner in which the French people had rid themselves of their oppressors. A mob attacked the bakers' shops; but pillage, and not revolution, was their object. The authorities swore in special constables, and the mob was driven into the smaller streets, and defeated. On the following day, large numbers of famishing weavers from Hamilton, Johnstone, and Paisley, and colliers from Airdrie, flocked in. The magistrates met at noon; declared they expected an immediate assault upon the city; and, with 1,500 men, prepared to meet a mob of 80,000. In Main Street, a body of pensioners were surrounded and pelted. They fired two volleys over the heads of the populace; but the attack became determined, and they were compelled, in self-defence, to fire: seven persons fell, and the mob fled. In Edinburgh, also, a riot took place, but presented no peculiar features. The Riot Act was read, and the affair was crushed without any very extraordinary exertions; and though an attempt to collect a crowd was made on the following day, it was dispersed by a heavy shower.

When the French revolution was known in London, the mob, as usual, was very much excited. A person of the name of Cochrane called a meeting in Trafalgar Square on the 6th of March. It was prohibited as illegal by the police, and the agitator did not come; but the mob did. They marched along Pall Mall, broke some windows, and came back by way of Westminster.

On April 10th, the Chartists had their attempt at a demonstration on Kennington Common; but it was made much more of than its intrinsic importance justified. The Duke of Wellington, who had command of the troops, placed them in strong positions, but out of sight. The police occupied the bridges, and the line along which the Chartists were to pass. Special constables were sworn in all over the metropolis—one of them being the present Emperor of the French; and the enormous mass of the people who had volunteered their service to the help of government, showed clearly on which side were popular sympathies, and how little disposition there was, on the part of Englishmen, for a revolution. The government in this country rested on moral, rather than physical support. It was upheld by the power of public opinion—in fact, by the people, who, according to the Whig toast, are the only source of political power.

Let us note a little this the last of the Chartist demonstrations. They were to meet at different points which had been named—at Russell Square, Clerkenwell Green, Finsbury Square, and Whitechapel. Thence they marched in irregular columns. The "National Convention," as it was called, proceeded from its place

of meeting in John Street. At Kennington Common, the appointed rendezvous, Mr. Feargus O'Connor received a message from the police commissioners, to the effect that, if peaceable, the meeting would not be interfered with; whereupon he made a most pacific speech, promising to go down on his knees to them if they would but keep the peace. The monster petition was then forwarded to the House of Commons in several cabs. Its prayer was, that the six points of the People's Charter might be conceded—namely, annual parliaments; universal suffrage; vote by ballot; equal electoral districts; no property qualifications; and the payment of members. The bulk of the petition was so enormous that it was necessary to divide it to carry it into the House; and when there, it was deposited in five masses. The first sheet, containing the prayer, having been detached from the rest, was read by the clerk. The petition covered Chartism with ridicule. It was said to contain 5,000,000 of signatures; but an immense number of them were forgeries. The names of Victoria *Rex*, the Duke of Wellington, Colonel Sibthorp, and other distinguished or well-known persons, were attached to it by scores. Other sham names, such as Flat-nose, Pug-nose, No Cheese, and others equally fictitious, but far more indelicate, were added. Many consecutive sheets of signatures were written in the same hand; and on one it was stated, "We were paid for no more"—thus demonstrating the absurd character of the whole proceeding. The exposure gave Chartism its death-blow.

On the following day the Convention held a sitting, which provoked still further laughter and contempt. One of the speakers, Cuffey, stated that he had been for some time out of work, and that, in consequence, he had allowed Mrs. Cuffey to go out charing. At one of the places in which she had been in the habit of working, she was asked whether she was not the wife of Mr. Cuffey, of the Convention; and on her replying that she was, she was told that her services would not be required after that week. Alas! poor Cuffey! He and some of his associates were shortly afterwards arrested, convicted, and punished by transportation and imprisonment.

In the House of Commons, the forgery in connection with the people's petition gave rise to rather a sharp discussion; and Mr. Cripps, a member of the committee on petitions, having stated pretty plainly the distrust he should henceforth feel for statements issuing from Mr. O'Connor, a warm personal collision took place between the two gentlemen, after which Mr. O'Connor left the House. The interference of the Speaker was then called for, who expressed his hope that Mr. Cripps would disclaim any intention of personal offence. Mr. Cripps, thus appealed to, readily made the disclaimer required. Lord John Russell moved that Mr. F. O'Connor be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Mr. O'Connor, at a later hour of the evening, was brought to the bar; and after reciprocal explanations had been given, and each of the members concerned had expressed himself satisfied, the matter dropped. In the course of the discussion, Mr. J. A. Smith stated the estimate which had been formed, from careful observation, of the Chartists at Kennington, as under 8,000. "I will only add," said he, "that the honourable member for Nottingham, in my presence on Monday, stated the numbers present on Kennington Common at half a million." Colonel Sibthorpe related an anecdote which afforded some amusement. "On Monday night," he said, "when the honourable and learned member for Nottingham, addressing me at the door of the House, said, 'I am glad all went off peacefully;' I said, 'I have only one regret that it did.' 'Why?' he asked. 'Because,' I replied, 'if you had only attempted to come over the bridge, you would have got the soundest thrashing you ever had in your life.'"—And now we take leave of Chartism, and its leader, Feargus O'Connor—soon to die insane—for ever. The government, however, took advantage of the excitement of the time to get the Alien Act passed, with additional clauses, arming them with power to summarily expel foreign refugees, of whom several thousands were in London before the end of the summer, including Louis Blanc, and many of the German republican leaders.

Thus it came to pass that, when the years of trouble had elapsed, peace was preserved; our queen was popular; our institutions remained untouched. The truth is, here we need not appeal to physical force. We have a free press, free parliament, and a free tongue.

All his life the Englishman has been accustomed to the use of political power.

On the continent it is different: the state is everything, the individual nothing. The people are kept weak and helpless; they are denied all healthy political excitement—all free development—all self-reliance. The hardihood and indomitable energy which have distinguished the masses in England, and by which she has been sustained in her darkest hours, are there altogether unknown. A people cannot be too much thrown upon their own resources: only by such means can their characters become manly and elevated. Under the continental system the people retrograde: they learn to rely upon government; to do little or nothing for themselves; and when, in their anger, they rise up and destroy a government, they are but little better for it, after all. Instead of acting out great principles, the citizen of Vienna, or Paris, or Berlin, will smoke and dance, and play dominoes, and sing, as if man had no higher destiny than to sport the butterfly of an hour; and as if life were but a May-day game. Give such their theatres, and concerts, and public gardens—their ball-rooms and promenades—their singing men and their singing women—and a government may rob them of their liberties, and trample them in the dust. Sunk in lethargy and voluptuous ease, the Parisian cares more for the airy movements of a ballet-girl, or for the melodious warblings of the favourite of the hour. Well may our unrivalled poet ask—

"What are monuments of bravery
Where no public virtues bloom?
What avail, in land of slavery,
Trophied temples, arch, and tomb."

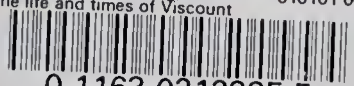
END OF VOL. I.

No. 18428.

Date Due

MAR 1 9			
MAR 2 9			
OCT 8			

PRINTED IN U. S. A. CAT. NO. 23233


DA 536 .P2 R6 v.1
Ritchie, James Ewing. 1
The life and times of Viscount
010101 000
0 1163 0212335 5
TRENT UNIVERSITY

DA536 .P2R6 v.1

Ritchie, James Ewing.

The life and times of Viscount Palmerston...

DATE	ISSUED TO
	005597
MAR 19	

Ritchie, J. E. 005597